EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL COMPETENCES OF CONTEMPORARY TEACHERS

SELECTED ISSUES

EDITED BY

JACEK PYŻALSKI

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Introduction

Barry Schwartz, the social psychologist, in his book The Paradox of Choice, claims that people have never had to make so many decisions up until the present day. This observation seems to hold true also in the realm of pedagogy. Young people, especially teenagers, receive a broader spectrum of opportunities – also concerning their educational reality – than the generation of their parents or grandparents in the complex, multicultural and technologised world. Many of the possible paths provide only an illusion of a choice, escape from freedom, and at times it is a mere offer of oppression. Here, the key question that needs to be posed is how to sort the wheat from the chaff, what should be accepted, what rejected, and what contested. What should be our motivation when making our choices? Finding an answer to these questions will be conductive not only to shaping a young person's biography but also, taking a broader perspective, will help to predict the world of the future.

At the same time, those who at present are teachers and tutors also frequently inhabit a world which is radically different from the one in which they grew up and were raised. They are confronted with the question of which elements of the contemporary world they should pay special attention to, which of these elements should be studied. It also depends on them if and how they will be able to translate this knowledge into everyday educational practice. Do they, then, utilise these aspects which to a great extent can positively impact the development of their students? Will they be able to perform a more fine-grained analysis than the one offered by mainstream discourse?

As authors of this book, we were also faced with this choice. This book takes up a number of pertinent issues of the contemporary world and its elements which have already influenced or – in the nearest future – will influence the very process and the efficiency of educational processes (especially those concerning upbringing). Naturally, we had to be selective when choosing the issues to be included in this book. Our choices were motivated by our own knowledge and macro diagnoses – these directed us towards the aspects we decided to focus on. Needless to say, this does not mean that we think the issues not discussed here should be deemed as unimportant. Upon choosing concrete issues we had to make further decisions regarding their treatment, i.e. which of them should be subjected to a more theoretical discussion and which should be treated in a more practical way by offering both analyses and solutions.

It is our contention that this book strikes a balance between the theoretical and practical perspectives and focuses on the knowledge that a reflective educational practitioner can transfer

to their everyday practice. For this reason, this book is neither a typical theoretical discussion nor is it a methods textbook. Putting it metaphorically, we "flagged" these issues which we consider to be important for socialisation and education of young people, particularly teenagers. In places where we put forward concrete solutions, we tend to think of them as sources of inspiration, a suggestion and not an exhaustive resource of measures to be taken in the context of a given issue.

The monograph opens with a chapter on globalisation, by Agnieszka Cybal-Michalska and Tomasz Gmerek, which indicates macroprocesses which are only seemingly located far away from the functioning of young people. In the second chapter, Zbyszko Melosik directs our attention to popular culture and its factors which translate into socialisation processes as well as the clash between popular culture and pedagogy. In the subsequent text, Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik emphasises these dimensions of popular culture which concern the emergence of pop culture icons and idols. She also discusses how they influence the process of shaping youth identity. The fourth text, by Michał Klichowski, looks into the future (at the same time it indicates that the future begins here and now). The author analyses to what extent the development of technology – including the personalised one which is increasingly more integrated with the human body – can influence education. Stanisław Dylak analyses one of practical solutions to the reality and the world which abounds in informational and communication technologies. Anticipatory education is suggested as a response to this, a trend which has gone beyond mere theoretical considerations. In the sixth chapter, jointly with Jakub Kołodziejczyk, I analyse teacher's measures taken in cases of student misbehaviour by casting a closer look at those aspects of the issue which are relevant to school practice. Teachers affiliated with the Polish School in Reykjavik, Donata Honkowicz-Bukowska, Katarzyna Rabęda, Monika Sienkiewicz, chose to analyse meaningful and practical educational solutions at the Icelandic school which turn out to be successful (especially in the area of preventing peer violence). In the eighth text, in turn, Mateusz Marciniak i Ewa Karmolińska-Jagodzik make a synthetic literature review from the domain of preventing addiction to psychoactive substances at school. They point to those aspects which are crucial from the point of view of prevention. The subsequent text, written by Tomasz Przybyła and Mariusz Przybyła, extends the issue of addictions to the so-called behavioural addictions – addiction to new communication technologies. Sylwia Jaskulska i Wiesław Poleszak discuss the phenomenon of peer exclusion, which although treated as a manifestation of relational peer aggression is often neglected and underestimated in the everyday educational work. Due to the fact that exclusion frequently concerns people with special educational needs, the idea for educational means and the methods of group work are so important – these are elaborated on by Iwona Chrzanowska and Beata Jachimczak. The next two chapters, by Ewa Solarczyk-Ambrozik, Małgorzata Rosalska, take up the issue of both the idealised and more down-to-earth career planning and guidance. The second text by Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik introduces the

issue of eating disorders, mainly from the cultural perspective. The book's final chapter is by Waldemar Segiet who talks about the same issue from the point of view of pedagogy.

As the editor, it is my hope that this book will assist both those who deal with research concerning education and those practitioners who, in their everyday work, require a more fine-grained perspective on the contemporary youth and related educational challenges.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the funder of the programme, Foundation for the Development of the Education System, as well as the authors, from Poland and Iceland, the reviewer – professor Bogusław Śliwierski – as well as everybody who was involved in the editorial work on this project for their contribution and involvement.

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Globalisation: educational and socialisation aspects

Globalisation as a theoretical category and a socio-cultural phenomenon

Dynamics of changes in the contemporary world and attempts at characterising a broad spectrum of processes related to global tendencies make us seek answers to questions about the semantic meaning and the scope of the notion of globalisation. At the outset of our discussion, we assume that globalisation is a phenomenon. In this sense globalisation is a fact, which "can be observed and perceived by senses (…) as something exceptional (Wierzbicka, 1998, p. 655), "existing in a given domain" (Sobol, 2000, p. 1275) or domains as a phenomenon contributing to the complexity of the present-day world; it has not only a processual component but also a structural and functional one. Considering globalisation only as a process, and thus "a course of – – causally related – – consecutive changes constituting stages of progress, transformation of something" (Wierzbicka, 1998, p. 148) only partly explains this phenomenon. Analyses of many authors can be characterised by diverse approaches to globalisation and framing this phenomenon in processual, structural, and functional aspects. A definitional review and the attempt at capturing the semantic domains which are most often referred to in the scientific discourse on globalisation point to the concept's ambiguity and definitional diversity. Moreover, issues of globalisation, understood as a category for describing different processes occurring globally have become a focus of many strands of research only recently, hence there is no established tradition. In this context, it is important to recognise that the concept of globalisation entered the realm of sociology in 1985. The first sociological article, referred to by M. Kempny, is the paper by R. Robertson entitled *The Relativization of Societies: Modern Religion and Globalization* (Robertson, 1985).

Perspectives on examining the globalising world are difficult to capture due to the constantly dynamic and 'in the making' aspects of globalisation. As a consequence, globalisation, and its processual context, is thought of as to a great extent uncontrolled, spontaneous, and also irreversible. Hence it is difficult to unambiguously determine the level of globalisation of the present-day world – its fate seems to be dependent on randomness in the sphere of global actions, dependencies and interests.

Reviewing discussions on what the construct of "globalisation" denotes and connotes, one notices the emphasis laid on the changes taking place globally. As such, the notion is illustrated by M. Albrow, who claims that "globalisation refers to all issues due to which all nations have been combined into one society, a global society" (Kempny, 1998, p. 241). By contrast, R. Robertson, sees globalisation as " an aggregate of processes which create one shared world" (Kempny, 1998, p. 241). R. Robertson's position, as has been underlined by A. Cybal-Michalska (2006)[1], dubbed an "autocratic theory", is premised on the assumption that individuals, societies, "systems" of societies as well as the whole humanity should be treated as a shared analytical skeleton (Robertson, 1992, p. 61). It is also important to draw attention to the attempts at defining globalisation as a phenomenon contributing to the creation of a unified world, and thus a unified society – a global society. The process of universalization, following P. Tobera, can be equated with the tendency of "uniform norms and values and/or identical institutional solutions becoming widespread in the global society" (Tobera, 2000, p. 14). Such views were echoed by M. Golka who adds that at present "the world is watching the mystical America, and America is showing a mythologised, separated world" (Golka, 1999, p. 136). In this approach the changes of the contemporary world are conceptualised as cultural or civilizational influences spanning the whole globe; however, it seems difficult to unquestionably postulate that globalisation is a mere process of homogenisation, as the fragmenting and hybridising forces are equally powerful. Therefore, a more convincing interpretation of globalisation is the one underlining its heterogeneity (Barker, 1999, pp. 38–39). Opposition to the conventional theories of social modernisation, and "Western-centrism" and the lack of interest in the global cultural ecumene, gave birth to a novel perspective of conceptualising the evolving world in the "globally" suggested directions. At the same time, this perspective acknowledged the processes of diversification of cultural pluralism of the contemporary world. The zeitgeist, as put forward by Featherstone, is sensitive to diversity which is a consequence of the more intensified flow of cultural traits (information, knowledge, money, goods, people, imaginations) to the extent that the perception of physical dimensions isolating people from the need of taking into account the subjects of social life creating humanity has been damaged. As a consequence, we all are globalised and thus everybody is 'on somebody else's backyard' (Kahn, 1995, pp. 126–128).

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[1] The co-author of this publication, in the quoted publication, undertook the issue of globalisation considering a broad spectrum of conditioning and complexity of the global world. Her discussions refer to the earlier conclusions but also take up the issue in a novel and creative way.

The heterogeneous aspect of globalisation is underlined by L. Roniger who claims that it is "both diffusion of specific models of economic development, increase in marketization as well as the corresponding adaptation or dismissal of cultural models of westernisation" (Starosta, 2000, p. 48). In this context, globalisation needs to be understood as a global network of interdependency, influencing individual societies and states in such a way that they become a part of a given whole (Golka, 2001, p. 79). Globalisation is treated holistically and its interdependency, influence, intensification of international relations are underscored to express the perception of the world as a net of relationships. Fundamental to Giddens' understanding is the assumption that "globalisation is the intensification of social relationships on a global scale, which connects different localities in such a way that the local events are shaped by events that take place many thousands of miles away, and they themselves have an effect on latter" (Kempny, 1998, p. 242).

To sum up, the nature of the concept of globalisation is complex and it is difficult to pin down its primary meaning. However, the range of issues regarding this notion encompass socio-historical constructions including temporary dynamics of a number of socio-cultural and civilizational processes which constitute elements of contemporary world, an observation which points to a relative novelty of the concept of globalisation.

The nature and traits of globalisation – globalisation as a descriptive apparatus and a means of experiencing contemporaneity

The lack of agreement on capturing the phenomenon of globalization leads to seeking settling for descriptions of a broad spectrum of the global world issues, emphasizing the context of diversity, ambivalence and ambiguity, which exerts influence over the formation of a new quality of socio-cultural life. In the light of the developments of a "new locality", the creation of the "system of culture of cultures" (M. Sahlins) or the "indigenisation of modernity" (Burszta, 1998, p. 171) and the explosion of phenomena of cultural diversity, their universality and intensity, globalisation is the outcome of processes of diversification of cultural plurality of the contemporary world. Hence it implies the international "heterogeneity of dialogues" (A. Appardurai) at the local and national levels and reveals somehow ongoing "diversity management" (A.D. Smith) rather than replicating unification (Korporowicz, 1999, p. 90). The essence of the new perspective of capturing the phenomenon of globalisation, which emphasises overcoming the homogenic thinking about this process, lies in the dichotomous thinking tendencies in considering the category of globalisation, which constitutes a descriptive apparatus of socio-cultural and civilizational development of the world and the ways of experiencing the world.

Anchoring the discussion on the question of – possible and adequate to the scope of statements – categorisation of approaches to researching the nature of globalisation, it seems reasonable to refer to the theory of globalisation as proposed by R. Robertson. The author, refers to the conceptualisation of the world, assuming the reduction of tensions between dichotomous tendencies, states that the essence of the development of societies in a global context "does not entail the process of elimination of a locality; moreover, there is no conflict between the universal and the local, between the logic of the global system and the search for «settling-in» among individuals in the local context" (Kempny, 1998, p. 244). This line of thought is mirrored in the observations made by A. Giddens. The author points to two co-occurring, intertwined and determining processes: globalisation and glocation. Globalisation thought of as intensification of social relationships on a global scale, on the one hand, relates to – as pointed out by R. Robertson – the "shrinking" of the world", and on the other, to the broadening of awareness of its "holisticity" (Kempny, 1998, p. 244). However, as underlined by Z. Baumann "what is perceived by some as globalisation, is perceived as localisation for others" (Bauman, 2000, p. 6), and – as added by Borges – "the world is a ball whose middle is everywhere, while borders nowhere (Golks, 1999, p. 165). G. Ritzer and M. Ryan made an attempt at integrating and synthesising the different approaches to the nature and aspects of globalisation, by putting forward these two processes: glocalisation and grobalisation (the latter is a blend of the *grow* and *globalisation*). Glocalisation is defined as a mutual permeation of the global and the local, and also as a phenomenon which brings about effects in different geographical zones. Grobalisation, in turn, refers to the imperialistic ambitions of states, corporations, organisations and their needs for expansion in different geographical zones, according to the assumed logic of globally boosting their power, influences, and profits, while – at the same time – not having the pretence of passing value judgements (Ritzer and Ryan, 2004, p. 300–301). Clarifying these discussions, special attention should be paid to the conception by T. Tönnies further developed by R. Robertson, i.e. the move from *Gemeinschaft to Geselschaft.* It introduces the distinction between the global *Gemeinschaft* and the global *Geselschaft*. The former (1) is a conception of globalisation which indicates that the world should be, and can be, ordered merely in the form of relatively closed communities. Imagined, symmetric world order captures communities as relatively equal in terms of values and cultural traditions. The asymmetric take points to one or more leading communities. These two visions of the world make us consider the idea that individuals can lead satisfactory life only in clearly distinguished communities. However, this does not mean that this vision emphasises individualism. Rather, it evokes an interest in the "homelessness" of individuals confronted with the dangers of the globalising world. The global *Gemeinschaft* (2) is a vision of the world as a whole, indicating that the global order can function only as a global-reach community *per se*. This centralised take assumes that a durkheimian global "collective of awareness" is in existence. In turn, decentralised forms of this imagination point to the possibility of a global collective only when it is founded on pluralist premises. Both approaches underline

that humanity is the key element of the world as a whole, thus the dangers of globalisation can be overcome through the involvement in the joint unity of the human species. The global *Gesellschaft* (1) is a vision of the world understood as a series of open societies with a substantial socio-cultural flow between them. The symmetric variant treats all communities as equally valuable in terms of culture, while the asymmetric approach is based on the assumption that dominant, hegemonic societies – instrumental in creating world order – need to be in existence. In both cases national societies are considered as required subjects constituting a modern global order. The global *Gesellschaft* (2) presumes that the world order can be arrived at by means of formal, planned, global organisation. The centralised take espouses strong politicisation, while the decentralised form is somewhat modelled after a federation at the global level. According to the two variants, institutionalisation of the process of globalisation is a way of effectively tackling the dangers of this phenomenon (Robertson, 1992, pp. 78–79).

In the context of the above discussion we can perceive unification and diversification as complementary processes, which exert influence on each other and are crucial for the contemporary stage of global society development. An illuminating thought in this respect has been voiced by L. Korpowicz. The globalisation paradigm on the socio-cultural plain emerges, according to the author, in the binary relationship of polar opposites: between the decontextualisation (existence without the context) and recontextualisation (search for a new contextual quality); decomposition (decomposing of the cultural structure), and recomposition (the creation of new cultural constellations from the abstracted fragments of cultural reality); deterritorialization (detachment from the local context of the cultural form and content) and reterritorialization (seeking "settling-in" in a different culture); transculturation (culture as an aggregate of intertwined phenomena, conditioned and influencing, undergoes hybrid translocations of cultural contents and forms) and internalisation (the desire to internalise culture through an individual who processes the encountered cultural material, imbues it with sense and peculiar meaning and expresses it through behaviour) (Korporowicz, 1999, pp. 90-92). As a consequence, the analytic value of the phenomenon of globalisation points to the necessity of distinguishing the dichotomous processes of socio-cultural transformations, which characterise the experiences of the contemporary world.

Global culture and dominant narrations in the contemporary global society

Heterogeneity and the changeability of the forms of modern social organisation and the temporal multidimensionality of the future society make the attempts at theoretical description and standardisation of the concept of "global society" an important element of the analytical discourse. Recognition, problematisation and conceptual disputes are focused on the quest for finding the answer to the following question: "Where does a society exist and what forms

does it assume?" (Misztal, 2000, p. 34). At the same time they expose processual, structural, and functional attributes of the "historically created, and now present, society which is undergoing objectification in its activities" (Misztal, 2000, pp. 34-35). The globalising tendencies of the world, expansive development – as put forward by P. Sztompka – of the modern social formation multiply the interest in the adequate conceptualisation of the nature of the global society. This society, according to A. Giddens seems to be "invariably indefiniable" as it depends on the unpredictable consequences of the activities performed by social agents in situations of the changing social reality (Misztal, 2000, pp. 63-64). In theoretical analyses, in order to make the analytical apparatus more adequate, attempts at introducing an additional modifier to the crucial notion of the "society" – which refers to the contemporarily characteristic organisational configuration of society – have been noticed. In this approach, to satisfy the theoretical and analytical needs concerning the description of the contemporary "society", contextual, adjectival labels have been introduced[2]. In the culturally-oriented strands of research, attempting to determine the characteristics of a "global society" the following prefixes have been in use: "post", "late", or "beyond". These are key-words, codes, and testify to the epistemological helplessness, indicating that there is "something, as if, beyond, something that escapes definitions, but – at the same time – exists within these contents, which are named and negated, as something that is already known fossilises. «The past» plus «post» are a fundamental recipe whereby using many vague concepts we fail to understand the reality we face. This reality which seems to be falling apart" (Beck, 2002, p.15).

In the academic discourse, there seems to be no agreement on whether we are witnessing postmodernity – according to which the future is not a straightforward continuation of contemporariness, nor is it a retreat from the past – or whether we are still experiencing modernity – however late and developed[3] – in which all of its constitutive traits are taking on an extreme form. Among the patterns of thought about the future shape of society two more interpretations of social change are noteworthy. These relate to its evolutionary or cyclic nature. Assuming the continuity of history, it could be stated that "the future has passed" and therefore the future nature of social changes should be anticipated. The second approach is related to the so-called idea of "drive to the future" which needs to be directed towards the past (Sztompka, 2002, pp. 570–572).

In the discussions on what the concept of a global society denotes and connotes, an answer to the question regarding social personality (orientation towards which the society is directed) of a society oriented towards a global change is sought. This trend might be indicative of the

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2   In the literature one comes across attempts at specification of the conceptual apparatus by utilising the following notions: "postindustrial" (society) (D. Bell), "global village" (H. M. Mc Luhan), "third wave" (A. Toffler), "information" (society) (J. Naisbitt), "postcapitalist" society (P.F. Drucker), "prefigurative culture" (M. Mead), "risk" (society) (U. Beck), "late modernity" (society) (A. Giddens), "postmodern" (society) or "fluid modernity" (Z. Bauman). See Misztal (2000, p. 39).
3   See Sztompka (2002, pp. 570–576); Śleboda (2003, pp. 50–78).

weakening role of the discourse of choice and discourse of epistemological and semantic cri-
sis, and the focus of narration on the questions of mutual relationship between globality and
glocality and individual dispositions along with the condition of the contemporary person. The
research into and interpretation of the orientation of the contemporary society, with special
emphasis on the cultural, social and individual markers of their optimisation, allows us to out-
line the characteristics of the globalising world.

The outside world of social interactions determines shaping of a society towards a global
change. In a complex coincidence of interactions, the trajectory of a relation is from a "per-
son" to a "planet", and from a "planet" to a "person" (see Giddens, 2001, pp. 107-119). The
relations between individual activities and global problems (see Mojsiewicz, 1998) emphasise
the need to accept new role models and lifestyles, which would include – as suggested by L.
Anderson – a "global consciousness" (Melosik 1989), i.e. considering oneself, one's nation,
cultural context, and contemporary civilisation as members of integrated, global system. In
the postmodern rhetoric, the phenomenon of globalisation implies orientation towards a cer-
tain kind – as problematized by U. Beck – "civilizational assignment to risk". Human exist-
ence is burdened with the possibility of new forms of risk, as if coming from outside, which is
becoming more common and universal. Globalisation and institutionalisation of risk refers to
the activities under conditions of uncertainty. The new profile of civilizational risk, which – as
U. Beck underlines – is a "civilizational twist of nature", determines a new "ascriptive fate of
danger" from which there is no escape. The unknown, in the industrial society, new parame-
ters of risk and their cultural and social potential in the context of late modernity are not sus-
ceptible to a straightforward evaluation and are difficult to anticipate as the approximate risk
assessment frequently refers to specific social arrangements and is in effect until "further no-
tice" (Giddens 2001, pp. 41-46). The prospective orientation towards skills of anticipating and
creating the future determines the need for creating the orientation towards participation and
cooperation in the changing, interdependent global society. While anticipation contributes to
the multidimensional understanding of the autonomy of other individuals, cultures, societies,
and is a mental operation creating social solidarity in time, as it has a temporal dimension,
participation is a social activity and triggers solidarity in space as it has a geographical di-
mension (Botkin, 1982, pp. 82-85). The scope of innovative action of a global nature depends
on the degree of active, effective and responsible social participation and cooperation at the
local, state, national, and transnational levels. The broad spectrum of peculiarity of the issue,
focused on the qualitative differentiation of the contemporary society, points to perceiving it
in terms of orientation towards the experience gained through the media. As a result of the
intensification of changes in many aspects of social life, the situation of the individual subject
in the world, i.e. "hyperreality", emerges (J. Baudrillrd's term). The fascination with illusion
and/or fantasy provides each media consumer only with an illusion of the existence of the
self and being capable of unobstructed choices. Human experience is mediated through me-

dia spectacles distributed on a mass scale which are "as much an expression as the tool of rooting out and globalising tendencies" (Giddens, 2001, p. 37), through which late modernity is expressed thus creating the internal structure of an individual and the elementary order of social relations (Giddens, 2001, p. 8). Culture in the era of late modernity "constitutes an area of changing, unconnected elements" (Śleboda, 2003, p. 68), and is a culture of "excess and waste" (Baudillard), without a clear trajectory of development, while the mechanism of its production and distribution is mass media. The result of its privileged status in the process of reproducing culture is the "tendency to portray world as a conglomerate of images, which do not evoke controversy, are not determined causally or interconnected, but come into existence out of their own as an effect of elusive motivations" (Śleboda, 2003, p. 68). The social life and functioning of an individual in the world of objects and signs refers to the alienation of postmodern quality of social life and the will to overcome it (Giddens, 2001). Social life concentrated around the virtual reality determines the shape of orientation towards consumption of ideologies in the contemporary society. They surface both in micro – and macrostructural relations in the world. Consumerism permeates nearly all domains of human existence appealing to the alienation of modern lifestyle and promising to overcome it (Giddens, 2001, p. 235-236), and through fulfilling culturally constructed narcissistic-hedonistic needs, it becomes a crucial component of the ties integrating people who are convinced of their freedom and independence in making decisions and undertaking activities. "The human being corroborates their value through receiving income, which helps to make «choices» providing them symbolic prestige (…), thus corroborating their uniqueness through «beating» other in «quality» and «originality» in consumption (Melosik, 1995, p. 112). Freedom of the individual is, however, of a conventional nature as it is "born out of ignorance and is supported on helplessness" (Bauman, 1994, p. 22).

The complexity and temporal multidimensionality of the late modern society – determined by ambiguity, ambivalence, temporariness, diversity of socio-cultural diversity under constant flux – render the description and standardisation of heterogeneity of the society undergoing objectivisation difficult to capture. Amid the distinguished orientations characterised by social attitudes towards expansion of socio-cultural changes in the world, there exist mutual interconnections, which constitute a syndrome (formed social traits support, strengthen or weaken others) rather than a set of characteristics depicting subtleties of the late modern society. In the light of globalising tendencies of the world, expansive development of postmodern or late modern social formation should be considered in categories of sets of orientations of a society as elements of social and individual mentalities making up a syndrome of global society trends.

Global education as an issue and challenge for the present-day pedagogy

The concept of global education is not straightforwardly defined; it refers to the diverse theoretical perspectives and pedagogical conceptions. At the same time it can be considered in different socio-cultural contexts (Pigozzi, 2006, pp. 1-4). Creating pedagogical conceptions spanning the global cultural ecumene and the attempts at creating theoretical generalisations focusing on the questions of global upbringing are present in various subdisciplines in the educational studies. In particular, it concerns the disciplines which take up the issues of the globalised world (Bauman, 2000, p. 5), and so undertaking diagnoses and trying to provide answers and solutions concerning the sphere of global education (Melosik, 1989, p. 159).

The development of the conception of global education during the last few decades of the 20th century was connected with deepening the analysis of and reflection on the changes of the contemporary world. One impetus for undertaking research in this direction was the experiences of global conflicts (such as the First and Second World War), which triggered thinking about their consequences as well as helped the discipline to gain momentum in the following decades of cold war confrontation between the Eastern Bloc and the West. Main issues, raised by the creators of global education, concerned maintaining peace (in the light of the global military conflict), human rights issues, coexistence of diverse cultures, environment protection as well as ethnic conflicts and famine. The dynamic development of theories of global education occurred in the 1970s. The following are the most important founders of this conception: Robert Hanvey, Chad Alger, James Becker, Lee Anderson, Steven Lamy, Willard Kniep, Roland Case, Charlotte Anderson, Jan Tucker, Merry Merryfield (Abdullahi, 2010, pp. 29–30).

Ideas of global education have ben also developed in the subsequent decades. Currently, the scope of issues concerning the role of education in the broadly conceived social, cultural, political, and economical spheres in the contemporary globalised world (Soudien, 2005, pp. 501–503, 509–514) has increased and it also encompasses – apart from questions already present in the global education programmes (such as global warming, environmental pollution, demographic explosion, famine, poverty, AIDS, military conflicts, inflation) – more up-to-date issues. Among them, one should enumerate the question of publication and access of illegal contents in the Internet, drug smuggle and trade, greediness of multinational corporations, corruption, intolerance, and religious extremism (Abdullahi, 2010, p. 28). It also tends to be pointed out that currently more emphasis should be laid on inclusion, diversity as well as intersubjectivity (Wulf, 2013, pp. 71–82).

Conceptions of „global education"

Global education investigates the relationships between political, social, cultural, economic, and ecological systems in the world. Its major goal is to prepare students to be responsible citizens of the world (both at the national and global levels). The crux of the matter in this respect is instilling thinking in the global perspective in students, i.e. making them aware of global dependencies, as well as fostering intercultural sensitivity and enhancing skills of perceiving and understanding otherness (Abdullahi, 2010, p. 28).

The development of global education makes us aware of how many global problems can be taken up in pedagogical praxis, and how diverse the themes are. The diversity of curricula contents concerning global issues are further complicated by underlining foreign values (e.g. human rights) as key ones, as well as through orientation towards specific educational goals, e.g. preparing students to inhabit the role of the "global citizen" (Skelly, 2010, pp. 60-61). Z. Melosik also points to the fact that certain conceptions concentrate to a greater extent on educational methods, other on the didactic process, and other ones on the goals (Melosik, 1989, p. 159). These conceptions are distinguished by the approach to the role of agents participating in the process of education – teachers and students (Wells, 2008, pp. 147-148) (cf. table 1). Generally, it can be assumed that the main educational aims concern preparing students for:

1. understanding the multiaspectual perspective and acquiring skills of drawing on knowledge on diverse faiths, values, ways of perceiving the world, and also practices as well as socio-cultural products;perceiving and understanding similarities and differences between peoples, cultures, and nations;
2. acquiring and drawing on knowledge of dynamics of global issues, solutions, trends and their location in the global systems;
3. developing the following skills: thinking, describing, discussing and presenting opinions, issues as well as ideas, and – in particular – the skill of contextualising them historically, philosophically, sociologically and psychologically, in a broad comparative context;
4. developing and manifesting the ability to make decisions and the skill of utilising knowledge with regard to global education with the aim of providing solutions to problems in the global community (Abdullahi, 2010, p. 23).

It is also worth showing themes present in the selected conceptions of the global education and curricula:

• Robert Hanvey: a) perspective awareness; b) responsibility for the planet; c) intercultural awareness; d) awareness of global processes; e) awareness of people's choices.

- Willard Kniep: a) universal and different values and human cultures; b) global systems (economic, political, technological, ecological); c) current problems and global solutions (peace and safety, development and progress, environment, human rights); d) world history
- Charlotte Anderson a) you are a human being; b) your home in planet Earth; c) you are a citizen of a multinational community; d) you live in an interdependent world
- Stevn Lamy: a) equipping teachers with independent and reliable information; b) creating possibilities for teachers of determining the key principles and values; c) preparing students for participating in the future by equipping them with a broad spectrum of analytical and critical competences; d) equipping students with the knowledge on strategies for participation and involvement in local, national and international issues.
- Merry Merryfield: a) beliefs and human values; b) global systems; c) global issues and solutions; d) intercultural understanding and cooperation; e) awareness of human choices; f) development of analytical and critical competences; g) strategies for participation and involvement.
- Chad Alger: a) values; b) exchange; c) actors; d) procedures and mechanisms; e) solutions.
- American forum for Global Education works to develop global education in USA schools: a) conflicts; b) economic systems; c) global faith systems; d) human rights; e) decision-making possibilities and planet management; f0 political systems; g) population; h) race and ethnicity; i) technocratic revolution; j) sustained development.
- Global Perspectives Framework for Australian Schools is a programme developed in Australian schools: a) interdependency and globalisation; b) identity and cultural diversity; c) social justice and human rights; d) developing peace and resolving conflicts; e) sustained future (synthesised by T. Gmerek on the basis of: Abdullahi, 2010, p. 28; Reynolds et. al., 2013, pp. 18–20).

One of the founders of the concept of global education – L. Anderson – points to the need of shaping "global awareness" in the young generation. He has compiled a list of skills and predispositions, whose attainment by students in the course of education, would lead to the formation of a broad, holistic perspective on the changes in the current world. The author has labelled his program as a model of "education directed at the world". Anderson has distinguished five major aims of such education (Melosik, 1989, pp. 161-162).

The first goal is to "teach students to perceive themselves as well as others as members of one biological species" (Melosik, 1989). Of essence, here, is forming the belief that all people are connected by one biological status, history, as well as other similar psychological and existential issues. Teacher's role is to "teach the recognition of universal elements of human culture and – geographically and historically conditioned – cultural differences between societies inhabiting the world" (Melosik, 1989).

The second aim is to form the habit of perceiving oneself and one's social group as a part of all humanity inhabiting the earthly ecosystem. The goal of education is forming – in young people – a specific attitude towards nature: respect to the natural environment, care for it, as well as raising awareness about the relationship between the human and the limited resources. The natural environment, here, is perceived as a global system, whose components are dependent upon one another, while – at the same time – the human constitutes one of its integral parts.

The next goal is to "equip students with the skills of examining oneself and one's own social group as members of international life" (Melosik, 1989). Here, it seems crucial to form – in students – the ability to perceive solutions and dependencies on the international arena, as well as raising awareness as to the role of certain countries (the USA, in particular) in shaping a given international order. It is also a goal to make these young people aware of their own entanglement in the functioning of global institutions (e.g. religious or financial).

The fourth goal is connected with the formation of a specific attitude towards one culture, in the context of a significant cultural diversity globally. It is crucial to "develop skills and habits of examining oneself, one's society and nation as well as the contemporary civilisation at large along with «cultural debtors» and culture creators (Melosik, 1989). This way of thinking assumes that all individuals, groups, societies and nations have been contributing to the development of educational culture (throughout history and mediated by their own cultures from all over the world). On the other hand, they can only draw on the values from the reservoir which can be christened a "global bank of human culture". Here, attention is paid to, *inter alia*, the need to perceive culture as the product of the human species, as well as developing the abilities to search for historical sources of beliefs, language, institution or technology.

The final educational goal oriented towards the world, distinguished by Anderson, is sensitising young people to the presence of pluralism regarding opinions on the ways of functioning of the world, and solving global issues. Here, the aim is to form the belief that the people" living in various cultures perceive and value global issues against different assumptions" (Melosik, 1989). It is all about developing skills of critical analysis of one's own assumptions and beliefs regarding diverse global questions (e.g. stereotypical perceptions of other nations, military conflicts, unjust distribution of global natural resources or the dominance of one culture over other cultures) (Melosik, 1989, pp. 161-162).

As a consequence, according to Z. Melosik, "the advocates of «education directed at the world» special emphasis is laid on the need to form the ability to make optimal decisions" (Melosik, 1989). In this context, it is crucial to adopt an adequate perspective which assumes: 1) an individual becoming aware of the existence of "alternative choices"; 2) critical valuing of acquired information, especially with the use of moral rules as a criterion; 3) consistent thinking in terms of a "global system"; 4) analysing problems in terms of "controversy"; 5)

critical analysis of one's own process of evaluation; 6) accepting the thesis, that the ways of solving global issues proposed by people living in minority cultures can be "better" than the ones preferred by the dominant culture or communities representing the mainstream culture (Anderson, 1987, p. 166).

At this point, it is worth noting that most global education models postulate developing – in students – a broad analytical perspective of perceiving the world, in which critical thinking plays the key role (cf. Melosik, 1995, pp. 102-125) in relation to the open-mindedness towards differences, tolerance, and respect for otherness (cf. Kapuściński, 2006, pp. 31–76).

In the same vein, R. Harvey introduced the category of "intercultural awareness", distinguishing four levels of its functioning. This category relates to – achievable by education – changes in the ways of perceiving and understanding different cultures, as well as "discerning and accepting cultural values in other social groups and societies" (Melosik, 1989, 159).

Table 2
Degrees of intercultural awareness

Level	Awareness type	Ways of obtaining information	Typical interpretation of information
First	Awareness of superficial and most noticeable cultural traits of other societies	Tourism, belle lettres, geography classes, etc.	"incredible" "exotic" "weird"
Second	Awareness of subtle and significant traits of the culture of another society	Context of a cultural conflict	"incredible" "frustrating" "irrational"
Third	Awareness of subtle and significant traits of the culture of another society	Intellectual analysis	"credible" "able to perceive" "intriguing"
Fourth	Awareness of forms and means of cultural perception of people living in a different culture	Cultural "immersion", "experiencing a different culture"	"credible" "possible to subjectively experience"

Source: Synthesis by Z. Melosik on the basis of Hanvey, 1978, p. 11

The idea of intercultural education perceived in such a way is to achieve the third level of intercultural awareness (connected with the ability to accept cultural otherness of other societies and the ability of intellectual analysis). G. R. Hanvey points to the cultural legitimacy of undertaking attempts of achieving level four through education, which is connected with the ability

to commonly experience and imagining through oneself the possibility of assuming different social roles and proceeding along different patterns of functioning characteristic of other cultures. R. Hanvey used the term transspection to capture this ability. This notion differs from the analytic «understanding», and also from empathy which – in the traditional sense – is a projection between two persons with the same kind of epistemology (within the context of the same culture). Transspection is an interepistemological process whereby thanks to «researching» foreign beliefs, assumptions, perspectives and feelings (through factual functioning within a different culture), a given person «temporarily» becomes a member of a foreign culture (Melosik, 1989). Such traits should be characteristic of a person of the future as a member of a global community.

Global education also requires a substantial alteration to the perspective of perceiving the world in which the given individual functions. The condition of a broad understanding of global processes is the rejection of a narrow (local) perspective, to the benefit of the global perspective. In this context, R. G. Hanvey differentiates three perspectives, which constitute a continuum of development of they ways of thinking and perceiving reality. Assumptions of his conception are connected with the ability of transspection and thinking within a broad, holistic perspective – both socio-cultural as well as temporal. Z. Melosik adds to this discussion by characterising the change of perspective of thinking in the following way: "the essence of moving from the pre-global to the global way of perception is to undertake a longitudinal systemic macroscale analysis. At the same time, while taking about pre-global cognition, the evaluation criteria stem from identification of an individual with social groups in which they function, in the case of global cognition, they stem from the identification on a much broader scale – with the whole humanity. The ability of global cognition is a basic prerequisite for perceiving a much greater number of «choices» in the face of having to make decisions. It also allows predicting the possible consequences of events, however, not always only on the local scale and in the short run, but also in a macroscale and in a long run (Melosik, 1989)

R. G. Hanvey's conception also includes other instructions and presents rules, which have to be applied by teachers willing to act according to the global education idea in their own pedagogical praxis. S. A. Adbullahi has undertaken a synthetic analysis of this conception from the perspective of a strategy of methods and contents, which can be utilised by teachers, in five dimensions of global education, as postulated by R. G. Hanvey. The first one is the perspective awareness. In this dimension, the teacher can utilise a number of strategies of a living word, such as discussions over global problems and solutions (from different vantage points), which stimulate the perception of different norms and social practices, the differences between prejudices and discrimination, the causes and consequences of the functioning of stereotypes or the importance of respect for others.

The second dimension of R. G. Hanvey's conception is the responsibility for the planet. This perspective implies introducing critical analyses of sources (among others, printed ones) with the aim of identifying global problems, determining their influences on the global environment (also from the local perspective of the learner) and solving them. It also assumes creating "maps" characterising these problems on a regional and global scale.

The second dimension is intercultural awareness. Teachers taking up issues of global education should focus on the comparative way of introducing diverse cultural aspects concerning the present-day world. It accepts different means of presenting selected cultures of the world (e.g. via stories). Importantly, emphasis should be laid on the nature and role of cultural borrowings, the phenomenon of cultural diffusion and its influence on the functioning of individuals and nations at large. At the same time overlapping features of given cultures should be underscored, rather than those which are different with the view of developing tolerance and empathy.

Another dimension of global education is the development of awareness regarding the dynamics of global processes. Teacher's goal, here, is the deepening of knowledge of global issues in their students, as well as developing cultural awareness and sensitivity, with the aim of changing attitudes towards global issues. In this context, teacher's role is to shape the ways of thinking and acting in the intercultural perspective drawing on open-mindedness and students' perceptual independency. The aim is to become cognisant of the complexity of the present-day world by utilising strategies shaping systemic thinking as well as becoming cognisant of interdependencies between nations (e.g. in the cultural, social, economic, political, ecological or technological contexts). It is important to depict relations between people rooted in local communities and their functioning at the national and global levels.

The fifth dimension concerns the awareness of human choices. Within this perspective, education requires uncovering how choices made at the individual, group and national levels can influence the shape of the world. Teacher's role is to make their students aware of the influence of an individual and groups on their future drawing on methods of issue identification, plan preparation and materialising them in the life of local communities. Moreover, the desired direction will be to transfer the cognitive perspective on the international level (e.g. via electronic media) and encouraging students to cooperate with their peers from other countries. This is to enable sharing experience and suggested solutions to global issues (Abdullahi, 2010, pp. 32–33).

Controversies surrounding global education

Despite the fact that the conception of global education takes up many issues (both from the pedagogical and socio cultural perspectives as well as broadly conceived political and eco-

nomic contexts) the very idea of constructing educational models at the global level raises many questions, controversies, and contradictions.

Firstly, it is connected with creating a global system of knowledge and values which refer to the activities taken up at the global level and involve dismissing most values characteristic to diverse (separate) cultural systems.

Another reservation is rooting global education predominantly in the Western system of norms and values as well as the rationality typical of the Western societies.

On a related note, reservations of equating globalisation with Americanisation are voiced, i.e. the transmission of American knowledge and values as universal rights and standards. As pointed out by Z. Melosik, "it goes unnoticed that globalisation to a lesser extent stems from mutual exchange of ideas and cultural patterns through by various nations; to a greater extent it is, however, a unidirectional flow of patterns and values of the United States to the rest of the world" (Melosik 1995, p. 84).

Moreover, significant simplifications committed by proponents of global education have been pointed out. One of them is the perception of globalisation as an advantageous and positive phenomenon. In reality, discussions concerning global education are connected with blocking a vast scope of issues. At the same time, the founders of the field unjustly assume that globalisation entails a global society of equal cultures, as these processes are far more complex (Melosik, 1995, p. 93).

Another reservation is related to ignoring the counter tendencies to the globalising ones. Analyses of diversification and fragmentarisation have been dismissed almost in toto (e.g. separatist tendencies or aggressive nationalisms), which are as clearly discernible in the contemporary societies as the processes of unification and globalisation (Melosik, 1995, p. 93).

Despite the fact that many critical opinions regarding global education have been voiced, it can be assumed that agreeing on the key ideas of the development of the contemporary world provides a chance for constructing conditions for functioning of socially and culturally diverse groups. Therefore education constitutes to be seen as one of the most important chances for changing the global world (Bauman, 2012, pp. 35–38).

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Popular culture, pedagogy and the youth

Traditional approaches to socialisation and education of the young generation assume that the main role in these processes is played by such centuries-old institutions as the family, school and church. Simultaneously, in traditional approaches high culture is one of the most important components shaping the identity of the young generation. In particular we mean here theatre and opera, museums and classical music, literature, poetry and fine arts. They brought the canon of Western culture to life (Melosik, 1995a, pp. 130–147). Additionally, it was maintained that a young person should be ‚introduced' to the high culture as quintessence of good taste and high aesthetics, because it is embodies everything that distinguishes the West from other cultures and determines its supremacy over them (Schlesinger, 1994, p. 630–632; Bloom, 1987, p. 55; Bennett, 1988, pp. 197–199).

However, high culture also has one more function, one of the main foundations of division of people into classes in the social stratification system. In other (metaphorical) words, it is maintained that a person who is able to understand and appreciate the value (and content) of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* or Beethoven's *Symphony No. 5* has much more cultural capital and potential for social success, contrastive to a person who believes these works to be unclear and unworthy of attention. Further, critical approaches to high culture (of which Pierre Bourdieu was the most prominent representative) insisted that the ability to cultivate and delight in high culture is passed to the younger generation unevenly, depending on their position on the social ladder. Thus, children of educated and rich parents with prestigious professions acquire predisposition to participate in high culture throughout their socialisation and education. In turn, children from the working class do not gain such aspirations and predilections, which means they have no intention of engaging in high culture which they do not understand at all, incidentally. The mechanism described here refers to cultural reproduction (Shirley, 1986; Harker, 1990; Bourdieu, 2005, Bourdieu, 1994).

According to this approach, popular culture is understood as low, or even the lowest, culture. It is believed to be banal and stripped of any values, and participation in it trivialises one's lifestyle and identity. With such a standpoint, popular culture cannot be an object of interest of teachers.

Nowadays, such a line of thought is not adequate anymore. Contemporary societies are characterised by a phenomenon called socialisation shift. It consists in traditional social institutions: the family, school and church losing importance in socialisation processes of the youth. Their role is increasingly more often overtaken by peer groups and popular culture.

What are the reasons for the significant depreciation of the socialising role of traditional social institutions in favour of popular culture (and peers)? First and foremost, popculturation of identities and lifestyles is influencing whole societies and members of all social groups in the West, regardless of their place in the social structure and hierarchy. The phenomenon does not only apply to the youth, but to all age groups and social classes, regardless of the age, education, profession, position, income or gender. The audience of *reality shows*, TV series, concerts and football matches does not only consist of the so-called working class, but also from social classes and groups placed high in the hierarchy (Melosik, 2013, pp. 29–60).

Another reason is related to the elimination of division into the high and popular culture, which until recently used to be very distinct. We may thus notice that popculture starts to invade fields reserved in recent times for high culture only. A good example here are concerts of famous rock – or popstars which take place in elegant philharmonics and feature classical orchestras, so that the show becomes an artistic performance. Also, pieces of classical music (for instance Beethoven) and renowned paintings (such as *Mona Lisa*) are without limitations used in typically popcultural works. It might even be said that sometimes young people get to know high culture via popculture.

The notion of cultural omnivorousness might be referred to here (Wright, 2010, pp. 277–278; Stewart, 2010, p. 119; Halle and Robinson, p. 385). Numerous studies show that members of higher social classes have competences and aspirations to participate in both high culture and pop culture. They can simultaneously delight in the music of Stravinsky and hits of American singer Taylor Swift, read Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* and ‚Cosmopolitan' or even tabloids. They can go to the opera to see *Tosca* or *Aida* and experience extreme emotions at a football stadium, all on the same day. It must be added that this phenomenon does not apply to representatives of the working class, who can only function within the boundaries of pop culture.

Another cause of the socialisation shift is the fact that traditional social institutions, such as the family, school and church, are old-fashioned when compared with the ever-changing con-

temporary culture and society. Old-fashioned means here that they cannot fulfil the identity needs of the youth. (From another point of view, it might be said that they are the mainstay of traditional values).

In conclusion, one may say that popular culture has become an integral element of contemporary life, and no one can undermine its role in socialisation. Therefore if the school, teachers and parents ignore the role of popculture in the process of socialisation, they exclude themselves from it.

What follows is just a selection of problems related to popcultural socialisation. Learning more about it may be significant for teachers and shape their reflection about their profession. It might also be the key to understand issues linked with the acceptance of school curricula by the youth.

There is no doubt that contemporary popular culture is oriented at physicality and sexuality of (also young) people. It provides a reductionist vision of humans, perceived mostly as a beautiful, young and slim body beautified with attractive clothes and cosmetics (Melosik, 2006, 2010; Gromkowska, 2002). A young person's problems with his or her own body are generated among others by contact with popcultural messages. They occur once someone compares themselves with the superidols and may lead to fundamental problems with identity, against which results of tests or exams and participation in a school play have no significance whatsoever. The teacher should take this factor (generated usually by popculture) into account when interacting with the class and when solving problems with concrete students.

Another problem is related to the role of teenage music in the construction of identity among the youth. Music is definitely one of the most important elements of their everyday life, both as regards individuals and generations. Its significance is in most cases much bigger than participation in school life or good exam results. For young people, music is wonderful pleasure, and the fact that they can make thousands of independent decisions regarding music is very important to them – even if for adults these choices are banal or worthless. Besides, participation in music creates a sense of belonging to an important community. The teacher should respect popular teenage music as an integral part of socialisation, and never portray it as lower or as worse than classical music. Contrastingly, teachers should create conditions for the already mentioned omnivorousness, thus highlighting the beauty of classical music and appreciating the importance and value of popular music.

We also need to consider the fact that young people are convinced that popculture and consumption do not repress identity; just the opposite – they enrich it. However, the logic of this feeling of freedom brings about certain consequences. Firstly, we observe the emergence of ‚the end of ideals and triumph of the everyday’. For centuries one of the goals of existence

was believed to be ‚living for a great idea'. Nowadays, young people increasingly more often see ideas only as social constructs and imposed elements of ideologies. Simultaneously, the range of ideas and ideologies is very wide and full of contradictions these days, and it is difficult to find one's way among them. Ironically speaking, there are so many causes to die for... that there is no cause anymore (Melosik, 2001).

As a consequence, young people are less interested in alternatives which were typical for the past, for instance the choice between faith and atheism, or the left and the right. Contemporary choices are made from among options of a hyperprogramme created by consumption, mass media and popculture. Existential problems of the past were replaced by a series of microchoices made at the level of the everyday. For most young people, the rhythm of their life is determined by tiny everyday occurrences, ‚moments', and little ‚pauses'. They also love telling ‚tiny stories' about everyday events (‚what happened and how it went'). Such stories are a way of expressing their identity. Conversations about serious topics are avoided. Such an attitude leads to adults, used to ‚big-scale matters', thinking that the identity of young people lacks ‚depth' and ‚core'. It seems that young people live somehow ‚next to reality'. However, from their perspective such lives are their own, important and real. These factors need to be considered in everyday interactions with the young.

Yet another aspect of this problem must be taken into account. In the past one of paramount human objectives was the search for the meaning of life, trying to find an answer to questions such as ‚why am I here?' or ‚what will happen when I am gone?'. Nowadays, the search for the meaning of life more and more often seems meaningless. The ideology of consumption and pleasure, living in what is immediate and invasion of popular culture – all that makes existential questions lose any framework of reference. Galaxies fly away, sand in hourglasses runs faster and faster, and fascinated people are glued to their screens).

Another phenomenon is the increasing speed of life. The world of past generations changed relatively slowly; nowadays, culture is spinning. Some researchers write about ‚ecstasy of speed', ‚pure speed', and ‚speed itself' (Elliott, Katagiri and Sawai, 2012, p. 428). Every month, week and day new discourses appear together with new ideas and ideologies, fashions, new media icons and new versions of identity and body. As regards the last issue, the question ‚Which body is in fashion this season?' is not rhetorical at all. Three decades ago, Alvin Toffler used the phrase ‚future shock' to describe the phenomenon of ‚the tyranny of the new'. It referred to an individual being lost when faced permanent changes. The phrase is not adequate with regard to contemporary youth, who is able to ‚jump' in almost any way from one to another lifestyle, and even from one to another form of identity. They can reset elements of their identities and exchange them for new one's... and again, new ones, sometimes completely different. Identity starts to resemble the Rubik's cube; however appropriate colour combination of all its compo-

nents is not available. It is also not the objective. The components rotate all the time in the unceasing reconstruction process. An adult that expects young people to be ‚coherent', ‚stable' and ‚unambiguous' will be very disappointed (Melosik, 2013, p. 165).

The inexhaustible mobility of the young in both the real and virtual world leads to a rapid increase in the number of encounters they experience in their lives. However, interpersonal relations are usually temporary, superficial and increasingly anonymous. Short-term relations appear and disappear as if in a kaleidoscope. The young express also the readiness for instant interactions and establishing direct contacts very fast, without unnecessary rituals and months-long getting to know each other. We may thus observe within the last few decades a speedy acceleration in the field of interpersonal relationships. The number of interactions grows geometrically, but they are usually temporary, without deeper obligations and consequences. More and more people are also able to easily ‚exchange' their whole social environment. They do not need either life-long or long-lasting relationships (Melosik, 2013, pp. 165–166).

The abovedescribed features of contemporary social life are to a large extent determined by popular culture and are not perceived as alienating by the young. Young people do not need integrity, linearity or stability. Just the opposite, they treat such concepts with scepticism and distrust. Young people are ‚briefness-oriented'; unafraid of change, they await it with curiosity and are quickly bored with anything new.

As a result, many young people acquire a habit of ‚clicking on the reality', i.e. using it like a website, free ‚surfing' through various cultural experiences, practices and situations. A growing number of them treat reality as one big shopping centre, and in line with the logic of the supermarket they throw various products into the cart of their identity. At the same time, the collapse of the linear ‚sequence of events' makes contemporary youth abandon the search for justifications of what happens. They accept the accidentality of people and life, and are never surprised. This stands obviously at odds with the linear and structural scenario of the school life and knowledge.

From the traditional standpoint of most adults, a young person is sentenced to helplessness and a feeling of being lost in the world without unambiguous values and guidelines. Paradoxically, practice proves different. Young people are not afraid to live; they feel powerful and have control over the reality and their lives. From a very young age they learn how to function in a world without definite answers and truths. They take the matters in their own hands. Their (probably unconscious) assumption is that there are no absolute truths and final answers, and thus ‚small truths' and ‚temporary answers' must be created. As a consequence, they construct various micronarrations and then test them in practice. Their concept of the truth is pragmatic; truth is what works, what allows for ‚going forward' – as a result they prefer information over values (Melosik, 2013, p. 171). Such an approach is of course completely

contradictory to the traditional rationality of school, based to a large extent on essential and universal Truth and Knowledge.

Paradoxically, the young people attain their ‚feeling of power' via contacts with the media. It is claimed that contemporary youth is manipulated by the media. Such a stand is logical from the adult perspective, but is nonsensical when confronted with subjective feelings of the youth. Undoubtedly, a great feeling of power emerges from participation in interactive computer games. Young people conquer kingdoms, travel all over the world, compete in fights and pursuits – create lives and identities. Interaction with the web also gives them such power, as it allows for free roaming through lands and cultures, and enjoying freedom as much as unlimited number of clicks. Being able to choose from dozens of television channels completes the feeling of agency and control.

Simultaneously, the approach to knowledge and the learning process is in the young generation completely different than in the past. Against the expectations of the adults, young people do not acquire knowledge in a linear and orderly manner – rather, as a ‚mosaic' of coincidences. They are not interested in ‚retaining knowledge' and gathering it in internal treasuries of wisdom; they prefer rather to process it and put into contexts. They search for information in various places at the same time, yet not in a systematic way. Being able to concentrate on many things at once, they are unable to concentrate on just one, but for a longer time. However, is such an approach not a logical necessity in the ‚click culture' of the Internet, which faces permanent change? Is it not the logic of the supermarket culture: to think about many things at once, be here and there and even over there at the same time, and receive all the signals at once?

Another building block of contemporary identity is the phenomenon of pretended difference and personalisation. Modern humans feel unique when they buy unique cars (out of hundreds available brands and their versions), and the one and only (or yet another one) mobile phone. Moreover, many people achieve the sense of being different through constant micropersonalisation. A perfect illustration of that is personalisation of one's mobile phone, which consists in selection of certain wallpapers, desktops, motives, ringtones, sounds etc. out of the range of possibilities offered by the phone's manufacturer. The same counts for personal identification numbers (PINs). Other examples of micropersonalisation is selection of clothes (outfits) and beautifying oneself through selection of jewellery or cosmetics – perfumes, mascaras, nail varnishes. This factor needs to be taken into consideration in interactions with young people.

How can teachers, parents and educators act in the abovedescribed reality, to a large extent determined by the pre-eminence of popular culture? The following proposal is an incomplete and definitely not universal expression of my views as they are at this stage of my life.

Thus, it is difficult for me to accept how the logic of popular culture works: it tends to fragmentize and dispel the identity of young people. I would not propose here that they attain any ‚final' identity; rather they could retain its core, a relatively permanent element that lasts for life and can fight against both dispelling and control or regulation. Moreover, I do not want to define the structure and content of this core as it depends on a concrete person and their biography. Within such an approach a young person reconstructs his or her identity with available cultural resources as basis, ‚selecting' them and adding to the identity core instead of exchanging the whole identity for a new one (like yet another seasonal outfit). The aim of identity core pedagogy would therefore be providing young people with cores and foundations for a long-lasting and relatively stable ‚core of one's own I'. Secondly, I would like to propose the acceptance of maximal subjectivity and shaping self-confidence of the young people. The starting point here is respect for a young person's identity, unconditional acceptance and reinforcement of the predilection to make one's own macro – and microdecisions. Just as significant is creation of a conviction that they are important, valuable and ready to shape their own lives. Of course I reject here all authoritarian pedagogies, preferring instead such a pedagogy which in early childhood constructs spheres of child's micro-freedom. One he or she grows, also spheres of macro-freedom referring to important life decisions can be created. Thirdly, I prefer pedagogy which would build critical thinking competences and promote certain distance towards the social reality – both to products of pop culture and to its consequence: drifting, unlimited (feeling of) freedom.

Moreover, with full confidence I would like to highlight the pedagogy of stable interpersonal relationships, at the core of which lies willingness to enter life-long (or at least long-lasting), stable relationships which are cared for and treasured. It could constitute an antidote to the progressing trend of easy ‚exchanges' of one's closest social environment and of fragmentation of interpersonal relations. Furthermore, the pedagogy of unmediated and unedited forms of identity expression, paired with face to face contacts is to be an antidote to progressing virtualisation of identity in the cyberspace. It will also counteract the preference for such relations with reality which are mediated by modern technologies. The main issue here is absolutely not resignation from e-mail of mobile contacts – they provide excellent opportunities for communication and maintaining interpersonal relationships. Unmediated relationship with the world means rather direct and almost physical contact with nature and culture (symbolically: forests and museums), as well as cultivation of direct, face-to-face contacts since they ensure intellectual and emotional closeness and preface deep and long-lasting relationships.

An important element of my pedagogical proposal is the pedagogy of respect for (reading and collecting) books and for libraries. Nowadays knowledge and information may be obtained online, which results in the book and rustle of its pages being on the defensive. Books are replaced by fragmented media and virtual messages. In its physical form, I believe the book to

be a unique space in which one can gain experience privately and personally. It also is a wonderful motivation for self-reflection. A traditional library with thousands of books on shelves is for me a refreshing alternative to the Internet and television, or the click culture. Collecting books in their physical form does not exclude the possibility of gathering them on hard disks, and is a way of cultivating cultural traditions.

Finally, an important role in education of young people in the world invaded by popular culture should be played by pedagogy of attention and contemplation, or ability to organise gained experience, one's identity and the whole reality. Maggie Jackson claims that in the era where new technologies dominate ,we are eroding our capacity for deep attention— the building block of intimacy, wisdom and cultural progress' (Jackson, 2009, p. 13). According to her, we are simply shaped by attention deficit (Jackson, 2009, p. 14). In her book the new way in which the mind functions is described with reference to McDonaldization, namely as ,McThinking'. The phenomenon is a reaction to simultaneous influence of numerous stimuli, including a cacophony of sounds and rapidly changing images. The pedagogy proposed by me would create conditions for ,stopping' in time and space and bringing order to oneself and one's image of the world. This pause, similarly to reading, would give a chance to distance oneself to the ,world of stimuli' and to move from clicking to at least partial linearity in the process of reconstruction of one's identity.

In conclusion, returning to the main subject of this paper, I would like to propose a pedagogy of balance between pop and high culture. I am certain that young people in Poland should nowadays have extensive competences as regards exploration of culture described traditionally as high culture. The reason for that is that I believe that such culture is an integral part of historically shaped cultural heritage of the West, of which we are an integral part. Resigning from cultivation of high culture would result in the West ,starting over and over again', in line with newly emerging cultural trends. In my opinion, the historical core of the Western culture should be therefore preserved in both material objects and identity of future generations.

I would resign here from judgement and strict divisions between high and pop culture, as well as from describing the latter as low culture. ,High' does not equal ,higher' or ,better'. For me, this category constitutes a ,diagnosis' of a certain class of cultural practices and objects which refers to historical creations of the European culture. In this context, adults must ceaselessly provide the young generation with knowledge and competences as regards noticing and appreciation of this so-called high culture, only as a carrier for history and culture of the West. Any stratification and emphasising of the division between high and pop culture is not justified. It is impossible to argue that the first represents valuable and rich cultural capital while the other symbolises capital which is trivial and unworthy of respect. One cannot also claim that it is the content and value of the high culture which de-

cides that the Western culture predominates over other regions of the world. (Melosik, 2013, pp. 451–452).

Works of Dostoyevsky, Shakespeare, Beethoven and Rembrandt should therefore constitute an important framework of reference for identity of the youth. However, let me repeat that it is not so because that they decide about the superiority of the Western culture over other traditions, or because they are complete opposition of easy pop, *reality shows* or football matches. What matters here is creation of a framework with which the young generation can participate in modern culture – both high and pop culture. Such an approach would be complementary to the neoliberal attitude to professional career, so common in our society (Cybal-Michalska, 2013; Gromkowska-Melosik, 2011).

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Pop culture icons and idols. Taylor Swift and Barbie as body and identity icons for the youth.

The main goal of this paper is to analyse the relationship between youth identity and the presence of pop culture icons and idols in mass imagination. It directly alludes to a different chapter in this book, by Zbyszko Melosik, which analyses the phenomenon of 'socialisation shift' consisting in the lessening of the role of traditional institutions and meaningful adults (i.e. parents, teachers, priests) in the process of youth socialisation. They are replaced with, among others, pop culture icons and idols as well as peer groups. However, in this discussion based on selected examples, I analyse how popular culture becomes an important component of shaping the identity of the young generation. Not without a good reason, I have chosen – as a point of reference – a person from the pop culture fiction, i.e. an unreal (or as Baudrillard would have put it – hyperreal) Barbie doll[1] and one of the stars of the contemporary pop music – Taylor Swift.

I find Stuart Hall's concepts of encoding and decoding of culture particularly helpful in analysing these characters. These concepts assume that every cultural text (practice, idea or text in the form of writing) contains "intentional" and "preferred" meanings which the reader does not need to decode according to the "interpretational structure" expected by the author. According to Stuart Hall, there are three variants of interpretation:

1. Within the dominant code structure – according to the intentions of those who code.
2. Within the negotiated code structure – the addressee accepts some dominant meanings, however dismisses or subverts other meanings (for the purpose of achieving their goals).
3. Within the oppositional code structure – the addressee completely dismisses the meanings preferred by the sender and imbues the text with the opposite meaning (Hall, 1993).

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1   Barbie is not only a doll; she is a mass culture element, which features in advertisements, comics and other cultural texts.

My intention is to characterise what potential meanings can be ascribed, by a young generation, to the selected icons and idols whom I treat as a peculiar case of a cultural text. At the same time, adopting Stuart Hall's perspective, I refrain from perceiving pop culture in terms of a source of an omnipotent manipulation, which has been so convincingly argued for by Adorno (after Melosik, 2013). I will, however, follow the poststructuralist line of thinking, in particular these of Michel Foucault and John Fisk. For Fisk – as expressed by Lewis – "people do not behave in social life as «victims of the system» -- alienated, one-dimensional, incapacitated masses possessing false awareness […] [and] what is popular is not determined by the «structure» but each time stems from a specific, local social practice" (Lewis, 1990, after Melosik 2013, p. 19). These remarks make up the primary theoretical context of my discussions, which is to be complemented by a second perspective concerned with the already mentioned 'socialisation shift'.

Among conceptions explaining the relationships between the influence of media icons and the adolescent identity is the model put forward by McCutcheon Lange and Houran which describes the syndrome of "absorption–addiction". According to this model, fans desire to construct their identity through "psychological absorption" of the media idol identity, which gives them impression of fulfilment (2002, p. 81). Three stages can be singled out here, whose distinguishing criteria are determined by the behaviour revealing idol adoration:

– Socio-entertaining: characterised by the low level of adoration, which is connected with the immediate pleasure (a talk about the idol with friends, following their activity in the media);

– Intensive-personal: the average level of adoration is connected with experiencing strong feelings with regard to the idol, including obsessive thinking about him/her;

– An extreme level of adoration at the verge of pathology which entails limitless devotion to the idol (McCutcheon, Ashe, Houran i Maltby, 2003, s. 310–311).

James Monaco has noticed that the contemporary idols created by the media do not have to be special due to a particular reason. He dubs them "passive agents" produced by the media. He also divides them into two categories. The first one includes people adored due to what they do, while the second one includes people who are adored for who they are. However, the most interesting category of idols/celebrities as suggested by Monaco is "quasar" – literally star-like objects. It's a set of idols/celebrities which reaches their status through "what we think or suppose they are" (Monaco, 1978, p. 5). "[A]stronomical quasars – 'quasi-stellar objects' – appear to be much larger and moving much faster than the laws of physics allow and in consequence are clearly different from what we think they are even if we'll never be able to observe them in such a way as to be sure" (Monaco, 1978, s. 11–12).

In turn, immanent characteristics of an icon are lasting in time (a type of longevity), omnipresence and distinction. An icon is easily recognisable by most members of a society, sometime he/she is adored in a quasi-religions manner. Here, we can observe an effect of mythologisation – icons are perceived almost as mythical personas, i.e. in an exaggerated way (Danesi, 2008, p. 112). Pop icon status, which is obtained by a famous, significant, and recognised person can be corroborated both by tragic death at a young age (e.g. James Dean, Marilyn Monroe or Elvis Presley), and by 'lasting' which is to be corroborated by continued popularity and appeal; it frequently refers to fictional characters, e.g. Bugs Bunny, Superman or Batman, and even objects, such as, for instance, Pepsi-Cola or Coca-Cola (Danesi, 2008). The icon seems to be immune to the flow of time. It is not merely an idea – in numerous situations, it constitutes a part of experience, something worty of remembering, combining fragments of somebody's experience and shedding a light onto the future (Rogers, 2003, p. 24). The Icon, as put by Rogers, becomes ani icon due to his/her universality, meaningfullness, the ability to adjust to the needs and interests of variosu people (coming from various cultures), his/her ambiguity and openness; at the same time he/she refers to what is common and what is different and thus offers a backdrop against which ambers of a given society can compare themselves (Rogers, 2003, p. 19).

The binding feature of an idol and an icon is not only the ability to focus attention on themselves, or embody the hopes and desires of certain social groups, but also to mirror anxieties or – alternatively – developmental tendencies of culture. These popular culture artefacts offer a broad spectrum of identity and sexual-corporeal models for the young generation. As a source and goal of identification they are capable of defining of their own worth and even make the everyday life meaningful for thousands, or – possibly – millions of fans. Below, drawing on the above-mentioned assumptions, I intend to analyse images of two protagonists of popular culture: the pop music idol and one of the icons of pop culture, which emerged from the world of fiction. Both protagonists share at least one feature: they have spread to the common consciousness, which made them not only objects of admiration but also – for some groups – models of corporeal ideal and identity.

Choosing Taylor Swift as an exemplar of an idol of a young generation was driven by the exceptional popularity of the singer. This statement seems to be corroborated by the fact that Swift was voted the best role model for children (somewhat surprising is the fact that she was chosen by parents) in the category of "the best role model for girls", which was posted on the American website: "What To Do With The Kids" (a popular gaming and creative interests web portal aimed at children). For the same reason – constant popularity for the last few decades – I have chosen Barbie as the exemplar of an icon which has been enjoying decades-long popularity (55 years).

Taylor swift is a pop culture idol who, without a doubt, merits attention on the part of sociol-ogists of culture. Her most recent album entitled *1989*, released to celebrate the 25th birth-day of the singer, sold one million copies during the first day. One of Swift's newest songs, *Shake It Off*, was viewed more than 600 million times within less than three months since its appearance on the Internet (*Blank Space*, in turn, was viewed almost 34 million times during the first five days since it was uploaded on 10th November 2014). It is another evidence of the outstanding career of this 25-year-old singer, who has been working in the country pop gen-re, and whose songs have been top of music charts in the USA since the singer was 16 (she has also conquered the European music market soon after this). She herself and her artistic activity constitute an already unique phenomenon in the global pop culture reality, in a world in which fabricated stars disappear soon after their arrival.

You've Come a Long Way, Baby[2]

Taylor Swift's musical output can be seen as diary confessions, "telling tales" abounding in feelings and intimate experiences. It is not difficult to discern evolution of musical forms which the singer draws on and through which she expresses her emotions – these forms range from country, through country pop to electric combinations of different components of various styles. Thanks to this, having origins in the local country world, she managed to enter the international music market with bravado.

Her debut single, *Teardrops On My Guitar*, is a tale about an American teenager hopelessly in love with a boy who does not seem to notice her because he is already romantically involved with another girl. It is a story which shows that, despite the fact that Taylor already is a star, she is also a regular "girl next door": "He's the reason for the teardrops on my guitar, the only thing that keeps me wishing on a wishing star". Another song from the *Fearless* album is rendered in a similar vein. It tells a story of a girl who has been hurt and cheated, a girl from a small town. In *White Horse* Taylor Swift makes a confession: "I honestly believed in you, (…) I should have known, I'm not a princess, (…)This ain't Hollywood, this is a small town". Yet, already during this period of her artistic period, Swift revealed the traits of her personality which fully emerged in the subsequent years – ones on which the American dream is founded, such as mental strength, strong will, optimism and the belief that one can change their own life along with the conviction that the world is eventually friendly.

A drastically different picture of Swift emerges from her most recent album entitled *1989*. The singer has developed a completely different image and music forms (she has definitely fin-

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2   This catchphrase was coined for the purpose of an advertising campaign for cigarettes for women – Virgi-nia Slims. It had feminist overtones: it showed that the woman had gone through the process of emancipation and she is finally able to make decisions on her own life.

ished doing country music). The song *Wildest Dreams* tells a story of a short-lived romance with a "diabolically handsome" man, a relationship which is doomed to failure from the very start, but at the same time one which one cannot resist. Taylor Swift appears as a person who – to a certain degree – is demonic and destructive, and who cannot cultivate and maintain her relationships (which seems to be corroborated by reports of her affairs with men in real life). In turn, in the song *Shake It Off*, the singer distances herself from the subject of her other failed relationships (and gossips about herself) underlining the fact that one has to move on in her life. At the same time – as if a postmodern hero – in a music video for this song, she takes on different roles and assumes various identities (she is a ballerina, a regular girl wearing jeans, hip hop musician, a representative of an undefined "cosmic (techno)culture", an intellectual, 1960s singer, cheerleader, and a gymnast). She seamlessly transforms from one persona to another and then returns to the previous roles. Roles, styles and attire freely mix and Taylor Swift changes between them at ease, which can be inscribed in the thesis characteristic of a consumerist society – as expressed by Z. Melosik – "everybody can be everybody" (and "consumption does not repress (…) identity, but provides sources of fascination with possible identities" (Featherstone, 1991, after Melosik, 2013). The message of this song is clear: the most important thing is that you are who you are, and not who others perceive you to be.

In all situations, then, irrespective of her roles, dramas or successes, Taylor Swift is herself by freely taking on various life roles and inhabiting various realities. The question about women emancipation in this case is meaningless: she has transgressed the boundaries set by feminism a long time ago. She seems to be a postfeminist who proclaims the following: I am free and can be whoever I want to be, let us construct ourselves and enjoy life. It is not surprising, then, that – according to some commentators – Taylor Swift constitutes a "feminist's nightmare" (this expression comes from an article by Jessica Valenti published in "The Guardian" (Valenti, 2014). Women emancipation, especially in the Taylor Swift variant, also encompasses the corporeal and sexual expression (however, in this case, it is never vulgar despite the fact that she is perceived as very attractive). Without a doubt, she embodies the idea of the cult of beauty, young female body prevalent in our culture, which constitutes one of the most important sources of identity for women.

As part of conclusion, we can state that Taylor Swift is simply a "logical role model" for the youth in the contemporary world, as she represents what is typical for the aspirations of young people, at the same time being a pleasantly wrapped essence of the present-day pop culture along with – taking a different perspective – the essence of femininity. Looking at her, young people experience visual pleasure, her music (and lyrics) corresponds to the aesthetic and emotional needs, and the identity image discussed above is very attractive. An alternative to Taylor Swift, as a personal role model, are not – regrettably – renowned philosophers or politicians, but other stars of the pop cultural spectacle.

In turn, a pop culture icon known as Barbie was brought to life in 1959. Interestingly, her creation was inspired by an adult female entertainer who featured in comics in a newspaper "Bild-Zeitung" known as Lilli (Lynch, 2012). Barbie is entangled in a number of discourses. Popularisation of her image leads to – as some claim – an exaggerated concentration on the body and obsessive care for appearance. Barbie is also accused of propagating the ideology of consumerism, an ideology to which girls seem to be particularly susceptible to (expensive gadgets, luxurious mansions and cars) as well as promoting anorexic silhouette. She also tends to be charged with evoking dislike to mathematics and sciences among girls (in 1992, the Barbie doll "spoke out", and her initial words were: "Maths classes are boring, fancy dress balls are cool. I'll always be there for you. Have you fallen in love with anyone?"). She has been criticised for promoting the ideal of women deprived of ambitions, charming, but empty-headed as well as insensitive to the charms of motherhood and marriage. Many commentators could not accept her superficial lifestyle. As a main character in a song by the Aqua band, she was ironically depicted as a plastic idol living a plastic lifestyle.

The flexibility of the Barbie doll manufacturers is astounding. Having given up on the image of a complete stereotypical blond girl, perceived only in terms of a sexual object, they decided that the subsequent versions of the doll need to embody the girls-can-do-everything idea. One is under the impression that no role is impossible for Barbie and she could easily graduate from Harvard or Oxford with a degree in law or management (had only she wanted). The subsequent incarnations of Barbie had little in common with the traditional trajectories of a feminine career: she was an astronaut, a soldier, and a nuclear physicist (during the 55 years of her life she has assumed 150 professional careers). As a response to the criticism aimed at the ideal of a young, heterosexual, emancipated and wealthy woman, multicultural Barbies have been created – an Asian, Indian, Afro-American, and also a Latin-American, Norwegian and even Muslim Barbie.

Without a doubt, Barbie is a pop culture icon that enjoys global recognition and is surrounded by extreme emotions. Barbie has come to represent what we both admire and fear in ourselves, she embodies our admiration and hatered towards the consumerist society (Motz, 1983, p. 212). Trying to address the question of the reasons why young girls, teenagers and adult women love Barbie is quite simple. Barbie is a "career woman who symbolised genteel values, middle-class aspirations, impeccable style, and sexual self-determination" (Pearson and Mullinis, 1999, p. 231). If we assume that Barbie embodies contemporary pop culture, then she "reflects (…) a complicated tangle of dominant ideologies" (Pearson and Mullinis, 1999, p. 256). At the moment, as a matter of fact, the functioning of Barbie as an icon in our culture does not require further justification or authorisation. Her presence in our culture does just that: it seems that Barbie is an icon due to the fact that she is Barbie. Barbie's popularity is justified by the increase in Barbie's popularity as every girl wants to own many Barbies. As

noticed by some researchers, this doll embodies desires of (female) children and teenagers, despite the fact that she represents a female ideal of beauty which is useless and empty charm (Rogers, 1999).

Irrespective of the controversies that have been evoked, Barbie has been perceived, by both men and women, as an embodiment of beauty and sensuality. Moreover, she constitutes an object of desire of ideal femininity – she is always slim, young, elegant and leads a life which can authorise one of the variants of the contemporary "genuine", emancipated women, who – at the same time – possesses certain traditional corporeal and identity attributes of a woman. Barbie, also, seems to convince present-day women that they "can have it all" – great body, charm, money, career and successful private life. With regard to men, Barbie is not subordinate, it is her who holds the cards. Barbie is individualistic, focused on consumption and living a life of luxury. Without a shadow of doubt, she is an achiever: "takes her life in her own hands" in order to create it in the name of personal freedom and self-fulfilment. She is a definite optimist, who can be characterised by a high level of self-worth and belief in her own abilities.

The meanings which can be attributed to Barbie by girls (and also boys) are varied and might even be internally contradictory – they, however, create in their entirety a clear, ready for consumption "image pack" which constitutes an ideal 'starting point' of identification. It seems that in the case of such icons as Barbie, at a certain point the saturation of society with their popularity and appeal is so significant that it constitutes a source of further increase in popularity and appeal. Barbie has become a pop cultural perpetuum mobile. Her popularity makes girls want to be like Barbie, while boys want to be with girls like Barbie.

Conclusions

The above discussion of cultural contexts of the functioning of selected icons and idols allows us to conclude that it comes as no surprise that they are so popular among the present-day youth. For they embody the visual and identity appeal, and – through their influence – gender, race, and class boundaries of the audience, as well as such social categories as education, occupation, or income. They represent corporeal and identity models that transgress typical sociological boundaries, and – as a consequence – enjoy global popularity. At this point, it is worth referring to Z. Melosik's, who contends that "mass or popular culture is constructed according to the «lowest common denominator»: it refers to the cultural experiences, practices and forms of pleasure or emotions, which are identical almost for «everybody» irrespective of an individual's position in the social stratification system" (Melosik, 2013, p. 44). And this accounts for the global popularity of Taylor Swift and Barbie among youth.

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The twilight of education? Reflections on the concept of cyborgization[3]

The term *cyborg* was coined in 1960 by Clynes and Kline (Bárd, 2012) from the first three letters of the words *cybernetic organism*. At first, the expression was used to describe a construction of a human joined with a machine, which was to help in exploration of space (Clynes and Kline, 1995). Nowadays, it means life with blurred boundaries between what is human and what is technical (McPheeters, 2010; Pyżalski, 2012). According to McPheeters (2010), a cyborg is a hybrid of human and technology. Lapum et al. (2012) more precisely define a cyborg as a human with technological extensions.

Cyborgization, in turn, is the combination of technological development with human evolution (Palese, 2012) which aims at enhancement of human capabilities (Fleischmann, 2009), and purposeful integration of human life with technological progress (Mushiaki, 2011). As a concept in the field of human evolution, cyborgization is a philosophical hybrid of new eugenics and transhumanism (Klichowski, 2014).

Mazlish (as quoted in Bendle, 2002) maintains that the emergence of cyborgs and cyborgization revolutionizes human thinking similarly to when ideas of Kopernik, Darwin and Freud were born. Moreover, as Gajjala notes (2011), the idea of cyborgization permeates contemporary thinking of human progress in such an aggressive way that it becomes straight out obligatory. Being a cyborg becomes the only way to assure one's market usefulness.

The article presents the basic assumptions of the abovementioned philosophies, constitutive points of reference for the idea of cyborgization (new eugenics and transhumanism). It also highlights how education might be perceived in relation to these ideas. I believe such a presentation to be important. As it was already mentioned, the concept of cyborgization revolutionizes our thinking about the core of humanity. On the other hand, it is the foundation for another idea: the twilight of education, or irrelevance of traditionally understood education

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3   This paper is a simplified reconstruction of the key thesis of my book published in 2014.

in the technoworld. Twilight of education is a certain regularity of reflection about the role of education in human technological progress. It is an orderly method of looking at the future of the relation between humans and education. This regularity and order are rarely expressed *explicitly*; instead, we encounter them *implicitly*. *Explicitly* means here that some texts in the field of new eugenics and transhumanism speak directly about how certain technological activities replace education as more effective measures. *Implicitly*, in turn, means that such texts present detailed strategies for stimulation of human progress but completely ignore educational influences. All types of stimulants are of technical nature. Analyses of the concept of cyborgization result in a prediction for the future: the traditionally educational activities shall somehow disappear from the 'cyborgized society', even though such a society still remains only a hypothesis. Thus the twilight of education mentioned in the title of this paper will become true (Klichowski, 2014).

New eugenics

New eugenics began to emerge at the end of 1939, when radical criticism towards eugenics was formulated. The underlying assumption was that new eugenics will be hidden and functioning as a philosophy without a name and eugenic connotations, as a branch of genetics (Meehan, 2009). The discovery of DNA was of particular importance for the development of new eugenics (Porter, 2012). For this philosophy, DNA appeared to be 'less a collection of molecules, more a collection of pieces of information' which allowed for classification of people (Stafford, 2007). Subsequent discoveries included method of isolating of DNA fragments, replicating them, DNA sequencing and determination of human genome sequence (Porter, 2012), as well as the first practical application of in vitro fertilization allowing for selection of embryos (Watkins, 2007) and the first attempts at direct DNA manipulations (Kirby, 2000). All of them resulted in development of a programme which assumed that genetics should first and foremost try to convert humanity and bring it to the highest possible genetic level (Porter, 2012). Hence, the idea of eugenics has been transformed and categories of genetics have been added to it, and genetic philosophy of eugenics was created. In other words, new eugenics was created.

The most important tool at the disposal of the new eugenic programme of human conversion and elevation to the highest genetic level is genetic engineering. It is used at a massive scale in farming, horticulture and livestock breeding, so as to create genetically enhanced plants and animals (Narli and Sinan, 2011). More and more often it is also used for improvement of humans (Powell and Buchanan, 2011).

For genetic engineers, genetic modification and design of humans is a method for improvement of human condition (Holub, 2010). Therefore new eugenics is acting towards improvement of the gene pool of the whole population (Gyngell, 2012). Genetic engineers believe that human race needs to be improved to the largest extent possible through genetic manipulations. All shortcomings need to be removed, and possible best positive features need to be boosted: perfect personality, absolute kindness, ideal looks and permanently increasing intellectual capacity (Maher, 2012; Hayward, 2012).

In new eugenics, strategies of genetic improvement of humans are therapeutic. In the case of an example child, modification is perceived as action aiming at improvement of their life (Holub, 2010). With genetic engineering, upcoming generations are to be slimmer, more muscular, stronger and more resilient (so that new records will be beaten at every Olympic Games). They will also be more resistant to diseases, radically smarter and more energy-efficient (Coker, 2012; Das, Pal and Ghosh, 2013; Kasahara et al., 2011).

Engineers want to do away with all the limits imposed on humans, so that permanent record breaking as regards resistance and strength becomes possible - together with consistent increase in intelligence and other positive features (Holub, 2010). Technology will allow for elimination of such natural boundaries as it gives a chance to become transnatural (Holub, 2010). However, genetic engineering does not assume that genetic modification and crossing natural boundaries is something unnatural. Quite the opposite! Humanity which will finally be able to consciously change its physical, psychological and emotional abilities through genetic modification will ultimately assume the reins of its own development and evolution. After all, the core of evolution is the management of evolution. Genetic engineering is therefore not acting against nature, but in line with nature - the nature of human progress (Powell and Buchanan, 2011). All this suggests that genetic engineering is just as natural as all other evolutionary processes (Coker, 2012).

It is based on two fundamental procedures of genetic modification: changes made to one generation (somatic cells) and subsequent generations (gametes). If the first strategy fails, it leads to disorders or death of one genetically modified specimen. In case of failure of the second strategy, the genome is changed permanently and the defect is transferred onto the next generation. Hence genetic engineering of human germline generates the most controversy (Dresser, 2004). It also brings the most hope. It is namely the modification of gametes which allows for better stimulation of certain developments and permanent change of the human race (Holub, 2010). The philosophy of new eugenics proposes thus that modifications of germlines are necessary for each new generation to be better, and only for enhanced humans to be born (as cyborgs, Lawton, 2012).

Genetic engineers transform people into cyborgs through an elaborate selection of embryos and genetic modification consisting in introducing exogenous genetic material by using a suitable vector (Asuri et al., 2012; Hockemeyer et al., 2011; Jin et al., 2011) or by a mechanical action that consists in e.g. removing a DNA fragment and/or inserting another (Dulal, Silver and Hua, 2012). This exogenous genetic material may come from parents or strangers, but may also be cloned or synthetic material - sometimes even transgenic, i.e. coming from a different species. Thus, genetic engineering allows for creation of human and animal hybrids (Mahdi and Abolfazl, 2011; Coker, 2012).

Blackford (2010) notes that re-constructors of genetic engineering do not differentiate between genetic modification aiming at constructing a person with certain positive characteristics and educational activities aiming at the same. Song (2006) emphasises also that new eugenics radically disposes of any contrasts between genetic engineering and influence of a parent or teacher. The goal and intention of both are the same; the objective is to create a good human being. Morally speaking, these actions do not differ at all (Agar, 2006; Song, 2006). However, their efficiency is not the same. Widely-understood education is namely a communicative activity and soft influence with effects difficult to predict (Moss, 2007). The matter is different with genetic engineering, where reversing the action is impossible (Moss, 2007). Genetic engineering is stripped of any soft context - it is hard and direct influence. In Song's terminology, it involves breaking into a body and identity of an individual. Such a break-in brings about irreversible changes.

Therefore, reconstructions of new eugenics portray education as 'clumsy' as it is not fully predictable. In turn, genetic engineering is perfect, as free from the bonds of reversibility (Malmqvist, 2007). Since both these actions are morally equal, new eugenics philosophy proposes to depreciate education and favour the genetic project, and the vision of twilight of education becomes true.

Transhumanism

Transhumanism is a philosophy which postulates using technology to overcome the biological limitations of humans and to improve human condition. It wants to free humanity from diseases, illnesses and ageing by replacing human organs with artificial elements, so that full happiness is achieved (Bergsma, 2000). The transhuman philosophy predicts that this perfect state will become achievable through intensive stimulation of the technological progress (Bishop, 2010). We might therefore say that transhumanism is a philosophy of technology (Campa, 2008; Daly, 2004).

It is based on a quasi-Aristotelian understanding of nature according to which everything naturally strives for perfection (Hauskeller, 2012). It seems however that transhumanist perfection is quasi-perfect. Specifically, the core of transhumanist perfection is the assumption that technology may be used to radically transform or even overcome human biology. Through that humans will rise to levels unattainable with biology alone. Transhumanism is in search for a strategy for building a machine that will stimulate the growth of human intelligence and make it possible to transfer it from a body to a machine or to a certain system created by machines (Jaokar, 2012).

Transhumanism is a philosophy rooted in the postulates of the Enlightenment (Jotterand, 2010a), and transhumanists perceive themselves as heirs of the philosophy of humanism (Bishop, 2010). Precisely like the philosophy of the Enlightenment, transhumanism is based on the claim that human nature can be corrected (Hughes, 2010). Also, transhumanism promotes the Enlightenment supremacy of the mind and the idea of using science to overcome human limitations (Jotterand, 2010a). What is more, the word transhumanism was deliberately coined to refer to the tradition of humanism, i.e. a secular image of the world where the man is the highest moral value. Yet, by not accepting the fundamental role of humanity in the human development, transhumanism goes beyond humanism. Transhumanism is a project of human transgression. It is thus not humanistically anthropocentric but progress-centric. Humans are understood as the highest moral value in the sense that it is the progress that matters most; it is the road to the posthuman that is the centre of everything (Rikowski, 2003). Transhumanism is thus often called evolutionary humanism, where evolution is perceived as a process from human, to transhuman, to posthuman (Agar, 2007).

This philosophy approaches evolution as a two-stage process. In the first stage evolution was "blind", which means that humans had no control over it. The other, transhumanist, stage, is characterized by setting humans free from the oppression of biology, freeing them from random changes and moving humanity to another stage for the species (Fukuyama, 2004). If only people want to, the human species can go beyond the limitations of the species, can go towards the new type of being that is very different from ours but equally exciting. Thanks to transhumanism, we will finally be able to fulfil the real human destiny consciously (Wolbring, 2008). This threshold of the new species (posthuman) is a moment when the transhuman becomes a postbiological being, i.e. an individual whose mind will be able to exist without biological processes (Rikowski, 2003).

The second stage of evolution is therefore a dehumanising stage. Throughout the stage, its object becomes less and less human. The process eliminates natural human flaws and forges non-human characteristics (Mills, 2012). What is more, dehumanization is a procedure that creates artificiality by replacing biology with technical products (Bishop, 2010). According to

transhumanists, however, people should not be afraid of being dehumanized even if the result of this process means disconnecting them from the Homo sapiens species. The loss of species affiliation is not a threat according to them; it is not linked to losing the status of existence (Persson, 2010).

Transhumanism adds to the process of evolution the category of a cyborg, a human in the second stage of evolution. The archaic stage of blind evolution is therefore a human stage; the next one is a cyborg stage (Rikowski, 2003). The transhuman and posthuman are certain phases of the second stage of evolution – dehumanization/cyborgization, or some cyborg categories:

1) transhuman – a transitional cyborg (the object of the dehumanization/ cyborgization process);

2) posthuman – a final cyborg (the result of the dehumanization/cyborgization process, Mc-Namee and Edwards, 2006).

Transhumanist philosophy is based on the imperative to make the world a better place. Where the human ends, problems end as well, and the perfect world begins (Hauskeller, 2012)! The posthuman will achieve an intellectual state that incredibly exceeds the intellectual state of the geniuses that we know; they will be absolutely resistant to all illnesses, full of energy and forever young; they will be capable of controlling all their psychological processes to the full extent; they will never get tired, weary or irritated; and they will also achieve the permanent state of happiness, full love, peace, and states of conscience that are completely inaccessible for us now (Bishop, 2010). Furthermore, the posthuman will fulfil the cybernetic dream of the machine-man interface, as it will be possible to upload to the final cyborg everything that is available in the memory of machines (Tennison, 2012). The posthuman world itself is maximized to the maximum. In transhumanist imagination the life of posthumans means experiencing everything to the maximum and at previously unknown level of intensity. Hauskeller (2012) claims that monuments of the posthuman world will be maximally beautiful and majestic, music will penetrate the mind maximally with a maximally desired rhythm, sex will mean maximum and continuous ecstasy, each moment will be filled with divine happiness, each view will bring the experience of maximum charm, every element of the world will be understandable, and each system will be immediately learnable. Thus, transhumanism transfers the religious promise of heaven from the afterlife to the posthuman life (Bostrom, 2007; Jotterand, 2010a).

The system undermines most of assumptions and rules concerning human culture (Jotterand, 2010b). An exquisite exemplification here is the case of transhumanist philosopher Esfandijary, who replaced his name and surname with a symbol, FM-2030. Esfandijary believed that names and surnames contribute to reconstruction of our ancestors' cultural systems, and

thus perpetuate cultural stereotypes. He proposed to eliminate them so that everyone decides for themselves which symbols should identify them (Bárd, 2012). Transhumanists would like to make humans aware that the dynamics of life should be redefined in isolation from any common and previously applied approaches (Rikowski, 2003). Strategies for humans to improve future generations should be redefined as well (Bess, 2010). Humans have always been trying to do that; among milestones on the road to the better future were tools invented one by one, starting with stone pebbles, through writing, print to (for now) the Internet. Education used to be (and still is) a formalised process of human improvement. Also education must be thoroughly reanalysed according to the transhumanist vision, taking into consideration the fact that education and changing humans with technology belong to the same category from the ethical point of view. Another point here is that technology is (and will always be!) more effective than education (Greely et al., 2008). The sense of education as we know it must thus be seriously scrutinised and radically challenged. Efficiency of technology in transhumanist philosophy is one of foundations for the vision of a world without education, and it serves as a basis for the upcoming twilight of education.

Conclusions

Two constitutive elements of the concept of cyborgization, philosophies of new eugenics and transhumanism, criticise the idea of education very radically, highlighting its superfluity in the cyborg world. It might be thus concluded that the concept of cyborgization involves the twilight of education, or the vision of disappearance of traditionally understood educational activities. Furthermore, the concept of cyborgization may be to a certain extent perceived as an attempt to weaken the importance of educational influence in favour of technological stimulation. The vision of the cyborg world becomes the vision of a world where education wanes.

The concept makes us aware that education is necessary only when humans are defined as an indifferent resultant of interactions between a random genetic combination with its environment, a resultant which requires adequate shaping and stimulation. Once humans are born as genetic ideals with freely extendable characteristics, education ceases to be necessary. The role of education is then fulfilled by genetic engineering, cognitivism, programming, construction, etc. Such are circumstances in which the twilight of education unfolds. As a travesty of Foucault's words (2010), we might conclude that a thought was born: technology may become useful for education. Once this happens, another thought emerges: technically speaking, education is not indispensable and may be replaced by cyborgization.

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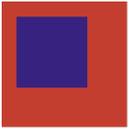
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Anticipatory education as a promising educational model for the *smartphone era*[4]

The fact that young people are intensively present in the digital space shapes their understanding of their own personalities, as well as activities at school and attitudes towards each other and other social groups (cf. Tomaszewska, 2012; Castells, 2013; Staszkiewicz-Grabarczyk et al., 2014). In principle, schools try to follow the changes, yet sometimes it requires much effort.

A difficult to overcome intergenerational gap is formed, and schools cease to be attractive as a source of lifestyle inspiration for the young. First and foremost, a simple means of building a bridge between the older and younger generation would be acting in line with rules of task modification in learning: namely providing a new sense for what the students already know and do, and for the world they live in.

Educational fields with strong presence of digital technology

Currently, information technology enters the educational process in three ways (cf. Dylak, 1996). Firstly, electronic devices strengthen traditional teaching during lessons, at school and outside of school but within the class-and-lesson system.

Such utilisation of digital technologies I would classify as enrichment of current teaching environment at school. An appropriate example of this trend would be anticipatory education, originating from the academic environment at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, described in greater detail in this paper. The Polish digital school project (implemented by the Ministry of National Education) also belongs to this trend. Another educational model of increasing popularity, also at comprehensive schools, is referred to as blended learning. The

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4 The „smartphone era" phrase has first been used in the expert report entitled The digital didactics in the smartphone era (2013).

popularity of this model and effectiveness attributed to it stem most probably from its hybrid character. The shortcomings of traditional approaches revealed when schools find themselves in completely new social contexts are compensated by the advantages of online learning, and vice versa. Literature provides us with more and more convincing evidence of pedagogical attractiveness of *blended learning* (cf. among others Owston, Sinclair and Wideman, 2008; Dziuban and Hartman, 2014; Dziuban et al., 2015). The abovementioned anticipatory learning strategy also has certain hallmarks of this model.

Another trend is creation of a teaching and learning environment which is alternative to the traditional one. It is born when the specific potential of digital technology is used to create a completely new context for the learning process. Additionally, it refers to the notion of learning environment strikingly extended against its previous definition - as regards both access and methods of operation within it. Here, one may point to the e-coursebooks understood as learning environment for the student and the teacher, as well as any simulations, augmented reality (cf. Wojciechowski, Cellary, 2013) and *Second Life* methodology (Topol, 2013).

The trend also includes attempts at digital imitation of pedagogical reality which is treated as practice field in teacher training. A huge e-coursebook project is currently being implemented in Poland. It is changing the current perception of coursebooks by their authors in certain aspects, for instance in the context of almost unlimited capabilities of digital technology. In fact, however, an e-course may turn out to be (only) a media extension to current school environment. It would classify it as an element of the first type of connections between digital technology and education, as described above. Considering the educational potential of IT - in particular creation of own tools and projects, self-development programmes and synchronic communication with partners of the educational process - the Canadian *WonderTree SelfDesign* school may be indicated as a good example of most of pedagogical activities within this trend.

The third trend is the media playing the role of a live teacher in direct contact with the student. Here we may speak about delocalisation of the school with use of IT. A quintessential example of that is the methodology of MOOC (*massive open online courses*). Whole courses are being made available online. This fast developing method means a dream of education coming true for millions of people who had had no such chance before, in particular inhabitants of India or Africa (cf. Bartholet, 2013). 'School does not have to be at school anymore', rather it is wherever the student is. Technology brings the teacher, peers, subjects and learning environment closer. In other words, media are used to organise teaching and learning, and the role of the 'live' teacher is significantly transformed or even to a great extent limited. Such a method might be described as meta-utilisation of digital technology. The technology acts as a super-teacher and organiser of the learning process. An example here might be adaptive learning or DDL (*Databased Design Learning*). Its roots may be found in the personalised sys-

terials individually. A considerably strong argument in favour of such a learning (most probably not just studying, but learning) technique is the facilitation of the process itself. It makes learning more effective and draws more candidates to the university. It also is a consequence of the necessity to combine organisational limitations with the growing number of candidates, and of economic calculations - external financing is growing thin. 'State elementary and middle schools in 45 states are implementing new, higher educational standard. Soon they will be binding all over the US within the Common Core State Standards initiative. Half of new educational materials will be available online and adaptive. This means the computer will adjust questions to students' abilities as well as calculate their results' (Fletcher, 2013, p. 52). Elements of adaptive learning will also be introduced to PISA 2014 studies, to assess skills which are difficult to measure in any other way, for instance 'the ability to solve problems in a group' (Fletcher, 2013, p. 52).

Supporters of adaptive learning claim that with the new technique it will be possible to provide fully individualised education adjusted to the needs of each student, at a small cost (Fletcher, 2013, p. 55). In my opinion, adaptive learning will be useful mostly - if not exclusively - in clinical teaching. It must be considered that education based on adaptive learning model is related to large cash injections for institutions which apply it. 'The recent studies of The Gallup Organization and Inside Higher Ed website show that 66% of vice-chancellors at American colleges believe that adaptive learning and new testing methods have much potential. The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation has initiated the Adaptive Learning Market Acceleration Program and plans to award ten grants (100 thousand USD each) to colleges which prepare three-semester-long adaptive courses for at least 500 students per course' (Fletcher, 2013, p. 53).

Critics of wide-ranging and fully digitised adaptive learning believe that DDL (Data Driven Learning) may change schools into factories. The current wave of digitisation is perceived by the critics mostly as 'yielding to pressure of private companies which market their products aggressively, cynically exploiting the aspirations of a certain part of the teaching community concerning internal reforms' (Fletcher, 2013, p. 52). Elements of adaptive learning regarded to be its advantages include for instance the diagnosis of a student's strengths and weaknesses. This has been done for hundreds of years by teachers (i.e. tutors) who knew which methodology would be the most effective. We may assume that 'instead of letting computers fulfil such duties, we should allocate more resources to teacher training and employment, together with motivation for good teachers to stay in the profession' (Fletcher, 2013, p. 53). Paraphrasing Thomas Merton, we might say that soon schools will be 'for masses and not for us'.

'In adaptive school environment students will be assessed constantly. Each keystroke will mean being assessed' (Fletcher, 2013, p. 56). Hence, probably, Diane Ravitch notes that technology used extensively in education may both stimulate students' creativity and dehumanise

the learning process (Ravitch, 2013, p. 54). Personally, I would attribute this dehumanisation to the common use of DDL and the fact that precise adjustment of materials and requirements to the student's needs and currently identified level is against elementary developmental rules (cf. Vygotsky's cognitive zone of proximal development, and Willingham, 2009).

Anticipatory learning[5]

The anticipatory learning[6] notion has been created as part of an HC OP project at Kolegium Śniadeckich in 2010. In principle it was a continuation of projects devoted to implementation of IT in education grouped under the umbrella term *e-School*. Digital technologies were the common ground for all the projects, including the discussed one. The strategy appeared in the context of the widespread activity of the youth in the digital space, particularly as regards the concept of digital school, currently being developed in Poland

I believe the most precise and consistent theoretical foundation of anticipatory learning can be found in David Ausubel's works on *advance organisers*. The basic function of an advance organiser is to connect what the student already knows with what they should learn before they start studying a new problem. Such a function is bound up with the conviction that what strongly affects learning and understanding is the existence of anchoring ideas - notions at least partially known to the learner and related to the new topic. Thus, it seems important to give time and opportunity to students so that they might find their own anchoring ideas before they even start learning the new material.

The core of anticipatory education is active building of thematic and pre-established knowledge by students. The building takes place before the lesson, through independent research for information and finding connections between the planned lesson subject and one's own previously acquired knowledge. (cf. Dylak (ed.), 2013). In order to arrive at initial or general understanding of the new material, students utilise previous experience, information, suppositions, emotional and cognitive relations or already consolidated knowledge. It is assumed that they will be looking for such denotations and connotations which will allow them to understand the new material and make it personally meaningful. After they gain a general outline of the subject planned for the upcoming lesson, it is time for the main portion of work directed by tasks precisely selected by the teacher. A student prepared in such a way comes to the systematising lesson to present to the teacher what they have learned, but also how they arrived at such conclusions and what their personal reaction is. The basic task of the teacher

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5   Description of this strategy is based on previous publications: Dylak (ed.), 2013 and Dylak, 2013.

6   During the development of the strategy up to its implementation we had not known about the American concept of flipped classroom. The author of this paper then encountered the term in the American ‚Education Week' journal. This was by and large rather positive news - it confirmed the legitimacy of the decision to prepare the strategy and launch the pilot implementation studies.

is therefore to react to the behaviour, comments and activities of the students. Such a lesson is definitely much more responsive than presentational. The whole process ends with evaluation, mainly on the students' part.

Anticipatory education strategy consists of four stages. The first stage is activation. Students are informed what the subject of the next lesson is and receive questions or tasks which direct their reflection on the problem which will be analysed. As a result, they shape their general attitude towards the problem, in line with Ausubel's *advance organizer idea*. At this stage, it is crucial for students to refer to their own base semiotic knowledge and to use images and ideas or memorised experiences - not necessarily directly connected to the topic. Here, what matters is construction of a context, or reconstruction of how the subject matter appears to students in their everyday lives.

The second, and to a certain extent, most important stage, is processing. It is directed by fulfilling didactic tasks precisely set out by the teacher, but without their direct presence and control. On the basis of didactic materials relevant to the topic (available directly or in indicated sources), students do their exercises. They present the results in multimodal forms in digital space. It may be websites, e-portfolios, multimedia presentations, films or animations (cf. Dylak (ed.), 2013).

The third stage is carried out during the lesson(s) where the teacher is present and has been named 'systematisation'. Students come to the classroom with tasks already done and the material processed both intellectually and emotionally. A day before the lesson, they write a trial test planned by the teacher. It needs to be indicated here that the teacher does not perform the role of a lecturer. He or she supplements, interprets and systematises the knowledge built by the students at the processing stage. Additionally, the teacher answers questions so that students may make corrections to their notes, portfolios, materials and websites. Most importantly, the teacher is to provide feedback for how the students build knowledge and (outlined) skills themselves. The lesson is the final stage in the analysis of the problem by the students, and it consists of, as it has already been mentioned, 'systematising and supplementing of already internalised structures' (Dylak, (ed.), 2013).

Assessment and evaluation belong to the fourth stage of the strategy. Here, students as relatively independent judges, critics and reviewers assess their own work and achievements. For instance, they describe how their knowledge about a certain problem has changed since they began to analyse it, what could be changed in the process, or how differently could they organise their work. They are also invited to comment on materials and tasks prepared by the teacher. It is significant that they assess and evaluate after being graded by the teacher (which occurs on the basis of criteria worked out together with the students).

'The presented strategy is an attempt to create an integrated teaching and learning strategy, through integration of various environments of the students. The anticipatory education strategy seems to be a natural consequence of methods used by the contemporary student - appropriate for the digital era'(Dylak (ed.), 2013). The added value of students' work in anticipatory learning is the growth of internal and positive motivation to learn. According to recently published results of longitudinal studies, decisions made by students regarding resignation or deferment of pleasure (sometimes made under pressure of their social group) are very important for personal development and success in life (cf. Moffitt et al., 2011).

Initial pilot studies on effectiveness of this strategy allow us to conclude that it has positively influenced the scientific reasoning methods of students from a low-ranked school. Reasoning based on invariables and reasoning based on proportions applied to conclusion drawing were two areas in which the results improved (both are less important detailed skills in Lawson's test of scientific reasoning). Students from a top-ranked school significantly increased their results regarding reasoning based on variables, the most important skill in Lawson's test of scientific reasoning. The obtained results are not decidedly unambiguous and indicate trends rather than significant statistical differences. There is the need for further analyses and more detailed research. There are numerous factors affecting the quality of results achieved by students taught with help of anticipatory learning; not all of them were controlled during the pilot study. One of these unmeasured factors seems to be the teaching practice and teacher's preferred pedagogical style. On the other hand, opinions of both teachers and students are very positive and encouraging to further implementation and research.

One may formulate a cautious hypothesis: anticipatory education strategy facilitates development of various aspects of reasoning in students, depending on their level. In some cases, the strategy is conducive to development of more basic skills; in others, it helps attain the more advanced ones. Additionally, one may assume that the strategy enriches and modifies the common class and lesson system dominating in secondary schools, through strengthened correlation between homework and the lesson. During the systematisation, the teachers adjust the lesson content to actual intellectual needs of their students, being responsive to their previously determined knowledge and skills.

Anticipatory education is already present in Poland, and appreciated by certain teachers. The report supervised by Krzysztof Głomb mentions it as one of education models appropriate in the digital era. In the report there are lesson scenarios for several subjects prepared by teachers independently from the original research into the anticipatory education strategy. It is an important impulse for the social verification of this educational model.

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Teacher in the face of difficult student behaviour

To a man who has only a hammer every problem looks like a nail.

Robert Cooper

Introduction

Coping with student behaviour which breaches classroom discipline is an everyday experience of all practicing teachers – at least the ones who work with more numerous student cohorts. Furthermore, many teachers describe similar educational situations as very difficult. Virtually all conceptions of teacher's treat consideration student misbehaviour as one of the most significant stressors (Center i Steventon, 2001; Chang, 2009; Pyżalski i Plichta, 2007). This pattern emerges everywhere – irrespective of the country where research was carried out. Moreover, teachers indicate that pre-service education does not provide relevant knowledge, which is required in order to cope in such situations in a pedagogically competent fashion (Pr□cha, 2006; Pyżalski, 2007). Coping, here, is not thought of in a narrow sense of wielding influence over students' behaviour, but rather in a broader sense of identifying such measures undertaken by the teacher in educationally difficult situations that will be beneficial for students in pro-developmental aspects and in the teacher-student relation. It is not always the case that measures changing or stopping inappropriate behaviour entail the above-mentioned values. In particular, the narrow approach will be successful if the student misbehaviour is a result of his/her serious problems related to, for instance, a pathological family context.

Analysing the problem from the students' perspective, it needs to be pointed out that teachers deal with a broad spectrum of student behaviours which can including those students who can be considered hard-to-reach – from insignificant everyday issues, disturbing classwork to

a small extent, to those threatening the safety of other students or the teacher herself/himself (e.g. structured peer violence, the so-called bullying) (Pyżalski, 2012).

Teachers should devote their time and attention to the issues of discipline for a number of reasons. However, as it has already been pointed out, it rarely is the subject of reflection during pre-service university education.

One of the major aims of education is to prepare students to take on – both at present and in the future (during the subsequent educational stages, in their adult lives) – various life roles. Nevertheless, it is difficult to talk about preparation for the future as certain life roles are taken up right in the course of education, when students attend school. In order to perform these roles well, it is necessary to assume the responsibility for one's own decisions and behaviour as well as reflexive approach to how our own behaviour projects onto the feelings and functioning of other people. In a natural way, student in-class behaviour becomes an area where students can learn attitudes facilitating their own development, care for the needs and rights of others, influencing the emergence of conditions conductive to becoming successful, committing mistakes and learning from them, correcting them, experiencing the positive and negative consequences of their behaviour. They can, but do not have to – disciplining solutions employed by teachers can translate into stimulating sensible student socialisation to a varying extent. Some solutions, e.g. score-based evaluation of behaviour, have the "original sin" inscribed in them. This results in the absence of reflexivity over their ethical choices and internalising of values, and is substituted with subordination to non-reflexive external rules.

At least a minimal level of disciplining in-class student behaviour is a prerequisite in order to execute the teaching-learning process. A high level of in-class student discipline allows to devote more time to teaching, it creates an environment which facilitates the efficient use of lessons. Moreover, it turns out that what happens at the level of an individual class, and not school, is of crucial importance. At this micro level most important everyday student concerns are played out. It needs to be noticed that some teachers, leaving aside what happens at the level of the institution as a whole, employ original solutions in the area of reacting to inappropriate student behaviour. In some cases this might even entail contesting the rules already present at a given school. For instance, a teacher does not confiscate a student's mobile phone, despite the school principles, but indicates with a gesture that he/she should put it in his/her bag (Bulach et. al., 1995; Hill and Rowe, 1996).

The issue with in-class discipline is a serious one. In the United States as much as the third of the teacher population states that improper student behaviour to a significant extent disturbs the process of teaching-learning in their practice (National Center for Education Statistics, 2007). As a consequence, this problem is treated as a serious one, issues of the so-called school discipline return to the mainstream of social studies (Blank and Shavit, 2013; Van de Werfhorst et. al., 2012).

Devoting time to the work concerning discipline is also a good way of ensuring student safety at school, something which has come to be regarded as a major issue, one through which parents, educational authorities, and the media perceive the functioning of schools. The impact of sensibly carried out solutions aimed at maintaining discipline at school has been empirically verified (cf. Gregory et al., 2010). Finally, the aspect of teacher health and well-being is of importance. The difficulties that inappropriate student behaviour poses are related to incurring significant emotional costs – the feeling of helplessness and related negative emotions result in serious mental strain. Lowering the number of stressful situations resulting from the difficulties in maintaining classroom discipline can be the reason of deriving more work-related satisfaction and – by the same token – contribute to the improvement in the teacher-student relation. At the same time, it is important to highlight that a contrary situation induces the emergence of the vicious circle. The teacher, who experiences student misbehaviour, including aggression, is starting to feel burned out. Due to this, his/her motivation and working efficiency in the area of dealing with such behaviour decreases. Teachers' behaviour is influenced by his/her emotional arousal and starts to exhibit authoritarian tendencies which can be observed when the teacher reacts with withdrawal and aggression alternately. This, in turn, gets noticed by students and as a consequence results in an increase in the number of and/or the quality of unruly student behaviour, which usually is a derivative of loosening the bond between students and the teacher (Alvarez, 2007). Therefore the cause drives the effect which, in turn, drives the cause making the teacher's situation more and more difficult and leads to severely difficult situations, e.g. when the teacher unable to cope with such behaviour goes beyond ethical boundaries by using violence against students or vice versa.

Also critical voices have been expressed in the literature with regard to the very idea of discipline at school. Alfie Kohn (2006) in his book *Beyond discipline. From compliance to community* harshly criticises planning and implementing any measures aimed at maintaining discipline by teachers.

He contends that irrespective of what solution is used, the main overt or covert aim is the subordination of students to the teacher. Such subordination cannot be, according to Kohn, treated as a significant educational value. He emphasises that most measures taken by teachers, for whom discipline is crucial, do not result in students acquiring social skills and becoming better people. Teacher's disciplining strategies, especially behavioural ones, i.e. relying on punishment and reward, are seen – within this critical evaluation – as manipulative. Such classification is motivated by what the teacher's aim is, i.e. a narrow understanding of the pragmatic influence over students' behaviour.

Kohn (2006), on the basis of empirical research, points to the fact that none of the teachers whom he met, and whose classes were orderly, deliberately introduced solutions with the aim of maintaining discipline. The order was a result of other measures, e.g. superb teaching.

Kohn's critique is a valuable voice in the pedagogical literature. Even if we do not wish to accept it *in toto*, it should trigger reflections in every person who, in their pedagogical praxis, introduces solutions related to discipline at school. It is always worth thinking about why we decided to introduce certain measures and what is their ethical and educational value. However, it is often the case that a number of solutions introduced in this area are completely unreflective and persons introducing them are guided only by achieving 'immediate relief'.

What kind of behaviour breaches discipline?

It seems that everybody can intuitively say what kind of behaviour breaches discipline. The most frequent definition – among teachers – is that this is "behaviour which goes against the assumed norms". Such a definition can be seen as deficient in many respects, however it suffices for our needs as we will be concerned mostly with issues regarding its practical application. Apart from aggressive behaviour, which is unacceptable for the teacher due to causing harm to others, evaluation of other behaviours and considering them as breaching discipline depends on the situational context. A straightforward example might be the "we do not talk during lessons" rule. A teacher giving a lecture will most certainly consider students violating this rule as an instance of breaching discipline; in turn, a conversation between students – when doing exercises requiring exchanging ideas – will be desired behaviour. A similar observation can be made when we analyse requirements of different schools, or even individual teachers, regarding permissible student appearance on school premises (attire, make-up, jewellery). Differences between individual institutions are significant in this respect and range from a complete absence of relevant regulations to detailed rules which are strictly enforced. Since "engraved in stone", straightforward and objective rules concerning many aspects of school discipline are absent, more importance should be attributed to the question of how such rules should be constructed, enforced, and how to act so that they are implemented and, finally, what to do if they are violated.

It is worth specifying the definition of behaviour breaching discipline in order to make it useful not only for research purposes but also for practicing teachers. Student misbehaviour needs to satisfy at least one of the following conditions: (1) make teacher's work impossible or significantly disturb it; (2) violate other students' right to studying in class; (3) be physically or mentally threatening to somebody and/or (4) consist in damaging somebody's posession (Levin and Nolan, 2000). Another useful categorisation has been put forward by Shechtman and Leichtentritt (2004). The authors suggest assuming two types of difficult behaviours as a criterion of breaching discipline: *misbehaviour* (disturbing teaching, aggression towards the teacher or other students, etc.) and *off-task behaviour* (lack of participation in classwork).

The Slovenian researcher, Mateja Pšunder (2005), recognises the categorisation based on the aspect of intensity (gravity) of inappropriate behaviour. This author, by referring to the official rules in the Slovenian school, utilises a scale encompassing behaviours which are not enumerated in the official student's rights and responsibilities which are defined as violations (cheating, reading newspapers during classes), behaviours which are included in the official documentation and defined as less serious offences (e.g. rude behaviour towards the teacher or other students) as well as behaviours which are considered to be serious violations of laws even in the general legislation (e.g. theft, physical aggression towards others, vandalism).

These typologies are based on the criterion of "gravity" of behaviour, and more precisely on the degree to which a given behaviour disturbs the social climate at a given school and interferes with the rights of other people.

Who misbehaves in the classroom?

There is a lack of consistent and straightforward research data concerning the type of student who misbehaves in the classroom setting. Certain generalisations can be made on the basis of literature review and on the unique research conducted by Blank and Shavit in Israeli schools (2013).

They point to the following patterns:

Students who misbehave most often:

boys

students of low socio-economic status

students at schools with a high rate of immigrants

students perceiving disciplinary measures taken by teachers as injust

students at schools where little attention is paid to correct behaviour

How frequent is student misbehaviour in the Polish school?

Student misbehaviour and its frequency is an issue receiving vast media attention, often containing scandalous overtones, and arousing strong emotions. Representatives of older generations reminisce about past times when "nobody could allow themselves to behave inappropriately", and at the same time point to the fact that at present inappropriate behaviour can be noticed more and more often. It is also frequently the case that an individual instance of an inappropriate student behaviour at school is publicised and exploited by the media for a long time. Consequently the audience of such messages can be under the impression that such situations occur at schools on a regular basis.

It is worth looking at statistics on the frequency of student misbehaviour, as reported by teachers (table 1).

Table 1
Inappropriate student behaviour that occurred during lessons led by teachers who took part in the research (N=1214) during 14 days prior to data gathering [%]

Type of behaviour	Not once [%]	1-2 times [%]	3-4 times [%]	5 or more times [%]
Student was loud (talked, laughed, was noisy, produced different sounds, knocked, tapped)	15	35	21	29
Student was late for classes	25	44	19	12
Student was completely passive, was not involved in in-class activities	30	43	17	10
Student poked other students	35	44	14	7
Student ate or chew gum during classes despite you banned it	48	36	10	5
Student cheated during exam	50	36	9	5
Student used vulgar language or gestures	53	31	10	6
Student ignored your instructions and refused to carry them out	55	32	8	4
Student used his/her mobile phone, e.g. texted somebody	56	29	10	5
Student was involved in off-task behaviour (read newspapers, played cards, etc.)	60	29	7	4
Student commented on what you said, your slips of the tongue	74	21	4	2
Student threatened his/her classmates	76	18	4	2

J. Pyżalski, J. Kołodziejczyk | Teacher in the face of difficult student behaviour

Type of behaviour	Not once [%]	1-2 times [%]	3-4 times [%]	5 or more times [%]
Student damaged other students' posessions	78	20	2	0
Student threw objects	80	16	2	1
Student damaged school property (e.g. furniture, walls)	81	16	2	1
Student left the classroom without your permission	87	10	2	1
Student beat up another student	88	10	2	1
Student behaved during the lesson as if he/she was intoxicated or under the influence of other psychoactive substances	91	6	2	1
Student fell asleep during lesson	95	5	0	0
Student filmed or audio-recorded your lesson despite the fact you did not want this	96	3	1	0
Student threatened you	97	3	0	0
Student destroyed your possessions	97	3	0	0

Source: This research was carried out within the 1.R.06 project entitled "Positive and negative elements of psychosocial working environment at school vis-à-vis teacher-student relationship" (P. Pozytywne i negatywne elementy psychospołecznego środowiska pracy w szkole a przemoc w relacji nauczyciel – uczeń) by National Centre for Workplace Health Promotion at Nofer institute of Occupational Medicine in Łódź (P. Krajowe Centrum Promocji Zdrowia w Miejscu Pracy Instytutu Medycyny Pracy w Łodzi) with Dr Jacek Pyżalski as the Principal Investigator. The project was funded within the "Improvement of safety and working conditions" (P. "Poprawa bezpieczeństwa i warunków pracy") long-term scheme coordinated by Central Institute for Labour Protection - National Research Institute (P. Centralny Instytut Ochrony Pracy – Państwowy Instytut Badawczy). The representative sample consisted of 1214 teachers who participated in Paper and Pencil Interviews.

The research has shown that respondents most frequently experience minor instances of behaviours which breach classroom discipline, such as off-topic conversations or being noisy. They rarely come across serious misbehaviour, e.g. throwing objects. These patterns are corroborated by other studies conducted on Polish teachers (Pyżalski, 2007, 2010). It is worth drawing attention to the fact that these results stand in stark contrast to the already analysed image of schools constructed by the media which publicise particularly drastic cases of misbehaviour and present them as the norm.

Preventing misbehaviour

Another pattern connected with the frequency of the occurrence of behaviour breaching classroom discipline is their intensity in first grades of subsequent stages of education (the first and

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the fourth grades of primary school, the first grade of middle school, and secondary school). The common feature of these situations is that new students meet a new teacher whom they have not "learned" yet. "Learning of a teacher" is getting to know – by the students – the teacher's expectations regarding behaviour in various routine situations such as taking seats in the classroom, checking homework, volunteering to answer questions, answering questions "at the blackboard", pair work, group work, doing a certain kind of exercise, etc. and becoming fluent in satisfying these expectations. There is no unified expectation for all teachers regarding student behaviour in these situations. Naturally, students by means of trial and error, after some time discover teacher's expectations and will adopt to them to a greater or lesser extent. However, this process can be speeded up by devoting more attention, at the beginning of the school year, to the questions of communicating (at least the most important) expectations regarding student behaviour in various classroom situations and by doing so create an opportunity to drill them. In this sense the process of learning disciplined behaviour resembles the process of studying a kind of a subject – it is learning the procedures and then gaining fluency in applying them.

Student behaviour is also influenced by factors related to the teacher personality and the philosophy of teaching that he/she assumes. Sometimes two types of teachers are distinguished: the answering type and the questioning type. This simple distinction entails numerous consequences. It is not only the dominant style of conducting lessons but also the teacher expectations with regard to student behaviour as well as the behaviour which can be a reaction to his/her methods of teaching (e.g. talking caused by monotonous half-an-hour lecture, little involvement on the part of students and dealing with other matters when the teacher poses questions that are addressed by one student only). The awareness of the causal relationship between the didactic solutions and student behaviour can help to prevent and more successfully address behaviours breaching classroom discipline. Didactics and classroom discipline constitute a self-regulating system.

Naturally, of key importance are the solutions employed in order to strive to maintain classroom discipline. Their selection is crucial as any mistakes committed at this stage can be a cause of serious issues. We present this problem below by referring to a selection of examples helpful in didactic work.

A jar of pasta or a board for evaluating student behaviour?

In practice, there are many solutions regarding the maintenance of classroom discipline. Not all of them are educationally sensible, though – unfortunately some of the less sensible ones or even the harmful ones are gaining on popularity. It is worth evaluating their didactic potential on the basis of two seemingly similar methods of discipline maintenance.

1ˢᵗ solution – behaviour-evaluation board

The teacher hangs a board with students' names on the wall and attaches a label appropriate to each student's behaviour (e.g. a white or black sticker). The board needs to be placed in a spot that ensures visibility. Theoretically, its purpose is to provide students with the feedback regarding their behaviour and at the same time – when a student receives negative evaluation – motivate her/him to improve her/his behaviour.

What is the "hidden programme" of this method?

Athough this solution assumes that the teacher evaluates students' behaviour on a daily basis, many students see it as a global evaluation. This mechanism is particularly visible in the case of younger children whose evaluations of themselves are shaped by an adult authority. Secondly, the publicly displayed board is read by all children. Students are quickly compartmentalised into "good" and "bad". Younger children are quick to assume opinions of audults regarding these peers who misbehave which translates into their attitude towards these peers – for instance, they might not want to talk to them or play with them. Thus, we are dealing with divisions within the class which are not constructive in nature. Frequently, the overall effect is that the method under discussion, instead of motivating students to positive behaviour, stigmatises those who misbehave and solidifies their behaviour and self-perception. The authors of the chapter heard about cases of negatively evaluated students destroying the evaluation board during a break due to the fact that he/she could not cope with frustration.

2ⁿᵈ solution – a jar of pasta

The "jar of pasta" method constitutes an alternative to the above-discussed board method. Despite it might seem similar for some – as it is also based on behavioural mechanisms – it significantly differs from the first method. The teacher brings a transparent glass vessel to the classroom, on which he/she draws a line, places a sticker or a colourful ribbon at the edge of the vessel. He/she places it in a visible spot so that every student sees it all the time and then informs the class that if good things will be happening in the classroom, pasta will be gathered in the jar. The teacher puts pasta in the vessel if a single student or a group of students or all students do something positive. If the level of pasta goes over the level indicated by the teacher, the class together with the teacher celebrates the joint achievement. For example, the teacher can play the favourite game with the students or conduct the class outdoors.

Benefits of employing the "jar with pasta" method

– The presented method is a collective solution. This means that the class is not divided into the good and bad students and thus stigmatisation of the latter group is avoided. Even individual positive behaviour is a contribution to the well being of the whole group. Thanks to this method the class becomes a cooperative group wanting to achieve a common goal.

– It is based only on positive reinforecement – thus it is a motivation for good deeds. Therefore, both individual students and the whole class collective – with the use of this method – is oriented towards behaving positively and not to refrain from misbehaving. At the same time the reward, which we set ourselves, should not be particularly valuable but rather of a symbolic value. This method, thus, is not an attempt at "bribing" students.

– This method gives the teaher certain flexibility with respect to the activities that he/she wants to support. These could be related to maintaining clean classroom: we can, for example, notice that everybody in the class remembered about throwing away litter, leaving classroom furniture in order, or bringing workbooks and textbooks to lesson. In the same way student behaviour directly related to studying can be rewarded. We can praise individual or collective effrots during an in-class exercise or that an individual student memorised a given word. Finally, we can reinforce certain social behaviours, e.g. when a student helps their peer.

– This method helps reinforcing students who rarely make an attempt at positive baheviour and experience problems with adaptation in a peer group. It is up to the teacher to notice such behaviour and reinforce it in a given student even for a seemingly insignificant behaviour, e.g. a well-cleaned blackboard, correctly performed exercise. This type of reinforcement is conductive to achieving success by the student and gives the feeling of being a fully-fledged member of the class collective. Other students in the class start to have more positive perceptions of the given student who was able to contribute to the success of the whole group.

– The children learn positive behaviour while performing everyday activities. Reacting to proper behaviour by putting pasta in the jar (especially when accompanied by positive commentary), attributes positive meaning to the rewarded behaviour.

– Using this method "forces" the teacher to concentrate on positive student behaviour. It is beneficial for the teacher's mental well being whose way of perceiving certain in-class situations undergoes changes.

These two examples of concrete methods regulating discipline clearly point to the fact that the selection of measures done by the teacher has tremendous consequences. It is easy to undertake such activities which seem to be successful but – in reality – are more harmful than beneficial. Reflexivity is always important in teacher's work – in the case of measures related to discipline it takes on special importance.

Teacher activity at the beginning of the school year aimed at instilling correct behaviour in the student in various classroom situations, motivating to good behaviour and building the collective sense of the class functioning gives hope for significant limiting of behaviour breaching classroom discipline. However, these do not guarantee that undesired behaviour is completely eliminated. If they are noticed, the quality of teacher's reaction (intervention) is of crucial importance as it can lead to solving a problematic situation or to its escalation.

Intervening in case misbehaviour occurs

There is not a single disciplining method which can be universal, i.e. could be drawn on in all situations where discipline is breached, and at the same ensures a positive effect. What is successful in the case of one teacher, does not work out for the other teacher; sometimes the same teacher notices that in the case of one student or group of students a given method yields expected results, but does not in other cases. For this reason teacher's drawing on different disciplining methods and adjusting them to his/her own personality, reasons of misbehaviour and to the social context is of paramount importance (Pyżalski, 2010). With such a complex structure of factors influencing student behaviour, finding an adequate method of intervention can be a serious challenge which is further complicated by the expectation (be it on the part of teacher of others) that the intervention be completely efficient. A more rational attitude would be to assume that the teacher aims at maximising the likelihood of correcting student misbehaviour.

This attitude allows avoiding the cure-for-all solution (which is non-existent), and points to the need of including the above-mentioned factors which bear influence on the efficiency of disciplining measures. The following rule for implementing disciplining measures might be helpful: "use minimum force to correct improper behaviour". This rule assumes that the teacher, due to his/her role within the classroom setting, has the authority and can use it. It entails that he/she decides about the selection and implementing this and not any other disciplining measure. It also means that, in order to draw on a given method that is at the teacher's disposal, he/she needs significant authority (Kołodziejczyk, 2010). It is worth assuming that virtually the only behaviour that the teacher can control is her/his behaviour.

Among the plethora of disciplining measures, we can find those that use the minimum of teacher's authority and, at the same time, leave it in the hands of the student. A relevant example includes using a method of nonverbal communication, e.g. maintaining eye contact with the misbehaving student, standing close to the student, or indicating – by means of gesture – "put it in your bag", "silence". This method suffices to stop the undesired behaviour in many cases. However, in order to ensure their efficiency, the teacher needs to be convinced that the student is able to decipher the message, find the solution and use it.

In situations where the student's misbehaviour is motivated by the internal "turbulences", e.g. due to anger, frustration or uncertainty, drawing on other methods might be more successful, for instance, verbal methods of intervention which also draw on insignificant level of teacher's authority. Their aim is to make the student aware of his/her behaviour and its effect on others as well as make him/her talk about the problem. Usually "talking oneself out" leads to the improvement in the student's behaviour and provides the teacher with important hints as to the further work with the student. An example of a method which is efficient in such situations is the use of messages of the "I" type – as suggested by Tomas Gordon (1999) – and the method of active listening. As regards the "I" message, the teacher indicates the student behaviour and its effece as well as his/her feelings regarding this behaviour.

More teacher authority is needed when the teacher decides to confront the student but – at the same time – aims to make a deal with the student which will ensure order and allow to "save face" both by the student and the teacher. Here, making a deal means a sensible agreement and not one's victory. The role of the teacher is narrowed down to the role of an "advisor" who – by talking to the student – does not tell him/her what should be done but rather asks adequate questions thus triggering critical thinking in the student about his/her behaviour, its negative effects and future consequences. In order to finish the confrontation, the teacher asks for an acceptable compromise which will allow the student to cope with the reality and – at the same time – respect the rules of classroom behaviour. The confrontation and making the deal refer to the student using cognitive and rational skills for decision-making and controlling one's own behaviour. The teacher does not put forward the solution, but expects that the student is able to find it himself/herself (it contributes to his/her skills in this area in the future).

QUESTIONS: WHAT?, HOW?

The teacher creates the opportunity, for the misbehaving student, to reflect on this behaviour, the rules, and consequences as well as how to change his/her behaviour. He poses the following questions:

What have you done?

What are the rules?

What are the consequences if you continue behaving like this?

What will you do in order to change your behaviour? Or: What will you do to avoid the consequences?

The approaches which we have discussed should be efficient in most cases of student misbehaviour. However, in some situations, e.g. when the student is overemotional, unable to control his/her own behaviour or assumes defensive attitude, they can be insufficient and more decisive measures might be needed. They require a firmer stance on the part of the teacher (which should not be conflated with hostility or aggression) and spelling out the characteristics of the appropriate behaviour along with imposing obedience. Such measures assume the form of orders and defines the desired behaviour and the consequences in case the student does not adhere to it.

ORDER – IMPOSED CHOICE

It is used by the teacher in order to convey what behaviour is expected of students and provide a choice between adhering to these expectaions or bearing consequences. This technique consists of two elements:
1. Order to behave in a certain way
2. Consequence, tha follows, should a student not adhere

The two intervention techniques presented above ("Questions: what?, how?" and "Imposed choice") are disciplining measures which refer to consequences. Here, consequences are understood as the result of inappropriate student behaviour and are divided into natural and logical (Kołodziejczyk, 2005; McKenzie, 2008). The former is a direct outcome of inappropriate behaviour, and the role of the teacher is to make the student understand the connection between his/her behaviour and the negative consequences (e.g. the result of running through the corridor is the pain of a bruised knee). The latterare imposed by the teacher, logically related to misbehaviour (e.g. the consequence of disturbing group work is working individually or compensate for the harm done). The presented types of consequences are juxtaposed against punishment. The latter is characterised by one out of the two: it is not logically connected with misbehaviour (e.g. as a consequence of in-class misbehaviour, the student receives the punishment of not being allowed to participate in a class tour) or too severe when compared to the inappropriate behaviour (e.g. cleaning all desks in a classroom as a consequence of damaging a school desk by writing on it).

It is better to look for disciplining measures among logical and natural consequences rather than punishments. Adequately selected consequences are connected to a concrete instance of misbehaviour which constitutes an active learning element which enhances the understanding of the rules of social life.

Most frequent mistakes committed by teachers during interventions

The analysis of studies concerning the issue of teachers coping with discipline maintenance helped us to determine the following educational mistakes related to teacher's reactions:

Too severe measures – most student behaviours which breach classroom discipline are minor incidents. Measures undertaken by the teacher which to a great extent are related to his/her authority very often contribute to "fuelling" confrontation and escalating the issue.

Ambiguous messages – these are messages which do not say how the student should behave but show what is not expected of him/her. The following is a relevant example: a student left his/her desk and walks around the classroom, as a result he/she hears the following message: *Do not walk around the classroom*. The ambiguity of this message consists in the fact that in order to proceed in accordance with it, the student can behave in a number of ways: stop walking and stand still or start jumping, etc. All these behaviours will adhere to the teacher's order (stop walking), however their realisation is not the teacher's intention. A straightforward message communicates what the student should do, e.g. in a similar situation it could be worded in the following way: *Take your seat.*

An order without an alternative – frequently, when requesting a specific classroom behaviour, teachers indicate how they wish the students behave in a specific moment. Psychologists talk about such orders as "requests" for defiance, especially when such orders are made in front of the whole class. This means that the student can choose between two alternatives: adherence or opposition to the request. For students who are striving to gain their peer's respect, choosing the former entails loss of prestige, hence they often opt for the latter. Therefore, the more effective method is to give the student an alternative, e.g. if a student is playing a game that is distracting others (i.e. it should not be there), he/she can be faced with the following message using the language of "choice": *Put the game in your bag or on my desk.*

Conclusions

The solutions that we have discussed refer to several dimensions of the issue of breaching discipline at school; both theoretical and very practical in nature connected with everyday pedagogic practice. The binding core of these themes, we contend, is their axiological dimension connected with teacher's attitude towards the student – the one who engages in misbehaviour. Here, of crucial importance is teacher's reflexivity regarding how to take measures in the area under discussion in order to correct student's behaviour, and – at the same time – maintain good relations with this student and positively impact his/her development.

Problem questions:

Which student in-class behaviours should be considered to be breaching discipline? Why?

How do I prepare myself to teach disciplined behaviour to my class?

What can I do in order to make my class a learning collective?

Which of the approaches to intervention do I consider most effective? What can I gain and what can I lose employing other approaches?

In my practice, do I resort to consequences or punishment most often?

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Cooperation with parents in an Icelandic school as a basic element of preventing violence and building the desired attitude of students

Parents need to feel that they are genuine partners for the school leadership and teachers. Thus, do not ask what the parents can give to the school, ask what the school can do for the parents in order to make them partners in their child's school education.

I. DZIERZGOWSKA (2000, P. 27)

In order to understand the situation and position of the student and his/her parents in Icelandic schools, the Polish reader needs to be presented with the structure of this educational system[7] with particular emphasis laid on the differences with regard to the Polish context. This will enable us to see what the Icelandic system wants to equip the kindergarten pupil, primary school, middle school and university student with.

The main principle of the Icelandic system of education is the principle of equality in accessing education irrespectively of gender, faith, possible disability, economic status, place of residence, social or ethnical origin (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture [MOE-SAC], 2002, p. 7).

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7   The authors of this chapter have direct experience with this system – they work as teachers in the Polish School in Reykjavik.

The Icelandic parliament is legally responsible for education. It defines the fundamental aims and administrative framework of the educational system, which is under the jurisdiction of Mennta- og menningarmálaráðuneytið, an institution representing the unified departments of education, science and culture (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture)[8]. The system of education, modelled after the Danish one, is comprised of four stages.

Stage 1. Kindergarten (*leikskóli*)

Kindergartens are run by local authorities (*sveitarfélag*). Kindergarten curricula (*aðalnámskrá leikskóla / The Icelandic national curriculum guide for preschools*) are set by Mennta- og menningarmálaráðuneytið. The current law regarding this stage of education, which treats kindergarten as institutions of the first stage of education, has been in operation since 2008 (*The Preschool Act,* No. 90). According to it, kindergartens make education available to children between the ages of 12 months and 6 years. However, before children start attending kindergarten, parents put them in the so-called 'daily parents' (*dagfoleldrar*) care. Majority of children are looked after by childminders are at the ages of one and three.

Kindergartens are based in a specially adapted buildings with a separate playground, where 30-40 m² is allocated to one child. Indoors, each child should have 6.5 m² at his/her disposal (MOESAC, 2002, s. 13). Both boys and girls attend kindergartens. Disabled students have the same right to pre-school care as the abled students (the same curriculum applies to all children, yet it can be adjusted to their abilities).

Children in pre-school institutions are divided into age groups, yet it can be the case that this policy is flexible:

The main aims of Icelandic kindergartens are (MOESAC, 2002, pp. 14–15):

- to provide children with safe conditions to play and a healthy environment in which they grow up (healthy food, no sweets);
- to give children the opportunity of participating in games and activities and to enjoy the more varied educational opportunities;
- to encourage the development of children in accordance with the individual nature and needs of each child, in cooperation with parents;
- to offer children the emotional and psychological support;
- to encourage tolerance and open-mindedness;
- to support their Christian ethical development;

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8   The official web site of the ministry can be accessed at: www.menntamalaraduneyti.is

– to provide support for the foundations for children to become independent, conscious, active and responsible participants in a democratic society which is constantly and rapidly changing;

– to foster the children's creative and expressive abilities in order to strengthen their self-image;

– to build feelings of security and ability to solve problems in a non-aggressive manner.

The pre-school curriculum focuses on the child whose childhood is treated as a separate chapter in his/her development. Play, in turn, is treated as one of the most important kinds of activity in their educational experience and in the process of maturing.

Stage 2. Primary school (*grunnskóli*)

Local authorities are responsible for running primary schools while Mennta og menningarmálaráðuneytið issues educational recommendations for them (*Aðalnámskrá grunnskóla / The Icelandic national curriculum guide for compulsory school*). However, it is local authorities that set educational framework at this level. The current law concerning primary schools has been in effect since 2008 (*Compulsory School Act, No. 91*).

Námsgagnastofnun (The National Centre for Educational Materials) prints and distributes free-of-charge textbooks for this level of education[9]. Námsmatsstofnun/Educational Testing Institute[10] is responsible for running competence tests as well as probing the level of knowledge acquired by students. Learning at this stage is free of charge and parents need to purchase only lunches for their children (if need be) and/or if they wish that their children stay in the day-care centre after classes.

Attending primary school is mandatory and concerns students between the ages of and 16. Most primary schools belong to the private sector and all of them are co-educational.

Mandatory schooling comprises of 10 grades within which the following categories can be distinguished (according to the criterion of class hours per week):

1) grades 1-4 (ae 6-9) – 30 classes per week;

2) grades 5-7 (age 10-12) -- 35 classes per week

3) grades 8-10 (age 13-15) – 37 classes per week (MOESAC, 2002, p. 20).

Primary school students attend the following classes: Icelandic, mathematics, natural sciences, social and religious studies, physical education, arts and crafts, modern languages, home economics, Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), life skills. Five initial ones

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9   Information concerning this are available in English at: http://www.nams.is/languages/english-information
10   Information concerning this are available in Icelandic at: http://www.namsmat.is/vefur/stofnunin/log.html

are taught already from grade 1 through grade 9, the remaining ones are gradually introduced (MOESAC, 2002, pp. 20–21).

The main aims set for the primary school are:

– to prepare pupils for life and work in a continually developing democratic society;
– to encourage tolerance, Christian values and democratic co-operation[11];
– to encourage the development, health and education of each individual;
– to cultivate work habits that promote a continuous interest in seeking education and self-development (MOESAC, 2002, p. 19).

The objective of each primary school is to lay the foundations for independent thinking and to teach the ability to co-operate with others.

Stage 3. High school (*framhaldsskóli*)

In contrast to kindergartens and primary schools, high schools are not the responsibility of the local authorities but of the state. The law in effect concerning high schools is regulated by the 2008 act (*Upper Secondary Education Act*, No. 92). The Minister of Education (*mennta- og menningarmálaráðherra*) establishes the curriculum (*aðalnámskrá*).

This level of education is not compulsory, but anybody from the age of 16 can continue their education. High school is mixed-sex education. In order to participate in classes, students need to pay an administrative fee and for their educational materials.

Four types of high schools are run in Iceland:

a) grammar school *(menntaskóli)* – upon graduating from this school, students conclude their education with matriculation examinations;
b) industrial-vocational school (*iðnskóli*);
c) comprehensive school (*fjölbrautaskóli)*;
d) specialised vocational school (*verkmenntaskóli*) (MOESAC, 2002, p. 25).

Programmes of high school education include both compulsory and facultative courses whose content can be selected by students within the limits of the curriculum. Educational councillors (*námsragjafar*, l. mn.) assist students in solving issues related to their studies, but also those related to their private life. Disabled students receive required assistance and are usually integrated with other students, unless the specificity of classes requires individual tuition.

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11   At school, children learn not only about the basics of the Christian religion but also about other religions.

Among the most important aims of high-school education are:

a) to encourage the overall development of students in order to prepare them – as well as possible – for active participation in a democratic society, for further study and employment;

b) developing responsibility, broad-mindedness, initiative, self-confidence and tolerance towards others;

c) to appreciate culture and treat it as a value;

d) to encourage to seek knowledge continuously (MOESAC, 2002, p. 26).

Education in high school – due to the fact that it is facultative – can, but does not have to, trigger the need for active participation in society in students, the willingness to continue education and work, develop responsibility and tolerance, critical skills and independence. Due to this reason, it is characterised by values different from those of the primary school, i.e. chosen and not imposed.

Stage 4. University (*háskóli*)

The law concerning this educational stage has been in effect since 2006 (*Higher Education Institution Act*, No. 63). Mennta- og menningarmálaráðuneytið accredits higher schools which fulfil certain criteria. Higher education is mixed-sex and is not compulsory.

The beginnings of higher education in Iceland dates back to 1911 when the first Univeristy of Iceland was established (Háskóli Islands[12]).

The public sector requires students to pay an annual administrative fee, while in the private sector, students are required to pay tuition fees. At present, the Icelandic system has seven higher schools out of which four belong to the public sector, and three to the private one.

The aim of the higher education institutions, in both sectors, is to create and popularise scientific knowledge – among students and the society in general and thus strengthening the Icelandic society and its position on the international arena.

This sketch of the Icelandic educational system enables us to arrive at the image of the student, who through safe play in kindergarten and developing fortitude with psychological assistance, developing the ability of learning about himself/herself, and the developed feeling of security and skills of non-aggressive conflict solving, is on the route to primary education whose aim is to prepare them to exist in a dynamic democratic society. This student is to be tolerant towards otherness and be able to approach it without biases. Thus shaped 16 year

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12   The official web site of the university can be assessed at: www.hi.is

old can continue his/her education but is not obliged to do so. The world is open to him/her. With the developed independence, he/she can choose the path of further education or professional career.

We already know what the Icelandic educational system looks like from the perspective of a student and the school. Now we turn to the important question of the place of parents in this system and what role they fulfil. Are they really an important element or is their presence in school treated with negligence?

Kindergarten and parents – cooperation and its legal aspects

Parents' aims and their role in pre-school upbringing is described in the aforementioned 2008 act. The fourth chapter of this document, entitled Parents and the Parent Council[13], sanctions that parents are to take care of their child, monitor his/her educational process and remain in a close contact with the kindergarten staff. Parents are also responsible for providing the staff with all required information so as to enable the child to be taken care of properly (information regarding child's medical conditions, e.g. allergies as well as issues related to personal life need to be reported to the kindergarten teachers or tutors – deildarstjóri). This document also holds kindergartens responsible for informing parents of the activities taken up by their child. How does this translate into practice?

Enrolment into kindergarten is done via the Internet. Parents can choose a maximum of three institutions for their child. When the child is offered a place in a given institution, and the child's parents do not change their decision, the child is accepted. The initial period of the child's stay in the kindergarten is the so-called adaptive time (aðlögun). The child does not spend the entire day at the new place, but is accompanied by one of their parents. This lasts three days or even the whole week (depending on how the child feels there).

Parents maintain email contact with the tutor should they want to obtain information on how the child feels and behaves in the kindergarten. However, if on a given day parents decide that their child will not be attending kindergarten, e.g. due to an illness, they are required to call the kindergarten and inform the staff about the child's absence. From the perspective of the child, it is important that parents of children assigned to the same group get to know one another. For this reason, at the beginning of the kindergarten year, these institutions organise parent meetings (kynningarfundur). They are held in the afternoon, e.g. between 6pm and 8pm, when children are at home.

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13   In Iceland, there is also an independent association Heimili og skóli (Home and School), which is a part of The National Parent's Association in Iceland. More information on this can be accessed at: www.heimiliogskoli.is/english

At the beginning of the cooperation between a pre-school institution, parents receive a monthly calendar from the tutor, which presents the schedule of kindergarten activities related to a variety of events, e.g. children's birthdays. In turn, in October, individual meetings between parents and the tutor take place, during which parents are informed of how their child manages relationships with their peers, and what the tutor's observations regarding this matter are. The parent should fill in an survey prior to the meeting, by means of which he/she determines what details he/she wants the kindergarten staff to attend to, e.g. unassisted dressing of the child, building the child's relationship with peers, walking down the stairs, etc. This survey is discussed during the meeting and parents' requests are attended to during the period when the child is present at the premises of the institution.

Such individual meetings with parents are held two to three times per year. Should the child be facing adaptive problems[14] during the pre-school education, psychological assistance is offered. If any of the kindergarten staff think that the child is frightened, neglected, beaten, or whether the child experiences any kind of violence (any kind of violence against children is prohibited in Iceland), at home or outside home[15], it is reported by the principal to the Child Protection Office (Barnavernd)[16].

Article 10 of the child protection law states that each kindergarten should have its own Parent Council (Foreldraráð). Moreover, article 10 stipulates that such a council must be made up of at least three parents. Parent council elections are held every September, and the term lasts one year. The main goals of this group are to establish relations between the parent community and the kindergarten, initiating activities in accordance with the kindergarten curriculum and undertaking them. The council has also the right to evaluate the most important changes to be introduced in the institution concerning the undertaken activities.

It is important that it is kindergarten itself, as an institution, that sets such high standards both for the staff and the parents during the first stage of child education; and that the latter group along with the children is accustomed to the educational model deprived of aggression.

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14   A special 'advisor' post has been created for the newcomers to Iceland and Icelandic schools, e.g. Polish children in the Reykjavik area -- tungumálaleiðbeinandi í leikskólum – skóla- og frístundasvið (literally: language instructor in kindergartens, schools and day-care centres). This person visits various kindergartens, schools and day-care centres in order to individually work with children experiencing problems with aggression originating from not feeling comfortably in the new context. The advisor helps the child to accept the new place of residence, integrate with other children and be open to the Icelandic language.

15   Everybody is obliged to report such situations; these can be reported via telephone by dialling 112.

16   More information (in Icelandic) about this institution can be found on the web site of Reykjavikurborg: http://eldri.reykjavik.is/desktopdefault.aspx/tabid-3321/5336_view-632 . A short description in Polish can be accessed here: http://eldri.reykjavik.is/desktopdefault.aspx/tabid-4448/7617 . Apart from this institution, there is also an Ombudsman for Children (Umboðsmaður barna) which is a body independent of the government. Its main goal is to increase the living conditions and development of children and the youth. More information in Polish can be found on the Umboðsmaður Barna web site. Accessed at: http://barn.is/um-embaettid/upplysingar-a-erlendum--tungumalum/polska

Parents, from the very beginning of their child's education, have the possibility of being involved. This creates good communication practices, which certainly will be useful during the subsequent stage of child education, i.e. the primary school.

Primary school and parents – cooperation and its legal aspects

As has been already mentioned, the act regulating the functioning of primary schools was introduced in 2008. Article 18, in the fifth chapter of this document (part entitled Parents), discusses the obligation on the part of parents to ensure their child's access to primary school education, the right to choose the school[17], and receiving information on the school's activity. All data concerning the child, which could be helpful for the school in the child's education and adequate treatment, must be handed over to the school by the parents. On the other hand, parents have the possibility of obtaining information regarding their child gathered by the school in course of their education.

It is the parents' duty to consult the school on the issues related to the child's education: monitoring the child's attainment, support in the educational process. Also, it is the parents' responsibility to ensure good conditions at home so that the child attends school well rested and adheres to the rules of a given school. Parents have the possibility of participating in their child's education and the work done by the school. They need to ensure that their child completes the compulsory stages of education. If he/she ceases to attend primary school, and an illness is not the reason, the teacher needs to report this negligence to respective social services.

We will provide some real life examples of how this works out in practice by referring to the experiences gathered at one of Icelandic primary schools: Álfhólsskóli in the city of Kópavogur.

High school and parents - cooperation and its legal aspects

In the bill stipulating this stage of education, which we have discussed above, there is no autonomous article devoted to parents, as is the case with kindergarten and primary school. In chapter nine, entitled *Various Regulations*, there is a mention that each high school should have its own Parent Council. In this case, it is the school principal who calls the inaugural Parent Council meeting. The goal of the members of the council is to support the school, look after student rights, and strengthen the cooperation between the school and parents and legal guardians of minor students. The board of the council is elected during a general meeting and it sets their own procedures and elects one parent who sits on the board of the school.

17   Primary school enrolment is – similarly to the kindergarten –Internet-based.

University and parents – cooperation and its legal aspects

The legal act with regard to this stage of education has been in effect since 2006. It does not mention anything about the cooperation between university and students' parents.

Cooperation with parents – the basic element of preventing violence and building the desired attitude of students with regard to their relationships with others. The example of an Iceland primary school

We already know what the legal situation of parental responsibility regarding their children's education on all levels is. Now we make an attempt at showing the exceptional nature of the parents' presence in Álfhólsskóli[18], a primary school chosen by us. We also show a preventive programme, "Saman í sátt" ("Together in harmony") as a solution present in the school in cases of violence among students, with the hope of making it an inspiration for teachers in Polish institutions.

The word parent (*foreldri*) is omnipresent in the curriculum of the Icelandic primary school. It appears 140 times in the text. This best illustrates the position and role of the parent in the Icelandic system of education. The status of the parent can also be expressed by the motto: **3 × P**, where P refers to the following parental roles: aid, partner, and friend of the school. This division directly stems from the Icelandic educational tradition and the forms of cooperation with parents. This particularly stands out when seen from the perspective of the outsider as well as people only entering this system.

Parent as an aid

Apart from parental involvement in the educational process, it is common practice to draw on the upbringing experiences of parents and their solutions. Teachers are open to suggestions concerning different domains and are very happy to be assisted by parents. If, for instance, a child's behaviour causes problems at school, the teacher contacts parents, in the first place, and informs them of the issue also attempting to obtain information regarding potential problems with the child at home. The next step is to develop a joint method to combat the problem.

Thanks to the methods developed at home, which work out well, the parent is of great support to the teacher in their pedagogic practice, especially in case of younger children. Consulting parents and cooperating with them or simply utilising their experiences as good practices leads to achieving desirable effects. The parent is also the most valuable source of informa-

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18   Álfhólsskóli is a school where two of the authors of this chapter worked: Donaty Honkowicz-Bukowskiej i Katarzyny Rabędy. More information regarding this institution can be accessed at: www.alfholsskoli.is

tion concerning child's physical and mental state, hence emphasis is laid to develop good habits in parents to inform the school about anything that could have an impact on child's functioning at school. This enables the teacher to make a timely and adequate reaction to a given situation.

Such habits shape models of adequate interpersonal relations will from an early age, which will lead to reducing the number of unwanted situations in the future.

Parent as partner

Schools establish relations with parents even before the commencement of the child's primary school education. In many institutions, meetings between future parents and students and their teachers are organised during the summer holidays preceding the child's first year at school. Such meetings have an enormous influence not only on children but – above all – on parents, who have the possibility to familiarise themselves with the building, staff, and the main goals and rules at school. They also can meet the principal, tutor, and Parent Council representatives. They learn how to prepare their child for this new educational stage and what to pay attention to. During such meetings, the special role of the parent in education is highlighted and parents are encouraged to stay in touch and get involved.

As time goes on, parents receive more tasks. For instance, during the first years of child's education, parents' involvement in the process of developing reading skills is important. At lower grades, students are asked to read one book per week which they can take home. The content of the reading corresponds to the child's reading abilities so that the book fragments can be read to one of the parents on a daily basis. The parent, in turn, needs to keep a signed record of the readings by noting down the book's title, number of pages read. This way he/she participates in the process of developing reading skills of his/her child.

Parents are invited to actively participate in the school life by being members of or assisting the Parent Council. An example of this might be annual campaign of collecting school equipment for first graders. This event saves both time and money as purchasing a higher amount of school equipment lowers its total price.

Another interesting initiative, taken up by the Álfhólsskóli school parents, is evening patrols of the streets of the district. Parents of older schoolchildren decide, among themselves, who and when takes part in the patrol. During these "walks", parents monitor the behaviour of the youth look out for any worrying behaviour. In case anything arises any doubts, patrol participants should react accordingly, e.g. calling police; but they need to remember about procedures and not to exceed their authority.

Parent as friend

The Icelandic educational system assumes that the parties participating in the educational process can be characterised by partnership and friendship. Friendship exists between students and teachers, parents and students, six-year-olds and 14-year-olds. A six-year-old knows that relations with older mates can be not only great fun but also help as students of higher grades take care of the younger ones.

This approach ensures that the student knows that his/her teacher can be relied on regarding learning and also is aware of the respect he/she deserves despite the fact that they are on first name terms. The teacher does not position himself/herself higher than the student and takes parents' suggestion into consideration. In turn, the parents are an aid to the teacher and the student not only due to the fact that they are there when the student needs them, but also because they are treated as a friend, not an enemy, in the context of the school.

An internet-based platform for communication – the Mentor system – is used by students, teachers, and the school leadership. The user, having logged into the account, gains access to information relevant to his/her status (e.g. student, parent). And so, from the level of the student account the following are accessible: work schedule for the current week, homework, student list of a given class, and contact details of his/her classmates. In turn, the teacher can access information regarding students and parents, curricula and grades, contact and personal details. He/she is able to store information that need to be communicated to parents, students, or other teachers, enter component and final grades, as well as evaluate student's behaviour. He/she can use the page in a schedule planning mode. The stored data can be made visible to other teachers, parents or students. Parents, in turn, by logging into their account obtain access to information regarding their child's behaviour, his/her progress at school, assigned homework, material covered during classes, and also is presented with a list of contacts to all other parents in a given class. Student's absence can also be communicated through this system.

Email is the basic form of communication between the school and parents, however Icelandic schools also ascribe importance to proper direct contact. During the final school year, individual meetings between the student and parents are held in order to discuss progress at school and the student's behaviour. Prior to the meeting, the student carries out self-evaluation of his/her behaviour and grades at the following web site: mentor.is – this ensures both the student's and teacher's perspectives to be present during the meeting. It is also a good opportunity for the student to report on his/her well being at the school. This meeting lasts 15—20 minutes and is held biannually.

In emergency cases, where personal contact is needed, both parents and the teacher have the possibility of arranging the date and time of the meeting that is convenient for all parties.

In more complicated cases, which require individual arrangements, the meeting is organised in the presence of a psychologist, educational advisor, social services representative, or a representative of the school's leadership. In such cases every school develops its own procedures which are based on the general Icelandic law.

Guidelines on how to proceed in critical situations are included in every school's rules and are thus widely known. The following steps are excerpts from the rules of the Álfhólsskóli school (*Skólareglur Álfhólsskóla*, 2014).

In case the rules are breached by a student, one needs to proceed in accordance with the Reglugerðar nr 1040/2011 resolution. Consequences of inappropriate behaviour are known and do not constitute a surprise for any student or parent.

If a student's behaviour raises reservations, the situation needs to be monitored and the student's needs recognised by showing understanding and patience. The student needs to be encouraged to learn positive relations and adequate ways of communication. It is crucial to remember about additional support, getting to know the student's perspective and to talk about the issue. Meeting with the tutor needs to be organised as soon as possible in order to inform him/her about the issue.

Should rules of the school be breached, firstly the tutor or a close colleague needs to be contacted, and then the principal in order to devise an action plan and then to implement it as quickly as possible.

If the student's behaviour is still improper, the parents and tutor need to be informed, and a proper note made in Mentor (the educational platform). The tutor should hold a discussion with the student and jointly come up with an improvement plan. The student needs to be informed about the consequences of failure at this stage.

Shall the meeting with the tutor not bring desired results, the next stage is a conversation between the tutor and parents. If the student continues the improper behaviour, the teacher turns to the principal and educational advisors who seek a solution taking into account the individual context of the student.

If a student experiences problems with learning, the first step is to talk to the teacher and make an attempt at establishing the reason of this situation and to choose the best method of support. Frequently, additional classes with the teacher of a given subject yield positive

results. In more complex situations, the student is transferred to a less numerous group until he/she reaches the level of the rest of the group he/she attends.

For students unable to cope with learning, individual programmes are developed. Such measures are taken in cooperation with the parent who is systematically informed about the course of events and the progress of his/her child, and can also receive social counselling.

As has been mentioned earlier, each school is obliged to set the rules it will implement in order to prevent all kinds of violence, including bullying (*einelti*). Schools are also required to develop procedures to be implemented in cases of violent acts on the school premises. Among the 174 primary schools in Iceland, the majority (c. 70%) implements the already existing programmes in case acts of bullying are noticed (Reynisson et. al., 2011, pp. 127–128).

"Saman í sátt" ("Together in harmony") is a plan of preventing and reacting to instances of violence among children which has been in effect in Álfhólsskóli since 2003. It is based on *Mobbing i skolen – En lærervveiledning*, which have been drawn on by Norwegian specialists – Erling Roland and Grete Sørensen. Elín Einarsdóttir and Guðmundur Ingi Leifsson translated this document into Icelandic and adjusted it to the specificity of the Icelandic educational reality in cooperation with the Norwegian researchers. Their materials were titled *Saman í sátt* (2001) and served as the basis for developing procedures combating violence among students. This document is still drawn on in Álfhólsskóli.

The "Together in harmony" programme is based on preventive measures and refers to the rules which stipulate that continuous work is more important that short-run actions (Einarsdóttir and Leifsson, 2001, p. 19). Comprehensive cooperation and mutual respect are the basis for this programme. All members of the school community are involved here – parents, teachers, cleaners, chefs, educational advisors and the leadership.

Parents also cultivate good relations between one another which enables them to frankly discuss even the most difficult cases. This way they provide a positive role model for their children.

Parents organise the so-called class evenings (*bekkjarkvöld*). These can take the form of bowling, skiing, strolling with torches during long winter afternoons, board games tournament or a decorating gingerbread before Christmas – all activities performed by the whole class. Younger and older siblings are welcome to join in such meetings. Students have the opportunity to meet outside school and spend quality time together. Parents can get to know one another better.

Discussing anti-bullying programmes in Álfhólsskóli we need to stress that these are long-time measures involving positive atmosphere and cooperation between students and school

staff. Good relations with parents also constitute an important element of combating bullying. They should be characterised by mutual trust and understanding for the second party. Work and measures are based on a detailed plan which is known by all staff, parents and students. Further activities are planned well in advance.

"Together in harmony" is coordinated by the so-called managing team and is made up from representatives chosen from school staff. In turn, Student Council representatives are chosen from students in grades two to ten on an annual basis. This group meets the managing team several times a year. This helps tutors to introduce and maintain positive environment within the classroom setting. The main objective of the group is to report the rest of the students on the course of the meetings and share the knowledge regarding bullying and ways of countering it.

Very good results are achieved by means of cooperation between students of initial grades and their older peers. The latter group is ascribed certain roles and responsibilities, e.g. related to maintaining order during breaks. And so, students from the IX A class take care of students from the IV C class. The younger schoolmates are aware that they can turn to their older schoolmates in case any issues arise, and that somebody who can be informed of any injustice is always around.

The so-called befriended classes are also a part of the Álfhólsskóli school. These are matched into pairs according to the following pattern: grade one and ten, two and six, three and seven, four and eight, five and nine. Every student is matched with a schoolmate, and they meet on a regular basis during the so-called days of the befriended classes.

These events are held on a regular basis, and two or three regular classes are cancelled in order to make it possible. Befriended classes meet in order to jointly participate in games, play, and arts and craft classes, e.g. connected with the upcoming Christmas, etc. Teachers jointly prepare a programme and lesson schedule and exchange ideas and experiences.

Such activities are advantageous for everybody: older students feel responsible and appreciated, younger ones, in turn, learn to trust and model their behaviour after their older schoolmates who become an authority.

At least once during a school year, in Álfhólsskóli student surveys are conducted. Their main goal is to gather information concerning bullying and other issues regarding the behaviour of children and youth. It is also the aim of the survey to be able to make a diagnosis on where and when instances of violence appear. This study helps to see how common the problem is in a given sample, e.g. boys or girls, and what age group it is most typical of (Einarsdóttir i Leifsson, 2001, p. 20).

Most often, surveys are carried out at the turn of October and November. This study not only provides important information but also is sends an important message for the people affiliated with the school (teachers, students, parents). It implies that the school is willing and ready to undertake concrete measures against violence and bullying (Einarsdóttir i Leifsson, 2001, s. 20).

Ideally, surveying students should be done by their tutors or people whom students are familiar with and whom they trust. Also, surveying should take place at the same time in the whole school so that students do not have access to their schoolmates' answers (Einarsdóttir and Leifsson, 2001, p. 20).

Results of the annual study are presented to the school staff. Next, on the basis of the gathered information, a plan of action is developed, which should, among others, determine the manner of presenting the survey results to parents and students. At this stage, foundations of a detailed plan of action regarding violence and bullying are laid.

The school takes for granted the fact that the everyday class life constitutes an important context for discussing youth's relations and behaviours, their well-being at school and discussing instances of violence. The issue of bullying is raised on a regular basis during class meetings (*bekkjarfundir)* and general education meetings (*umsjónatímar*), when students read other students' reporting on this issue or articles regarding instances of violence. It is important that the selected material stimulates reflection and arises emotions in them (Einarsdóttir and Leifsson, 2001, p. 24).

The tutor, who is a partner in classroom interactions, also talks individually to his/her students – usually once or twice a year – during the so-called parent meetings (*foreldraviðtöl*). Such discussions can concern a variety of issues, yet special emphasis is laid on cases of serious miscommunication and/or bullying. During these meetings, the teacher needs to ascertain that he/she does not reveal his/her attitude towards other students (Einarsdóttir and Leifsson, 2001, p. 24).

Undesired behaviour can take place especially during breaks between classes. The presence of the teacher during breaks, apart from the presence of *skólaliði* (i.e. permanent school employees who take care of children during breaks in the canteen and on school premises) can prevent acts of bullying. If a staff member suspects that such a situation might have occurred, he/she does not get involved in discussions with students, but informs them that this case will be reported and investigated. Of outmost importance, here, is the teacher's consistence (Einarsdóttir and Leifsson, 2001, p. 25).

Should a school receive a report on an act of violence or bullying, the tutor along with the school leadership is required to monitor whether the case has been investigated in accordance with the school's procedures.

Teachers are required to proceed according to a specific pattern and need to take these guidelines into consideration:

– to adequately classify the case based on the school's definition concerning bullying. It is important to determine whether we are dealing with communication difficulties or with violence and/or bullying;
– to gather information during a conversation with the victim, his/her tutors and other students and staff of the school;
– to inform other teachers of the victim and other members of staff about the incident; to inform the victim's parents and offer them available assistance at school;
– to ask school specialists (educational advisor, psychologist) for advice and support;
– to conduct the discussion with the student in accordance with the regulations provided in the Together in harmony textbook or to ask the educational advisor to conduct the discussion;
– to document all the activities and to ensure confidentiality in the course of investigation (*the Saman í sátt í Álfhólsskóla* guide).

If the teacher sees that he/she is not able to solve the problem, she/he can turn to the school-authorised Anti-bullying team and inform the victim's parents and the perpetrators accordingly. This team is made up of the school leadership and educational advisors; its main aims are to seek the best solution for the reported case.

The measures enumerated above demonstrate the importance of constant and precise monitoring for problems, contact with all parties functioning at school and communication at various levels. Without this holistic conception of school's functioning as well as the significant role of the parent in this context, it would not be possible to achieve positive results.

This discussion draws attention to the crucial status and position of the parent in the Icelandic educational system. It is the parent, with his/her child, who experiences education, as if, anew but on a different plane. His/her HELP, PARTNERSHIP and FRIENDSHIP are an invaluable support for the child as well as for the staff of primary and high schools.

It can be said that parents in the Icelandic educational system are the missing chain link that has been discovered and whose potential is used, in contrast to – as stated by Elżbieta Piotrowska-Gromniak (2014) – the parent in the Polish school, who *de facto* is a useless link, or even undesired one. Presenting Icelandic solutions in the domain of education, we hope that they will constitute a valuable resource for any interested parties who look for positive changes.

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Dependence on psychoactive substances – genesis, mechanisms, prevention and intervention

Today, living with the sense of lack of stability and influence over one's fate, people seem to be incapacitated by their own limitations resulting from their participation in the ever-changing and increasingly demanding reality. We live in "the world at risk" (Beck, 2004), "the world of liquid modernity" with no defined structure, future prospects, rules, or models for action that would guarantee success (Bauman, 2007). We are expected to manage our lives individually and unassisted, take responsibility for our success, compete with others in a creative manner, "be everywhere", "keep abreast" of the world, accumulate material goods that are available and simultaneously realise ourselves spiritually. This socio-cultural conditioning of our lives[19] is not without influence on the school years.

Educational institutions follow the above-mentioned trend of changes: they are often obsessed with the test mania and school results indexing, which promotes competition and leads to the rat race that – with the consent of parents – children at an increasingly young age are involved in. The constant fight for the best position – because only the best wins – can sharpen the sense of confusion experienced by children and adolescents. That is why they start searching for a catalyst for the accumulated tension, a cure for all inconveniences of life that would solve their personal problems. Stimulants, which are conducive to substance abuse, seem to be an ideal means to instantly satisfy one's needs (depending on the needs: stimulating, sedative or one that helps lose touch with reality).

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19   Detailed descriptions of the changes that contemporary society, its culture and technology are undergoing and of the related phenomena can be found in numerous theoretical and empirical publications (see Bauman, 2009; Giddens, 2010; Melosik, 2013; Marciniak, 2011; Klichowski and Marciniak, 2013).

The present paper will focus on issues related to dependence on psychoactive substances that are crucial for effective preventive and interventional measures in schools. Forms of dependence and their definitions, mechanisms of dependence as well as principles of prevention and forms of intervention will be discussed. Thorough analysis of the above-mentioned issues was not the main aim of the present paper; they are rather only pointed out, with reference provided to the extensive literature on the subject.

Forms of dependence

One can be addicted to almost anything – any substance or activity. Apart from psychoactive substances, one can develop dependence on painkillers, tea, extreme behaviours and others. When discussing addictive substances, such terms as narcotic drugs and psychoactive substances are used, meaning substances of natural or synthetic origin acting on the central nervous system[20]. The so-called legal highs or designer drugs[21] should also be mentioned here. These can be any substance regardless of its physical state that is used for the same nonmedical purpose as narcotic or psychotropic drugs[22]. Such substances often induce addictive disorders that can manifest themselves in various forms depending on the composition and effects of a particular substance or circumstances of the use of the substance.

The literature usually distinguishes three forms/types of dependence: physical, psychological and sometimes also social dependence[23]. The present paper treats them as closely related aspects of one phenomenon and will discuss them separately.

Physical (chemical) dependence

This is one of the most dangerous forms of dependence since it upsets the homeostasis of the organism, often leads to permanent changes in the biological functioning and creates a

20   The distinction between narcotic drugs and psychoactive substances is discussed in the Act on counteracting drug addiction of 29 July 2005, which lists narcotic drugs in appendix no. 2 to art. 6, item 2. Narcotic drugs were classified into four groups, with the classification taking into account the degree of risk of dependence when using them for nonmedical purposes and the scope of their use for medical purposes. Psychoactive substances are discussed in art. 6, item 3 therein.
21   Legal regulation: art. 6, item 4 of the Act on counteracting drug addiction of 29 July 2005.
22   The International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems (10th Revision, 2010 – ICD-10), chapter 5 concerning mental and behavioural disorders related to psychoactive substance use provides a list of such substances: alcohol (F10); opioids: morphine, heroin, black tar, other narcotic drugs (F11); cannabinoids (F12); sedatives and hypnotics (F13); cocaine (F14); stimulants, including caffeine and amphetamine (F15); hallucinogens: LSD, hallucinogenic mushrooms, mescaline (F16); tobacco (F17); volatile solvents: butapren glues, chloroform, TRI, acetone (F18); and disorders related to other synthetic narcotic use (F19).
23   It corresponds well with the holistic conception of the human individual, which assumes that human functioning is based on the triad of body – mind/soul – society (soma – psyche – polis). As a result, changes affecting one level are reflected in others (Brzezińska, 2010). Considerable disproportions related to the functioning of ego on the different levels of the triad are often observed in addicts

compulsion for the narcotic drug. On the other hand, thanks to medical progress, there are new possibilities of fighting this form of dependence (detoxification). Physical dependence is thus a result of incorporating an addictive compound or its metabolites into the cycle of tissue change when using it regularly, with its composition affecting the onset time. Therefore, physical dependence is an artificially induced, acquired biological (physiological) need that manifest itself in „the compulsion for the substance that a person is addicted to. The addictive agent that has been incorporated into the metabolism or the physiology of an organism becomes now indispensable to the maintenance of biological homeostasis" (Cekiera, 2001, p. 17). The organism is fully dependent on the chemical substance when its presence becomes the normal state and determines the proper functioning of organs because its use has caused permanent changes to their biochemical functioning[24]. The individual loses control of their own needs and feels a compulsion to provide the organism with the substance as its absence leads to disturbed functioning on the tissue/cell level and marked changes in the organs after substance discontinuation in the form of the withdrawal syndrome (Augustynek, 2011; Cekiera, 2001). These changes, if they concern a growing organism, can have irreversible negative effects even at an early stage, which happens in the case of addictive substance abuse by children and adolescents.

- In medicine, a syndrome denotes a group of co-occurring symptoms that are correlated with a specific disease or condition (Maisto, Galizio and Connors, 2000, p. 18). A withdrawal syndrome is thus a set of characteristic symptoms occurring in discontinuation of a particular substance. It usually consists in "experiencing many unpleasant changes in the organism and psyche of the addict person: substance craving, lack of appetite, sweating, convulsion, shivers, insomnia, vomiting, diarrhoea and muscle aches" (Maisto, Galizio and Connors, 2000, p. 17). In order to alleviate the withdrawal syndrome, an addict going through "cold turkey" is capable of taking radical, extreme actions (also such that violate the moral and legal norms functioning within a particular group) to obtain the addictive substance.

- Increased urgency of drug cravings is related to the phenomenon of tolerance whereby an organism develops a resistance to the effects of a substance after repeated exposure (Maisto, Galizio and Connors, 2000, p. 17). In order to achieve the usual intensity of effects (e.g. stupor, intoxication or euphoria), an addict person has to gradually increase dosage[25].

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24   The current trends in addiction studies point to neurological basis of dependence, according to which physical dependence is linked to changes on the level of the central nervous system – regulation of neurotransmitters in the brain (Erickson, 2010).

25   The phenomena of cross-tolerance and cross-dependence are also possible. They occur when one or more related substances from a given group of drugs enable tolerance or addiction to all those substances. This phenomenon is especially common in the case of morphine, heroin, codeine and methadone, as well as in alcohol and barbiturate addiction (Cungi, 2007; Kuntz, 2009). The phenomenon of so-called reverse tolerance is related to marijuana use. In this case, the user does not need to increase dosage in order to achieve the same intensity of effects; moreover, sometimes the desired effects can even be obtained with smaller doses. Unfortunately, in the case

Taking narcotic drugs or psychoactive substances can (but does not have to) lead to physical dependence. Some substances cause a relatively strong physical dependence in a short time (e.g. heroin, nicotine), while others (e.g. marijuana, hallucinogenic substances) have a limited capacity in this respect. However, if the effects of taking the drug compensate for the experienced discomfort or satisfy the psychological, transcendent and existential (and thus higher) needs that the individual cannot otherwise satisfy in the state of full consciousness, the individual can develop psychological dependence to the substance or to performing certain activities.

Psychological and social dependence

Psychological dependence develops as a result of taking addictive substances and involves a strong desire to use a particular substance in order to experience its effects. This desire can be overcome but it can sometimes take on a form of an intense craving or compulsion (Augustynek, 2011; Cekiera, 2001). As Cekiera points out, psychological dependence is related to "factors such as taking the substance at a specified time, for instance in the morning, before going to bed, after work, before or after the meals. The ritual of taking the drug, the way the drug is taken, the desire to improve one's psychological comfort or relieve the discomfort are of great importance" (Cekiera, 2001, p. 17). Taking the substance or performing particular activities is so absorbing that it becomes the central element of the addict's existence; without those elements the individual cannot function as expected. Even if a withdrawal syndrome does not occur after discontinuation, the pleasure derived from exposure to the substance or activity, or the discomfort related to their absence, can be so intense that it often causes a relapse.

Most addictions start with habitual actions, that is, actions an individual performs every day that constitute fixed time points in their daily routine (dividing the day into sections) or that are associated with particular emotions or people. It is, however, important to distinguish between habitual and compulsive activities. Dependence (addiction) is often treated as a more severe case of problematic substance use, while terms such as "habits" or "customs" are used when substance use does not cause acute withdrawal symptoms (Augustynek, 2011, p. 55). Therefore, an addiction is usually associated with physical dependence and the need to increase dosage, while a habit – with psychological dependence and the possibility of taking a substance (or performing an action) without the compulsion to increase dosage or frequency.

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of marijuana use, this phenomenon can create the illusory conviction of the lack of addiction, which only causes its escalation (Kuntz, 2009).

Individuals who are socially addicted experience disorders in satisfying their psychological needs at some level. Initiating many behaviours, activities and rituals follows from the individual belonging to a specific group and conforming to the norms adopted by the community that the individual belongs to. The meaning of some of them is undisputed even if they bring harm to individuals or whole social groups. Social dependence is related to ritual or cult psychoactive substance use in a group and it has been present is this form for millennia. In times of the crisis of the family, organised social groups, traditional communities or schools as institutions, the need for affiliation becomes apparent not only among the youth. Still, belonging to a particular social group is related to accepting the norms and laws adopted by it. When satisfying their need for affiliation, an individual is in a way often "forced" to take addictive narcotic drugs, which in turn can cause physical dependence.

Causes and mechanisms of dependence

In addition prevention, it is important to take into account the correlation of factors of vulnerability to addiction as it is the basis for formulating the answer to the question why some people after taking particular doses of a substance with particular frequency develop substance dependence, while others – in the same circumstances – are still free from the compulsion for the substance. From the perspective of youth dependence, it is interesting to note that the interrelationship between different factors determining dependence is so strong that it is difficult to determine which substance (or which dosage) taken can cause dependence. Due to strong correlation between various factors affecting dependence, the psycho-bio-social model of dependence – PBS – has been adopted (Mellibruda, 1997). Although the literature lists different classifications of the causes and mechanisms of dependence (Erickson, 2010; Seligman, Walker and Rosenhan, 2003; Teesson, Degenhardt and Hall, 2005, pp. 43–56), the majority correspond with the principles of the PBS model. The following is a discussion of the biological, psychological and social factors that are relevant to using and abusing psychoactive substances and developing dependence.

Biological factors

The biological vulnerability of the organism to the negative effects of addictive substance abuse is related to genetic predisposition, cellular activity, neurotransmitters, neuronal mechanisms, sex, age, general health, diet and certain health conditions (Woronowicz, 2009, p. 63). These interacting factors create the risk of addiction that is peculiar to a given individual.

One of the most promising courses of research concerning causes and mechanisms of dependence are studies in the field of neurophysiology (Ericsson, 2010; Kuntz, 2009). They deepen our understanding of the way particular substances affect the changes in the structure and functioning of the brain, in particular neurotransmission. So far, two key mechanisms have been identified: dopamine reward system and endogenous opioid system (Teesson et al., 2005, pp. 43–56).

The former system is of key importance to "rewarding" the brain. Certain psychoactive substances (alcohol, nicotine, cannabis, amphetamine, heroin, benzodiazepines) stimulate dopamine release or inhibit its reuptake, which increases dopamine concentration in the brain (Cungi, 2007). This is related to the preparatory aspects of rewards, which is experienced on the subjective level as pleasant excitation (resulting from anticipated gratification). The endogenous opioid system, in turn, is responsible for modulating emotional reactions (especially stress responses) and mood. Endogenous opiates produced by the human body, such as enkephalins and endorphins, bind to the brain's opioid receptors, which is related to the phenomenon of satiation and obtaining reward (experience of relaxation and bliss). This system is influenced by opiates (morphine, heroin, codeine) but also nicotine, alcohol and cannabis (Teesson et al., 2005, p. 46).

In the area of biological conditioning relevant to the mechanisms of dependence, much attention has been devoted to genetic factors and neuroadaptations (Teesson et al., 2005, pp. 46–50). The former are related to individual vulnerability to addiction. Research on relatives of addicts has clearly shown that vulnerability to addiction has a genetic basis – it is inherited (Augustynek, 2011). It has also been pointed out that long-term abuse of a particular substance leads to permanent changes in the processes that regulate the functioning of the brain (neuroadaptations). Under the influence of active substances that psychoactive drugs contain (e.g. THC), processes happening in the brain undergo changes and those changes are reinforced. The brain adapts to the new conditions; it works in the altered way even after the psychoactive substance discontinuation. The craving for the substance is thus a consequence of the chemical changes in the organism (Erickson, 2010; Teesson et al., 2005, pp. 49–50).

Psychological factors

This group of factors is related to the psychological mechanisms underlying the regulation of human behaviour, which determines the difficulty of mitigating those factors during treatment. The mechanisms of special importance include learning, information processing (e.g. theories of rational choice) and personality regulation. They will be discussed individually drawing on the findings of Teesson, Degenhardt and Hall (2005, pp. 49–50).

The behavioural approach stresses the importance of the process of conditioning and learning (classical and operant) for the development of dependence (Teesson, Degenhardt and Hall, 2005, pp. 49–50). In classical conditioning, an association develops between substance use and accompanying stimuli (occurring at a similar time), both external to the individual as well as internal. As a result of the association, the appearance of a stimulus (e.g. cigarette smoke) triggers a physiological reaction that accompanies the activity (smoking), which increases the possibility of taking the addictive substance (cigarettes). The second mechanism is instrumental (operant) conditioning that strengthens behaviour that brings positive effects (it is reinforced). An individual develops a tendency to repeat the behaviour in anticipation of positive effects (e.g. a relaxed conversation when smoking a cigarette).

The cognitive and rational choice theories assume that the mechanisms of information processing, decision making and activity planning (self-regulation) lead to behaviour similar to addiction (Teesson et al., 2005, pp. 51–54). The cognitive approach assumes that dependence results from the external locus of control, a conviction that substance use is a means of regaining balance. Rational choice theories are used to explain why an addicted person chooses using a psychoactive substance over all other available options. Some researchers point to people's ability to evaluate the present and future consequences of the behaviour they engage in. People can evaluate it differently – some individuals are characterised by "cognitive short-sightedness", which entails a limited ability to evaluate the future (and usually negative) consequences of substance use. Another explanation is that some people attach more importance to future consequences that are positive (Teesson et al., 2005, p. 54).

 Some theories of dependence focus on the role of one's personality in the development of dependence. This conviction was borne out by numerous studies demonstrating that some personality factors are clearly related to the degree of vulnerability to addiction. Those factors include low frustration tolerance, high levels of neuroticism (lack of emotional stability, strong sense of insecurity), high levels of psychoticism (low levels of socialisation and responsibility, emotional coldness, subjectivism and egocentrism, strong need of self-fulfilment, impulsiveness and aggressiveness), experiencing depression and anxiety, lack of strong father and mother role models in the family, lack of problem solving abilities, low self-esteem, lack of sense in life, unsatisfied need of affiliation and the need to belong to a group (Cekiera, 2001, p. 18–19; Teesson et al., 2005, p. 52–53). The relationship between personality traits and the vulnerability to dependence becomes obvious in the case of people with a particular type of personality ("the addictive personality") who are more probable to become dependent. On the other hand, dependence can influence changes in personality traits (Teesson et al., 2005, s. 53).

Social and environmental factors

Each culture has its own particular (written or orally transmitted) patterns of behaviour, rituals related to taking psychoactive substances, often intended to trigger particular behaviour. In our culture, environmental factors of psychoactive substance use are predominantly related to family and peer group.

An especially important role is played by the family environment, which can "increase or reduce the risk of addiction by creating conditions favourable to the proper development of its members" (Cekiera, 2001, p. 70). It is in the family environment that one's attitude towards stimulants is shaped. The key mechanism here is social learning – the attitude of one's parents/siblings to psychoactive substances, and especially them using such substances, models similar behaviour among children. Moreover, a greater risk of problematic behaviour related to addictions occurs among children and adolescents from single-parent, broken or large families and families characterised by lack of harmony (conflicts), weak family ties (e.g. parents working away from home, travelling often), an inconsistent educational model or high tolerance for stimulants (Cekiera, 2001, p. 19; Teesson et al., 2005, p. 55). Unfavourable conditions in the family where no proper model for developing interpersonal relations has been created encourage the search for a support group that will satisfy one's need for affiliation[26].

One of the most important factors determining the risk of addiction among adolescents is peer environment. One's first attempts at experimenting with drugs very often happen in a peer group, and the knowledge of adolescents' attitude to such substances allows to a large extent to predict the intensification of their use (Teesson et al., 2005, p. 55). The problematic use of psychoactive substances can also be promoted by socio-cultural circumstances such as lower level of educational achievements and poorer education; spending time with peers who are in conflict with the law; group of alcohol or drug addicts, or toxicomaniac group (people taking heavy drugs in toxic quantities); easy access to drugs, alcohol, medications and other substances; living in areas with relatively high levels of crime (Cekiera, 2001, p. 19; Teesson et al., 2005, p. 55).

The above-mentioned psychological, social and biological factors of vulnerability to dependence interact with each other, often reinforcing each other. It is difficult to analyse the lack of ego integrity, experienced loneliness, depersonalization[27] or loss of meaning in life by ignoring the individual's involvement in social relations or the numerous social meanings. It should be remembered that biochemical processes taking place in the brain underlie the free will.

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26   Cf. attachment patterns in the family that influence one's self-esteem and proper development of a child's identity in the family (Karmolińska and Jagodzik, 2013).
27   Depersonalisation is the feeling of dissociation from reality accompanied by the detachment within the self regarding one's body, identity and the awareness of who one is and what one feels (Lowen, 2012, p. 10).

In the context of planning and undertaking preventive or interventional measures in schools, it is necessary to adopt a holistic approach according to which factors affecting the student – from the exo-, endo-, micro- and macrosocial levels (Bronfenbrenner, 1988) – are seen as interrelated.

The knowledge of types and mechanisms of dependence allows rational planning of measures of counteracting this phenomenon and forms of help for addicts. The following section will discuss these issues.

Preventive measures in schools

When it comes to preventive measures, the situation in schools requires special attention of all people interested in the broad topic of education and upbringing, including counteracting addictions. In the school environment, students can improve their social skills and competence. Schools create new possibilities of development; on the other hand, they can be a source of negative experience (e.g. fierce competition) and contribute to difficulties in many spheres of functioning (e.g. learning undesirable behaviours from one's peers through modelling).

The broad understanding of prevention includes all activities that can create an opportunity to „actively collect different experiences that will promote the development of the student's ability to handle difficult life situations" (Pasek, 2000, p. 3). It should be thus assumed that preventive activities are a natural part of the education process. In many schools those activities are limited to meeting statutory requirements such as including required topics in the curriculum, the educational and preventive programs, and then bringing them into effect. Unfortunately, those measures very often are not reflected in the students' behaviour outside school.

Contemporary approach to prevention[28] should take into account the fact that all activities aimed at shaping attitudes, also those resulting from the interaction between teachers and students, influence the attitude of students to using and abusing different types of substances. Such an approach to prevention is based on the three empirically identified relationships: 1) dysfunction of an individual is a manifestation of their insufficient effectiveness in dealing with the demands of life; 2) level and scope of resourcefulness/helplessness of an individual is conditioned by many intermediary factors (risk and protection factors); 3) manifestations of an individual's dysfunction are alternative to each other (they can replace each other) depending on the circumstances (Gaś, 2006, p. 30). According to this perspective, preventive activities should focus on supporting the individual in dealing with different life situations and not concentrating on the symptoms.

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28   Traditional models of prevention include the following: cognitive approach, affective approach, cognitive-affective approach, cognitive-behavioural approach and normative education approach (Gaś, 2006, p. 30).

It should be mentioned here that in prevention it is not the substance that the student might become dependent on that is important but rather their attitude towards the world and to dealing with problems or crises: "the modern model of prevention classes focuses on developing general psychological and social skills and is based on the assumption that it is not the drug that is dangerous but certain deficiencies in the individual" (Gaś, 2006, p. 5). Those deficiencies are disturbed, usually unsatisfied, needs of love or acceptance, which cause low self-esteem that a child can compensate for in different ways. This is when one can develop the so-called neurotic personality (Hall and Lindzey, 2002). People with neurotic personality traits have a tendency to satisfy their needs by taking addictive substances as they cannot otherwise compensate for those deficiencies. Therefore, prevention classes should include topics that are relevant to young people's needs and should focus on the ability to solve problems in themselves and in their environment that disturb the process of satisfying individual needs. Today, prevention is understood as any teacher behaviour aimed at developing personal skills and competences of students (any interaction).

There is an ongoing discussion in the scientific community about the competences a modern teacher should have. As a consequence, a kind of a template or model has been prepared that specifies characteristics that today's teachers should be equipped with[29] so that they can meet the demands of the modern times and protect students against the current threats[30].

The system of support and prevention consists of many elements that should be selected taking into account the model of supporting children in their development that has been adopted as the dominant one by the school environment of a given institution[31]. The humanistic model of supporting children's development turns out to be the best for the proper development of students in educational institutions. Developed based on humanistic psychology (cf. Bramme, 1984), the model assumes that supporting another person means creating conditions for their comprehensive development. Therefore, according to Gaś (1999, 2001), education is a process of supporting students in their development aimed at achieving full maturity in the four basic areas: physical, psychological, social and mental. Educational contact understood in this way engages both the educator (e.g. parent, teacher) and the pupil who remain in a personal relationship and cooperate to achieve educational goals (Gaś, 2006, s. 11).

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29   By using the expression "equip with", we are referring to the theory based on contemporary psychological knowledge which assumes that it is possible to change one's attitudes and shape adequate traits in the course of lifelong learning. According to the theory, at any moment of their life, an individual can acquire new traits.
30   Based on an extensive overview of the literature, Gaś (2006) suggests that the following should be added to the list of personal traits of an educator: 1) self-awareness and awareness of one's own system of values, 2) experiencing and expressing feelings and emotions, 3) providing pupils with patterns of behaviour and attitudes, 4) interest in people and social affairs, and 5) the ability to: understand pupils and demonstrate it; ensure their safety in difficult situations, encourage positive actions and changes in behaviour.
31   The literature on the subject includes references to the following classical models of supporting children's development: medical, compensation, educational and moral (cf. Gaś, 2006, pp. 9–11).

Thus, the factors determining the correct course of the process and preventive activities include: 1) attributes of the educator who should demonstrate particular attitudes, traits, values, knowledge etc. in all their activities and not just "simulate" them in contact with the pupil and 2) skills of the educator, that is, their ability to establish contact with the pupil, their authenticity and sincerity, and the willingness to maintain good and strong relationships. Together those elements create conditions conducive to one's development and the implementation of preventive measures (cf. Gaś, 2006, sp. 11).

Obviously, prevention activities limited to the domain of school and to school grounds will not be effective. Prevention activities should be directed towards professionally designed prevention programmes that would take into account the broad range of development aspects related to the audience of those programmes[32]. What is needed are comprehensive reinforcing programmes for children and adolescents that would embrace the contexts of family (e.g. workshops for parents), school (e.g. training and workshops for teachers), activities within the peer group (e.g. peer advisor programmes) and local communities (e.g. the closest neighbourhood) (Pasek, 2000, p. 49). Another positive aspect of the comprehensive approach to preventive activities is the fact that it enables simultaneous development of the youth, teachers and parents, who become partners for each other. Moreover, in such circumstances, the teacher becomes an authority that cannot pretend and try to influence young people's attitudes, norms, values and beliefs that he considers desirable even though they are different from his own (he has not internalised them himself). This way the system of looking for someone to blame can be avoided that functions in many schools, in which teachers blame parents for the educational and emotional failures of children, and parents in turn place the blame on the activities of teachers.

In conclusion, it can be assumed that preventive measures will be effective if they take into account the following:

1. Activities modifying the formal conditions of prevention in schools (e.g. analysis of the atmosphere in school, favourable school regulations and procedures).
2. Personal and professional activities of teachers (personal development of teachers or preparing specific development programmes consistent with current knowledge).
3. Fostering cooperation with parents (engaging them in the school, providing support, identifying the person of the parent with the student's resources, partnerships).
4. Modifying the peer environment: influencing the quality of peer relations, adapting preventive measures to the needs of students and factual status of addictions among the youth (primary and secondary prevention).
5. Building a community coalition (diagnosis of the local community's resources) (Gaś, 2006, pp. 105–199).

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32   A detailed analysis of the principles of designing and implementing prevention programmes, including the commonly made mistakes (not only in the field of addictions), has been prepared by Joanna Szymańska (2012, pp. 67–78).

Such broadly defined prevention is difficult to implement and it requires a lot of work on the part of the school environment. Thanks to it, however, it is not an activity that is pro forma but is open to help and cooperation and constitutes the basis of a support and intervention system when preventive measures do not produce desired effects.

Interventional measures directed at addicted students

Teacher competences and the specificity of the school situation promoting effective intervention do not differ from those presented in the part devoted to prevention. Therefore, the following section will discuss only selected intervention methods that can be used in the case of students (and others) who abuse psychoactive substances[33].

In the case of strong physical substance dependence, detoxification might be necessary before beginning the therapy proper (Augustynek, 2011; Seligman et al., 2003; Teesson et al., 2005). The goal of detoxification is to remove a psychoactive substance from or decrease its concentration in the organism, which can happen spontaneously in the student's natural surrounding (e.g. at home). After detoxification, one can proceed with the therapy proper (including, among others, pharmacotherapy[34]) aimed at achieving long-term abstinence. Both forms of intervention can be carried out in a closed ward of a hospital or clinic but also through outpatient treatment programmes, though the former method is more effective (Augustynek, 2011, pp. 48–49). Intervention does not always require detoxification and hospital treatment – this applies to a limited range of situations (e.g. very strong dependence, acute poisoning, overdose) and dependence to a relatively small group of substances (mainly alcohol and heroin). In Poland, addiction treatment is free and voluntary (with the exception of involuntary commitment). If it concerns an individual under 18 years of age, the legal guardian (usually a parent) has to give their consent[35].

The previously signalled forms of helping addicted students are not directly connected to the functioning of educational institutions. More attention will be devoted to intervention strategies related to maintenance (psycho)therapy (counselling). Maintenance therapy includes

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33   Different ways of implementing interventional measures (including therapy and treatment) have been discussed in detail in the literature on the subject of dependence (Augustynek, 2011; Seligman et al., 2003; Teesson et al., 2005).

34   Based on the literature (Augustynek, 2011; Erickson, 2010; Seligman et al., 2003; Teesson et al., 2005), the aims of pharmacotherapy can be categorised in the following way: 1) replacing the psychoactive substance (methadone treatment); 2) provoking aversive reactions (e.g. disulfiram in the treatment of alcohol addiction); 3) reducing substance craving and preventing relapse (e.g. naltrexone and acamprosate), 4) reducing disorders indirectly related to addiction (e.g. depression after cocaine discontinuation), 5) creating the placebo effect.

35   In the case of people under 16 years of age, the statutory representative or actual guardian (e.g. a parent) has to give their consent for medical treatment (including addiction treatment). In the case of people between 16 and 18 years of age, the consent of the minor is required, cf. art. 17 of the Act on patients' rights and patients' ombudsman of 6 November 2008 (Journal of Laws Dz.U. 2007, No. 70, Item 473 as amended).

techniques and forms of intervention (e.g. counselling, psychological intervention) that allow the addicted person to return to life in abstinence. This is achieved by developing the ability to function in everyday life without the psychoactive substance (Augustynek, 2011, pp. 48–49). Counselling involves methods used individually or in groups (educational, inclusion or family groups) and is usually conducted by specialists who can help the addict in solving specific problems (Erickson, 2010, pp. 178–180). In the case of addicted students, this help is provided by, among others, psychologists and pedagogues (working in schools or counselling centres).

Counselling enables the addicted person to gain insight into their behaviour (understanding problems, changing way of thinking). The basis of interaction here is intensive education, encouragement to analyse one's life goals, to recognise the mechanisms that lead to undesirable thoughts and behaviours, and to search for ways of handling them[36].

Intervention in the case of addicted people is very difficult, which is reflected in the data proving the (in)effectiveness of therapy. The relapse rate in the case of alcohol, nicotine or heroin addicts is similar – approximately half of the people return to taking the substance within three months following treatment; only every tenth person that has not used any form of help lives in abstinence a year after substance discontinuation, and only one third will live in abstinence when they are 65 years old (Seligman et al., 2003, p. 622; Teesson et al., 2005, pp. 80–85). The low effectiveness of interventional measures proves that a better strategy is broad-based prevention. Yet again the saying that prevention is better than cure turns out to be true.

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36   Intervention techniques include, among others, cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT), Motivational Enhancement Therapy and Motivational Interviewing (cf. Erickson, 2010; Teesson et al., 2005, p. 73), counselling and behavioural therapy (cf. Seligman et al., 2003, p. 622; Teesson et al., 2005, pp. 80–85), family therapy (cf. Seligman et al., 2003); self-help groups (cf. Augustynek, 2011, pp. 31–32), alternative forms: acupressure, acupuncture, hypnosis, harm reduction, treatment based on faith (por. Erickson, 2010; Teesson et al., 2005).

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Addiction to new media. Does it require a different approach at school?

> All processes of our individual and collective existence are directly shaped (although certainly not determined) by the new technological medium
>
> CASTELLS, *The Rise of the Network Society* (2008, P. 79)

What Castells wrote in *The Rise of the Network Society* is significant for our analysis. New media definitely influence all processes occurring in our everyday existence, often shaping them without notice for our original preferences and redefining our needs. It is worth considering whether new media mean also new addictions. Is the process of media transformation and their permanent convergence (M. Przybyła and T. Przybyła, 2014), their omnipresence and intrusiveness (Janaszek-Serafin, 2008) conducive to emergence of new 'holisms'? Can an addiction adjust itself to the new 'additive agents' and 'psychoactive substances', which the new media may be?

Authors (of this paper included) consistently use the term 'new media' when referring to both 'new' and 'new new media' (Levinson, 2010). In fact, a question may be asked whether such a division is still relevant. Levinson (2010) suggests that the second term is more legitimate. Regardless whether the authors of this paper agree with Levinson's division, he has a point; and the Polish academic discourse lacks pedagogical reflection, extensive literature and appropriate classes touching upon this subject. Besides, the new new media have 'equalled consumers and producers. Nowadays anyone can create their own message and make use of proposals presented by other users' (Levinson, 2010, p. 15). According to Morbitzer 'these media retain all the features of new media and add the ''social" character to them' (2011, p. 1).

In this context, it is impossible for the authors of this paper not to be interested in these new new media. Contemporary media are devices and/or applications which are to a large extent based on or fully determined by the Internet. Contemporary, and thus 'the newest' media utilised by students are convergent, i.e. linked together (cf. M. Przybyła and T. Przybyła, 2010, 2014; M. Przybyła, 2011). Hence, the new media described herein also include these 'new new' ones. The willingness to call more current media (newer than those which used to be the newest) and repeat the word 'new' over and over might lead to certain absurdities. We also must remember about the media getting older. Applying the term 'new medium' to a computer (considering several decades of its presence in our homes) and a mobile phone (which in mid-eighties began to overrun the world and lose its main function to other media) means abusing these words. Modern media displace the old ones, replacing and/or complementing their functions, and thus become the new media.

Numerous Polish and foreign researchers express the view that both chemical psychoactive substances as well as certain activities are addictive (Matuszczyk, 2000; Augustynek, 2005, 2010, 2011, 2011a; Kwaśniak, 2011; Pyżalski, 2012; Filip, 2013; Young, 1998, 1999; Widyanto and Griffiths, 2006; A. A. Ceyhan, E. Ceyhan, 2008; Guerreschi, 2010). This applies mostly to today's students as the first generation which grew up 'in the company' of digital mobile technologies. Their whole life (as opposed to older students) is somehow filled with digital gadgets. Their everyday happens online, on Facebook, Wikipedia, YouTube, in Second Life, Myspace or on Instagram - as well as in the world of wireless devices, applications and in the virtual 'cloud'. The fact that these digital worlds exist determines and translates to leisure activities. Virtual life has become integral to their real life (cf. Przybyła, 2013; Lam, Lee, Chan and McNaught, 2011).

The new media, and thus new telecommunications technologies, with mobile devices at the head, are perceived as a potentially addictive phenomenon. There are numerous terms describing the dependence on the Internet and new media, which also indicates the global nature of this problem (Pyżalski, Klichowski and Przybyła, 2014; Greenfield, 1999). These terms include among others:

- virtual addiction
- cyberaddiction or cyberhabits
- *Cyber Freak, Nethead*;
- netaholism or netaddiction
- Internet addiction
- *Internet Addiction Disorder* - IAD
- computer addiction

- information addiction

- phone addition, smartphone addition

M. Filip (2013) believes that 'Internet addiction has no precisely established diagnostic criteria or definition' (p. 91), and it manifests itself through 'hours-long, harmful and unjustified tendency to be online, defined in international literature as Internet addiction, Internet Addiction Disorder, Internet overuse, compulsive Internet use, pathological Internet use and online-holism' (p. 91).

When talking about addiction to new media, we often think about use of these media (devices, applications) limited by nothing and no one. In practice, neither friends, nor family and important celebrations and events can draw a young person away from e.g. spending time online. The global network blurs the division into night and day, and thus may break the rhythm of the day and one's functioning in various social groups (from family to school). This brings certain consequences regarding the future of the young people, as it affects their work and professional career.

EU NET ADB consortium conducted a study (on a total sample of 13,300 respondents) regarding Internet overuse among the young aged 14 to 17 in Poland and Europe (2012, p. 4–15), which yielded disturbing results. The following indicators are particularly telling:

- 1.3% of young Poles show signs of Internet overuse, while 12% are in danger of such overuse. The respective results for the European sample (teenagers from Iceland, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Spain and Greece) are 1.2% and 12.7%. In total 13.3% teenage Poles (13.9% in the European sample) use the Internet dysfunctionally;

- boys show instances of dysfunctional behaviour caused by Internet use more often; the problem of dysfunctional use of the global network occurs more often in teenagers whose parents have primary education;

- the young who use the Internet dysfunctionally more often suffer from psychosocial disorders;

- there is a strong link between gambling, social media, online gaming and dysfunctional Internet use;

- people who go online to do their homework and find information show symptoms of dysfunctional Internet use more rarely.

What may we call an addiction, and what is no addiction yet? As Woronowicz (2009) notes, 'description of various addictions would not be full without at least signalling existence of other ''addictions" which in the future may be included in professional lists of medical condition' (p. 518). However, the same author adds further that: 'recently, addictions have become fashionable. Many behaviours are viewed and judged from such a perspective (...) [while] much more often we may speak rather about certain habits or custom than a real addiction' (Woronowicz,

2009, p. 518). Jędrzejko (2014) points out that the discussion concerning dependencies on digital technology being listed as disorders has been going on for years. He calls for the term 'cyberdisorder' in this context and indicates that numerous Polish researchers have tried to describe the new addiction: 'most often the matter is touched upon by J. Bednarek, S. Bębas (2012), D. Szarzała, A. Andrzejewska, J. Pyżalski (2012), A. Augustynek' (Jędrzejko, 2014, p. 4). Yet in his opinion 'just a few of the abovementioned researchers have practical experience in diagnosing these disorders' (Jędrzejko, 2014, p. 4).

Of course one has to agree that in some cases we deal with only habitual or customary performance of certain activities. However, an increasing number of studies point our that emergence a new category of disorders related to new media addiction is only a matter of time (Cierpiałkowska, 2008; Madeja, 2008; Woronowicz, 2009; Pawłowicz, 2010; Marcinkowski, Bajek and Galewska, 2010; Piekarski, Krajewska-Kułak and Kowalczuk, 2012; Filip, 2013). In this context, it is very worrying that recognition of these 'new addictions' by researchers who classify them as dangerous behaviour does not keep pace with the process of young people becoming addicted. These two processes may significantly delay classification of new addictions, and as a result appropriate counteractions as well.

A. S. Reber and E. Reber note that an addicted person is 'a person in a relationship determined by dependency on other people or a substance' (A. S. Reber and E. Reber, 2005, p. 845), and Colman adds that addiction is 'psychological and sometimes physical dependency on a substance (...) characterised by necessity to take this substance in order to feel its influence' (Colman, 2009, pp. 820–821). B. Kiełbasa (2007) finally adds that: 'if you do IT often, if you are strongly attached to IT, if you repeatedly say that IT is harmful, but still repeat IT - this is addiction' (Kiełbasa, 2007, as quoted in: Piekarski, Krajewska-Kułak, Kowalczuk, 2012, p. 500). However, does this approach still stand in the 21st century? This very theoretical analysis of the problem does not show its full intricacy; perhaps it underestimates what we (rather crudely) call 'Internet overuse'. After all, apart from psychoactive substances some pathological behaviours also lead to malfunctioning of the brain. Such pathological behaviours are often described as 'non-substance related disorders, non-chemical or behavioural addictions, and habitual behaviours' (Filip, 2013, p. 90). As therapists indicate, the behaviours result from the fact that it is impossible to adjust to the fast pace of life, and are additionally influenced by the technological progress (Filip, 2013, p. 90). The problem is definitely multidimensional; it is not limited to the worrisome excessive amount of time spent 'in the company' of the new medium. However, it is worth mentioning that there is no common ground regarding terminology or classification of certain behaviours, despite the scientific progress and numerous up-to-date scientific studies concerning new addictions (Cierpiałkowska, 2008, p. 111).[37]

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37   Some authors maintain that such behaviours are addictions, for some they bear only certain hallmarks of addictions, and for yet another group of researchers they do not constitute addictions at all.

Cierpiałkowska, when referring to the overuse of Internet resources and potential, underlines the fact that no final name for this behaviour had been established in literature. Contrastively, various descriptions function simultaneously. The author points out that English language studies include terms such as: 'Problematic Internet Use, Internet Dependency, Pathological Internet Use, Internet Addiction Disorder and Internet Addiction' (Cierpiałkowska, 2008, pp. 111–112). It is necessary to note, however, that the thorough review of literature and the diversity of terms observed by Cierpiałkowska led het to the statement that 'usage of so many various terms - especially those suggesting we are dealing with a disorder or addiction - is worrying, and seems to be a premature conclusion' (Cierpiałkowska, 2008, p. 112).

Young (1998) presents the specifics of the new Internet addiction with use of criteria which so far have been applied in diagnostic of pathological addiction to gambling and based on the DSM-IV classification. She lists eight criteria which might be seen as indicators of addiction to the global network. Young maintains that observing at least 5 out of 8 criteria within a period of 12 months might classify a given person as an addict. The symptoms that she refers to (1998) are:

1) constant thinking about and uncontrollable willingness to be online;

2) the growing need to be online which manifests in continuous lengthening of time spent on the Internet;

3) (active) presence online which is longer than it was previously assumed;

4) problems with application (or lack) of control mechanisms that limit online activity;

5) emergence of 'hunger', depression, anxiety etc. once the person stops using the web;

6) trouble with family, friends and at school, disturbances in professional relations caused by being online;

7) cheating oneself or others in order to conceal the actual amount of time online;

8) compensation of one's problems (depression, feeling of rejection or hopelessness) through escapes to the virtual world.

Internet addiction (directly related to addiction to media utilising online resources) is, according to Young (1998), Treuer, Fábián, Füredi (2001), Davis (2001), and Augustynek (2003, 2005, 2011) equal to losing significant control over all aspects of an individual's life - family, social and professional life. Simultaneously, authors note that the process of becoming addicted to the Internet or new media is not related to intoxication of the organism which is the case with addiction to gambling.

There are three phases of becoming addicted to the Internet, identifiable in light of divisions proposed by Young (1998) and Augustynek (2000, 2003).

1. The first phase is 'ice-breaking', learning more about the web and engaging in online activity. It might be metaphorically called 'falling into a web'. It is the time of searching for information, finding friends, subconscious rationalising of being engaged in virtual space.

2. The second phase is the time of becoming addicted, and replacing real life, face-to-face friends and acquaintances with discussion boards, chats and online contact. In this phase one begins to feel the hunger for the Internet, and being online becomes a form of escape from problems.

3. The third phase is the time when being online becomes a cure-all to all (also real) troubles. This is escaping from real-life problems, but also withdrawal from the family and social life. Here begins the trouble with work and education. In extreme cases the virtual world becomes more real and closer than the one in which it is necessary to remember about important everyday actions (eating, personal hygiene, sleep).

At the same time we must remember that the phenomenon of Internet addiction might be more heterogeneous and multidimensional than drug addiction. In the latter case we are mostly dealing with ingestion of various psychoactive substances. In both cases, the context for the situation seems important: with drugs, the forms in which they are 'transported' to the addicted organism matter. Internet addiction is marked by multitude of forms of the addictive factors - they appear in various types, parallelly and simultaneously.

The outline and map of behaviours which belong to the notion of 'Internet and new media addiction' include the following (cf. Young, 1999; Augustynek, 2003, 2005; Widyanto and Griffiths, 2006; A. A. Ceyhan and E. Ceyhan, Loneliness, 2008):

- cybersex, online pornography (EU NET ABD, 2012; Block, 2008; Wetterneck, Burgess, Short, Smith and Cervantes, 2012);
- online contacts and conversations (Kittinger, Correia and Irons, 2012; Greenfield, 1999; Sotrender, 2014);
- online games and computer (video) games (cf. Susman, 2007; Block 2008; Parkin, 2012; Szpringer, Horecka-Lewitowicz, Czerwiak and Laurman-Jarząbek, 2008; Gartner, 2013; King and Delfabbro, 2013);
- copying films, music, software; supplementation of software;
- electronic gambling (Shead, Walsh, Taylor, Derevensky and Gupta, 2011; Filip, 2013);
- reviewing and collecting of large amounts of data from the Internet (Castels, 2009; Keen, 2007; Jakubik, 2001);
- hacking (Xu, Hu and Zhang, 2013; Alper, 2014; Dudek and Johnson, 2011).

It seems for psychologists around the world that highlighting this very serious problem is the right foundation for potential further clarification what is the 'new addiction'. Setting a boundary between what we call a norm and overuse of services and devices usually perceived as new media will constitute a basis for later empirical classification of 'new addictions'.

The core of the problem is establishing and determining diagnostic criteria which are both general and specific enough to include characteristics of a given medium, as well as preparation of a thorough theoretical framework (Cierpiałkowska, 2008). Regardless of these recommendations, one cannot disagree with the hypothesis by Madej (2008), who claims that 'the register of current addictions to psychoactive substances is growing in new types of dependencies, without such substances involved. They include dependencies on particular activities and behaviours, 'patterns' of behaviour, fashion and looks, addictions to television, computer games, the Internet, mobile phones, obsessive-compulsive shopping etc., and also emotional dependencies on other people' (Madej, 2008, p. 221).

Humans are forced to find themselves in new roles and contexts because they live in a world dominated by information (infoholism - cf. Jakubik, 2001; the search for information, coding, storing, sending, decoding it). Some of us do it naturally and treat the digitised world as extension of their own senses (McLuhan, 2004). Some, regardless of their age, perceive the digital world as an artificial world which is unnatural, even if it constitutes an element of their everyday lives. Individual characteristics and psychological predispositions may determine the level of (un)willingness to use the Internet and devices which are 'armed' with it. Unquestionably, factors such as gender, age, education, professional experience, as well as determinants such as the psychological profile and individual features play a role here. Therefore, there is a double feedback loop between the Internet and the psyche. Tadeusiewicz (2002) suggests that the psychological profile of a person is the core that determines how they are going to use the Internet. On the other hand, a person deeply entangled in the web may expect it will be affecting their psyche.

The world is full of changes of more changes. What is current becomes the past within a moment (Prensky, 2001). Humans live in constant hurry, as they want to stay updated, well-informed and constantly satisfied. At the same time, humanity falls prey to the pressure of modernity. Many people who live now function in the state of permanent 'future shock' (Toffler, 1998), trying to keep up with the changes, often failing.

For the generation of *digital immigrants* (Prensky, 2001) the constant change is a form of socialisation. It requires perpetual adjustment. In turn, digital natives jump from one cultural discourse to another as if it was natural and common for them (Melosik, 2003). They evolve all the time, modifying, complementing and transgressing in the world around, which is fragmentary, sometimes illusory, chaotic and fluid. However, in the end this world shapes their

personality and the I, either their own or modelled after someone else's I (Przybyła, 2013). In this sense, modelling the desires of our bodies or our feelings very often may be reduced to a search for gratification in our consumerist world. The need for a reward is intensified by 'psychoactive chemical substances, but also natural rewards (...) or certain behaviours. (...) The neuroanatomical core of the reward system is the mesolimbic dopamine system, in which the neurotransmitter, dopamine, signals pleasure from consumption, intensity of euphoria, and pleasure derived from waiting for a reward' (Filip, 2013, p. 87). Melosik describes the phenomenon as follows: 'the consumer is to strive for his or her happiness without any doubt [and] (...) prefer objects which provide the most satisfaction' (2007, 31). The standpoint could be complemented by the words of Bauman: 'Nowadays, consumerism does not consist in gathering things, but rather in deriving instant and temporary pleasure from them. Why should knowledge - one of goods obtained at school or university - be an exception to this universal rule?' (2011, s. 151). We expect gratification more than ever, and humans have unlimited access to various forms of (self-) rewarding and (self-)valuation more than ever as well. Of course, the case here is not to condemn the reward system, since it often boosts our motivation to act, becomes a mainspring for competitiveness and attempts to achieve better results or progress. The problem lies somewhere else entirely, namely at the level of defining basic notions, and subsequently of scientific and common understanding of them. Overuse is therefore something different than addiction.

However, it is worth our time to think about the mechanisms of both processes - after all they are identical at least in the first phase. Vetulani claims that 'neurobiologically speaking there is no basic difference between addiction to substances we call narcotics, to other substances such as alcohol or tobacco, and to certain behavioural situations: gambling, kleptomania and risky sexual behaviour' (Lenart and Vetulani, 2009). Expanding the train of thought on new addictions referred to by Vetulani, it is important to notice behavioural addictions highlighted by Guerreschi (2006). In those, chemical substances are not injected into the organism; rather they are based only on (seemingly) socially acceptable behaviours and actions. To recapitulate, the role of electronic media in 'cultural infection with addictions' (Madeja, 2008, p. 225) is growing. Any attempt at resignation from the addictive factor or simply 'stopping the habit leads to emotional and physiological complaints which distort previous ability to self-regulate and strongly disturb the organism's homoeostasis' (Madeja, 2008, p. 225).

What is noticeable though, is the already mentioned fact: currently used international psycho-pathological classifications ICD-10 and DSM-IV only include addictions to substances called 'psychoactive'. This is perhaps why Madeja (2008) suggest that 'in the context of complexity of addictions, it seems necessary to employe systemic thinking which may bring about better heuristics than the current ones' (Madeja, 2008, p. 380). He purports that an individual needs to be perceived as a uniform whole, not separated from his or her

surroundings. It would allow for a much more objective perception of a person fallen to new addictions.

Numerous studies show (according to Pies, 2009) how high is the risk of Internet addiction and subsequent need to provide professional care and treatment. Not only must we launch a public discussion on addiction to the Internet and new media, but we also require studies that will show the scale of the problem and allow for its immediate diagnosis. Carefully controlled studies are necessary for the doubts regarding new media addictions to be dispelled (Pies, 2009), so that we might help the really needy - regardless of the discussion among supporters and opponents of DSM-IV-TR and DSM-5 lists (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, pp. 1–19).

The classically understood prophylaxis focuses mostly on identification and elimination of risk factors. The process is accompanied by what M. Demel (1980) referred to as 'negative prevention', namely a set of orders and bans. However, such actions do not appeal to the youth struggling with problems, including addictions. Therefore Ostaszewski (2005, 2006) suggests undertaking offensive action towards such individuals, highlighting their strengths and resources. With that an individual who is facing problems may become better prepared to the fight with potential trouble. The idea behind such actions is not removal of threats, which is practically impossible. Rather, they would strengthen the resistance of children and young people to the threats, and perhaps even immunize them to the addiction-fuelling factors.

The Internet addiction is a notion which still causes much controversy. Numerous scientists still question the fact if its very existence (cf. Pies, 2009; King and Delfabbro, 2013; Jędrzejko, 2014). However, it is undeniable that a growing number of young people, pupils and students, is 'delving' deeply into the new convergent media which draw power directly from the Internet. School is currently rather at a distance from these students' excitement and passion, and also from the Internet. 'At a distance' means far away from digitisation, mobility and hypermediality; rather clutching school desks in panic. Hence the following statements seem right: 'education (...) is searching for its own identity' (Morbitzer, 2011, p. 5), and 'the school of the future will have to be created from scratch' (Kołodziejczyk, 2010, p. 5).

Undoubtedly, revolution in information technology has fundamentally changed the character of modern communication and education. It often integrates the image, text, sound, tactile and interactive elements whenever the user wants it to. The subsequent new forms of communication via electronic media are characterised also by their global reach and 'media convergence' as described by Jenkins (2006). All that has immense impact on changes in widely-understood culture and education. Here, education fulfils a mega-function (Śliwerski) – it unites all functions of the new media.

Conclusions and suggestions seem to be unambiguous. School should be a place which is ready to educate via and with support of the new media. Yet it should also enlighten the students how to use the media well. After all, the new addictions are also caused by weak school education. In Poland, the so-called media education was supposed to: teach how to use the media appropriately (to learn and to teach), prepare for conscious and critical consumption of the media, develop the skill of creating own media messages (Pisarek, 2006), and shape the 'skills necessary in analysis, judging, assessment and creation of media messages' (Dylak, 2004, p. 99). It might stem from the fact that school 'attempts to be the conveyor belt of knowledge. However, the requirement of the present times is for it to become a learning environment focused on creating conditions and situations in which students may search for, build and process knowledge' (Morbitzer, 2011, pp. 4–5).

Currently conducted studies, recent publications and reports all indicate the importance of (positive and negative) utilisation of new media in everyone's life and in education of children and the youth (cf. Batorski, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011; Pyżalski, 2010; Knol and Pyżalski, 2011; Pyżalski, 2012, 2013; Kirwil, 2011; Yong-Sook and Ji-Young, 2013; Çam and Isbulan, 2012; Pyżalski, Klichowski and Przybyła, 2014). School should rather become an accelerator of students' passions and interests; however, it often suppresses their hunger for knowledge and discourages them from independent searching and acting (Denek, 2006, p. 43). The learning process is generally monotonous, striped of joy and fun derived from discoveries. It lacks originality and spontaneity, as well as place for critical and curious exploration of the virtual space (cf. Jurkiewicz, 2006; Przybyła, 2012).

Unfortunately, contemporary school often adheres to tests - an imitative method of knowledge checking. Students are in general right to treat this knowledge as information which is to be (at best) found, remembered and forgotten. It may be forgotten since it is available (to everyone) online. 'Formal education is treated by many young people as the necessary evil and an archaic method of learning' (Przybyła, 2011, p. 57). The school does not try to find individual features of its students, even though it has so many opportunities to do so. Instead, it pumps the abovementioned tests into the students' intellectual and characterological potential, and 'crams' them at very post-industrial school desks. Is digitisation of the school reality, learning materials and very often also human contacts our enemy or ally? (Przybyła, 2013).

Obviously, one needs to agree with Bard and Söderqvist (2006) who claim that everything changes and we are forced to look at ourselves and the world we live in in a new way, adequate to the situation, because 'education is not a given anymore. It must be updated constantly. Each new task is a completely new situation which usually requires up-to-date knowledge' (2006, p. 233). Although some hypotheses of Keen (2007) might be controversial, he is right claiming that 'copy and paste is a child's game in the Web 2.0 culture. Search engines such

as Google or Ask are a chance to turn the young generation into intellectual kleptomaniacs, who believe that the ''copy and paste'' technologies of the web allow them to ''remix'' works of other people and call them their own' (Keen, 2007, p. 42). Also, 'digital revolution allows for emergence of digital thieves who think their ability to copy and paste well-expressed thoughts and opinions will change them into their own reflections' (Keen, 2007, p. 43).

The world is constantly changing and transforming at a dizzying pace. Children face situations which they do not understand and with which they cannot deal on their own. This does not facilitate the appropriate use of the media, utilisation of them for learning purposes or making correct life choices. It is practically impossible to show the addiction to new media in the context of today's school, because the addiction is constantly 'meandering' and transforming. It is also problematic to define the addiction itself. Students constitute also a specific community of people living in the 'wired world'. They not only sail on the endless sea of the Internet, but co-create the vast expanse from the inside. In return, they obtain an illusion of freedom and contact with other people or reality.

There is no doubt that the electronic media have completely changed the environment of the contemporary student, as they enter almost all spheres of his or her life. Education could not (and should not) remain unchanged (Przybyła, 2013). In order to limit or prevent the new addictions it would be good to use strategies which combine prevention, education and therapy (Filip, 2013). The school acts as guardian to the well-being of a student. It should first analyse the phenomenon of new media, insert it in its curricula, classroom and extracurricular activities, as well as ponder on the role, mission and functions of new media at school. The computer with access to the global network stopped being a new medium when students started to come to class with smartphones connected to the Internet. In this context, discussion of Internet and new media addiction at school which only has desks, boards, breaks and bells, is grotesque, or rather dangerous. The problem itself does not consist in the excess of new media at school; rather in their absence there. The poor new media 'diet' offered by schools to their students results in an even greater need to reach for 'forbidden fruit', which is conducive to even stronger bond with it. The Internet is a collection of knowledge of e-societies, but also a tool which stupefies the masses; and it gives an answer to each question, each 'school riddle'. The role of the school is not forbidding to use the 'mobile consultants' or closing the Internet in IT classrooms. School cannot run away from the 'online trash' and the 'copy-paste' generation. Its mission is also to tame, show, discover, negate, accentuate, and expose the advantages and disadvantages, chances and threats, and vast expanse and chaos of the global network. As far as the functioning of a contemporary school is considered, its attitude to new media should be characterised by conscious and critical analysis of knowledge, information and wisdom that human beings have gathered, together with skillful utilisation of those. We are able to delve as deep as never before into the heritage of all of us and of our

ancestors. However, we – contemporary students, parents and educators – are also facing new threats and addictions. Using the Internet and devices or apps which utilise its power has become an everyday activity for us. Today's 'holisms' are also with us every day. A student cannot be left alone, either as regards chances or threats (e.g. addictions) stemming from the use of the Internet. After all, the didactic process remains (unchangeably) deeply humanistic in nature, and being an educator, as pointed out by Aleksander Kamiński himself (Wachowicz, 2002), means: to give, serve, help and inspire.

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Peer exclusion

The aim of this chapter is to present a multiaspectual discussion on the phenomenon of peer exclusion, both with respect to its nature, symptoms, forms, and causes. We assume that the mechanisms of peer exclusion are determined not only by the attributes of an individual, who is the target of exclusion and eventually is marginalised, but also by the attributes of the group. The process of exclusion is the result of individual attributes facilitating exclusion as well as the environment conductive to exclusion (cf. Kochender-Ladd, Ladd and Kochel, 2009, p. 27). Exclusion of certain individuals is, in a way, inscribed in the group life cycle, the processes within the group, and it is a natural phenomenon. It often acts in the interest of the group, however remains negative for the marginalised or parties discriminated against. For this reason, when bringing up the issue of peer exclusion we focus – to a significant extent – on the group, which is not only the context of this process but also its important element.

The process of peer exclusion

In order to understand the phenomenon of peer exclusion, it is important to realise that it concerns the sphere of social relations. Changes occurring in this sphere are evolutional and not revolutional. Thus they need to be analysed as a process of changes within the individual as well as in his/her social environment.

Peer exclusion – nature and manifestations

The human being, as a social being, needs others in order to survive. Membership is a precondition for satisfying life and developmental needs. Therefore, omnipresent aspirations for

creating and maintaining a minimal number of permanent and meaningful interpersonal relations is inscribed in a person's life (Leary, 2011).

Exclusion from a group firstly leads to strong negative emotions: sadness, loneliness, sense of injustice, feeling of guilt, jealousy, and social anxiety. Experiencing these emotions, in the first place, leads to not only to the change in the quality of life, but also to the lowering of self-esteem and social withdrawal.

The multitude of definitions of social exclusion forces us to look for syntheses and generalisations. The simplest definition of exclusion states that it is a phenomenon depriving a person of the possibilities of a constructively satisfying their psychosocial needs and fulfilling their developmental tasks. The causes of this phenomenon can be traced down to the broadly conceived attributes of the excluded (knowledge and skills, personality traits, attitudes and values), the specificity of the environment in which the individual functions and – finally – in the mechanisms of establishing interpersonal relationships.

Exclusion is not arrived at instantly, rather than that, it is a progressing process from inclusion to exclusion, from acceptance to rejection. A review of definitions allows us to assume that this process:

– is dynamic and multidimensional, it is frequently a cumulative phenomenon, which leads to a multidimensional deprivation;
– is manifested in the lack of or insufficient level of participation in the mainstream life of the peer group or community;
– can be manifested in/result in breaking peer, family, and social ties; the loss of the meaning of life and disturbances in building one's personal and social identity;
– entails the risk of mirroring the behavioural model and transmitting of certain adaptive mechanisms onto the later stages of one's life and development; the consequences of exclusion have a timeless effect (cf. Z.B. Gaś, 2006, p. 8; M. Muras, 2005, p. 232).

The human being is a social creature. He/she is born into a group, needs others to survive and develop. The need to be a part of interactions with others and to establish relationships is the operationalisation of such regularity. Due to this, exclusion needs to be understood as the opposition, or the reverse, of the need of membership.

Exclusion, and hence the disturbance of the process of building memberships in the relationship between an individual and the group leads to far-reaching consequences in the lives and development of children and youth. These emotional consequences of rejection depend on a few important factors (Asher, Rose and Gabriel, 2001):

- the way in which a child responds to the experience of exclusion entailing negative effects; attitudes that the child assumes towards this phenomenon;
- the reasons for rejection;
- the identity of the rejector;
- the presence of social support (or the lack of thereof);
- the tendency, on the part of the child, to reflect on the rejection;
- the ways of accounting for the reasons for rejection by the child (does he/she see them as a consequence of external or internal factors – who or what does he/she blame for the situation of exclusion);
- child's awareness of the influence of other children on herself/himself and other peers
- the degree to which the exclusion is experienced by the child;

Forms of exclusion

We wish to follow Leary (2001, p. 5) in thinking that establishing membership is a process which can be seen as a continuum: from the maximal inclusion in interpersonal relationships to the maximal exclusion (rejection). The following parts of the continuum are presented in table 1. The highest form of inclusion is a situation where people, on their own, seek to establish a relationship with an individual – they make the effort and initiate the relationship. At another level there is a situation when people encourage and invite the individual to establish a rapport. The lowest level of inclusion is the consent to establish a rapport by an individual. In turn, the middle level in building attachment is the state of indifference: the group neither encourages nor discourages building a relationship. However, we need to notice that in some situations, even indifference can be perceived by an individual as a form of exclusion. It happens so as the individual draws comparisons between their unsatisfactory relations with what he/she experiences around themselves; for instance, with the close ones and the permanent relationships among other peers. This dissonance results in discomfort.

Table 1

Levels of inclusion in interpersonal relations

Status	Definition
Maximal inclusion	Others make the effort to seek out the individual
Active inclusion	Others welcome the individual
Passive inclusion	Others allow the individuals to be included
Ambivalence	Others do not care whether the individuals included or excluded
Passive exclusion	Others ignore the individual
Active exclusion	Others avoid the individual
Maximal exclusion	Others physically reject, ostracize, abandon, or banish the individual

Source: Leary (2001, p. 5)

Other levels of establishing membership can be characterised as exclusion and range from ignoring, through avoidance to physical rejection and ostracism, which is translated into a strong feeling of psychological hurt.

Describing rejection in interpersonal relations, Asher, Rose and Gabriel (2001, p. 128) identify six major rejection categories and as many as 32 rejection types:

1. Excluding and terminating interaction:
   – Leaving – terminating the interaction in an abrupt manner and without the consent of the other party;
   – Refusal – refusing an offer, e.g. an offer to play;
   – Sending away – persuading to leave without the will of the other party to do so;
   – Expressing dislike or reluctance to maintain further relationship;
   – Ignoring – intentional ignorance of others' comments or behaviours;
   – Ignoring content – ignoring the content of what the other party is saying, e.g. by changing the subject

2. Denial of access:
   – Denial to access of self or self and others – denial of identity attributes and/or hindering access to playmates;
   – Denial of access to others;
   – Denial of access to resources, e.g. physical resources (toys, snacks, games);
   – Taking object or location away – taking resources away from a child who is already in possession of them;
   – Assign less desirable resource or position – giving a peer an object of less value than that received by other children;
   – Denial of access to information – refusing to tell a child something he or she wants to know;
   – Denial of access to assistance – peers refusing to help a child;
   – Refusal to comply – limiting cooperation.

3. Aggression:
   – Physical aggression – physically attacking a child;
   – Flicking or throwing – flicking or throwing an object at a child (e.g., a paper, food item);
   – Damaging possession of child -- deliberately damaging a possession that belongs to a peer;
   – Gestural aggression -- making a hostile gesture to a child (e.g., shaking a fist or giving "the finger");
   – Verbal aggression -- calling a child names or verbally insulting a child's characteristics;

- Insulting friends or kin -- making negative comments about child's friends or relatives;

- Mocking or taunting -- mocking child's characteristics with the use of sarcasm or sneer;

- Reminiscing/repeating -- talking about and/or repeating previous rejections the child has suffered;

- Aversive noises -- directing obnoxious vocalizations (not words) toward a child, e.g. booing;

4. Dominance:

- Ordering -- telling a child in a hostile tone to do something (or stop doing something)

- Contradicting -- telling a child in a hostile tone that something the child said was incorrect

5. Moral disapproval

- Moral disapproval – aggressive telling a child that the child's words or behaviors are morally unacceptable, humiliation in front of others;

- Blaming -- blaming another child for something negative that has happened, or could happen to the blaming child, the blamed child, or a third party;

- Predicting negative outcomes -- predicting that a negative outcome for a child will result from the child's actions or statements;

6. Involving a third party:

- Telling Authority -- Telling an adult about another child's perceived inappropriate behavior

- Praising a Rejecter -- Praising, congratulating, or supporting a rejection made to a child by a third party

- Relaying Negative Message -- Serving as a messenger of a negative statement about a child from a third party

- Third Party Rejection – Making negative comments about a child to a third party in the vicinity of the child being rejected (i.e., so the comments can be overheard by the rejected child) (Asher et. al, 2001, pp. 128–130).

Mechanisms of exclusion

As has been noticed above, group exclusion is a process which is composed of several indirect factors. The specificity of this phenomenon is well rendered by the so-called vicious circle of social exclusion (Gaś, 2006).

Gaś (2006) assumes that the process of exclusion is composed of three basic elements (figure 1):

1) Actions leading to exclusion of group or community members,
2) Personal attributes of the excluded individual,
3) Individual reactions of the excluded to the experienced perception of exclusion

Figure 1
Vicious circle of social exclusion

Source: own elaboration based on: Gaś (2006).

The first element, group or society members excluding actions, which stem from personal experiences, views, beliefs, etc. The following variables can be found in this group:

– social self-defence against dysfunction,

– social fear of dysfunction,

– social helplessness towards people in crisis,

– indifference towards issues experienced by others,

– group stereotypes,

– limited possibilities of satisfying personal needs,

– ruthless rivalry for rights and privileges.

Personal attributes of the excluded individual are the second element that is conductive to the feeling of exclusion. The following belong to this group:

– psychosocial maturity deficits,

– destructive experiencing of crisis,

– dysfunctional behaviour,

– pathological behaviour,

– subculture membership,

–   physical ability,

–   membership of specific groups, e.g. age groups,

–   learning difficulties of low level of education.

The third group of factors determining group or social exclusion are i n d i v i d u a l   r e a c t i o n s   o f   t h e   e x c l u d e d   t o   t h e   e x p e r i e n c e d   p e r c e p t i o n   o f   e x c l u s i o n . Among others, these variables can be enumerated:

–   aggression and hostility towards people – beginning with close people, through the broader environment, to the society in general,

–   seeking refuge in dysfunctional behaviour

–   creating social enclaves

–   learned helplessness

–   social isolation

–   social passivity

–   physical or mental self-destruction

–   taking things for granted,

–   feeling of social harm and injustice (Gaś, 2006).

Reasons for exclusion from a peer group – exclusion as a dysfunctional way of satisfying developmental needs

While searching for the causes of peer exclusion, we need to be aware of the fact that we are dealing with a heterogeneous sample, both in terms of psychosocial and developmental functioning. Consequently, we need to analyse the phenomenon of exclusion both from the perspective of the excluded and the excluding. Furthermore, all corrective measure should be preceded by a reliable diagnosis. Only then can we hope for effective educational and preventive measures.

An interesting classification has been suggested by Rolf, Sells and Golden (1972; after Dep-tuła, 2013, p. 21). Here, attributes of the excluded form the criterion of division; five categories of rejected children have been differentiated on its basis:

1) aversive and dominant behaviour towards peers,

2) disrespecting authority,

3) showing rebellious behaviour,

4) intensified social withdrawal and aversion or hostility towards peers,

5) adaptation to the peer group requirements but characterised by serious deficits (low IQ, mental impairment of low physical attractiveness).

Deptuła (2013, p. 22), in turn, has performed an outstandingly detailed review of literature concerning the characteristics of rejected children. This synthesis concerns three spheres: cognitive, perceptual, and behavioural.

In the cognitive sphere, children rejected by peers have the following characteristics (as seen in the majority of studies):

– lowered intellectual efficiency;

– difficulties in understanding intentions of other people (processing social information);

– lowered ability of predicting the consequences of one's behaviour;

– conviction that aggression is an effective way of achieving goals (it can stem from taking as a role model an authority from their environment: parents, tutors and peers);

– focus on the negative elements of interacting with others, and – at the same time – ignoring and neglecting aspects of positive relations;

– low level of awareness of social relations and ways of behaving in difficult social situations;

– inappropriate self-esteem which is related to the functioning in interpersonal relations

In turn, in the emotional sphere, children who experience rejection are characterised by (Deptuła, 2013):

– greater frequency of being affected by negative emotions, especially anger or sadness, but also feeling of loneliness, social fear, and even symptoms of depression;

– difficulties in emotional self-control – hyperactivity, impulsiveness, inability to postpone gratification;

– lowered level of sensitivity towards the needs of others, low sense of humour;

– difficulties in coping with educational failure and adopting immature ways of approaching them

The last sphere pointed out by Deptuła (2013) is the behavioural one. Research shows that children experiencing rejection are characterised by:

– contradictory tendencies in establishing relationships – from withdrawal to hyperactivity;

– low level of social abilities, and the tendency to breach basic social norms as well as lower frequency of positive interactions with peers;

– higher frequency of destructive, antisocial and rebellious behaviours, including improper way of addressing the teacher, disturbing classes, not doing their homework and truancy;

– tendency to play games alone.

Depending on the age of children and youth, causes of rejection can be seen in different environmental mechanisms. Therefore, at the stage of early childhood, the relationship with

parents and their parenting styles play a key role (cf. Pyżalski, 2012; Deptuła, 2013). During the next developmental stage, when the child begins his/her education, of crucial importance in establishing interpersonal relations is the schooling environment (Pyżalski, 2012, p. 117). It can exert influence on the child through:

– peer group,

– functioning of the school as an institution (especially concerning the social climate and ensuring safety),

– generating frustration stemming from educational failures.

A different perspective on the issue of group exclusion is offered by developmental context. Children and youth, at different stages of development, take measures which enables them to satisfy needs, including developmental needs. Thus, exclusion can also be considered in the adaptive context. Jessor and Jessor (1977) enumerate six fundamental functions of problem behaviour, which are aimed at satisfying important developmental needs and goals. They include:

1) instrumental measures,

2) demonstrating opposition,

3) reduction of fear and frustration,

4) solidarity with authority figures, membership in a group,

5) demonstrating one's own identity,

6) apparent social or age promotion.

Exclusion as an instrumental measure is expressed through an alternative means of satisfying needs or achieving a goal in a situation when for the interested party, these are unavailable or unachievable, once measures characteristic of this group have been undertaken.

Exclusion as a measure demonstrating opposition towards authority persons and society takes the form of rejecting norms and values conventionally used by the society or peer group. An instance of this might be the emergence of prison subcultures or pathology enclaves, with whole families as members, and the criminality being transmitted from generation to generation. A young person is socialised into this social climate without the influence of other values, or he/she insufficiently experiences them.

Exclusion as a measure taken towards reducing fear, frustration and anxieties is a set of behaviours aiming at limiting or eliminating the emotional discomfort related to the inability to cope with challenging life goals.

Exclusion as a manifestation of solidarity with authority figures, search for the feeling of group membership or the feeling of identification with the group. A typical example of

this type of measures is establishing environments accepting social norm violation. In such groups, rules of group loyalty, hostility towards other group members, and mutual support are introduced.

Exclusion as a measure whose purpose is to show oneself and other authority figures important attributes of one's identity is a form of behaviours which is manifested by the strength of ego. This happens particularly in the case of people who have difficulties in setting boundaries and issues with the coherence of their own "I". Such demonstration of identity attributes serves to compensate for the unachieved developmental goals. It often assumes forms of egocentric or egoistic behaviours.

Exclusion as a measure leading to an apparent higher level of development or higher social position. An unambiguous indicator of the social position, according to the excluded, is the access to goods or behaviours reserved for the chosen community members.

Peer exclusion as a group process

In this part of the chapter, our aim is to underline some discussions on the groups of problems connected with peer exclusion: starting with the question of the significance of a group in the life of a young person through the questions of the stages of group development, to the group roles.

Peer group as a context of development

Drawing on Rupert Brown's (2006) definition, we can state that a group is a set of people mutually connected through common experiences or aims or interconnected in some kind of social microstructure, or remaining in interaction (Brown, 2006, p. 19). It is said that interactions and interdependence are the two core features of groups (cf. Bruhn, 2011, p. 17). Exclusion, then, can be defined, from the group perspective, as depriving somebody of interaction, common aims, goals, and interests. It is equivalent to depriving a group member of these experiences, which are paramount to proper development, and substituting them with ones that are traumatic and distort this development or – at least – significantly alter it. The group, and a peer group in particular, is one of the most crucial contexts for development. In groups, children develop not only their social sills (becoming a leader, subordination to rules, establishing friendship, etc.); the group is also a facilitator of cognitive development – cooperation, discussions, and the possibility of exchanging views make group problem solving more effective than facing them individually (Herzberg, 2012, p. 9).

As early as during the childhood, vertical relationship (with adults) are most important, with time horizontal relationships (with peers) become of primary importance (Schaffer, 2006, p. 350). Peer groups exert very strong pressure on young people, frequently stronger than other groups, such as the family (Brown, 2006, p. 64). People's problems and joys do not occur in isolation, but always have some kind of social context. While the change of context from adults to peers occurs, the need to be a part of the group is intensified and the level of identification with the group increases. Identification is "a mental operation, through which an individual (un)consciously attributes oneself the characteristics of another person or group, a process of establishing connections between oneself and another person or group" (Reber, 2005, p. 277). When we identify with something or somebody, we collectively experience successes and failures of the object of identification, and eventually rejection or other negative experience in this relationship hurt most because they directly concern the "I" of the involved person. The level of identification with the group is in a strong relationship with psychological wellbeing (Hutchison, Abrams and Christian, 2007, p. 38). It comes as no surprise, then, that the youth, especially adolescents, is characterised by intensified conformism, i.e. surrendering to peer pressure (cf. Brown, 2006, p. 129). Such persons can go to lengths to please the group in order not to fall prey to ostracism. At the same time, at this stage of developmental stage, it is natural to intensively seek oneself, to experiment. Young people tend not to cope with life, but at the same time they want to make independent decisions. Therefore, the susceptibility to processes of marginalisation increases (the group is not merely an observer but also an active participant of successes and failures of its members). Their negative consequences intensifies. Exclusion usually entails serious, lifelong repercussions. The unfulfilled need of being a member, one of the basic needs for correct development (Hutchison et. al., 2007, p. 29), has an impact on human functioning in various domains. Importantly, however, in childhood and adolescence, the consequences of exclusion are particularly severe, as group membership is one of the fundamental elements of development, and the defence and coping mechanisms in troublesome situations are still being developed.

At this point, it is worth emphasising the question of the interrelationship between an individual's peer group membership and his/her self-knowledge and self-esteem as well as, only in passing, identity alterations characteristic for this stage of development. "For the majority of people, self-knowledge constitutes a centre of experience. It is impossible to understand our behaviours, including social ones, without reference to self-knowledge: something we know about ourselves, something that we want to know or what we think we should know about ourselves" (Kossowska and Śmieja, 2009, p. 232). Igor Kon (1987) wrote about "I" in one's own imagination, which is present in youth in adolescence. The appearance of abstract thinking and the ability to reflect on oneself and on one's thinking is thus expressed in the cognitive maturity to self-evaluate. Self-knowledge, if we decide to analyse it from the perspective of cognitive psychology, is a structure of knowledge about

oneself which is build on previous experience (Neckar, 2009, p. 25). Hence, dysfunctions, which can occur as a consequence of exclusion from a peer group, become a certain type of negative behaviour models, especially in the area of coping with negative situations, and a trigger for negative self-evaluation.

Knowledge about oneself enables us to take measures oriented towards "managing impressions" of the interactional partner, which in psychology has been termed self-presentation (Szmajke, 1996, p. 25). As E. Goffman (1981) writes, "the individual acts in order to deliberately or unintentionally express oneself, so that others are impressed" (Goffman, 1981, p. 25). Adolescence is a period of comparisons (most important elements of self-knowledge are connected with social attraction) (Białecka-Pikul, 2009, p. 46), of constant deliberation over how we are perceived. More than seeing ourselves as others judge us, we see ourselves as we think that they see us. "It is not others who shape our self-knowledge, but the self-knowledge influences what we assume that others think about ourselves" (Kossowska and Śmieja, 2009, p. 218). During interactions with people, images of an individual about himself/herself undergo crystallisation. Forming an identity is based on recognition, defining and interpreting of ourselves and others during interactions. A relatively permanent conception of oneself emerges. However construction of identity is never a finished project. We constantly experience identity transformations (cf. Strauss, 2012), and such transformations are particularly intensive at turning points in one's biography (many of these are related to the membership in a peer group; this can be, for instance, a time of joining a new group). Under the influence of new conditions a change consisting in redefining oneself can occur, as when we are a group members, the group (social) identity becomes a part of our self-evaluation (Killen and Rutland, 2011, p. 62). Conception of oneself as a member of a given social unit is immensely important for the correct development of a person (cf. Brown, 2006, p. 19; Stets and Burke, 2014, p. 53). The group constitutes a reference point in defining oneself, in becoming oneself, and discovering what we are (Hutchison et. a., 2007, p. 40).

Important, from the point of view of a threat of exclusion, and at the same time related to the themes of self-knowledge and self-evaluation, is the social comparison theory by L. Festinger (1954). According to its assumptions, the natural human aspiration is to evaluate one's abilities and skills (Kruglanski i Mayseless, 1990, p. 195). In case of a lack of objective means of measurement of some traits[38], we gain access to self-knowledge by comparing ourselves with other (similar) people in different aspects (Brown, 2006, p. 79). Similarity is determined by collective experience, similar level of education, age, etc., which allows us to conclude that a given trait, which we are interested in, is also comparable. An axiom in Festinger's theory is that we look for similar rather than dissimilar people to us, as they are the most desired comparative standard (for example, a peer group) (Kruglanski and Mayseless, 1990, p. 195). The

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38   An example of an objective measurement is body or height measurement, although these would not be much telling of a person were we not able to compare them with parameters characteristic of other people.

outcome of this comparison enables us to define the situation in which we find ourselves and sets a direction of our actions (Festinger, 1954, p. 118).

A group is a collective of people of different status. Research on social comparisons points to the clear tendency for an individual to compare himself/herself with people of an equal or minimally higher status, which testifies to the fact that we naturally create spaces for improving ourselves. We compare ourselves with people of a lower status only when we are affected by aversive stimuli (usually strong) as others who are in a worse situation can be seen as a 'solace' (cf. Brown, 2006, p. 83; Stets and Burke, 2014, p. 40). From the vantage point of development, such comparisons are, however, destructive (they constitute a type of superficial solace and are not a drive force behind real changes). Yet sometimes it is the only possibility of protecting the threatened self-evaluation (Wills, 1991). It is natural to aim at being a group member, where participants are similar to us when it comes to expressing opinions and manifesting abilities (Festinger, 1954, p. 136). We want to be part of these groups whose status is high – it increases our need of belonging, and intensifies identification (Shi and Xie, 2014, p. 2189). Persons who are excluded from a group do not only compare themselves with people of the same or lower status but frequently aspire to establish contact with them (and communities). For this reason, excluded members of one group tend to become members of other groups whose status, or at least the average age, is significantly lower. It also happens that they become leaders of these groups. They can – by transferring their own negative experiences – also take the role of an aggressor. Naturally, such a state is not desired. Neither superficial comforting oneself by comparison with persons of lower statuses, nor compensating for the lack of peer relationships by substituting them with others (children rejected by peers can also maintain toxic relations with adults who can seemingly substitute peers) are not conductive to correct development and building self-esteem. Everybody makes social comparisons, however low self-esteem and lack of self-confidence are the traits which intensify this tendency (Homan and Lemmon, 2014). People pay more attention to such comparisons, which are unfavourable for them. And, conversely, they attribute less importance to these which portray them in positive light (on average, negative emotions connected with a negative self-esteem are stronger than the positive ones when the evaluation is advantageous) (Adams and Galanes, 2008, p. 183). Therefore, low self-esteem goes hand in hand with the above-average need to compare oneself with others, intensive negative emotions connected with evaluating oneself in the context of the group, as well as the threat of exclusion from the group. All these issues drive one another – one becomes the cause of another. A type of vicious circle emerges, from which escape is not easy. Other group mechanisms work in a similar fashion; it stems from the fact that group development is a process of both a gradual and cyclic character. Now we turn to this issue in more detail.

Stages of group development vis-à-vis the issue of peer exclusion

Groups are constantly in the process of becoming, and changing dynamically. This group development process can be presented in a form of subsequent stages. Usually the initial stage, the forming phase or the orientation phase, commences at the moment when a new group is establishing (Adams and Galanes, 2008, p. 184; Jedliński, 2000, p. 29). At this stage, norms, rules and group roles are set. It is worth pointing to some characteristics of this phase in the context of group exclusion. Firstly, group members are characterised by high emotional tension. They are only getting to know one another, they do not know what to expect from the group in the process of formation. The atmosphere is "stiff" and "tense" (artificiality, exaggerated politeness), people probe one another (Adams and Galanes, 2008, p. 185). Most prominent group roles appear: leaders along with the group clown and kamikaze[39]. The first stage of development, then, seems to be the beginning of the process of exclusion. Here, the group is especially sensitive to people who, for different reasons, intensify the perceived fear (it is a characteristic feature of the first stage) (Jedliński, 2000, p. 30). Appreciation is granted to those who reduce the initial feeling of fear (the group joker relaxing the atmosphere in difficult situations, the navigator who points to ways of solving such situations). Should somebody increase anxiety, the group will want to eliminate him/her as they introduce an additional stressor.

The second stage is termed the rebel phase. Here, conflicts start accumulating with regard to the norms established by the group. Leaders clash by competing with each other and fighting a battle of ideas; other roles are sharpened as well. Disappointment, boredom, and opposition to the leadership become noticeable. When solving these problems, the group consolidates strength, accepts certain solutions and rejects others, and finally begins to cooperate – a conflict becomes a trigger for cooperation (cf. Jedliński, 2000, p. 31). A group able to cope with conflicts becomes more united (M.S. Corey and G. Corey, 2002, p. 173). At this stage, the members who are most prominent and are egocentric are threatened with exclusion. The group ceases to invest their energy in the quest for power, games, and intensive integration. It concentrates on the aim, thus individuals who are not conforming to this pattern, can be threatened with exclusion.

Some researchers enumerate two further stages of group development – the final phase where the main aim is to finalise current activities and projects, as well as dissolving the group and ensuring its positive image (M.S. Corey and G. Corey, 2002, p. 302).

One of the elements of the group development process is the emergence of group roles. It is important to analyse this question as intertwined with the mechanism of peer exclusion.

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39   Categorisation after K. Jedlińskim (2000). Discussion on group roles will follow.

Peer exclusions vis-à-vis group roles

Role diversification is a common attribute of group life (Brown, 2006, p. 73). Different roles provide different privileges, duties but also influence over the group. Group roles determine participation of individuals within the team, their place within the group, their laws and duties (Adams and Galanes, 2008, p. 196). Literature offers different division of these roles (e.g. roles connected with fulfilling a given task or those connected with achieving goals of group members) and terminology. We can talk about leadership roles, the joker, and the aggression triggering group clown. We also come across the group outsider, the radically open, the norm transgressing kamikaze, and diligent student who fulfils the tasks set by the group leadership (Jedliński, 2000, p. 196).

When searching for the reasons for the emergence of group roles, we need to bear in mind that this process is conditioned by the individual group members and their expectations as a whole (Adams and Galanes, 2008, p. 196). People are predisposed to fulfil certain group roles. Some, for instance, have the tendency to take up leader roles, while others – due to their personality – assume spectacular roles (the group clown, kamikaze) or stay at the sidelines. Individual's experience is important. If he/she previously fulfilled certain roles as a member of various roles, most likely this person will transfer this experience to the new group. Importantly, there is a tendency that these experiences will determine their behaviour to the extent that they will be taking up the same role, should the group not object to it. It needs to be pointed out that individual groups require certain roles to a different extent, thus certain behaviours can be praised, while others ignored. It determines the emergence of these and not any other roles, and it is the basis for determining their significance for the group (Adams and Galanes, 2008, p. 199).

Adopting group roles can be a situation triggering an exclusion mechanism: let us assume that a group is focused on work and achieving aims. If somebody, who is used to fulfil the role of a group joker wants to continue doing so, his/her taking up this role will be contested, and if he/she does not abandon it, he/she might be facing group ostracism. The following question also appears: if somebody who has always fulfilled a certain role within a group, enters a group where this role is rejected or already taken up, can this person inhabit a different place in the structure of the group? Group assimilation, in this case, can be a difficult – or even impossible – process.

Some roles can be inscribed in the mechanism of exclusion more than others. The taboo transgressing kamikaze or the clown revealing their vulnerabilities frequently are marginalised – the group stops tolerating them. It is worth mentioning the role of a group scapegoat. The best candidate for this role is a person who is a new-joiner or somebody who is sceptical

about the group (Brown, 2006, p. 206). It is usually adopted by somebody who – from the perspective of the group – is deviant, the other, and thus induces aggression (Jedliński, 2000, p. 20). Frequently, this person is unable to defend himself/herself against this aggression which cements their very bad position within the group. Most groups require the role of a scapegoat as their presence helps to discharge the tension in many situations. Aggression is relocated and the scapegoat takes all the consequences of group failures or the frustrating experiences, even if he/she is not the reason. This mechanism works out when the genuine reason for frustration is a strong person or situation which the group is unable to cope with in a different – i.e. constructive – way.

The scapegoat is somewhat in the centre of the group's (negative) attention, but with time the group ceases to require this role, at least temporarily, and this person may be excluded.

Conclusions

Establishing peer relationships is a prerequisite for satisfying basic psychosocial needs, and – at the same time – constitutes a fundamental developmental task in adolescence. Both teachers and tutors should see it as an issue worthy of reflection.

Peer exclusion is a process with two extremes: from maximal inclusion to maximal exclusion. Assuming this perspective, we need to analyse peer relationships through the prism of how these are established and where problems appear. The sooner we intervene in the disturbed process of inclusion, the less effort it will require and the more effective it will be.

Peer exclusion takes different forms. In order to introduce an effective correction of negative behaviours we need to consider this phenomenon in a broad context including not only the perspectives of the excluded and excluding but also taking into account the quality of functioning of the schooling environment (other peers' behaviour, social climate of the school, functioning of teachers and tutors, parenting skills).

Peer exclusion, although acute for the person experiencing it, is one of the natural mechanisms of groups. The group can draw on exclusion as one of the ways of achieving balance, unity, and unanimity, which are prerequisites of the correct course of other group processes.

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Educational work in a diverse group – students with special educational needs in a state-run schools

> Do not fool yourselves. I have entrusted you the children not so that I may afterward weigh their knowledge, but so that I may rejoice at their ascent.
>
> ANTOINE DE SAINT-EXUPERY (2009, s. 143)

Special educational needs is a notion that was introduced in the literature at the end of 1970s (Warnock Report, 1978). It is most frequently applied to educating disabled children in a state-run school. The term 'special needs' encompasses three groups of needs: special educational needs, special technical needs, and special psychosocial needs.

> SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS are needs which require adjusting didactic conditions of the state-run education to the individual development and educational abilities of children and youth with learning difficulties (Beveridge, 1999).
>
> SPECIAL TECHNICAL NEEDS refer to the institution's infrastructure, building and classroom accessibility; the possibility of using, other than typical, didactic means or rehabilitation equipment.
>
> SPECIAL PSYCHOSOCIAL NEEDS concern the need of being assisted by a second person (e.g. assistant)

The gist of special educational needs is learning difficulties and problems with social adaptation. These, in turn, can be of different scope, duration and intensity even in one child, not only due to internal predispositions, as external factors are equally significant. The process of de-

velopment per se is not predetermined. A child who initially develops correctly may suddenly present difficulties, and vice versa – a child with difficulties at a certain stage of development can lose them later in life.

The conception of special educational needs came into existence due to the observed need for individualisation of the teaching process. Usually, special educational needs are associated with developmental disorders and even disability. Research into these issues, however, indicated that special educational needs can emerge when a given person shows above-average abilities or talents (Nęcka, 2001, p. 168).

> The term "special educational needs" is used with reference to children who are exceptionally gifted is justified. An exceptionally gifted child is under higher pressure (than the average child) of the environment, and thus requires special care. The fundamental task is to identify the gifted child as such children are often perceived as "the other" due to the fact that their development significantly diverges from the development of other children (Nęcka, 2001, p. 168).

 On the other hand, not every person with developmental disorders or disability needs to show special needs in the context of education. Learning difficulties and social adaptation, as well as special educational needs, will always – in the philosophical sense – be marked with interactional intuition. A seemingly identical clinical case of a disorder, an identical diagnosis of the level of functioning will not be reflected in identical biographies. The diversity of environmental factors of functioning, in all significant spheres, in one case, will cause that one child's needs will be satisfied and the development will be progressing without major disturbances, or – in the case of another child – a wide-ranging support will be required (involving, among others, the family and/or school) whose aim will be to secure the child against social exclusion.

In Poland, the notion of "special educational needs" appeared in the official educational document entitled *Reform of educational system concerning students with special educational needs (Reforma systemu kształcenia uczniów ze specjalnymi potrzebami edukacyjnymi)* in late 1990s (MEN, 1998). According to the definition used in the document, special educational needs are those which stem from disabilities and emerge in the process of the development of children and youth or it is triggered by other factors, such as learning difficulties (MEN, 1998, p. 11). This definition unambiguously relates special educational needs with disorders, dysfunctions or disabilities.

Since then, the issue of special educational needs returns from time to time due to low efficiency of systemic support. Special educational needs ceased to be a notion which is associated merely with disability. Rather than this, special educational needs are often discussed

in the context of: a gifted child, a student with immigrant background, children from a family struggling with long-lasting economic and accommodation problems due to the loss of income source.

The concept has undergone a redefinition so that it could accommodate more issues, and the group of children who can benefit from support became more diverse. 11 main child and youth groups with special educational needs were defined (MEN, 2010): with disabilities; with social adaptive issues; threatened with adaptive issues; exceptionally gifted; with specific learning difficulties; with language disorders; with chronic disease; ones whose development is impeded due to a critical or traumatic situation; with educational failures; neglectful environment which is related to the student's (family) living standards, ways of spending free time, social relations; with adaptive difficulties related to cultural differences or with the change of educational context (including earlier experience gained abroad).

Statistics show that in Poland the percentage of students who are formally considered to have special educational needs is constant. An inspection carried out by Supreme Audit Office (Najwyższa Izba Kontrol) (NIK, 2012) revealed that the number of people with special educational needs is three consecutive years: 2010, 2011 and 2012 revolves around 165—167, which constitutes 2.68% of the total number of students (SIO, 2013).

Analyses also show that that within groups of students with special educational needs, most frequently, the teacher can come across students who exhibit developmental disorders or various types and degrees of disabilities.

Among students with special educational needs, the majority is characterised by:

- – mild intellectual disability – c. 34% while others by:
- – moderate intellectual disability – c. 18%
- – multiple disability – c. 13%
- – physical disability – c. 7%
- – hearing impairment – c. 7%
- – autistic disabilities – c. 5%
- – various types of disorders and possible behaviour disorders, behaviourally maladjusted – c. 11% (including behavioural disorders – c. 4%, a risk of social maladjustment – c. 3.7%, social maladjustment – 3%, risk of addiction – c. 0.1%)

The report by NIK (2012) indicates that the number of children with special educational needs (SEN) at the pre-school level is on the increase (an observation also corroborated by SIO (2013)). Between 2010—2012 this number has increased by 38.3%. This information is im-

portant in the context of educational influence as it means that in the following years a growing number of children with SEN may be present in regular primary schools, middle schools (P. gimnazja) and secondary schools. Therefore, it is important to trigger the most effective measures already at the level of pre-school education. Teachers have to be aware that many groups of children with SEN will need support throughout their entire education.

The indicators regarding primary school, middle school and secondary education are somewhat constant. The majority of students with SEN are to be found in primary schools (c. 62—65.000 people, i.e. 39% of the overall student population), the next group number-wise is the middle school students (53—57.000 students, i.e. 33%), and secondary schools (34—35.000 students, i.e. 21% of the overall SEN student population).

> Statistical data demonstrates that primary school and middle school teachers are most likely to work with SEN students. Such likelihood is lower for secondary education teachers.

It is important to realise that only a small percentage of students demonstrating learning difficulties and issues regarding social adaptation have been issued certificates of the need for special education; while the number of children who have not been diagnosed and show certain issues or the specifics of their functioning do not match any of the categories from the Ministry of Education (ME) catalogue seems to be much higher. As research carried out already in 1980s and 1990s shows, the percentage of children with the broadly conceived learning difficulties can even reach 20% (Pilecka, 2001, p. 249).

Currently, within the Polish educational system, the conception of inclusion is favoured. It assumes fulfilling the obligation to provide education in the state-run school, i.e. a school open for all students, and obliges the school to provide students with conditions that are adjusted to their individual needs.

Assumptions of inclusive education vis-à-vis students' special educational needs

Peter Mittler (1009, p. 268) contends that a precise separation of the concepts of integration and inclusion is a futile activity mainly due to the fact that inclusion concerns not only schools but also all social relations.

The philosophy of inclusion assumes the necessity of researching social contexts of development, among others: poverty, marginalisation, cultural heritage and their effects on learning

and development. The term 'inclusion' refers to planning systemic changes, among others in the educational system. The latter context represents thinking of the sources of learning and behaviour which consist in a departure from the deficit model to the social, adaptive model (Mittler, 2009, s. 269).

David Mitchell (2005, p. 1) is of a similar opinion. He contends that inclusion transgresses detailed needs which stem from individual (biophysical) conditioning of development and encompasses deliberations regarding sources of poorer position and marginalisation of a person, for instance, because of gender, poverty, language, ethnic origin or the place of residence.

Accepting the idea that one school for all students is both required and plausible (in accordance with the functioning contemporary democratic societies, every citizen should have equal opportunities and possibility to be a part of a heterogeneous community). Szumski (2011, p. 29) points out that the inclusive school needs to be characterised by the following logically related characteristics:

  – be a local school, i.e. the place where all the students living nearby study;
  – students attending this school form a heterogeneous group;
  – the curriculum needs to be flexible and common for all students;
  – the teacher needs to be supported in implementing the curriculum by a group of specialists;
  – the system of special support needs to be flexible.

The basic assumption of inclusive education is that the student population needs to constitute one, yet internally diversified group. However, Mitchell (2005, p. 8) by referring to analyses from various countries, demonstrates that it is not always accessible for all students whose development departs from the generally assumed norm (both by exceeding it or by falling below the level it sets). A number of studies reveal a strong relationship between the specificity of the learning and teaching processes and the level of an individual's development and the type of disorder. It mainly concerns students with 'global' disabilities, multiple disabilities or conditioned by many factors, including the child's immediate environment.

Among factors limiting inclusive education, at least at the initial levels of its implementations, the following can be enumerated: "systemic habits", social attitudes to disability and the disabled. Having reviewed literature in English, Anna Zamkowska (2011, pp. 25–27) emphasises the experience of countries other than Poland in diagnosing these factors. As turns out, these are recognised at the level of educational system and school/class.

Barriers at the level of class and school usually are organisational and didactic-educational in nature. We can distinguish the following:

– fixed timetable; inflexible staff membership; adherence to collective form of education (Wedell, 2005, after: Zamkowska, 2011, pp. 25–26);
– high number of students within a class and the related difficulty in making classes individual (Scruggas i Mastropieri, 1996, after: Zamkowska, 2011, p. 26);
– pressure for high achievement; competition driven attitudes which inhibit cooperation and triggers destructive mechanisms towards the weaker less gifted students, thus causing them to be in fear of failure; the context of constant comparison is not conductive to building self-confidence, especially in the case of less gifted students;
– teachers' fears of lowering the school educational attainment as a result of adjusting requirements to disabled children's abilities; lack of specialist staff, lack of in-service trainings (Koutrouba, Vamvakari and Steliou, 2006, after: Zamkowska, 2011, p. 26).

In the majority of cases, inclusive education seems plausible.

A prerequisite for successful implementation of inclusive measures is to think of the school as a learning institution. Educational inclusion should mainly consist in changing the school itself and social relations. One of the main challenges is to change the so-called "school spirit" that is conditioned – to a great extent – by the mentality of staff and the people using its services (Szumski, 2011, p. 35).

As pointed out by Tony Booth and Mel Ainscow (2002), everybody needs to be involved in this process: teachers, administrative staff, parents, and students. Development of school as an inclusive institution is a process encompassing five basis stages characterised by circularity: initiating the process, diagnosis of the institution, devising a plan of change, implementing the change, evaluating the implemented changes. Circularity of the process refers to the need of utilising the implemented and evaluated changes in the next cycle, starting with the second stage.

In 2000, a book *Index for Inclusion* edited by Tony Booth and Mel Ainscow was out. This monograph was a result of a three-year-long cooperation between practitioners and theoreticians of inclusion. It is a material designed for carrying out self-evaluation by schools that aim to be accessible for all children. Evaluation of school's adaptation to implement inclusive education is not the only aim of the *Index*. Another, equally important aim is to establish community relationships within the school's setting, building teams involved in creating an inclusive school. According to the philosophy adopted by the authors of the *Index*, three dimensions determine whether a given institution is inclusive: inclusive culture, inclusive policies, and inclusive practices.

1. Inclusive culture – understood as a basis for building an institution where everybody enjoys the conditions that facilitate their development. It is equated with community. It is not only a respect for rights, but also community ties expressed by the readiness to cooperate and provide mutual help.
2. Inclusive policies – a way of organising school so that it takes up measures with the view of developing an all-inclusive school. In particular, it is emphasised that special pedagogic assistance should be appropriately coordinated and should constitute a prerequisite for institutional education, and not merely an additive service system. Of importance, here, is the ways in which student groups are created, procedures regarding adaptation of new students, teachers and other staff, the system of preventing aggression and violence and a plethora of other measures.
3. Inclusive practices – teaching and educating methods adapted to student variety.

In Poland, inclusive education is a form of educating which is more and more widely used with SEN students, including students with global disabilities (vision, hearing, physical or intellectual disability).

During the course of the past two decades, the number of students with disabilities and developmental disorders in general classes at state-run schools has increased almost five times (4.95) (GUS, 2013, p. 148). At present, in state-run primary schools about 35% of student population are students with disabilities. Figures differ slightly for the middle school level, where the number of disabled students has decreased by 8.9% since 2001 (GUS, 2013, p. 150). It can indicate that limitations appear with regard to implementing the idea of inclusive education which discourage or simply obstruct the participation of a student with developmental disorders in a general school. Despite the decrease of disabled students in state-run schools, it is worth noticing that their group – c. 30% -- still participates in regular classes.

Statistical data show that:
– in state-run primary schools, on average there is one disabled student per three classes – 1: 97
– in state-run middle schools, there is one disabled student per every second, third class – 1 : 78

Diversified groups of students constitute a challenge not only for didactic teacher practice, but most importantly for the undertaken measures. Issues revolving around attitudes to disability and disabled persons are of relevance here.

Discussing attitudes, their three components deserve a mention: behavioural, affective, and cognitive (Aiken, 2002, p. 4). In turn, taking into account the existence of a negative dimension of every such component, the following three components can be ascribed to them: stereotype, prejudice, and stigma. A stereotype is frequently understood as a belief, a simple cognitive phenomenon, a peculiar type of generalisation (too general and too simplified), thus inadequate for drawing conclusions (Mądrzycki, 1977, p. 36).

Stereotypes are social and refer to groups rather than individuals; they work to the disadvantage of the person who is the target of stereotypical cognitive strategies (Nelson, 2003, p. 28).

Prejudice is associated with the affective component of attitudes (Nelson, 2003, p. 29), and it refers to the previously shaped judgements which are not changed even in the light of new and contradictory information. Most often they have a negative nature. Prejudices are characterised by fixed attitudes, which render discussion impossible but also rationalises attitudes and opinions (Dovidio, Major and Crocker, 2008, p. 26). Stigma is imbued with a behavioural component which results in a given model of behaviour. Stigmatisation is a radical example of labelling, usually marking and it can have varying intensity: from distance to discrimination (Neuberg, Smith and Asher, 2008, p. 49).

With reference to the cognitive component, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that views not related to knowledge are still present, for instance:
- 55% of primary school children see laziness, the supernatural, or multichildren families as the reason of disabilities (Oszustowicz, 1995);
- disabilities are often associated with physical disabilities (Kijak, 2007)
- intellectual disability is equated with mental illness (Żuraw, 1998; Kowalik, 1989);
- disabled people (without categorisation) are described as: passive, dependent on the environment (Figarska, 1996; Grądziel, 1999);
- intellectually disabled people are considered to be: weak, helpless, dependent, deprived of opportunities, normal experiences and needs (Szabała, 2010);
- physically disabled people are considered to be: helpless, in need of help (Grądziel, 1999); dependent on others, suffering, infirm, deformed (Hebl i Kleck, 2008);
- physical disability is considered to be: an obstacle (58%), a loss (29%); and only 5% of the population equates this person with somebody valuable (for the sake of comparison, 22% of the disabled voiced the last opinion);
- the blind according to youth can be characterised by: lack of trust, passivity, increased self-criticism (Szabała, 2012);

–   hearing impairment, in turn, is perceived as a misfortune and is equated with suffering and even disease (Korzon, 2010); the deaf are considered to be helpless, dependent, deafness is something bad; deaf people are unable to work (Czykwin, 2007).

With reference to the behavioural component, research points to the dominance of attitudes of isolation and peer rejection.

–   Zofia Palak (2000), who carried out research on the acceptance of visually impaired people, concludes that 33.3% of students are isolated, and another 30% are rejected;
–   Ewa Janion (2000) points to the fact that at the pre-school level of education c. 50% of disabled students are isolated or rejected;
–   Katarzyna Ćwirynkało (2003) states that at the early stages of education, isolation is experienced by 38.1% of disabled children; in older primary school grades – 31.3%, and at the middle school level – 37% is isolated, and 27% rejected. These observations point to the extremely difficult position of the mentally disabled student;
–   Maria Chodkowska (2004) show that 60% of general class students are rejected;
–   Dorota Kornaś (2004) states that in integrated classes 80% with severe mental disorders are isolated and rejected by the healthy peers.

With reference to the affective component, it has been noticed that:

–   The level of acceptance of the disabled peer increases with age. In a group of younger children, only 16.4% of peers displays accepting attitudes, in older grades – 65.2% (Minczakiewicz, 1992); the isolation indicator in initial grades is 38.1%, in older grades it is at the level of 31.3% (Ćwirynkało, 2003); 77.1% of high school youth contends that physically disabled students and those with mild mental disorders should be educated in state-run general schools (Spławiec, 2002);
–   the significant factor triggering the increase of unaccepting attitudes is the type of disability. Research shows that intellectually disabled people have the lowest chances for social acceptance Chodkowska (2004), Rudek (2005), Giryński, Przybylski (1993), Maciarz (1999);
–   less negative attitudes are experienced by people with physical disability: Rudek (2005), Chodkowska (2004); with hearing impairments Sakowicz-Boboryko (2003), Maciarz (2005), and with chronic diseases, visually and hearing impaired Palak (2012);
–   the level of acceptance falls with the increase in disability (Kornaś, 2004).

Implication for pedagogic praxis

Educational success of each student should be considered to be a process and effect of the active cooperation of the student and adults ensuring good learning conditions. In other

words, this question needs to be seen as an effect of this interaction, cooperation of the child's characteristics and the educational institution characteristics (Brzezińska, 2002). In particular, this approach seems important when thinking about diversified group with different developmental opportunities and limitations. In the case of institutions open for areas of cooperation of didactic and educational processes by all individual participants, it needs to be borne in mind that the aim of this type of institution is to create such educational conditions which ensure that all students, irrespective of their "otherness", will have the opportunity to effectively fulfil their roles: the member of the school community, member of a formal class collective, a learning individual, a student and a – still immature – person (Klus-Stańska, 2004). In order to make it happen, when developing pedagogic work, taking into consideration groups of children with special educational needs, one needs to remember about equipping teachers with recent developments and abilities concerning child support and support provided to mature participants of the educational process, in particular

– educational support (methods, means, individual forms taking into consideration individual needs);
– psychosocial support (e.g. assistant's help in fulfilling school activities or satisfying physiological needs of the supported person);
– technical support (equipment, ensuring accessibility of buildings for the disabled) (Olechowska, 2001);
– expertise support (supporting teams, teacher supervisions, system of specialist development);
– external support (building an alliance for disabled children in the local community).

Despite the fact that providing support for SEN students should be based on clear rules, whose implementation is the obligation of each school, sometimes the appearance of a "special" child emphasises this aspect of the functioning of a given institution. Thus it is important to define the necessary conditions to prepare the school for effective didactic-educational work with regard to the following:

– acknowledging equal rights of every child and satisfying their own needs, including educational needs;
– basic knowledge concerning the causes of difficulties, about a given type of disability in the context of close and distant aims of the human functioning;
– taking up educational activities which contribute to the correct development of a child in a peer, social group;
– providing adequate educational support depending on the difficulties in the process of teaching-learning which are encountered by the teacher and student;
– judicature and educational law from the domain of educating the disabled.

However, despite of the commonly declared appreciation for the right of education for every child, we frequently encounter the behaviour – both on the part of adults and teachers – which, despite expectations, facilitate undesired behaviour in peer relations and teacher-student relations. Research, as well as analyses of educational practice, unveil inappropriate functioning of educational institutions: joint responsibility, cooperation – and what stems from it – lack of sensible solutions concerning coping with difficult educational situations. The most worrying – from the perspective of the issue under discussion – seems to be neglecting special needs and possibilities of psychosocial interactional issues of a student entering a class. In such situations, some teachers focus on achieving didactic aims and background or reject the obligation to carry out an educational diagnosis and take up preventive and therapeutic measures.

Students with special educational needs can have, and often have, problems with adaptation to school requirements and thus require support and thought-out didactic-educational plan in the area of developing their personal skills which make up their functioning at school in the following areas: self-awareness (emotional awareness, correct self-evaluation, self-confidence); self-regulation (self-control, responsibility for one's own actions, adherence to rules, adaptability and innovativeness); motivation (striving for attainment, involvement, initiative, optimism) (Wyczesany, 2002). For this reason, it is important to be aware of four main areas of pedagogical responsibility thanks to which a teacher can help their students in building correct relations with others and with oneself. These are:

– **getting to know**: establishing contacts with parents; building relations with other teachers; observing other teachers; observing children during and outside classes; evaluating educational attainment against the initial level of knowledge (internal); in-depth analysis of health records of a child;
– **accepting**: allowing behaviour that stems from developmental issues and should be accepted by other students;
– **acquiring**: building authority through arousing interest in the student; focusing on the positive, and not negative, traits, behaviour, abilities (lack in competences and skills); providing positive reinforcement in the individual and group context;
– **changing**: through supporting natural activity (every child has their strengths – Archimedes' point: sport, artistic talent, sense of humour, organisational skills, etc.); avoidance of control and enforcement – gradual withdrawal of controlling activities; partnership and joined responsibility (teacher as consultant and advisor, student evaluation, e.g. concerning the course of the lesson, classes, teacher herself/himself, democratic design of criteria, individual and group contracts).

In cases when adaptive problems arise, the teacher should create a transparent report regarding child's difficulties. On its basis, a detailed description of the intervention and measures

countering the problem as well as ways of evaluating the efficiency of the undertaken actions should be developed (suppressing certain behaviour). The teacher should also come up with a precise schedule of such measures which will also constitute a basis of an individual educational plan (with a special emphasis on the social context) for the given student. The proposed measures should take the following into consideration:

- understanding student's specific behaviour and emotions (low self-esteem, concentration difficulty, hyperactivity or withdrawal, aggression, frequent loss of temper, no interest in learning, issues with discipline),
- understanding and accepting attitude as a model for the group,
- developing and systematising expectations and requirements (classwork, homework, group relations),
- flexible group work, no pressure, work which provides more activity and relieve emotions,
- close partnership cooperation with parents, one which is based on trust and not criticism and putting the blame on one another.

The next stage of planning reinforcing measures of the functioning of a diversified group is to realise what factors, connected with the organisation of teaching—learning process, facilitate the development of the individual and team integration. TARGET, a programme widely discussed in literature, seems to be applicable here (Epstein, 1989; Ames, 1990, after: Brophy, 2007, pp. 40–42).

T – time
A – authority
R – recognition
G – grouping
E – evaluation
T – time

In the context of building intragroup cooperation, the most important element of the "target" process is the conscious employment of measures regarding grouping, i.e. cooperative learning. It assumes applying learning procedures which involve mutual help in the context of learning in small groups and are based on: positive interdependence, face to face interaction, individual accountability for learning assigned amount of material, the ability to cooperate and group processing (Johnson and Johnson, 1989, after: M. H Dembo, 1997).

The shift in the attitude to designing educational measures for working with SEN students should stem from the following assumptions regarding integration:

- humanisation of education: every child is different and has an individual way of devel-

opment; education and upbringing does not create a child but helps the child in constructing himself/herself; humanisation of education means the full recognition of educational needs and aspirations of children and satisfying them;

–   change in the way of teaching and its methods: abandoning the perceptive and reproductive forms of activities to the advantage of perceptive and innovative forms, full activation of the child;

–   change in functions of the programme: the programme is treated as a suggestion to develop multidirectional activity of the child, it is supposed to fulfil the interpretative function (using curricular content with the consideration of special educational needs of the child and supporting these activities);

–   diagnosing developmental achievements of a child whose external indicator is the descriptive grade, interindividual comparison is carried out provided that the orientation towards an individual norm is maintained; the results can be compared to the earlier results of the same student (Bogucka, 1996).

A very important element of building correct relations within a diverse group are workshops with adult participants of educational processes during which important issues, from the field of psychosocial functioning of children, are raised. Meeting scripts offered by J. Sakowska (1999) can be a helpful resource. They draw on the following parent and tutor code of ethics and can become an inspiration for creating alliances of educational milieus in order to prevent functional disorders in the context of the classroom and school.

Parent and tutor code of ethics

1. Do not humiliate the child, as the child – similarly to you – has his/her own sense of dignity.
2. Try not to use such methods which you did not accept as a child.
3. Allow the child to make choices as frequently as you can.
4. If you behaved unfairly towards the child, apologise and explain your behaviour. Do not fear loosing your authority – the child knows when you commit mistakes anyway.
5. Never voice negative comments about the child, especially in the presence of other people.
6. Never say "you will do it, because I want you to do it" – if you have to prohibit something, make sure you always explain your decisions.
7. If you issue instructions, try not to assume an authoritative role and stand over the child.
8. You do not need to be consistent at all costs; you do not need to be against the child along with the other parents should you think that they are not right.
9. If you do not know how to proceed, think how you would feel if you were the child.
10. Sometimes try to advocate for your child (Nowak, 2000).

Practical pedagogic tasks

You are starting a new school year and have been assigned the role of a tutor of the first grade middle school. In your 25-student group, there is a male student – Konrad – who was diagnosed with infantile paralysis when he was one year old. Thanks to the involvement of his parents and years-long rehabilitation he can move on his own (with the use of a walking frame), however it is visible that it requires certain effort. He suffers from speech impairment, his speech is indistinct, and thus requires additional effort and focus on the part of the interlocutor. For this reason, the boy is not eager to be involved in discussions and frequently withdraws from social life. He is very sensitive and has difficulties in coping with his own educational failures. Despite the fact that he is an adolescent, he still reacts to failures by crying which further obstructs his interpersonal relations with his peers. His slow pace of work results in the need to attend to additional homework because he did not manage to complete all his classwork as a result of his parents' high ambitions.

Suggest an individual educational-therapeutic programme which will allow Konrad to function satisfyingly and effectively within the class collective. Take into account the following guidelines for supporting the boy's work and building self-confidence as a student and a classmate (peer):
– developing a path of success (an unobstructed progress and moderate effort),
– assisting the child in setting his/her aims and perceiving the correlation between the workload and observable effects,
– giving priority to the constructive feedback over judgements and comparisons,
– providing extra assistance to the child who faces failures.

Problem questions:

1. What can be conductive to transforming the school into an inclusive institution?
2. What can hider transforming the school into an inclusive institution?
3. What teacher personality traits are conductive to building an inclusive class/school which is open to everybody?
4. How to form attitudes of peer acceptance in a diverse class collective?
5. How should the process of building an institutional and extra-institutional support network, a network whose aim is to develop solutions to the issues of diverse groups, look like?
6. From the perspective of a diverse group, what areas of cooperation between the family and the school in building an inclusive institution can be distinguished?

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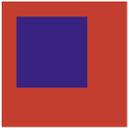
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Career planning – demand for career consultancy – social policy and practice

The current growing demand for career consultancy services needs to be viewed in the light of larger challenges for the educational system, the labour market and living in the contemporary world. It is evident that social life is becoming increasingly individualised with focus on individual success. Persons who are unable to meet the constantly changing expectations are threatened with social marginalisation. The abovementioned growing demand and potential supply of career consultancy services need also to be analysed with regard to globalisation processes occurring in all areas of social and economic life. Globalisation leads to deep changes in everyday and professional life, and requires more responsibility for the quality of education, knowledge and competences one has. The educational paths revolve more and more often around the market requirements. This focus on the market and economic growth stimulates the increase in demand for consultancy.

Complexity and uncertainty belong to characteristic features of contemporary world, and may be treated as main challenges that individuals and societies face. They affect particular careers together with the dynamically changing world, especially as regards work and education. It is worth mentioning that these changes establish the character of societies, families, enterprises, public organisations and individuals. Globalisation boosts individual freedom, but simultaneously intensifies uncertainty regarding lifelong professional careers. What also supports globalisation is the development of technology leading to higher mobility, increasing pace of life and stimulating professional change. On the other hand, it brings about also information overload and rapid inflow of new data. Europeanisation and enlargement of the European Union through the accession of new member states both increase mobility. Therefore, educational systems have to be adjusted to the needs of the job market, and EU citizens need to draft their own educational and professional plans in a larger geographical context.

Changes in the labour market are multidimensional. Most of professional tasks require initiative and flexibility. Changes in production conditions are accompanied by changes in working conditions. There is less need for simple, full-time and permanent jobs. The importance of independent individual jobs, and the trade and service sector is growing. Global economy integrates production, which is particularly observable in activities of multinational companies. Owing to the development of telecommunication, it is nowadays possible to coordinate production works in various countries. The labour market is characterised by imbalance between continuing unemployment and shortage of employees in certain sectors.

Trade is becoming increasingly global, and together with longer working life it requires constant adjustment of individual skills – in order to be better prepared for foreseeable and necessary changes and for further professional development.

Nowadays individuals experience more and more boundary situations: between school and professional education or internship, between secondary and college education, between employment and unemployment or between training and retiring. Counselling plays a decisive role here, facilitating independent and safe decision-making as regards one's career.

Demographic changes are an important feature of the changing world. A need arises to lengthen the period of active employment and to work out new forms of intergenerational cooperation - followed by new employment methods. Active employees of various industry branches are going to age soon, and young, talented and highly-qualified employees will have to replace them. Also the increasing importance of specialisation paired with global competitiveness and technological dynamics causes the rise of unemployment and at the same time difficulties with finding workforce in certain sectors. Changes in education, training, policy and employment systems are therefore perceived as a reaction to the shortage of highly-qualified staff and to the need for even chances for everyone and for social inclusion.

It must also be underlined how the growing demand for career counselling is a consequence of the necessity for lifelong learning. Individuals who discontinue their professional career or change its route are expected to be proactive towards the changes. Lifelong learning strategy is believed to be a fundamental concept here. It might be said that a new educational reality appears. One the one hand, what becomes characteristic is individualisation of one's educational path, a learning-oriented lifestyle as a reaction to current changes, strong educational motivation and willingness to collect certificates and confirmations of yet another skill set. On the other hand, there is a constant push towards improvement of institutions that create frameworks for lifelong learning and improvement. These institutions offer competences indispensable in the technology-dominated and individuation-oriented world, which applies also to educational processes. Thus one new phenomenon is validation of skills acquired outside of educational institutions and increased individual responsibility for one's educational

path; another is the boost in openness and importance of educational systems. The latter has occurred among others owing to creation of the European Qualifications Framework, local qualifications structures, and better links between institutional education and requirements of the job market (understood as demand for concrete skills).

The new aspect of consultancy is validation of skills acquired in a non-formal and informal way, outside of the school system. Traditional educational systems have changed; diplomas based on the length of the studies are being replaced by certificates obtained out of the formal school environment. Such credentials may be collected voluntarily and frameworks are being created for them to be officially recognised. The present time is marked by the need for lifelong learning. This reality is oriented at both intelligent development and knowledge-based economy. Once the vision of a learning society is assumed, there are implications for career consultancy as a concept and as social practice. It must be said that lifelong learning (understood as an educational idea and a strategy implemented at various levels and in various ways) is clearly linked to the ultimate goal: social coherence. This strong link to learning, training and education forms a relatively new type of coherence, which is also reflected in requirements regarding lifelong career consultancy. There is much emphasis on strategies facilitating access to lifelong learning - especially for the disfavoured. Another factor shaping career consultancy services is the abovementioned fact that the labour market needs to forecast and adjust its needs with regards to skills and not professions.

This paper describes certain trends and changes in the contemporary world, which are a context for modifications of career models, both from the theoretical and practical standpoint. Additionally, the understanding, needs and proposals for systemic changes in the career consultancy system are determined by European Union policies. I would like to emphasise that such policy is clearly linked to the necessity for lifelong learning. It is namely assumed that the lifelong learning concept is supported by lifelong consultancy and guidance (Resolution of the Council of the European Union, 8848/04 EDUC 89SOC 179, 2004; Resolution of the Council of the European Union, 14398/08 EDUC 241 SOC 607, 2008). To illustrate the European policy it is worth to refer to selected strategic documents, bearing in mind that guidance is also discussed in dozens of others documents adopted by the European Parliament, European Commission and the Council of the European Union (Solarczyk-Ambrozik, 2013). As these documents indicate, the educational policy of the EU is mainly the promotion of lifelong learning. Citizens are being made aware of how important it is and what benefits may be derived from constant development of skills. Member states are called on to improve the quality of training and education, forecast the demands of the job market, develop professional consultancy and agency services, and decrease the percentage of early dropouts. Lifelong learning and guidance policy in the EU is influenced by the community way of thinking, the emerging vision of communal Europe - and thus transformations of educational concepts and career

consultancy occurring together with political, economic and social changes. Diverse UNES-CO and OECD reports illustrate that as well (cf. Solarczyk-Ambrozik, 2013).

A question might be asked here: what is the concept of lifelong learning and what kind of vision of Europe is the context here? Thus, the *Project Europe 2030. Challenges and opportunities* document indicated that citizens of Europe need competitive, sustainable and social market economy, and human capital will be the main and strategic success trigger. There is a definite trend regarding unlocking individual potential. It is often underlined that better utilisation of talents is the most important strategic instrument which will ensure social advance to citizens and progress to the European society.

Regarding career consultancy policy, it is important to identify the needs of both individuals and organisations when it comes to support at adaptation to changes. Individuals should be supported and provided with opportunities to advance their careers, and the workforce should be ready to satisfy the needs of the economy and the labour market. This fundamental document defines career consultancy and simultaneously underscores the point that in the context of lifelong learning, career consultancy contributes to economic progress, labour market efficiency, and professional and geographical mobility. It is so since consultancy strengthens human potential and resources, and is characterised by a variety of structures, services and activities. The category of 'transition' needs to be highlighted here; it is said that consultancy provides significant support in transition between levels and areas of various educational systems, between the school and professional life or after returning to work from unemployment (Resolution of the Council of the European Union, 2004). Also another strategic document concerning guidance in strategies of lifelong learning (Resolution of the Council of the European Union, 2008) analyses transition in detail as an important category in career consultancy. It is underlined that in this context guidance may facilitate making independent and safer decision concerning one's career at the current labour market, which helps achieve better work-life balance. The abovementioned policy of lifelong career consultancy presents appropriate terminology and certain ways of thinking on discussed phenomena. Additionally, it presents opportunities of how to achieve the adopted goals; namely it establishes priority fields for particular policies. They include: support for lifelong career management, providing easier access to guidance, creation of a quality management system for guidance, encouragement for coordination and cooperation of various entities at the local, regional and national level (Resolution of the Council of the European Union, 2008).

A significant illustration of how to think strategically about guidance is the notion of mobility. It is related to the wider context: the European Union is growing, the labour market is open, there are more educational opportunities, globalisation is progressing and active working life is longer. For career consultants, the young people constitute a special type of customers.

It is worth mentioning that the 'Youth on the Move' communication from the Commission to the European Parliament highlights the fact that high-quality education and training, efficient integration with the labour market and higher youth mobility are all necessary for the potential of the youth to be freed. In this way, objectives of the 'Europe 2020' strategy for economic growth will be reached. Implementation of the project will allow the young to succeed in knowledge-based economy, among others through facilitation of lifelong learning, counteraction of dropouts, vocational education, and high-quality internships. What will also help is validation of non-formal and informal education, modernisation of college education, elimination of obstacles for mobility and employment of the youth. As the abovequoted document indicates, young people should be better supported while transitioning from education to employment, with use of measures that encourage employers to hire the young. This may be achieved through higher quality of information and guidance regarding mobility at the local, regional and national level. The discussed guidelines analyse in particular the matter of educational mobility, which I would like to point out in the context of both terminology and the whole spectrum of lifelong guidance. It is assumed that educational mobility plays a role in all disciplines and fields, for instance in culture, science, sports and art (*Mobile Youth,* 2010).

From an individual's point of view, career consultancy policy should contribute to their educational and professional progress, develop their career shaping abilities and teach them to react to the needs of the labour market. It has already been shown that the importance of career consultancy increases in the context of new challenges and changes of the present world. Individuals expect support with problematic choices regarding educational paths, searching for jobs and shaping of career paths - also through professional transformations.

With greater mobility and other abovementioned changes, comes the concept of 'boundaryless career' (Arthur, Rousseau, 1996), which describes careers as increasingly independent from organisations and traditional boundaries between specialised functions and skills. This concept focuses more on subjective career and feeling that one's professional life has become fragmented. It shows the importance of smooth relations between work and other aspects of life. Even though employment remains still within competences of organisations, the expansion of the European Union, large-scale economic trends and common currency reduce the sharpness of boundaries between particular fields of employments. It is worth noting here that new barriers for career shaping are emerging as well. An example might be selection criteria used by employers who favour particular competences. As J. M. Kidd points out, in establishing one's participation in the labour market new career determinants are still accompanied by powerful traditional 'boundaries', for instance social status or gender (Kidd, 2006). One could therefore say that despite the emergence of boundaryless career, limitations of individual career chances still exist.

Furthermore, another set of changes that accompany social and economic progress and increased mobility of students and employees are changes in the very pattern of one's career. They are also caused by ageing societies and technological progress which brings about transformations of the workplace. Individual qualifications need to be adjusted to the changing expectations of the labour market.

An important and already emphasized here notion that helps understand changes in the field of career consultancy is mobility. The background of each career is change, which brings about mobile employees - who not only change their work place or form of employment, but also are flexible in their permanent jobs, for instance as regards functions, activities and responsibilities.

A one-time career choice precluded by a linear educational path and later by long-term settlement within the job market becomes thus inadequate in the risky world which changes rapidly in so many ways and where individual responsibility for quality of life is greater. From this point of view, we may speak not only about career planning, but also about constructing and planning one's life (Savicas et al., 2009), which translates into new trends in consultancy.

One might say that career combines individual features and experiences with chances and barriers existing in the social context (Kidd, 2006, p. 7).

Such understanding of career bears serious implications for consultancy. It establishes the extent to which the customer is assisted, together with actual needs they have when it comes to understanding of opportunities, interests and work-related values. Simultaneously, it emphasizes how crucial it is to consider the social context, time and space. Without this it would be impossible to explore career rules and opportunities throughout one's life. When one defines career with attention to chances and barriers in employment viewed from the temporal perspective, one noted how volatile the concept is. It is a consequence of abovementioned transformations on a bigger scale which determine the demand for consultancy services.

Both theories and strategies alike highlight the complex and intricate nature of career planning processes. V.G. Zunker maintains that individuals experience periods of indecision and irresolution throughout their professional life, and therefore their career choices are not fixed. When the awareness of the developmental character of career increases, individuals are more prone to change or redefine their choices (Zunker, 1986, p. 79). D. E. Super, for instance, describes this period of indecision as a developmental stage when interests are not fully cristallised yet (Super, 1984). The decision-making process is complex and unique for each individual, since is is conditioned by cognitive factors and structures of an individual's social environment. Life enables us to assess choices we made in the past and to change them once our values or interests change. Making career-related decisions is a process in which we not only make

choices, but also eliminate certain options, thus suppressing some interests on the narrow path to our careers (Zunker, 1986, pp. 79–80). Career choices include also searching for one's own identity and meaning in the society. Planning one's career is a process that allows us to constantly reevaluate where we are and at what we aim.

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Educational and career guidance in the context of student's individual needs

The changes on the job market, changes in the relation between the employer and the employee, flexible forms of employment gaining popularity as well as the dynamics of transformation in performing professions pose a challenge of preparing the youth to effective functioning in various contexts of professional activity. Demanding that the school should prepare the student to enter the job market is not controversial and is voiced not only by politicians, entrepreneurs, job market experts, but also by teachers and students. There is a common agreement that it is the school that should prepare the student to find his/her place on the more and more difficult job market. Should we, however, make an attempt at operationalizing this aim, we find ourselves faced not with a straightforward task. This mainly stems from the fact that the job market is not a statistical reality. It assumes one constant feature, i.e. changeability. This feature forces us to redefine the aims, perceived as crucial, in the area of career guidance offered at school. A simple solution based on matching interests, predispositions and gifts to corresponding professions are becoming not only insufficient but sometimes also harmful. Contemporary career paths very often can be characterised by untypical, complicated, surprising and unpredictable trajectories. Decisions related to selecting schools and professions, typically ascribed to the period of adolescence, are becoming lifelong tasks at present. With this assumption, the school becomes a place where the student can learn basic rules of thinking about designing his/her own educational and career paths as well as key skills which are required to plan, carry out and think about one's choices. For this reason, solutions which would enhance proactive attitudes towards one's own career are sought in the field of contemporary educational and professional guidance

As has been noticed by B. Wojtasik (2011), preparing the student to live and work in the conditions of constant change requires developing a new way of thinking about the aims of professional guidance offered at school. The job market is one of the most important contexts of analysing youth's professional situation. It is not, however, the only context. Identifying the

importance of career guidance dedicated to the youth, it is worth casting a broader look at this issue. It can be perceived and analysed from the perspective of individual factors conductive to achieving professional success, systemic or organisational solutions, an element of preventing social marginalisation and exclusion as well as an important element of educational policy. The following chapter puts forward the perspective of student's individual needs in the realm of competences increasing the likelihood of educational and professional success. Identifying and operationalizing these needs constitutes a starting point for developing adequate curricular and methodical solutions.

At the outset it is important to notice that both research publications and educational praxis – with increasing frequency – turn from touching upon the subject of career guidance or counselling to educational and career guidance. It is a small yet significant change in perceiving the aims of advisory support dedicated to the student. The vocational educational reform and the perspective of receiving qualifications obtained outside the system constitute reasons in the light of which developing educational paths becomes a crucial skill. It is of outmost importance when selecting vocational schools. Students should have the opportunity to learn how to evaluate various educational possibilities. The skill of selecting appropriate criteria of evaluating the quality of offers and their relevance to the needs of the student are very useful not only in the context of the immediate educational and professional decisions. This skill can be also considered to be a transferrable competency and its significance perceived not only in terms of lifelong education but also in other spheres of life.

Two extreme approaches to perceiving the role of career guidance dedicated to the youth can be identified. The first one indicates that it is the situation on the job market that constitutes the primary factor determining the direction of career guidance. The representatives of this approach emphasise the need to adjust the educational offer to the current demands of the job market. The following expressions are dominant in their narration: resources allocation, surplus and deficit professions, and unemployment. Within this paradigm, the perception of guidance as an aim, on the one hand, is considered as preparing the student not to become an unemployed graduate; on the other hand, it ensures that the job market receives suitably qualified employees. One can be under the impression that the latter aim is prioritised. From this perspective, students are perceived to be "human resources" that needs to be prepared for effectively carrying out tasks resulting from the knowledge-based economy paradigm. Schools, and vocational schools in particular, are perceived to be institutions preparing staff for economy and the job market. The second approach consists in emphasising the meaning of individual responsibility for the course of one's life, including professional career. It is assumed that the key element of career guidance is the broadly conceived well-being of an individual. In practice, this entails strengthening the reflexive and critical look at the direction of development, decision-making, awareness of aspiration and value, and establishing prior-

ities. This perspective includes the multitude of roles that the student will fulfil in the course of his/her life as well as highlights attempting to make these roles as complementary as possible. These two approaches do not stand in opposition to each other; they occupy extreme positions on a continuum of perceiving the tension between individual preferences and the requirements of the job market. This tension has been elaborated on by E. Solarczyk-Ambrozik (2009, p. 7), who emphasised that contemporary education is, on the one hand, an opportunity for creative construction of the course of one's life, and, on the other hand, a factor determining the presence on the increasingly more challenging job market.

In the analysis of the individual context of carrying out career guidance in the educational system, two perspectives can be put forward. One of them suggests focusing on developmental dynamics; the second one, in turn, focuses predominantly on individual student's possibilities and limitations. The temporal perspective entails that, for every educational stage, aims corresponding to the developmental dynamics of addressees are suggested. It concerns not only professional but also social, cognitive and emotional development. It also assumes that at a given educational stage, students face common tasks regarding the development of competences in the area of designing educational and professional careers (Rosalska, 2012, p. 16). The conception suggested by (Cybal-Michalska, 2013, p. 176) is frequently adduced within this perspective. It is commonly assumed that middle school education is the period when special emphasis needs to be laid on career guidance. Indeed, it is meaningful as this is the time when students make choices regarding their further general or vocational education. However, neither the importance of primary school in this respect should not be underestimated, nor should the needs of secondary school students be neglected. At this point it is worth indicating the need to think about designing careers as a lifelong process. This means that defining and redefining professional goals, undertaking education, processes regarding transition in one's profession, and constant development of skills and professional qualifications are lifelong tasks (Ministerstwo Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, 2013).

The second perspective concerns individual student's potential. The school should become a safe space not only for identifying, but also for multiplying resources which can play a key role in the process of developing aspirations and plans. It is traditionally assumed that personal interests constitute the point of departure for establishing the direction of further education and the selection of profession. This line of thinking in grounded in theories of characteristics and factors which underline the need to match individual preferences with the characteristics of profession and working environment (Paszkowska-Rogacz, 2003, p. 29). Focusing solely on student's interests and preferences carries the risk of making decisions which are not adequate to the real possibilities of effective performance within a given occupation, neither does it facilitate the job market driven need to flexibly react to changes. If we assume that the goal of guidance at school is to assist the student in the process of designing career, then iden-

tifying and evaluating individual and social resources should be one of the elements of this process. These, in turn, should not only be a basis for the decision regarding the selection of profession or educational direction but also choices which will – to a great extent – condition student's functioning in the role of an employee, co-worker or employer. It is worth empha-sising that the goal of career guidance is not only to prepare the student to make a decision regarding the selection of profession, but also to prepare him/her to effectively perform this profession. However, this preparation should not be limited to gathering knowledge and de-veloping professional skills. Social skills are of crucial importance here. When working with a student in order to identify his/her individual potential, one can refer to a number of sug-gested variables which are pointed out as significant factors in the decision-making process regarding education and professional career. An extensive catalogue of such variables has been suggested by D. J. Blum and T. E Davis (2010, p. 201). The authors pointed to the need of strengthening students' awareness in the area of his/her skills, competences, talents, ex-periences, limitations, values, attitudes, interests, aspirations, opportunities and the preferred lifestyle. It is important that the process of developing student's knowledge and individual potential does not bear traces of exclusion and stigmatisation. Student's school-related ex-periences are frequently related to evaluation and positioning his/her achievements against the backdrop of other students' achievements. With regard to career guidance, it might result in the way of thinking which suggests that high-achieving students should continue their ed-ucation in high schools, while low-achievers should opt for vocational education. This line of thinking is not conductive to designing educational and professional careers. School grades bear little influence on the possibility of achieving professional success. The student should learn how to identify and evaluate his/her opportunities on the basis of criteria unrelated to those of grades and positioning within a group, class or school. It is worth suggesting that the students think in a way that directs them towards seeking solutions and minimalizing the influence of individual limitations and deficits as well as seeking the best and most efficient forms of development. An instance of such an attitude might be the concept of multiple in-telligences proposed by Gardner (2009) in the light of which the student has the possibility of evaluating his/her predispositions and talents according to criteria other than the ones that undergo identification and evaluation in the everyday school reality.

Thinking in terms of categories of competences regarding career management constitutes another premise concerning the area of career guidance in the context of supporting individ-ual development of the youth. If we assume that linear and predictable careers should be a part of exceptional – and not typical – situations, the key professional career competence is related to managing this career. A model of competences designed by S. Haase and J. Fran-cis-Smythe'a (2005) can constitute an inspiration for this perception of career guidance aims. The authors of this model, named "career competences indicator", pointed to the significance of the following competence areas:

– ability to set aims and plan professional career,

– ability of self-discovery,

– ability related to achieving efficiency in the performed tasks,

– ability related to pursuing career (e.g. teamwork, problem solving, time management),

– ability to get to know the policy of an organisation (formal and informal structures, relations, etc.)

– ability to build relations within one's professional network and monitoring them,

– ability of self-presentation and gathering feedback.

This model integrates hard (professional) and soft skills. This take on competences determining the functioning on the job market is very useful in terms of constructing educational and counselling activities at school. Competences are defined as "the abilities to perform tasks according to the recognised and determined standards appropriate for a given professional group" (Kossowska, 2001). They encompass not only the scope of required knowledge and essential skills. More and more often they are identified with social skills and ethical values. The quality of performing the job is the combined effect of hard skills – occupational, substantive, executive and typical for a given job or trade – as well as social skills, which are transferrable and necessary in different occupations and working environments. It can also be assumed that these skills, to a great extent, condition the efficiency of using hard skills. On the basis of the analysis of reports looking at competences promoted on the contemporary job market, the most important or valuable ones can be pointed out. These are skills in the area of communication, honesty and reliability, interpersonal skills, adhering to the professional ethics code, flexibility and the ability to adjust along with being well versed in new technologies (SGH, AIH and Ernst & Young, 2012). Students should become aware of the meaning of soft and social skills. This line of thinking motivates activities related to career planning, thus not only connected with getting a job.

The category which triggers reflexive thinking about professional career and the job market is the distinguishing competence. This concept originates from the conception of strategic management and refers to a characteristic distinguishing one from his/her competition. For a student it entails the need of positively differentiating himself/herself from other graduates and other workers within the same industry who will also want to find a proper employment on the job market. Thinking and acting in terms of distinguishing competences will direct the student's attention to seeking and strengthening individual, and possibly unique, qualifications and skills. Such an approach is especially useful when working with vocational school students.

The last reason for implementing educational and career guidance at schools, to be discussed in this chapter, is the need for shaping proactive attitude towards professional ca-

reer and the job market. Assuming a concept of the attitude where three factors can be distinguished – the cognitive, affective, and behavioural components – we are able to plan educational activities aimed at strengthening these three components of a student's attitude towards his/her professional career. The cognitive component is the knowledge not only from the occupational area; it is also the state-of-the-art and factually valuable knowledge from the domain of procedures of applying for a job, job market, and educational offer. Counselling practice indicates that students – when making career decisions – are often guided by beliefs and ideas regarding a given occupation or working style in a given industry. Frequently this knowledge is based on media coverage or parents' experiences. It is the councillor's task to verify whether and to what extent student's decisions are made on the basis of rational and factual premises. In particular this is crucial in the case of middle school students willing to undertake vocational education. Regarding the affective component, it is worth assisting the student in identifying his/her need and expectations as well as fears and worries related to the selection of occupation or entering the job market. Of crucial importance is the issue of shaping the way of perceiving and interpreting the phenomena and mechanisms of the job market. They can be interpreted as both: opportunities and threats. We can also put forward the thesis that it is predominantly the teacher and parents who shape the way of perceiving professional reality. They shape the thinking about prestige occupations, success artefacts and popular university courses. The conviction that is popular at schools is that graduating from a prestigious university guarantees employability and the more advanced the education the higher the chances of professional and personal success are. These convictions need to be treated in terms of heuristics. These are the factors increasing the chances of success, yet not guaranteeing them. As for the behavioural component, the student graduating from a secondary school should demonstrate behaviour testifying to his/her ability to seek work as well as knowledge of application procedures. In the context of vocational education, shaping professional behaviour with regard to the role of worker, co-worker and employer should be emphasised.

When analysing individual student's needs in the area of competences connected with designing professional and educational careers, we can assume that the reasons discussed above will prove useful in designing general guidance carried out at school. The aim of such an activity is to build the competence described as employability. This means that every student, having finished his/her education at the secondary school level, should have the awareness of the factors through which his/her chances of receiving a job offer will be assessed. According to the suggestion put forward by C. M. Van der Heijde and B.I.J.M. Van der Heijden (2006), employability encompasses the following five basic dimensions: flexibility, ease of adjusting to changes on the internal and external job market, occupational knowledge, optimisation and anticipation (i.e. the ability of predicting future changes and getting prepared for them), the ease of building relations within the working environment and identifying oneself with the

group aims and values as well as striking a balance between different kinds of needs and interests at the individual, group, and organisational levels. These elements can be treated as a graduate profile in the area of competences connected with the effective functioning of the job market. It is a general and universal profile. What needs to be taken into consideration in the guidance offer at schools are suggestions for students with special guidance needs. This group includes students who are disabled, exceptionally gifted, who are experiencing a specific situation of the family, members of groups threatened with marginalisation and exclusion, those with learning difficulties as well as children of (re)immigrants who began their education in a foreign educational system. Recognising this broad spectrum of students with special guidance needs will – at the same time – constitute preventive measures against their educational failures as well as, in a longer run, failures on the job market (Curry and Milsom, 2014).

Therefore, the fundamental point of reference, for the guidance practice in an educational system, should be seen as the goals targeted at strengthening competences in the area of critical thinking about the relation between individual needs, predispositions, values and potentials and the external context of the possibility of achieving professional aspirations. Within this perspective, the job market is not only becoming an aim but also the context determining the fulfilment of aims perceived as important by the individual.

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Food and body culture. An introduction to the origins of eating disorders

"For what is food?" – asks Roland Barthes in *Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption* and answers with the following: "It is not only a collection of products that can be used for statistical or nutritional studies. It is also, at the same time, a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations, and behaviour" (Barthes, 2008, p. 29).

Food feeds, food can make us happy and it can also drive us to despair. Contempt for food manifested by slim bodies – as in the case of aristocrats in the Victorian era – expresses disdain for the worldly goods, while at the same time it is a symbol of affluence and prestige. On the other hand, excessive food consumption, with the aim of stocking up on fat, is indexical of caution, especially in societies experiencing famine. Different cultures see the act of eating and individual foods as symbols and elements of ritual. Western societies abound in symbolic images of food. One of the most significant (and referring to the collective imagination) is the Christian image of bread and wine along with the image of the Garden of Eden, a land of milk and honey.

The history of creation commences with the consumption of an apple, which was picked by Eve from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This apple – as a topos, a symbol of sin and eroticism – is a symbol of corporeal and spiritual desire. From that point on, the European culture will be returning to it throughout the following centuries; it will become an attribute of Venus, the reason of discord during the Paris' beauty contest, and eventually the source of the poison in the Snow White fairy tale. A simple fruit is assuming extraordinary symbolism and becomes a magical object.

Similar in their symbolism of food and its role in the culture of the West are baroque still lifes (the favourite theme of painters of the following four centuries). For instance, the paintings by

Willem Claeszoon Heda or Floris van Dijck. Apart from the immense pleasure derived from looking at these works of art, they also allow us to gain insight into the food habits and the symbolic context which was ascribed to food during this period. The depicted lavishness and affluence was symbolised by beautifully set tables and perfectly mirrored images of fruit, meat, seafood and wine glasses. These objects, by referring to the topos of vanitas, were to depict the transience of human nature and material goods. At the same time, they were also packed with symbolism – white bread is the bread symbolising affluence (spoiled aristocratic children were the children "fed with white bread") (Bendiner, 2004, p. 129). A peeled lemon skin is a symbol of fleeting time or luxury; oysters were the symbol of desire, sensuality and fertility.

We could also point to the delightful examples of the world's greatest paintings: *Luncheon of the Boating Party* by Pierre-August Renoir or *The Luncheon on the Grass* by Claude Monet, where food becomes a way of coding meanings. We could also cast a look at symbolic films, such as a ballerina fighting the temptation to eat in *Dying to Dance* and the delight to the palate during *Babette's Feast*.

From McDonald's fast food chains to the delightful French restaurants, food is a source of pleasure and a symbol of socio-cultural changes. "The more refined were civilizations around the world, the bigger commercial and cultural conflicts between them" – M. Touisssaint-Samat writes – "the more complicated and varied was their food (…) Human mentality is mirrored in the culinary preferences and abilities. Tell me what you eat, I will tell you who you are" (Touissant-Samat, 2002, p. 9-10). Food constitutes a peculiar cultural system, and the individual/group taste has been shaped by culture and is socially controlled (Levi-Strauss, 1983).

Dietary habits are determined not only by our culture, social class, race, but also by our age and gender. Women – through their undeniable link to the nature – are closer to food and rituals associated with them. Woman's body is food for the new life, her milk is the first food for the infant, and she – due to the social roles she fulfils – most frequently prepares meals for household members.

Thus, in many cultures, food is divided into and classified as masculine and feminine: meat and alcohol is juxtaposed against fruit and sweets. According to this division, men consume more substantial meals, which usually comprise meat, associated – since the ancient times – with aggression and strength. Meat, as it is believed, is a prerequisite for building a strong and muscular body. Eating meat, as claimed by Carol Adams, is a symbol of patriarchy (Adams, 2010). It expresses cultural dominance of men over the world and women. The portrait of Henry VIII eating a steak and a kidney pie sharply contrasts with portraits of seven women – six wives of the king and princess Mar – all of whom consume a (different) fruit or vegetable: Catherine of Aragon eats an apple, Princess Mar a turnip, Anne Boleyn red grapes, Anne

Cleaves a pear, Jane Seymour violet grapes, Catherine Howard a carrot, Catherine Parr a marrow (Adams, 2010, p. 48). A genuine man, as ironically put by Feirstein, will never eat the 'obligatory' watercress but will rather opt for meat with potatoes or chips at a restaurant. He will never flinch at the sight of butter, white bread or refined sugar; he also knows that a proper meal needs to include meat, and deems muesli or lettuce as ingredients of an animal diet (Feirstein i Trippett, 1982, s. 74).

In turn, white meat, similarly to fish, is dietary light food associated with femininity and the care for slim body. Fish, in particular, is thought to be suitable for women and children due to their tenderness and they way of consumption (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 239).

Women's food, in the European culture, is always light and delicate. Its consumption contrasts with what provides strength and vitality for men, who eat substantial amounts.

The ideal of a woman who does not consume too much and looks after her slim body can be juxtaposed against the ideal of the 'large body' in Oman or Mauritania, which is a symbol of beauty and affluence also connected with the symbol of fertility (Al-Adawi et. al., 2011, p. 1461). Ritual fattening of women – known as *leblouh or gavage* from French – takes place on special farms, where older women, matrons, force five and six-year-old girls to eat substantial portions of food. This way, women receive even 14—16 thousand kilocalories per day (Guerrero, 2013, p. 880). A similar trend has been observed in Nigeria, where beauty contests are held with the view of choosing the most obese and heaviest woman. Here, wife's obesity is perceived as a testimony of affluence and care on the part of her husband (Delaney, 2011, p. 210).

How is a social structure connected with dietary choices? In his *Distinction*, Pierre Bourdieu describes dietary preferences as correlated with the membership in a given social class and the accompanying habitus. Thus, physical workers and farmers point to broth, black pudding, pork, beans stewed with meat in tomato sauce or sauerkraut as their favourite dishes. Representatives of these classes select "affordable and substantial" products, while representatives of independent occupations opt for light foods which help to maintain lean bodies (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 236–237).

The symbolism of food, social constructions of its consumption and preparation, its class, racial, and gendered aspects would not be that significant or obvious, was it not for their direct relationship with the body. Working within the field of the sociology of food, Patricia Crotty, emphasises the dual character of food: "[t]he act of swallowing divides nutrition's 'two cultures'. The post-swallowing world of biology, physiology, biochemistry and pathology and the pre-swallowing domain of behaviour, culture, society and experience." (Crotty, 1993, p. 109).

Another context of the issues under discussion is worth consideration. In a consumerist society, we perceive ourselves (and we are perceived by others) to a large extent through our bodies. Age-long tension between the spiritual and the corporeal is encapsulated in the phrase: "I and my body" and assumes an absolute dualism (which stems from the Cartesian tradition). The body was in possession of the human being (Benson, 1997).

At present, this relationship is different as has been put forward by Z. Melosik: "In the contemporary culture, identity is gradually escaping what has been traditionally called the mind or the soul and is «surfacing» -- it starts to be played out by the body. At the same time, the focus on the body and control among many women, constitutes a particular remedy for the contemporarily typical feeling of the lack of control over one's own life (control over life has been reduced to the control over body by many women)" (Melosik, 1996, p. 72). It is without doubt that a certain preferred representation of the body is presented in the media – one that is "over-aestheticised" and "ideal".

As a result, in the contemporary society an increasing number of people is focused on chasing the "intangible", elusive ideal of the body. We desire to become this ideal, to become ideal, and – above all – we want to be in possession of a lean body which is becoming our "cultural capital", i.e. the symbol of our personality, our character traits and possibilities (Gromkowska, 2002, p. 97). The final embodiment of the victory of the culture of hunger over the culture of eating is the cultural construct of the (female) anorexic.

In the course of anorexia, the several stages can be observed (Jablow, 1993, pp. 52–54). The early stage can be characterised by euphoria. Excitation related to the feeling of power and control is to be noticed. The anorexic constantly decreases the amount of food and simultaneously increases the amount and level of physical exercises. Some female patients confess that stopping their periods gives them a feeling of power and control over reality. They are proud of the fact that they can bring biological processes to a halt. Some anorexics believe that ceasing their development at the stage of childhood (or even a 'return' to this stage) will postpone the necessity of becoming mature women.

During the next stage, the initial euphoria is replaced by the feeling of "moral superiority". The self-esteem is corroborated by the consistent application of self-imposed nutrition rules. The ability to reject a "temptation" is considered – by the anorexic – a matter of honour and putting her strong will to a test. Refraining from eating makes them feel better than the ones who do not control their appetite. They perceive overweight as something indecent which evokes disgust or pity. Slenderness, in turn, is associated with yielding power over their body in terms of constructing a relevant identity. It is a reason to be proud of and evidence of their superiority over the rest of the world. Fat is perceived as an unruly, spreading substance which cannot be controlled. The obsessive dieting regime is a consequence of the fear of losing a uniquely

understood "freedom" and "power". Through controlling her bodyweight, the anorexic tries to prove that she yields control over it. (Matlin, 1993, p. 458).

The next stage is accompanied by fear. It is not, however, triggered by weight loss and the related somatic disorders. Along with the reduction in body weight, the anorexic experiences increasing fears of whether she is not eating too much, and whether as a consequence she will put on weight. The following is a statement of one of them: When I overeat, I do not think what you probably think; I feel that I overeat when I have more than one cracker with peanut butter (Matlin, 1993, p. 459). This girl refrained even from licking the glue on a post stamp in fear of consuming additional calories.

Fully-fledged anorexia is accompanied by depression and obsession with order. The pedantry of an anorexic concerns not only food and the bodyweight. Apart from meticulously checking their weight on a personal weight scale and counting calories, the anorexic frequently meticulously describes her physical exercises and analyses how much time she devotes to them. Sometimes, she also raises the bar when it comes to educational attainment. She makes every attempt to be "the best student". She also desires to be a perfectionist (Matlin, 1993, pp. 459–460).

At present, there are many conceptions which attempt to account for the causes of anorexia. One of them – which can be symbolically named socio-cultural – in a decisive manner relates to the contemporary ideal of the superslim body and the pressure experienced by women to conform to it. However, most conceptions accounting for anorexia assume that it is an individual issue of the sufferer. Here, the conviction that the impossibility of accepting oneself and understanding one's needs and desires is seen as the origin of the disorder. Apart from a marginal mention, the role of socio-cultural factors is underplayed in this respect (Gromkowska, 2002, p. 192).

At the same time, anorexia is a disorder which most frequently concerns white, heterosexual, middle-class (or higher) women. In this context the post-structuralist thesis that anorexia does not constitute a form of individual pathology is supported; rather than that, is an effect of broader socio-cultural conditioning. M. Pipher, who provides therapy for girls, writes that in most cases the care for the desired body and the fear of being rejected along with the need for being perfect stem from the social expectations towards women; only very few women do so due to their 'pathological traits' (Pipher, 1998, s. 39).

It is without a doubt that the culture where hunger is chosen, a culture leading to anorexia, is symbiotically connected with the culture of compulsive eating. As has been brilliantly captured by J. Baudrillard, the anorexia epidemic expressed through culture of "disgust, of expulsion, of anthropoemia" is characteristic of times when the issue of "obesity, saturation, overabundance is dominant (Baudrillard, 1989, p. 39).

In *Wall-E* (directed by Stanton, 2008) – an American animated film from 2008, which received 6 Oscar nominations – the vision of future facing an ecological catastrophe is combined with the vision of the future human: a fat man, moving on an automatic armchair floating in the air and staring at a screen above him. It is the reality in 700 years – it takes that long for the robot, the main character, to clean up the planet littered by people. Is it really science-fiction?

One of the most surprising observations is that the culture promoting the ideal of a slim body witnesses the obesity pandemic. Moreover, the increase in obesity is not a manifestation of a temporal tendency, but rather should be seen as cumulative in time (Ogden, Flegal and Carrol, 2002).

Obesity is frequent in women with lower-class background, who are low-salaried and more frequent in women of colour as opposed to white (a reverse trend than in the case of eating disorders manifested in emaciated body) (Curran and Renzetti, 2005, p. 564). Genetic and hormonal factors are among the causes of the obesity pandemic, however, emphasis is laid on socio-cultural factors (Wąsowski et. al., 2013, pp. 301–306).

The last group of factors is connected with the change in dieting styles. Dieting habits of children are mainly shaped by the family, but also by the peer group and the media (advertisements). WHO research shows that only a third of children and youth consumes fruit and vegetables on a daily basis. In turn, consumption of sugar has increased from 5 kilograms per annum at the beginning of the last century up to 50 kilograms at present (World Health Organization, 2002).

Contemporary youth is involved in an insignificant amount of physical activities, and devote their time to s e d e n t a r y   a c t i v i t i e s in front of TV or computer at home (Dietz and Gortmaker, 1985, pp. 807–812) rather than outdoor. Moreover, the main food consumed by children and youth, during breaks at school and their free time, is sweets, sweetened fizzy drinks and salty snacks as well fast food (e.g. hot-dogs, hamburgers, chips)

Most frequently, the effects of obesity in children and youth are of psychological nature, which – at this stage of their lives – has other than health-related consequences (i.e. hypertension, diabetes, apnoea, orthopaedic conditions) (Jodkowska i Radiukiewicz, 2007, p. 85). Due to the unfavourable appearance caused by obesity, these people very often feel lonely, have low self-esteem, and suffer from bad mood and depression. Not infrequently, they often fall victim to violence, mobbing or cyber bullying (Robinson, 2006, pp. 201–206; Janssen et. al., 2004, pp. 1187–1194; Pyżalski, 2012).

To sum up, we can conclude that an obese person pushes to extremes one of the aspects of antinomy typical of the contemporary culture, i.e. "eat – don't eat", while the anorexic concentrates on the latter part of this antinomy.

However, the final crystallisation of the contradictions discussed above is bulimia. Zbyszko Melosik puts it in the following way: "In the contemporary culture, two mutually contradictory forms of «genuine knowledge» regarding the authorisation of food exist. This contradiction («eat – don't eat») is inscribed in individuals, while bulimia is the «pure type» expressed, on the one hand, by the desire of unlimited consumption (and the uncontrolled consumption of food), and on the other, by the desire to control one's body and its desires (vomiting and use of laxatives)" (Bordo, 1993, after: Melosik, 1996, p. 156).

To conclude, it needs to be stated that casting both a historical and a synchronic perspective on the issues under discussion, we notice that the prevalent forms of body cultures are tangled into one given food culture. Social constructions of the body and food are combined with each other into one inseparable whole which plays an important role in constructing identity. Anorexia, obesity, and bulimia – in turn – constitute a "side effect" of the struggles of the body culture with the food culture. However, in the case of millions of individuals, they constitute main trajectory of the changes of this identity.

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Pedagogy and education face the problem of eating disorders

Food was the foundation of civilisations and bone of contention of empires, the cause for crimes, motivation for new laws and impulse for attaining knowledge.

M. TOUSSAINT-SAMAT

Introduction

Reflection on searching for identity, (re)construction of identity and creating its new versions in which body seems to be necessary is often accompanied by rhetoric of a certain worry (and not only worry that one will not be able to achieve fitness) (Bauman, 1998). Creation and search for identity through sculpturing of the body requires assumption of attitudes rooted in health promotion and health education. Such an assumption is rather difficult and often put in the background of the process of bringing various aspects of health together. From this viewpoint, two statements are of particular importance and applicability: the appeal for pedagogical papers to be written similarly to medical ones so that they could play a role in disease prevention, and the remark that teachers should have authority similar to doctors so as to diagnose and counter threats (Witkowski, 2009, p. 459). Young people's eating habits nowadays have serious consequences, just as their health problems. Discourse concerning nutrition and diets confirms that, as significant trends may be observed there: improper manner of eating and wrong nutritional composition of meals. The matter of nutrition becomes 'a personal problem' (Melosik, 1999, p. 264).

The problem of identity forming

'The identity problem' is inspired by rich theoretical background and created within a certain discourse is characterised by variation of ways in which it is conceptualised. It contributes to the uneasy discussion concerning the currently promoted range of simplified identity images in which accent is placed on certain attributes, such as sexuality or slimness.

A key matter here is how one acquires and constructs identity, and whether already acquired identity is a category that is constructed and desired, or rather possessed (is it something to search for or to possess?). In the context of constructing identity, the topic of status, influence and effects of cultural factors appears not without a reason. Certain tendencies are pointed out as one aspect of identity is being extracted: experiencing oneself as a physical subject. One of the main dimensions which build individual identity is the body, the icon of the present (Czaja, 1999), a symbol of the culture of consumption (Melosik, 1999).

The discourse on culture and body refers to an identity construct of 'a juggler in the post-modern theatre'. Such an identity is acquired through borrowing rather than working it our immanently via negotiations - also in painstaking internal struggles and dilemmas. The discourse analyses the identity from the standpoint of its owners' problems. The phrase is used particularly when a young person begins to prefer constructing themselves through manipulation of their bodies and borrowing an already existing identity from a repertoire of ready-mades. For that, this person must pay a high personal price, also in the form of being 'looped' and lost among all offered standards (B. Borowik and R. Borowik, 2007).

Creating identity through construction of the body ('Identity of the body becomes the body of the identity')[40]

Bryan S. Turner calls modern society *the somatic society*, as body is a field of political and cultural activity which inspires numerous ideological discussions and conflicts (Turner, 1992, p. 12). Z. Melosik adds, that '[m]ore and more often the rhythm of life is determined by the rhythm of relationships between humans and their bodies. In a situation when a person cannot control their environment and the world is marked by semantic chaos, 'withdrawing into the body' is one of possible rational answers. Controlling one's body (sometimes up to the last calorie and each sweep of lipstick) gives the feeling of control over life, wherever this control should be placed. In the society of consumption (...) one escapes into the body which becomes a shelter (sometimes this shelter becomes a prison)' (Melosik, 1999, p. 90). Today, when body is subjected to regimes and discipline with socially sanctioned and compulsory

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40   Melosik (1996, s. 72).

practices, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the body ideal endorsed by the post-modern culture. In extreme cases it might lead to *anorexia nervosa*.

Manipulations of the body are powered with the manipulative mechanisms of adverts which offer opportunity to improve the body and beauty. It often happens at the cost of lost health and is burdened with the risk of eating disorders. More fashions are coming in together with new versions of identity and body, which leads to an absurd question: 'Which body is in fashion this season?' - which is not rhetorical at all (Melosik, 2013, p. 165).

The issues of relations between identity and body include the way in which body is presented and experienced as an ingredient of individual identities, as well as the problem of identity forming which indicates already existing social interpretations of physicality as the source. Within this field, a new interpretational horizon is emerging, marked by the tendency to notice threats. Judgements are being passed within undergoing discussions on the body, (not) eating, diet and identity. More and more often, they include opinions which reveal contradictions within these discourses and their consequences. An excellent illustration of this point is the situation of a young person who has problems related to eating behaviours and attitude to their own body. In such a context, if a road to constructing identity is marked with a signpost reading: 'You see, therefore you are', it may result in eating disorders and concrete problems with food and body.

Body and the matter of identity as a starting point for pedagogical activities

Young people obtain identities in a process that is prone to disruptions and endangered with negative identity, or certain identity which only seemingly assures coherence and unity of personality - such as anorectic identity (cf. Wojciechowska, 2002). As such, the process should meet with the core of education, the creation and recreation of human identities (Melosik, 2009, p. 19).

It is easy to note that competent pedagogical vigilance will prevent losing what we should mostly care about nowadays - health and its attractiveness. The abovementioned issue of educational obligation opens room for discussion on efficiency of health education and health-linked behaviours. The wide range of products related to food, relaxation, dieting and other proposals of contemporary commerce and culture also plays a role here. Thus, the following remark is particularly significant: 'Plastic surgery, promotion of a young and fit body as a fashionable ideal, aggressive marketing of health as a product packed in 'healthy' food, healthy diet supplements and activities, examples of pathologies such as anorexia or compulsive exercising - all that is enumerated as 'cultural' distortion of health. It is difficult for an individual to escape all that (Blaxter, 2009, pp. 109–110).

The very fact that the physicality and disciplining the body are much emphasised nowadays requires for certain subjects to appear in health education. Other challenges include the cult of the slim figure and the fact that young people submit to physical and quasi-healthy regimes, elements of consumption culture. This observation should be extended by a search for methods to minimise threats for the body and health. These events are also a reason for 'a planned intervention of educators in the world of meanings which young people know, including various types of engagement, visions, senses and ideologies' (Melosik and Szkudlarek, 2009, p. 116).

I would like to refer here to a hint: a thought of Z. Kwieciński, limited to the postulate for a radically critical pedagogy and radically humanist education. He writes: 'Pedagogy and education must understand how different their role may be as a medium between the culture that is well-known and created, between the present and the future, and between sides in social conflicts. Their role would be to offer maintenance of identity despite the instability of the social environment, and selection of systems of values. They would also enlighten particular individuals are regards their potential for emancipation' (Kwieciński, 1995, p. 29).

Deciding to construct 'a language of possibilities' in the world of emancipation has a consequence: an individual becomes a subject as they assume a model which 'emphasises permanent interactions between an individual and wider cultural context'. There, reproduction and struggle leading to emancipation co-exist (Melosik, 1999, p. 15). With such a decision this individual may avoid assuming (pseudo)identities and instrumentalising of themselves. With emancipation one may notice many phenomena in the critical thought on health. They could understand them and relate to their specific context, including for instance health promotion.

Concentration on individualisation and emancipation brings about arguments in favour of health promotion programmes - they will be more effective once the method 'oriented at acquiring information' is replaced with 'participation oriented at the learning process'. Such arguments should be a foundation for health promoters who assume the role of 'transformative intellectuals' (Melosik, 1999, p. 15). This apology of emancipatory rationality is related to the ability to think critically and reject limitations and demotivation. It provides fulfilment and self-realisation to an individual identity, as it supports whatever is conducive to freedom and happiness (Giroux, as quoted in Czerepaniak-Walczak, 2006). It clearly leads to an open, dynamic and adequate to the social conditions subject identity (Karkowska and Skalski, 2010, p. 64).

Once educators decide to reflect on communication competences and on identity formation based on emancipatory rationality, they have a chance to really participate in the process of identity forming for contemporary young people. It may consist in '[n]egotiation with the young concerning the shape of reality we live in, in particular modelling the habit of conscious decision making when it comes to one's own 'I'' (Melosik, 2005, p. 27). Through reflection we

arrive at one of pedagogical proposals, namely the pedagogy of 'identity core'. Z. Melosik writing about its basic concepts states: 'The aim of identity core pedagogy would therefore be providing young people with cores and foundations for a long-lasting and relatively stable 'core of one's own I'. 455). Educational activities are clearly part of the process of ultimate self-definition in one's otherness and 'finding oneself', especially as one claims that people do not have a fixed identity core nowadays.

Pedagogical actions focusing on health of young people nowadays

In the mobilisation and preparation for the fight for young people's health, a very important remark is that the youth draw their models from what mass culture offers them. Whether we want it or not, they accept the body cult into their system of values and build their identities around it. Excessive acceptance for such cultural models increases the risk of eating disorders (Brytek-Matera, 2008; Wójtewicz, 2014).

One could note that any element shaping the physicality of young people's reality and leading to 'problems with body and food' may be remodelled with modern health education. It would have to include issues in culture of consumption (including understanding and protection of health) and matters analysed nowadays by sociology of the body (including health-related behaviours).

In the world of a consumption society, health education is defined as knowledge, behaviours, convictions and lifestyles that aim at maintenance of health. Such a definition is accompanied by indication of basic techniques involved in the process of changing health-related behaviours. The techniques include: supplying adequate information, persuasion used to motivate, teaching practical skills, and interaction with the community in order to obtain social support and create conditions for change (Kulik, 2002, 24–25). Such a concept of health education based on the ecological model of health (Syrek, 2009) is just one step away from understanding what a concrete nutrition-related behaviour may express. This is particularly applicable when it turns out that nutrition (associated mostly with fulfilment of a basic biological need) is nowadays - in the consumption culture, perhaps even first and foremost - an act entangled in an intricate web of social, cultural and family obligations. Hence describing factors regulating what, why and how we eat, though difficult, is at the same time very helpful at understanding various functions of eating or not eating our meals. It also helps comprehend eating disorders which due to their intensity are presented as a serious contemporary problem (we speak here about anorexia, bulimia and obesity) (Iniewicz, 2011, p. 394).

School must appear in the planned and then implemented health education directed at children and young people. 'Schools are places which have the potential of protecting children

from deadly diseases and physical abuse. They could offer nutritionally well-balanced meals and get them involved in sports. In short, schools are not only a place to educate children's minds, but also to supervise and shape the bodies of young people' (Shilling, 2010, p. 35).

Health education is an obligatory topic at schools, with food and nutrition as one of its components. The European Network of Health Promoting Schools is a platform that expands the field of pedagogical practice. It employs various health promoting strategies at Polish schools, for instance the 'settings' approach based on the principle 'people first, problem second'. It tries to include the school community in the process of changes and democratisation of the school life (Sokołowska and Woynarowska, 2006). It definitely should be ensured that prevention of eating disorders is an everyday act, since students' identity is determined by what happens at school every day. At the institutional level, school may tackle its students' problems (including these related directly to eating) via concrete solutions. For example, 'first contact' employees could be selected and ready to intervene if they notice examples of worrisome behaviour. All school employees could be trained regarding basic warning signs of eating disorders. The youth could be educated as regards communication and social skills, and action rules could be worked out once a problem is noticed (Wycisk and Ziółkowska, 2010, p. 141). Thus, health education becomes an important pedagogical challenge which is particularly significant in a society oriented at consumption (also in the literal sense of the word). One could add that the challenge is not stripped of its sense; it is at a distance from the 'health indoctrination' and 'hidden, particular goals' of institutions which in the end contribute to the 'deficit of subjectivity'.

The problem becomes clearer once the attention is shifted from health promotion to criticism. It would be good to note here that the modern human falls prey to dieticians and consultants who pay no attention to the conditions in which they develop (their biological constitution, genetic burdens etc.). Then, the experts offer miracle diets and 'discipline of physicality', which in extreme cases contributes to bulimia and anorexia). Sometimes the matter of nutrition becomes obsession called 'foodism' (Cylkowska-Nowak, 2008). Health activities are tainted with fear of gaining weight and desire to be slim, and both emotions are additionally strengthened by popular culture. Therefore, such activities bring about the risk of - paradoxically! - losing health.

Nutrition and health - the salutogenic approach

As regards the launch of pro-healthy mechanisms of eating conditioned by the cultural context of a given young person, there are certain conditions in which health may be maintained and eating disorders prevented. A search for resources and factors that improve health brings concrete solutions based on strategies for healthy nutritional habits. The solutions include:

educating about nutrition rules at school, media and press making healthy food fashionable, regulations concerning food offered in restaurants and school canteens, limitations on unhealthy foods sold at school, limitations on advertisement and marketing directed at children (Jacennik, 2008, pp. 124–128).

Exploitation of experience in creating projects and programmes as well as social campaigns is definitely desired, effective and splendid. Nowadays it is difficult to imagine shaping nutrition-related behaviours without indicating concrete solutions to the Ministries of Education, Health and Social Policy, or without the actions of Centre for Educational Development or schools promoting health. In particular, the health potential related to nutritional knowledge and conditioned by type of available products has been noted and analysed in the following document: *School's action for health and safety of learners*, which presents one direction of educational policy implemented by the Ministry of National Education (MEN, 2014).

The social movement which promotes healthy lifestyle is visible and quite efficient. However, it could still be achieving even better results. Questions that require specific actions are: what can we do for social marketing and its effects to be more extensive and promoting health even better? What can be done for actions directed at helping at 'problems with eating and body' to be based on therapeutic work - so that they are effective, more progressive and preventive?

From this standpoint, pedagogy and education should be filled with reflection on the youth. Young people turn out to be deprived of a ready-to-eat (or ready-to-live) world in which they could smoothly find their place. They notice that there are many worlds, that they can move from one world to another, and each of them offers something different for a certain price (Melosik and Szkudlarek, 2009, p. 44). One of proposed goods is beauty and attractive looks in line with the canon of the consumption culture, achieved often at a cost of one's health and safety. This situation is an occasion for conscious interference with the process of cultural construction of meanings and the basis for reflection. Reflectivity may turn out to be the way to deal with reality when it acts like a buffer between cultural impact on a given action, and the action itself. With reflection a young person may achieve the status of an acting subject able to define what is the most important for them. They will be able to continue the project in which the objective is achievement of what is the most valuable (also for health).

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The book under review merits special attention not only on the part of social scientists, psychologists, sociologists or educationalists, but also practitioners, educators, advisors due to the multidimensional take on issues of socialization, education and therapy of young generations who inhabit the world of fluid modernity. It outstandingly weds theory with practice: excellent diagnoses and interpretations of the world with projects aimed at providing solutions, some of which already are of implemental or experimental character. New models or educational projects are confronted with neo-medial context of the functioning of children and adolescents (but also adults) in the real and virtual worlds, in the everyday reality full of new threats and addictions. But at the same time this reality also provides opportunities in the responsibly and creatively prepared educational environment characterized by learning and self-fulfillment. The editor has ensured a scientific-educational balance in communicating experiences, research results, and practice-oriented projects; at the same time the book triggers our reflexivity, criticism and encourages further exploration.

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