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CONTENTS

REVIEWS

SPIS TREŚCI

RECENZJE-OMÓWIENIA

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A REVIEW OF "KULTURA I EDUKACJA" FOR THE YEARS 1992–2006 FOR ADAM MARSZAŁEK PUBLISHING HOUSE IN TORUŃ

This opinion covers 15 years of the periodical "Kultura i Edukacja" from 1992 to 2006 (including three publications of the periodical in 2006); it is concerned with fifty editions in total. Since 1993, the papers are published quarterly, and some of them contain double issues. Adam Marszałek Publishing House is the editor of the quarterly [...].

In the programme declaration of the first editing team (no. 1/92), with the main editor prof. Roman Schulz, (the team: Czesław Kossakowski, Adam Marszałek, Józef Półturzycki, Andrzej Wojtas and Jan A. Malinowski as the secretary of the editors) we find out that the aim of the inventors of the periodical – in the difficult times of pedagogical papers crisis, yet also of opening to the freedom of speech – is to the boundaries and connections between education and culture, with special use of the "literary output and academic specification of the pedagogical community of UMK [Nicolas Copernicus University]", including such specialties as sociology of education, history of schooling, social pedagogy, special pedagogy, pedagogical anthropology, didactics and pedagogical innovations. "The quarterly «Kultura i Edukacja» – as we read in the note *From Editors* – was intended to be a national magazine that would satisfy the needs of a wide scope of readers. Especially, however, the ones that are interested in the past, present and perspectives of the development of education as an ingredient of culture". Have the intentions been realized, and with what consequence and changes, with what result as to the content and quality of publications?

The first issue of the quarterly (1/1992) was the name card of its profile. The issue and the whole history of "Kultura i Edukacja" is opened by an outstanding analysis nentitled *O perspektywę globalną w myśleniu humanistycznym* [*For the Global Perspective in Humanistic Thinking*] by Eugenia A. Wesołowska, in which the author follows international reports in trying to analyze the condition of the world and its dangers:

demographic explosion, economic crisis, arms race, chaotic technological progress, destruction of the natural environment, old-fashioned and stiff social institutions, and neglected social plagues (alienation, anomie, drug addiction, riots, aggression, terrorism, lack of tolerance, marginalization and poverty, torture and crime). From this point of view, the author votes just as the Roman Club and other groups for the way to global pedagogy, education for "the world we would like to live in". It is a text of considerable importance, which is worth reminding and recommending to students, especially in the times of the return of traditionalism and provincialism.

Next, Roman Schulz sketches the vision of transition *From General to Pedagogical Anthropology* [*Od pedagogiki ogólnej do antropologii pedagogicznej*] in academic teachings. Yet, on the part of the main editor, it is also an important constituent of the periodical that under his leadership will always realize the programme of strong foundation of pedagogy on its philosophical and biopsychosociocultural bases. An example of the idea can be the study Józef Górniewicz *Idea wyobraźni społecznej w polskiej myśli humanistycznej* [*Idea of Social Imagination in Polish Humanistic Thought*], in which the author places the concept of imagination outside the narrow context of artistic creation, and turns to the context of human responsibility for the shape of his life, the life of a community and its future.

The long cycle of historical and educational texts, subsequently always noticeably present in the quarterly, is begun in this issue by Andrzej Wojtas with an article on the influence of Catholic communities on the educational policy of the government in Poland in the years of World War II, and the analysis by Wiesław Theiss refers to the post-war times and the white stain in the history of education during Stalin's reign. Ryszard Jadczak, in the historical section, places an analysis of the letters by Aniela Szycówna to Kazimierz Twardowski, which marked the beginning of a longer cycle of source studies in the quarterly devoted to great individuals from the border line between philosophy and pedagogy.

In the 1/92 issue, Bronisław Siemieniecki initiated with his article (*Nowe możliwości stosowania techniki komputerowej w edukacji* [*New Possibilities of Using a Computer in Education*]) a rich and present-till-today current devoted to Information Technology in education. There is also an empirical study by Beata Szamotuła of the research on the knowledge and acceptance of the norms in the Students Code.

In this already historical today issue, there are also two remarkable reviews. There is a thorough and critically-polemical review by Mieczysław Gałaś of a collective work edited by Andrzej Radziewicz-Winnicki *Pedagogika społeczna u schyłku XX wieku* [*Social Pedagogy at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*], as well as a detailed, yet also a very thorough and well-written general review by Józef Górniewicz of a book by A. G. Stratman *We can Change the World. The Real Meaning of Everyday Life*, from the content of which he exposed the especially important for us, in those times, American experience in respect to the contradiction between capitalism and culture or education, and the responsibilities and possibilities of education in overcoming the contradiction.

The issue is enriched by reporting information from didactic conferences in Toruń, bibliographical notes, the news of the publisher, as well as a brilliant feature article by Józef Półturzycki on the year '92 in the history of the world and Poland.

In the following issues are placed outstanding texts devoted to the leaving and gone pedagogues and humanists, which has also become a tradition in the quarterly. Therefore, as early as in the number 2/92 there is a text about Professor Bogdan Suchodolski after his death, as well as a reprint of fragments of his studies on the relation of education and culture of the present and future. In the issue 2/96 can be later found an important study by Józef Półturzycki on the life and work of Kazimierz Sośnicki, the creator of Toruń's pedagogy. All the meaningful biographical, historical, postmortem and current – anniversary accents have become a part of the content of the quarterly.

It is a salient and positive aspect of the functioning of the quarterly "Kultura i Edukacja" to try and attract really renown authors somewhat for good, to become partners for long years. Authors such as Roman Schulz, Józef Półturzycki, Eugenia A. Wesołowska, Bronisław Siemieniecki, Józef Górniewicz, Stanisław Kawula, Kazimierz Denek, Andrzej Wojtas, Ryszard Jadczak, Urszula Ostrowska, Adam Gwiazda and others have published in the periodical rich and very important for Polish pedagogy cycles of texts.

Ryszard Borowicz began from the text in 3/93 issue *Nowe wyzwania – bezrobotna młodzież* [*New Challenges: Unemployed Youth*] and the article in 1/94 issue *Polacy wobec wyzwań nowych czasów* [*Poles Facing the Challenge of New Times*] a thirteen-year cooperation with the quarterly that has lasted up till today, introducing distinct elements of sociology and education sociology and making others sensitive to the tasks of pedagogy and education as to system changes and the accompanying painful social problems.

It is these problems of "the new shape of education", in the situation of change in its local, national and global context, that has become a constant constituent of the content of the quarterly. Kazimierz Denek was looking for the *Polish Way to Educational Europe* (no. 2/93, 3/96, 2/98), just as Barbara Żechowska (no. 4/98), and Józef Półturzycki was looking a recipe for a *Good and Modern School* (no. 2/93); Antoni Gładysz and Arkadiusz Ziernicki wrote about the conditions of turning local communities into separate subjects (no. 3/93), Barbara Fątczak-Rudnicka, Romuald Holly et al. presented empirical studies *Wiedza i opinie studentów o wspólnocie europejskiej i procesach integracji Europy* [*Knowledge and Opinions of Students on European Community and Processes of Europe's Integration*] (no. 4/93); Marian Filipiak wrote about New Age in the cultural context of modern cultural transformation (no. 1/94); Kazimierz Krzysztoszek on the difficult adjustment of Poles to new relations between the market and culture (no. 4/94 and 1/95); Czesław Banach on the transformation and vision of the future of education and the necessary reform of teachers' training (no. 4/94, 3/96, 1/2001) and on the changes in pedagogical study (no. 1/95), Zbigniew

Kruszewski and Beata Przyborowska wrote (no. 1–2/97) on the development and functions of private schooling.

More often than not, in the fifteen years, the authors of the quarterly have got involved in the subjects of civics, education for democracy, national identity and attitude towards foreigners, tolerance and pluralism (no. 2–3/9), searching for a new model of adult education, kindergarten education, professional, and teachers' one.

A lot of space has been devoted in the periodical to international studies of education, from the presentations of UNESCO reports (Hanna Solarczyk – no. 2/98), through synthetic look on the transformations in educational systems (e.g. Urszula Świętochowska – no. 4/99), up to numerous research and information contributions from the USA through the whole Europe up to Russia and China – areas excluded from the scope of research of Polish comparative pedagogy after 1990.

The rich section of reviews and information also was abundant with texts concerning transformations in education in the world and in particular countries. A relatively limited attention was devoted by the authors of the quarterly to our northern and southern neighbours, who, as it seems can teach us a lot about educational solutions and achievements.

I consider especially valuable the articles where the authors point at the perspectives of alternative, total thinking which is to search for and point at new paradigms, just as *Zmiana świadomości – istota samorealizacji ekologii głębokiej* [*Change of Awareness: The Nature of Self-development of Deep Ecology*] by Piotr Kozioł, or *Postrzeganie cyklów życia – rozważania ogólnoantropologiczne* [*Noticing the Cycles of Life: General Anthropological Considerations*] by Lech Ostasz (no. 3–4/2000), or the lecture of Amitai Etzioni *Wrażliwa wspólnota – perspektywa komunitarystyczna* [*A Sensitive Community: Communitarian Perspective*] gained by the quarterly.

The quarterly has also risen on numerous occasions the problem of social inequalities in education, educational handicap of the countryside and country youth as victims of the above (e.g. Ryszard Borowicz, Kazimierz Bujak, Piotr Mikiewicz, Monika Kwiecińska-Zdrenka), both in a diagnostic and designing character, but also in a bold search for new models of theoretical explanation.

A typical example of the subject of education across the divisions of traditional humanistics and of a new sharpness of view on the system transformation can be the numbers 2 and 3–4 from the year 2000.

Number 2/00 contains articles by: Brian C. Anderson *Capitalism and Suicide of Culture*; Leszek Porębski *Information Revolution as a Source of New Social Divisions*; Tadeusz Biernat *Transformations of the European Union System*; Wojciech Stankiewicz *Asylum and Extradition as an Institution of International Law*; Marek Sokołowski *Cinema and Sacrum*; Marta Krasuska-Betiuk *Literary Culture in the Work of a Modern Pedagogue*; Ewelina Konieczna *Culture of Children's Audiovisual Media*. Moreover, it includes communicates by: Kazimierz Szmyd *Education and the Awareness of Community*; Gabriela Kapica *Children's Enigministic Competence as a Synonym of Creativity*

and Perfection; Dagmara Kowalewska-Gawełda *Using Fragments of "Harry Potter" in School Didactics*; Agnieszka Roguska *Local Cable TV in the Animation of Social and Cultural Activity*; Mieczysław Sprengel *Polish Schools in Australia of the Twentieth Century*. In addition, the issue contains a rich chapter of reviews and discussions of five books, such as *Sources of Subjectivity* by Charles Taylor (reviewer A. Krawczyk), a book on love and eroticism in literature (reviewer S. Jasiński), on music industry (reviewer K. Mazurek), on ethics in the media (reviewer W. Zieliński), on the theory of emotions (reviewer K. Wieczorkowski).

In the issue 3–4/2002, we can find excellent texts on very modern subjects, such as: by Arkadiusz Karwacki on the culture of poverty in the former PGR [State Farms]; Agnieszka Raniszewska on the ethical problems of transplants; Marcin Legnicki on the sense and values of life; Kazimierz Wieczorkowski on cyberculture; Adam Gwiazda on the perception and evaluation of democracy in Poland; Krzysztof Wasielewski on the dilemmas of adapting universities to the market; Justyna Tessa-Dykas on the problems of graduates on the job markets; Bogusław Dziadzia on the relationship between the media and community; Mariusz Drożdż on the invasion of violence on TV; Agnieszka Komorowska on the relation of children's aggression with their family socialization. Moreover, in the rich section of reviews and discussions there are as many as eighth reviews from the area of political studies, sociology, culture studies and pedagogy.

We are provided here with a very successful general view of the content profile, collection of authors and of the character of the quarterly "Kultura i Edukacja" in its final years of the whole fifteen-year period: an overview of the whole humanistics with elements of pedagogy, bold and very modern, as well as hot and neglected topics, the presence of foreign ideas, a wide presentation of Polish and foreign schooling, turning towards the present and the future bearing in mind the past, a very wide understanding of educational influence, including the market, information media and mass popular culture influence, here we have a richness of academic information and a wide scope of authors from the whole Poland (more rarely from the world) with predominance of the young academic generation from various branches of academic study.

The connection between the contents of the quarterly and the team of editors led by the main editor become noticeable once we look at the whole panorama of the fifteen years of "Kultura i Edukacja". From number 1/92 to number 2/95, the main editor is Roman Schulz. He fulfils his vision of building pedagogy as anthropology supported by the basic studies and looking for connections between culture and education.

From issue 1/95, Józef Półturzycki and hic co-workers enter the editing team: Eugenia A. Wesołowska, Jan Majkut, Bogdan Szulc, Bolesława Jaworska and a few other people, in addition, Adam Marszałek comes back to the team. […]

This period results in a considerably higher number of authors writing for the quarterly, with a clear introduction to its content of the issues of defence education, physical and health education, adult education and further development of political studies. In this period (1995–1998) the magazine present a more descriptive point of

view, rather than a theoretical one, and with its rich content it turns a little away from the main currents of pedagogy, including Toruń's pedagogy. This periods ends once again with a considerable change in the editors team: in the year 1998, Jacek K. Zabłocki and Wiesław Ciczkowski join it among others. […]

From issue 1–2/2000, Ryszard Borowicz takes the function of the main editor Krystyna Szafraniec and Włodzimierz Tyburski enter the team and Wiesław Ciczkowski remains there. His name can be found in his obituary in the next issue. From this time till today there has been a turn of the quarterly towards sociology, especially the sociology of education and youth, as well as an inclusion of more Toruń's and others young academic writers from the areas of philosophy and sociology. The team, strengthened by Marian Kowalewski as the vice editor and three secretaries, still with Magdalena Rupińska, exists till today.

Let us look inside the most recent issue of "Kultura i Edukacja" 2–3/2006 (in printing) to illustrate the work of the editors under the lead of Ryszard Borowicz. It is a volume that consists of thoroughly selected, serious and innovative to some extent theoretical and empirical studies, and a considerable set of reviews from the area of sociology, pedagogy, culture studies and anthropology. I give my highest praise in this volume to the texts by: Tomasz Leszniewski (on the use of the category of *Interhuman* by Gombrowicz to studies and research of identity from an interaction point of view), Anna Wojtewicz (on the usage of a theory by James Coleman to study the inequalities in education), Anna M. Rogaczewska (on the usage of the cognitive concepts of credentialism by Randal Colins to study the relation between education and social structure), also to an important empirical study by Jacek Kurzępa on manipulating with youth sexuality by market subjects, and by Alicja J. Siegeń on the sense of identity of youth of Belorussian origin from the educational point of view.

Given the lacks of theories in Polish education sociology, as well as the deficit of valuable empirical research, this section brings enormous satisfaction to an experienced reader.

An article on the modern American schooling by Anna Mierzejewska and Stanisław Kawula is a very good informative text from the area of international educational studies, which presents a categorized knowledge on a country that is important for us, to which Poles migrate and with which they compare themselves. Studies from the border between theory of literature and of culture and pedagogy by Katarzyna Stankiewicz and Cezary Marasiński are also very interesting from the cognitive point of view. The debate over the contradiction between Polish stereotype *la Polotne martyre* and market liberalism presented by Bogusław Dziadzia and Andrzej Kasperek is an important contribution to the diagnosis of the state of collective thinking of Poles, and it is even symbolic for the diagnosis of the state of minds of the current leaders of Poland.

An article by Piotr Skuza can be found by the readers as innovative, disputable, even sensational. The author for the second time (after the issue 3/2005) writes about the

need to generally include in pedagogical research the question of sexual diversity and the "queer theory".

The rich, as usual in the quarterly, section of reviews includes critical analyzes and discussions of eight books and an anniversary text on a renown historian of education, Karol K. Poznański.

It is possible to form some critical remarks to the individual texts, as far as the coverage of references is concerned, others are disputable, yet there are also academically salient and original texts whose authors boldly cross the borders of one discipline, and the problems of education appear here from a broad humanist, international, and historical point of view. Young sociology is also dominant.

This volume is the name card of the current form of "Kultura i Edukacja" led by Ryszard Borowicz. Unfortunately, the presence in the editing staff of Włodzimierz Tyburski is not noticeable due to just as numerous – as of sociologists and young pedagogues – presence of young philosophers in the texts of the quarterly.

In its fifteenth year of existence, the quarterly "Kultura i Edukacja" seems to be a substantially academic periodical, with a widely original profile open to social studies and their connection with pedagogy, co-operating with a wide range of good authors from the whole Poland (mostly from Toruń), increasingly inviting renown foreign authors to co-operate. It is open widely to the modern world and its transformations, contradictions and threats, looking for new theories and original empirical studies, permanently rich in reviews and discussions of new important books from Poland and abroad. It is a reviewed periodical. Moreover, this magazine is widely and constantly present in academic pedagogical libraries and in the set books of academic lecturers and pedagogy students, yet not only there.

The editorial staff and the Publishing House must be congratulated and wished an active and expansive development!

Toruń 6 September 2006

prof. Zbigniew Kwieciński

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* The abbreviations come from the editing team and do not concern the essence of the content.

ARTICLES

Dominik Antonowicz, Ryszard Borowicz

HIGHER EDUCATION IN POLAND: THE MEANING OF THE HUMAN FACTOR

Educational boom in Poland begun formally along with the liberalization of the act on higher education, which act has changed the rules of functioning of higher education institution (HEI) in Poland in an irreversible and revolutionary manner. The practical monopoly of the state for the third level education has been overcome, as a result of which, numerous private schools appeared, as well as commercial – fee-paying studies.

The system reformation commenced in June 1989 disturbed the foundations of the flexible structure of higher education. The separation from the typical for socialist economy central control, as well as resigning from ideologically motivated state monopoly of production means ownership, resulted in an atmosphere friendly to introducing radical change. The liberalization had its ideological sources. For about half a century of communist system, academic society constituted the core of the strongest opposition towards the policy of the authorities, which resolved to devoid HEI and universities especially, of their independence. The system change led to hasty re-endowment of numerous rights to universities as a kind of gratitude for the active involvement of academic circles into reinstating democracy after years of socialist power. However, this does not change the basic fact that the transformation was almost revolutionary in character as far as time and scope of the change is concerned; for the reason that academic sphere – due to its political incorrectness – was especially supervised by state authorities. The functioning of higher education institutions, predominantly in the area of didactics, was on a censored position in the communist system. As a result, they needed strict and detailed control[1]. Consequently, the abolition of numerous bureaucratic barriers shook the flexible structure of university education. A new legal frame was introduced by an *Act on Higher Education* in 1990, which, among others, reestablished the right to run HEI to private entities, while rectors were given wider compe-

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[1] Comp. D. Antonowicz, *Uniwersytet przyszłości,* Warszawa 2005.

tence as to managing HEI. The disappearance of strict admission limits made it possible to continue education for many those who had been unable to take part in the educational system on this level, and the increase in independence resulted in them being separate legal entities.

It is worth stating in this context that it were the efforts to bring higher education autonomy and legal independence that begun in an unpremeditated and then unpredictable manner a true educational downpour that basically until today has been a symbol of the success of Polish social-economical change.

1. Social contexts

Polish educational transformation have as much been a result of specific global tendencies as of numerous Polish peculiarities. Consequently, to understand them not only cartographic knowledge that describes the character of change is required, but also (perhaps predominantly) the ability to decipher correctly their essence and direction by placing them in the wide current of global change. In this aspect, the studies of Daniel Bell[2] and Urlich Beck[3] , which connect educational revolution with the formation of a new kind of society, are unusually useful.

The modernizing reforms initiated by the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki-aimed at radical liberalization of economy, reconstruction of the rules of the state functioning, yet probably, unintentionally, they meant also turning towards the model of **post-industrial society** described by Bell in his outstanding work *The Coming of Post--Industrial Society.* Three main factors constituted the engine of these actions (1) marketing economy – bringing back the rules of supply and demand in place of central control; (2) stepping out of economic isolationism and joining open trade (meaning free competition, also international) on the European Continent. The third (3) factor, which was a sort of derivative of the two above, and which constituted enormous power on its own was technological progress, which came with modernization of economy. Thus, it can be stated that the introduction of free market rules, as well as entering international trade contributed to massive technological progress, which needed new competence and skill.

Polish society of the nineties is characterized by a deep change in the structure of employment – the effect of the fall of numerous state companies, the disappearance of the working class masses for large industries, as well as the growing importance of economy based on knowledge, which arose the hunger of education, becoming the turning wheel of Polish higher education. Its dynamic development was directly linked with the growth of practical value of knowledge, becoming the foundation of post-in-

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[2] D. Bell, *The coming of post-industrial society,* Londyn 1974.
[3] U. Beck, *Społeczeństwo ryzyka,* Warszawa 2002.

dustrial society. Bell emphasizes the central meaning of theoretical knowledge as *an axis around which new technology, economic growth and social satisfaction are organiz(e*d.) In the place of the late production of material goods, which in Polish conditions was the predominance of heavy industry, mining industry and power-consuming industry, the fundamental role is endowed to the production of services. A new "intellectual" technology develops, transforming the professional structure. A new sector of professional services quickly comes into being, one in the spheres of education, social care, which is symbolized, in the are of this work's interest, by an enormous number of private schools, both universities and others for high school graduates.

A new model of society, which has appeared in Poland as a result of social-economic transformation, is a consequence of the structural economic change. It rightly predicted the **turning back form collective (substantially class-like) understanding of society towards liberal individualism**, from a shapeless homogeneous mass to an internally differentiated group of consumers. Although the modernization processes studied by Bell are primarily concentrated on the sphere of production and consumption, they unavoidably also concern other areas of social life. However, to analyze them – especially referring to Polish educational change – the theory of a German sociologist Urlich Beck will be more adequate. The modern model of society is defined by him as a **society of risk** which grows on the ground of the processes of liberalization and globalisation, whose scope exceeds by far the economic sphere. Risk is an effect of liberating from traditional bonds and sources of earning one's living, due to which it is individualized and unevenly distribut(ed.) In an post-industrial society, individual freedom, wide independence is paid for by a high degree of insecurity, which depending on the owned supplies (material, social, cultural) can be quite freely shap(ed.) Beck claims that everyone to some extent is prone to the risk (e.g. Ecological), yet in numerous spheres its level depends on individual conduct. A part of it is the situation on the job market, where one of the most common and effective methods of reducing the risk is education, since the threat of losing work is diversely proportionate to the level of education. According to the German sociologist, it is the collection of information gained in the process of education that lessens the threat of unemployment.

Meritocracy lays at the source of educational revolution, where the sense of improving skills and developing professional qualifications are considered as a kind of long term investment into individual development. The dogma of uselessness of university education and knowledge, widely spread at the times of real socialism, crumbled together with the era the creation of which it was, and studies themselves ceased to be a waiting room for people without any idea for adult life and have largely become an investment into professional career. That was an effect of the social-economic transformation because in the countries of real socialism higher education was not the determiner of professional career. It must be added that this thesis does not concern equally all social-professional groups and it can be stated that higher education made it easier to gain prestige and power. However, in the instrumental meaning, the value of

knowledge was considerably depreciated by the lack of visible correlation between the level of education and earnings[4]. The situation changed with the coming of new (market and democratic) order, which has been confirmed in the analyses conducted by Jan Rutkowski[5] which undoubtedly indicate that the earnings have become a positive function of education and an in the level of benefit from investments in education has increas(ed.) In other words, it can be sensed that education has become profitable.

Simultaneously, not only has higher education become an important indicator of the position in social structure, but it is a highly praised aotothelic value. It has caused an increase in educational aspirations and a rapid thirst for knowledge, which in turn could be fulfilled due to the appearance of free market in higher education. While Włodzimierz Wesołowski[6] in the seventies formed a hypothesis relating to the decomposing of the features of social position: income, education, power and prestige, the turn of the nineties brought noticeable change and now a new recomposition of the features is discussed as visible[7].

In the early stage of the social-cultural change higher education gave almost certainty of employment, which constituted a valuable guarantee in the uncertain time of transformation. Educational capital was treated as a positive function of career and provided that it was a result of ambitious and gifted individuals, it proved people's competence and usefulness on the job market. In the course of time, education has become credential[8], "a currency" with which it was possible to achieve a work place. Until middle nineties it was a certain and hard currency, basically unforgeable (there were no entities that issued academic certificates to people without the necessary competence), nevertheless, with the massive access to university education and its diversification, there was an inflation and differentiation of educational credentials. Essentially, it has not changed the fact that Poles believed that in economy there is time for knowledge and skill, as well as the recognition of the influence of the level of education on the professional position and income, and in equalizing the investment in personal education and development with an instance of rationality on the job market.

The system of government change turned "upside down" the rules of economy, but also, perhaps predominantly, they were a revolution in a social meaning, which was realized in turning from uniform, collective, static and egalitarian society to a considerably varied, individualized, dynamic in its structure model of postmodern society. The development of Polish university education is a part of this current in supporting the

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[4] Comp. I. Białecki, *Dwa cele kształcenia,* "Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe" 2000, pp. 34–40.

[5] J. Rutkowski, *Wykształcenie a perspektywy na rynku pracy*, "Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe" 1996, pp. 7–88.

[6] Comp. W. Wesołowski, *Teoria, badania, praktyka. Z problematyki struktury klasowej*, Warszawa 1975.

[7] H. Domański, *Społeczeństwo klasy średniej*, Warszawa 1994.

[8] Comp. R. Collins, *The Credential Society*, New York 1979.

structural modernization of Polish economy and adding to the creation of risk society. They have become the foundation of educational boom, which Bronisław Misztal[9] does not hesitate to call a Polish phenomenon in university education.

The dynamic development of higher education has become a representation of Polish transformation, however in the following analyses we will endeavour to show that the phenomenon was not an effect of planned, organized and coherent political action, to the contrary, it constituted a quite a hard to predict effect of parallel in time, though independent, social and economic processes, in which the dominant role belonged to (unpredictable) human factor.

2. The quantitative dimension of educational boom

It can be said that Polish solutions did not differ much from the direction of change in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe[10]. In most countries the autonomy of university schools was reconstituted, but only in Poland the increase in the number of both HEI and students is so noticeable. Even though specific legal solutions are difficult to compare, the direction of change in most post communist countries was very similar, the factor that makes Polish university education unique is the sudden **growth of educational aspirations**, as well as the uncommon on such a scale **increase in the number of private higher education institutions (HEI).**

About the dynamic growth of the need for university education – apart from the aforementioned meritocratic factors – decided the rapidly awoken aspirations of following years of students entering university age, as well as of people a little older, professionally active, who in that way wanted to strengthen their position or enlarge their chance for promotion. These tendencies were strengthened by the structural reform of the schooling system, as a result of which the net of secondary comprehensive schools has been developed, at the expense of lower level secondary schools – vocational schools (the results of this decision are visible today on the job market in the form of lack of specialists in many trades). Secondary comprehensive schools do not essentially prepare for any specific profession – namely, they provide general education on a level higher than upper primary school, preparing for university studies. It can be claimed that a natural route after secondary school is a university school. The development of the secondary comprehensive schools net has substantially contributed to the uprise of educational aspirations, though, as far as effectiveness of functioning is concerned, they can differ considerably. The above has been confirmed by empirical study conducted

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[9] Comp. *Prywatyzacja szkolnictwa wyższego*, (ed.) B. Misztal, Warszawa 2000.

[10] Comp. *Real-time systems. Reflections on Higher eductaion in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia,* (eds.) J. File and L. Goedegebuurenia, Brno–Twente 2003.

by Piotr Mikiewicz and Jarosław Domalewski[11], which suggest that we are faced with a deep differentiation of secondary comprehensive education: on the one hand there are the "old" grammar schools, often elitist (their graduates receive very good marks from "matura" school-leaving exam, but the social structure of the students is not egalitarian), on the other hand there are weak, usually newly created comprehensive schools, yet more egalitarian as far as social structure of the students is concern(ed.) Of course, youth that is positively selected in their competence (yet also in possession of better social status) is admitted to prestigious universities and specializations. Others are mostly represented in private schools, on part-time studies.

A huge **social demand** for education could not be satisfied sufficiently through the development of traditional forms – full-time studies, financed by the state budget – for this reason appears the necessity to use new (develop the so far marginalized) forms of education. It refers predominantly to private HEI, which are directed almost entirely to draw profits from the fees paid by all students, and this decides about their economic condition – lack of financial fluctuation leads to bankruptcy. A large share in the development of educational opportunities belongs also to public schools, which gained the possibility to perform fee-paying part-time studies, which considerably strengthens their budgets.

The creation of a more flexible system of third level education, as well as opening part-time studies (both in public and private schools) evoked a ponderous increase in the number of students. It is enough to state that before 1990 it was mostly the employees of educational sector that made use of the possibility to study externally, thus completing their level of education. Consequently, the offer of studies was largely limited to "teacher" subjects, and the number of students was very low. The liberisation of the legal frame enabled HEI to step away from that scheme, and the rapidly growing demand for knowledge and skill could finally find its vent. The above happened in spite of the strong ties with egalitarian principles, substantiated in the era of People's Poland, finding expression in the tradition of free access to higher education. A reflection of this is the absurd statement in the Constitution of Polish Republic saying that "education in public schools is free" (art. 70 p. 2), and following, allowing the possibility of providing some educational services for tuition. Due to this constitutional ambivalence, it is possible to preserve both "free" studies and fee-paying forms of education.

The rate of scholarisation is an empirical indicator of this social demand that illustrates the dynamics of its growth. As far as university education is concerned, it is essential to define which percentage of people at university age, i.e. 19–24 years old, actually studies. The analysis of such defined net scholarization indicator points at a distinct and constant in time growth. While in the academic year 1990/91 it was 9,8%,

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[11] Por. J. Domalewski, P. Mikiewicz, *Młodzież w zreformowanym systemie szkolnym*, Toruń–Warszawa 2004.

five years later 17,2%, and in the year 2000/01 – 30,6%. Recently the indicator has reached 38%, which suggests that more than every third young person at the age of 19–24 is endowed with the status of a student. The profound growth of the net scholarization rate took place already in the initial five years of III Polish Republic, yet the most noticeable change was observed in the following comparative period of time, when the indicator grew by over 13 percents. In the whole analyzed period of time, i.e. In the years 1990–2005 we have witnessed an almost quadruple growth.

The gross scholarization indicator has a similarly extensive diagnostic value. This indicator comes into being as a result of comparison between the total number of students, irrespective of their age, and the size of population at the age of university students (19–24 years old). At the starting point (year 1990/91) the rate of such understood scholarization was 12,9%, five years later 22,3%, after a decade of government system transformation to reach 40,7%. The most recent analyses show that gross scholarization reaches up to 48,9%. Also in that case the greatest dynamics was observed in the years 1995–2000. For the recent few years, the increase of this factor has also been observed, yet the change itself is considerably slower. Throughout the whole studied period of time the gross scholarization rose three and a half times. This is obviously a process rare in other countries, which have developed and built their market economy naturally. Nowadays, with the given rate of gross scholarization, we are comparative to the average numbers for rich countries – the members

of OECD[12]. The modern educational offer of Polish universities amounts annually to nearly 500 thousand vacancies at freshman year. Theoretically, everyone willing to study has the possibility to do that. In reality, we have prestigious universities and subjects, where for one vacancy there are even more than ten applicants, and HEI that admit everyone who wants to study and pay for it. In the year 2006, a little over 380 thousand people graduated from secondary schools, and it is them that constitute the base of university candidates (of course not everyone).

The dynamic growth of the number of students was a direct effect of the increase in **the amount of private university schools**. Their number grew systematically since 1991. In the academic year 1991/1992 there were only 10, while ten years later (2001/2002) already 377, and nowadays over 445[13]. The foundation of new university level schools meant above all the growth of the places at the third level of education, widening educational opportunities, yet it did not enlarge (widen) the educational offer. By far the largest number of private schools was created entirely without any infrastructure, taking advantage of the possibility to rent rooms in companies or secondary schools, or even in primary schools or kindergartens. Infrastructural lacks result from the nature of the "privatization" process of higher education in Poland, in which con-

[12] *Rocznik Statystyki Międzynarodowej*, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Warszawa 2000, pp. 152–155.
[13] *Szkoły wyższe i ich finanse*, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Warszawa 2001.

trary to a comparative process in other sectors of economy, where it was linked with (a) taking over of Polish institutions by foreign capital, (b) bankruptcy of the so far existing companies, it did not happen. On the contrary, the creation of private higher education was not a result of the influx of foreign capital (perhaps with the exception of *know-how* brought by people working at prestigious foreign universities), but rather of the birth of Polish capitalism without capital. This genetic obstacle determined the direction of HEI development. Infrastructural lacks and – typical for the initial part of capitalism, characterized by instability – the need to gain a fast refund of the ventured investments caused that the nineties witnessed the bloom of the specializations mostly not requiring extensive financial support – mainly humanistic studies (administration, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, and especially management and marketing, which in the nineties were almost the key to career in the private sector). The above is confirmed in the report, which states that the biggest number of students chose marketing and management (218 thousand), pedagogy (151 thousand), economy (118 thousand) and administration (93 thousand)[14].

A similar phenomenon could be observed in public HEI, which had the infrastructure, yet organizing classes at money-consuming disciplines was expensive, strictly limited by the number of available posts. Meanwhile, to law or economy studies it was possible to admit an almost limitless number of candidates for the first year (of part-time studies), since there were no serious infrastructural limits. For the lecturers there was no difference whether they spoke to a thousand listeners, and the difference in income was substantial. Classes carried out in small groups – workshops, conversations – were limited, because the remunerativeness of the departments based only on lectures was by far greater, thus for a long time there was no economic explanation to widen the educational offer. Even more so, that the introduction of free market to Polish economy caused an enormous demand for easily applied knowledge, mostly economic, not abstract one that was treated as not suitable for the needs of new reality.

3. Side effects

Spontaneous social processes are characterized by an enormous animation and hardly predictable consequences. The lack of central control constitutes an undoubted asset, arises human initiative and is a limitless source of innovation, yet the unpredictable direction and pace of the changes can simultaneously pose a threat of insufficient control as a result of which, unpredictable side effects are reveal(ed.) Similarly to the sphere of politics, where the first day of freedom (after the rule of dictatorship) often results in anarchism in social life, a "stall market" form of academic capitalism was the effect

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[14] Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu, *Analiza liczby studentów w roku akademickim 2003/2004,* Warszawa 2004.

of the setting free of higher education from the mechanisms of state control, which led to a drastic fall in the level of education. The size of the educational boom surprised everyone, this is why practically throughout the nineties, neither the government nor the academic society was prepared for providing at least decent standards of education quality.

One of the best quantitative indicators that illustrate the quality change in university education is the relation of the number of students to the number of academic staff. According to public statistics[15] for the year 2005/2006 Poland has one of the highest average numbers of the number of students per one academic teacher and today it is 22,3. It is worth stating that in the year 1991/2 the average number of students per one academic teacher was only 6,6, which means that during the recent fifteen years of transformation we have had an almost tripple and a half increase. Nowadays, a higher indicator is only in the former Yugoslavia republics: Croatia 25,8 and Macedonia 23,5, to compare with a neighbour of Poland, Slovakia, only twelve students count per one academic teacher.

It is worth emphasizing that the liberalization of law on higher education introduced in 1990, apart from the aforementioned political aspect, had also a financial dimension. From the beginning of system change, the financing of budget institutions, a part of which are HEI has been the gravest problem. The budget of Poland was not able to provide decent current financing of public HEI, not to mention the investments into structural development or academic lecturers. What is even worse, the state was unable to fulfill the basic financial expectations of academic society. From the beginning of the nineties the money for higher education vary at about 0,85% of the annual country income and it tends to be constant with elements of occasional fall[16]. It is very little, even in comparison to the developing countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Given the situation, the only solution was to enable public HEI to search for funds on the free market (mostly in the form of educational service), and for the scientists to find employment in more than one educational institution. Since there was a demand for the service, and academics were ready to work, there was no reason to limit this phenomenon. For this reason, in the beginning it was allowed to admit an almost limitless number of people to private HEI and to extramural studies in public universities. By these means, animated processes were unleashed, the dynamics of which exceeded the boldest expectations of the plan makers, becoming a symbol of Polish change, the control of which was becoming a more serious problem for authorities.

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[15] Collective statistics published by *European Centre for Higher Education* (UNESCO-CEPES) in Bucharest.

[16] *Szkoły wyższe i ich finanse*, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Warszawa 2006, pp. 256–270.

There was no legal option for the authorities to control if the educational process is performed in accordance with the regulations of the act. The act of 1990 was liberal to such an extent that even the Supreme Control Chamber was unable to prevent numerous pathologies. A meaningful illustration of the fact is a nearly forty-page report, published by the Supreme Control Chamber in 2000, about *The Functioning of the Country Control over Private Higher Education Institutions and Higher Vocational Schools.* One of the conclusions from the control directly claims that the Minister of Education (now the Minister of Science and Higher Education) lacks the necessary rights to perform efficient control over the current performance of private HEI, especially as to the quality of teaching, obeying the rules of legal acts, statutory resolutions and the conditions of granted permissions. The situation is mostly caused by the statements in the act on higher education, which enable the minister to demand only information about the functioning of private schools. On the other hand, according to the Supreme Chamber of Control, even if deficiency was revealed, the Ministry of Education limits itself only to inform the higher about the discovered violations of the existing regulations, without forming any charges that would constitute a basis to use the sanctions predicted in the law. The creation of the National Accreditation Commission[17] in 2000 was an endeavor to solve the problems with the instances of pathology in higher education and unfair competition on the side of many educational institutions extensively described in the press. The commission was to care for the standards in higher education. The subject of control is the infrastructure, academic teachers, as well as educational offer. The commission can also grant conditional accreditation (recommending fast correction of dysfunctions) and opt for the closing of a given school or department. It is a tool which constitutes a part of business connections, and political affiliations become meaningful[18].

4. The pressure of a demographic factor

A factor which is very strong and certain for the statement of future condition, which determines the situation in higher education is the **demographic potential**. The border values of the fact how many people used to study, currently studies or can study in the nearly twenty years to come are determined by live births. Natural deaths, registered in the youngest stages of a human life are clearly defined (assuming lack of huge disasters that would change the situation). Similarly fictional is the assumption that the situation on the educational market can be valiantly changed by the influx of students from abroad, or by Poles going abroad to study.

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[17] Ustawa z dnia 20 lipca 2001 r. o zmianie ustawy o szkolnictwie wyższym, ustawy o wyższych szkołach zawodowych oraz o zmianie niektórych innych ustaw powołała Państwową Komisję Akredytacyjną jako ustawowy organ działający na rzecz jakości kształcenia, określając jej zadania oraz tryb pracy.

[18] Comp. Z. Kwieciński, *Dryfować i łudzić. Polska „strategia" edukacyjna,* "Nauka" 2006, no. 1, pp. 27–45.

Anlysing the demographic factor over at least one last century, thus from an inter-generation point of view, it can be noticed that the years of demographic explosion are intertwined with low demographic figures. The general rule that a demographic explosion that enters the reproductive age determines a higher birth rate (e.g. over 760 thousand in 1950), while the opposite results in years much less numerous in 1970 less than 550 thousand) was distracted by events such as world wars (loss in people's lives, emigration, as well as postponed ambitions and aspirations). In last more than ten years, civilization change is such important paradigm. A distinct fall in the number of children has been registered in Poland for almost twenty years. Earlier, a similar phenomenon was observed in the developed countries of the West, and its effect is depopulation and elderly society. It is difficult to define one dominant cause of the state of the matter – a fight for a position on the job market, economic reasons, responsibility for a child or conformism, et. – still, it is possible to discuss a coexistence of various conditioning.

However, remaining in the sphere of facts, it must be noted that when at the beginning of III Polish Republic almost 550 thousand children were born (1990), lately (2005) only 350 thousand. In absolute numbers there are as many as 200 thousand births less, and in relative numbers it is an almost 40% fall. The tendency has been – so far – constant and evident: each year for nearly two decades, more than ten thousand fewer Poles are born. The current fertility factor – 1,3 births per a woman – in no way can guarantee a simple replacement of generations. It is obvious that the trend cannot be never ending. Though, it is worth noticing that soon other years of demographic low numbers will start entering reproductive age, which even with help of noticeable increase in the birth factor will still generate the fall of birthrate.

The outcomes of the situation are clearly experienced by both the producers of food, clothes and other accessories for children, and bookstore owners (school books, notebooks, etc.). Obvious changes in education also result from the above. Lately, about 4,3 thousand kindergartens have been closed, which is more than every third one (mostly in the countryside). The spreading low numbers of birth has evoked similar change in elementary education – more than 5 thousand schools have been closed, which is every fourth school, and especially visible it is also in the countryside. A simple consequence of the political decisions that change the schooling net and creating obstacles on the path to education because of the place of living must be an increase in social inequality as to access to university education. Taking the decisions into consideration, economic factor must be also borne in mind – the expense of municipalities, as well as structural change in education – the creation of lower-secondary schools.

Another, very disturbing outcome of the registered low number of births is the fact of Polish society becoming older. For a few years, natural birthrate – measured by the difference between the number of births and deaths – has been below zero, and the value of the rate has been growing in years. Thus, the whole pension system has been harshly tried, moreover, it breeds anxiety about the future of the country. The anxiety

has been even stronger due to the mass emigration of young people, and their basic reasons: to look for work and to study could suggest the so called drainage of brain. The latest wave of emigration is estimated (a "dark number" hidden there) even up to 2 million. Effective pro-family policy could be a realistic impulse to change the existing situation, and first of all, creating chances to fulfill life ambitions in Poland.

5. Social aspirations to education at university level

The afore discussed demographic factor, understood as the numbers of respective years, cannot find its direct reflection in the form of demand for higher education. The key meaning belongs here to **the level of social efforts to education**. In empirical projects, they are operationalized in the form of aspirations, or specific plans. The latter refer usually to the youth that is in the position of obligatory choice, i.e. To the students of last years of secondary schools who must take life decisions: university – other school after secondary one – work. It is understandable that only a part of the population faces the dilemma of choosing the direction of studies – the ones that are granted a "matura" school-living exam certificate.

Treating **education as a value** determines the level of social educational aspiration. Why do more and more people spend more and more years of their lives at school? One can point here both at the needs of the job market, at the widely understood consumption, and at different quality of life of people better and worse educat(ed.) One cannot also underestimate the autotelling benefits of higher education for an individual, and general social merits for the development of a specific nation or country. It is often the costs that decide if it is worth it to pay for our own / child's long and good education: to what extent is it an economically profitable investment? However, it is beyond any doubt that the most developed countries in the world today are characterized by the best educated society. Their developing potential attracts entrepreneurs and creative people, thus explicit brain drainage. The society of knowledge, presently built, strengthens the tendency.

Numerous factors influence educational decisions: from genetic (e.g. talent), through social (habitus), to the activity of a man himself (hard working, etc.). They create a group of conditions favourable to achievement or serving early exclusion. As a result, in the studies, the following theories are present: meritocratic (do the best win?), group interests (the meaning of protection, even corruption?), as well as egalitarian theory (how big is the scale of social inequality in the access to university education?) or random (the meaning of coincidence?)[19].

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[19] Comp. R. Borowicz, *Nierówności społeczne w dostępie do wykształcenia. Casus Suwalszczyzny*, Olecko 2000.

The issues connected with aspirations, or specific educational plans of people, especially youth, belong to quite well recogniz(ed.) As an illustration, the classical today works of Józef Chałasiński can be referred to, as well as of Stanisław Kowalski, or Jan Szczepański, as well as of the active today researchers of the issues, Ireneusz Białecki or Zbigniew Kwieciński.

The demand of Polish society for university education analyzed on a historical time axis systematically grow, which is caused by the widely understood job market, consumption, strengthened by popularizing next steps of educational ladder. Still in the middle of the twentieth century, illiteracy was the battlefield; later, it was a problem to continue education after graduating from primary school, then popularizing secondary school; temporarily – which the rate of scholarisation proves – we can talk about mass education on the third level.

Analyzing data from the past, as well as quite recent information, one could try to decide which percentage of population will want to study. On the one hand, the possible failure of the extrapolation-of-the-late-trends method cannot be forgotten, on the other hand, the possible completion and inflation of university education. The usage of meritocratic criteria suggests that more than ten percent of population is eliminated from the game by inborn deficiencies – handicap; others – by low acquired competence – functional illiteracy. Just as important in the game is the actual social inequality in the access to higher education. In case of beneficial social status (parents graduated from HEI, are in a job requiring such education, primary socialization took place in a big city) we face mass studying, and the worse position syndrome (place of living in the countryside, low social status of the family of origin) results in the aforementioned exclusion. Educational institutions of the third level are only to strengthen the scheme. A good school differs from a weak one – even if they are one name schools – in that the first collects youth of higher learning abilities, what is more, positively selected in the social sense, where the ambition for higher education is common, while in the second there are people of lower learning abilities, but their social structure is more egalitarian, yet only few think about university.

Thus, a natural effect of selection in education is that a smaller and smaller percentage of positively selected youth, stronger motivated in their need to study, goes to highest steps of educational ladder. Elitism is a kind of spontaneous result of the processes, as far as their content is concern(ed.) An example of social inequality in the access to higher education can be the involvement of village youth. In the structure of students, village youth is represented by 20–21%, while in the countryside there are about 38% of Poles. This is, of course, an average indicator, and together with the departments where they are evidently underrepresented – comprise to not more than 5% of all the students (e.g. law), there are such that this structure is egalitarian in character (e.g. teology). More or less elitist are not only particular departments, but whole universities, as well. Paralleled, quite audible is the phenomenon of polarization: the more elitist the structure of students, the greater the likelihood that we have to do

with a good university; while egalitarian structure of youth is associated with some-what provincial level.

The empirical experiences so far indicate univocally that that wanting to keep the existing educational standards it is difficult to cross the net scholarisation rate at the level of 50–55%. It is impossible to think then about a decisive increase in the gross scholarisation rate, if only for the reason that older people that would like to rise their level of education might have already done so. The visible before "educational over-hang" noticeably decreases. The last common census (conducted in 2002) showed that 10% of adult Poles are in the posession of a higher education certificate. It is worth also noticing that over 57% citizens have been through a short course of education – at most a vocational school – and for this reason alone they cannot apply to HEI. Best educated are of course young people (at the age of 25–29) who could fully use the general offer. Out of the group, 20,6% has graduated from HEI, at the same time, though, as many as 41% have not graduated even from secondary school[20], which is important for defining the real rate of scholarization. It is obvious that a part of them can still receive a "matura" graduation certificate and commence studies in a later period. Just as apparent is the fact that not everyone with "matura" exam certificate wants to study (a given percentage does not learn any longer, others go to schools for secondary education graduates, the net of which is well developed).

Thus, taking the above factors into consideration, quite a high rate of scholarization can be assumed, namely 60%. Comparing its level to the state of today it can be seen that the difference between indicators is large, and thus the path to cross is wide.

6. Forecast for the future

Thus, trying to predict the future of university education from the perspective of human factor, two assumptions can be made. The first one is the demographic potential of Polish society. This factor is unusually strong in the middle-term plan, i.e. Of the next two decades, since it is difficult to expect any change here. A systematic fall in the number of births in recent years is a fact, the results of which – though posponed in time – university education begins to feel today. In a few years we will be witnesses of a situation in which the numbers of the whole demographic year will be smaller than temporary educational offer (to remind the reader – it is 500 thousand vacancies for the first year of study).

The second factor is the real scholarization rate. The assumption as to its level adopted by us is definitely questionable. The factors of the meritocratic, social, or economic nature given above seem to indicate that the level 60% is not only a distant aim, but dif-

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[20] National Census, *The social structure of population*, Warszawa 2002.

ficult to reach, as well. Can this rate be even higher? (in the academic year 2005/06 the scholarization rate of this year's "matura" exam graduates circulated around 50%.
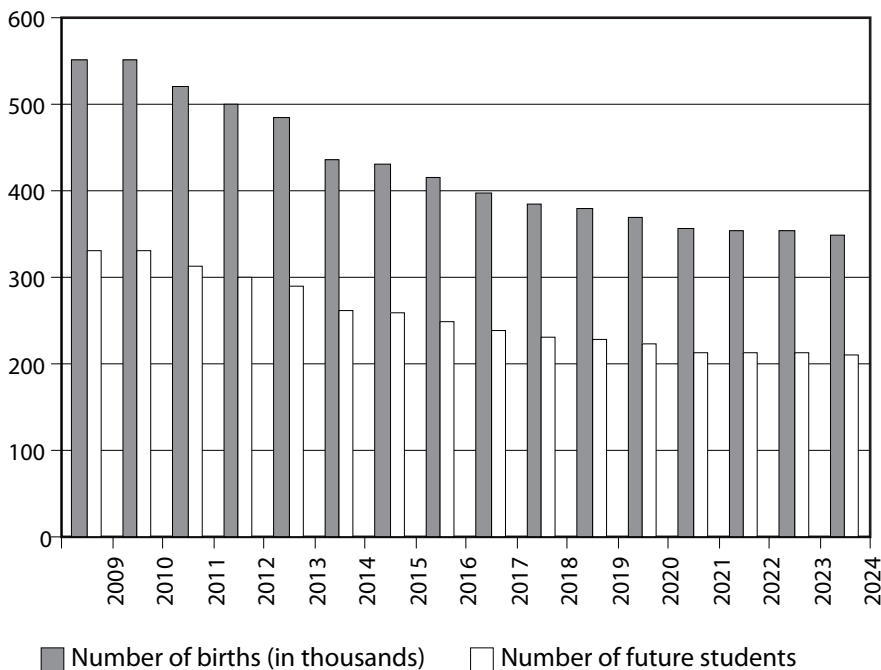
Drawing 1: Personal source

Taking into consideration only the two factors, it can be noticed that in higher education – only for the sake of human potential – revolutionary change is necessary. In the recent years it can be said – on national scale – about a specific balance between social demand for education and the supply of places at higher education institutions, since everyone willing can study. Similarly, the recent relations between the public and private sectors, more specifically between daily studies (financed mostly from the public means) and extramural (commercial) can be defined as decent, even partner-like. The outstanding growth of demand caused that there was enough of "the huge cake" for everyone. The net of HEI has grown to a monstrous size – today there are 430 university schools, and the number of youth at HEI is approximately (we do not know that exactly) 1,9 million, or fee-paying forms of study – concerns about 60% of everyone. Nowadays, the fight for a student – more specifically for their money – begins to be increasingly aggressive, since there are many institutions and the proverbial cake in form of real candidates (not virtual) – each person can apply to a few departments) starts to become smaller. In the year 2005/06 already the number of people who begun

university study at first year was a little smaller than before, and the loss – interestingly – was quite proportionally devided between public and private schools.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Due to the systematically falling demand, fundamental changes must be done to the higher education market. The above will specifically concern the departments that are fashionable today, which are offered by numerous universities, and the number of people studying them is estimated in thousands: management and marketing, administration, pedagogy, and a few others. The first of the enumerated is a "hard" subject, popular since the beginning of the system transformation because of its value for the job market. Today, the certificate of the subject itself is not as important, if only for the reason of the overload of the direction. Pedagogy, on the other hand, belongs to the "soft" subjects, noticeably feminine, where the relation between the specialization achieved and the professional work in future are not that distinct, yet also the motives of taking up this subject are less instrumental. There is an apparent deficit of specialists in technical professions.

The net of schools itself must undergo substantial changes. There are private schools that because of inefficient management or serious fall in the number of students lose their financial means and go bankrupt. The systematic and notorious fall in the number of students admitted to university is a phenomenon that will strengthen the tendency in the nearest years. Especially endangered is the existence of the institutions that create their budget of the tuition fees alone (there is no income from research, initiation, etc.) public universities are subject to the rules of the market to a much smaller degree. They are donated from the budget of the state, with the use of special algorithms (variable in time) that take into consideration, apart from the educational work (the cost consuming aspect of particular departments is noticeably varied), their research, own projects, grants, etc. Most of them have problems with "clipping" the budget together, and in some the deficit is growing from year to year, yet none has been closed, at least so far.

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Ladislav Macháček

STUDENT SCHOOL COUNCILS: AN IMPULSE FOR NON-FORMAL EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY IN SLOVAKIA

1. Participation – new structural opportunity

On the occasion of defending the *National report on the Youth Policy in Slovakia*, we also presented the outcomes of the sociological survey EUYOUPART targeting young people ranging from 15 to 25 years of age in Slovakia (2004/2005), which have showed, that young people have been loosing their interest in politics, and that they tend to express skepticism towards public political life, show distrust in the institutions of a state based upon the rule of law, and have a tendency to support autocratic forms of managing the life of society[1].

We also have to mention, that the interest in working with civic associations of children and youth has also stabilized[2] at the level of 5–7%, and, overall, the activities of young people in different interest associations and civic participation in the voluntary sector is close to 15%. At least it seems that the "grouping potential" of youth organizations in their leisure time has achieved, under current conditions, its "ceiling" or "barrier".

The actual hope for a real increase in the interest of young people in public issues and in participation in a representative democracy (e.g. participation in the elections on all levels) is primarily a new **structural opportunity – students´ councils at schools were established in compliance with the – Slovak National Parliament's Act No. 596 from November 5, 2003 on Public Administration in Schools and School Self-government.**

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[1] Political Participation of Young People in Europe. EUYOUPART. L. Macháček, CERYS FF UCM in Trnava, November 2005, p. 64.

[2] Sociological survey on how children and juveniles spend their leisure time. RMS, Bratislava 2002.

The article No. 26 of this Act named "Student school Council" allows students:
- to express their statements to imperative questions, proposals and measures of the school in field of the education,
- to participate on the creation and application of the school rules,
- to represent students in relationship to the principal and generally to the management of the school,
- to vote their representation to the School Council.

Decisions made by the student school councils at secondary schools and/or student councils or academic senates at universities concern all students without distinction. It is a completely different situation, compared to the impact of decisions adopted by a youth civic association, which usually concerns only its members.

This explains why in the Ministry of Education – ME SR, its Department of Youth Affairs has begun to focus the attention of the sociological survey of youth[3] also on student school councils as an **"non-formal school of democracy"** paradoxically in the school environment.

2. Participation of the school-going youth in the self-governmental life of the school

In concord with general efforts of European institutions to stop the rising threat of the "civic deficit of youth", our sociological survey also reflects an effort to better analyze the civic and/or political participation of youth. From the methodological point of view, a thesis from the White Paper on Youth (2001) is of specific importance, stating that democratic European governance requires the willingness of young citizens of Europe to deal with public issues. Participation of citizens can be manifested in different forms (discussions in the media, demonstrations, elections to representative bodies at different levels etc.) and, naturally, different intensity, all of which help to legitimize the political system. Democratic systems depend on the level of political involvement and preparedness of its citizens to actively participate in civic and political life, while participation in public discussions and participation in decision making processes in the municipality, school, self-governmental region or country is of different significance.

The school is an *institution* the mission of which is to ensure the transfer of knowledge, skills and competences, creating the foundation of our society's system of culture, from one generation to the next. It is not so often emphasized that the school is also a *bureaucratic organization,* that can be characterized by its functional hierarchy and distribution of tasks between groups (students, teachers, directors), as well as by a set

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[3] The representative sociological survey of secondary school and university students was conducted in October 2005 on a surveyed sample of secondary school students (870 respondents) and university students (829 respondents). The survey was conducted in cooperation of IUVENTA and UIPS in Bratislava. The data was collected by ASA s r.o.

of rules for governing processes and its day-to-day operation. At school, the process of education for democratic citizenship is also carried out by means of self-governmental bodies making important decisions regarding the functioning and development of the school (children parliaments, student school councils, student councils, academic senates).

Their agenda can include all relevant issues that directly and/or indirectly concern the pupils at school[4]. K. H. Durr developed a system of eight areas that are potentially open for pupil participation:

- **individual affairs** – expressing the interests and problems of the pupils;
- **peer affairs** – relations between individual pupils and/or groups of pupils;
- **class affairs** – matters and conflicts between a class of pupils and the teacher, as well as activities, projects and conflict resolution between peers;
- **school affairs** – matters and conflicts between the pupil community and the management or administration; school projects, communication with the local community, festivals and the school environment;
- **organizational and staff affairs** – matters and conflicts pertaining to the regulation of school life, relations with the staff, maintenance and reconstruction of the building, problems with the administration and transport;
- **content and methodological issues** – matters and conflicts relating to the scope and methodology of teaching, educational projects;
- **curricular and education policy issues** – matters and conflicts pertaining to curriculum regulation and its interpretation, selection of subjects and student assessment; and
- **links with extracurricular activities** – issues and conflicts pertaining to the relations between the school and the external community, extramural activities, cooperation with extramural agencies and organizations.

Substantial forms of learning within the system of non-formal education include direct social action aimed at social change, which includes communication between the students, and also between the student and their teachers, i.e. non-verbal methods and informal communication requiring intellectual skills and participatory abilities.

The school is an important factor for forming an "informed, responsible and participatory citizen" which should be the ultimate result of the *formal education* of students about society, its history and/or economy and views on philosophy, political science and/or sociology. This educational process is carried out through a range of school subjects, including both traditional ones such as history, and modern ones such as civic education, civic instruction, or theory of society.

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[4] K. Dürr, *The School: A Democratic Learning Community. The All-European Study on Pupils' Participation in School*, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, Germany, Council of Europe Publishing F-67075 Strasbourg Cedex.

Since 1989, the schools have the right (now it is even given by law[5]) to open adequate areas for the pupils aimed at the active sharing of responsibilities with the goal of allowing pupils to learn the practical ways of how to apply their civic rights and responsibilities.

3. Political knowledge and civic literacy of secondary school and university students

In the study, we have placed sufficient attention on establishing the level of knowledge and reader competences of students significant for their civic and political participation. Such procedure is not traditional for common sociological youth research. Usually only the attitudes and opinions are studied, including the preferred values and verbal expressions of the surveyed individuals. In consideration of the nature of our study, we had to overcome some inhibitions that might have been expressed by the respondents during "face to face" interviews, in the off chance that the interviewer reacted inadequately to his/her response.

Since this study focused on school-going youth, and, despite the fact that the general public is literally inundated with various knowledge quizzes in the mass-media, we also decided to include a knowledge test in the sociological interview. We have chosen proven questions from two international researches[6].

4. Knowledge of students on politics and democracy

In the first set of test questions we presented the respondents with several statements relating to national politics and European politics.

In essence we can state, that students of both secondary schools and universities (about 90–95 %) know the fundamental facts (president, parliamentary elections). The same can be said regarding some basic information about the European politics (70––80%), even though the level of surveyed information is lower in some areas by a few percentage points (e.g. whether Turkey is an EU member state, how many member s EU has had since 2004).

The truth is that the answers to the remaining questions (35%) were rather incorrect if the SNS (Slovak National Party) is a parliamentary party, if EU has adopted a consti-

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[5] Act No. 596/2003 on Public administration at schools and school self-administration, provision of §26 "Pupil school council". Act on Universities No. 131/2002 Coll. stipulates that at least one third of the members of academic senates shall be represented by students. This share expresses the influence of the students on the self-administrative functioning of the university.

[6] Political participation of young people in Europe (2004) conducted by CERYS FF UCM in Trnava, and survey of civic literacy CEA conducted in Slovakia in 1998 ŠPU in Bratislava in 14-year-old pupils (www.statpedu.sk).

tution. Selecting the correct answers required a much more profound and more systematic interest in politics than the students were able to demonstrate, as reflected by the results. There were significant differences in the correct answers between university students and secondary school students, while the students of secondary grammar schools (gymnasium) and secondary technical schools significantly differed from those at secondary vocational schools (SOU).

Table 1
Statements on politics and democracy in our country and in EU

		Correct University students	Correct Secondary school students
1	Turkey is a member of EU	82,9	67,6
2	EU has 25 member states	77,2	60,4
3	The EU flag is blue with white stars	60,2	77,6
4	SNS is a parliamentary party	52,2	37,2
5	I. Gašparovič is the Presidents of SR	98,4	95,4
6	EU has an adopted constitution	35,3	20,6
7	Parliamentary elections are held every 4 years	91,9	81,8
8	The Prime Minister has the authority to dissolute Parliament	46,4	30,6

Note: In this overview, we have modified the answers so as to be comparable, i.e. in the event. The respondent answered that e.g. Turkey is not an EU member state; that the stars on the flag are not white but yellow; the SNS is not a parliamentary party; the EU does not have a constitution, the Prime Minister does not have the authority to dissolve Parliament – these we included as correct answers.

There was a specific question aimed at determining the knowledge of the "heart" of parliamentary democracy, i.e. the relation between the representative and executive powers, surveyed by means of the statement of "The Prime Minister has the authority to dissolve Parliament". In this case, university students achieved better results as to the number of correct answers than the secondary school students. From the secondary school students, those studying at gymnasiums achieved better results. The students of SOU responded mostly with the answer "I don't know".

There is a remarkable fact among the university students: there was no significant difference as to the number of correct answers in higher grades as compared to lower grades of the university. This can be explained in two ways: the first one states that the process of education regarding democracy and the functioning of the political system is not taking place, and therefore there aren't any qualitative changes in the students´ knowledge. The second one would claim that the political and civic participation of students in the last three years deepens their conviction about the fact, that the "Parliament" only holds up and detens the adoption of "reasonable" proposals made by the

government. This could lead to the answer, by means of which they – despite knowing the correct relation between the two powers in the state – express their attitude toward the actual situation in our parliamentary democracy.

5. Reading competences of students

The second set of questions (5) included in the test was not primarily focused on knowledge, but rather on the reading competences of students.

In this case we can also basically state, that approximately 25–30% of the surveyed university students, and 35–40% of secondary school students cannot correctly identify a violation of the principle of equality; cannot identify cases when the government acts non-democratically; do not know what has been going on in relation to the textbooks of history; what is the purpose of a pre-election leaflet, and, finally, they cannot make a distinction between "an attitude" and "a statement". Just to give an example, the following table includes the results of a test aimed at establishing what is, in young people's opinion, "non-democratic" in regards to the government.

Test
Which of the following situations would lead to a result in which the GOVERNMENT WOULD BE DESCRIBED AS NON-DEMOCRATIC?

A) People are not allowed to criticize the government
B) Political parties often argue amongst themselves
C) People have to pay high taxes
D) Each citizen has the right to a job

Table 2
Understanding of the text if we use the notions of "democracy"

	The government would be non-democratic, if...				Total
Attended school	People are not allowed to criticize the government	Political parties often argue amongst themselves	People have to pay high taxes	Each citizen has the right to a job	
Secondary vocational school without school leaving examination	40,0%	6,7%	23,3%	30,0%	100,0%
Secondary vocational schools with school leaving examination	53,2%	13,4%	19,0%	14,5%	100,0%

Secondary technical school	59,8%	14,1%	15,8%	10,3%	100,0%
Secondary grammar school	81,1%	5,8%	7,8%	5,3%	100,0%
Abs.	538 62,3%	95 11,0%	130 15,1%	100 11,6%	863 100,0%

Amongst the secondary school students, there is a clearly visible difference in the reader comprehension. In particular, the students from secondary vocational schools (SOU), the future workers and service providers with lower qualifications and lower level of education in general, failed to understand the questions, or they did not know exactly what equality, discrimination, democracy, opposition, opinion or statement meant.

This is a classical example of findings established by PISA surveys under current Slovakia conditions, when there were many questions from a large variety of areas – including even mathematics and natural sciences – which the students did not even begin to solve, as they did not understand the wording of those questions.

These findings, however, can also be interpreted differently. In particular the students of secondary vocational schools tended to assign different meanings to some concepts. In their opinion, the principle of equality is violated and real discrimination begins, if someone with lower qualifications receives a lower salary, even though he/she performs a task just as necessary and useful as someone else with higher qualifications. In regards to the second question, the secondary vocational schools students claimed that the government is "non-democratic" even in cases where it cannot ensure a citizen's right to a job. It is obvious in both aforementioned cases, that people in different social situations have a tendency to fill in and interpret general concepts – such as democracy, equality – quite differently than those taught at school offering civics classes in the spirit of classical political science.

The results were a bit different in the case of the test concerning the concepts of "statement" and "opinion", or as to how the concept of "opposition" was understood as it pertained to the pre-election or political struggle. The interpretation of these results shows, that a number of young people cannot differentiate between a "statement" and an "opinion".

Student school council and the academic senate
In the study, we constructed a typology of students depending on how important they see their own education, how much of their extracurricular time they devote to different activities (i.e. hobby, income, organizational activity). We constructed this typology in a way which allowed us, in a subtle way, to separate students into two groups; one of young people who prefer the development of group life, and who want to apply their abilities to the benefit of the functioning of such a group, and the other consisting of students who are in general interested in the political and civic areas.

The outcomes of the study show that the share of this type of individuals among students is relatively stable (9–10%), regardless of whether it is a secondary school or a university. At the same time, in a number of cases the following analysis showed that it takes a long time to form such groups, at school and also during extracurricular activities, while family background and traditions also constitute a significant factor.

Try to assess the following types of students and rank yourself:

1. **Peter/Petra** – focuses on achieving excellent results in his/her field of study; thus his/her extracurricular interests are rather limited
2. **Pavol/Pavla** – focuses on achieving good results in his/her field of study, but he/she can also find time to actively participate in his/her personal hobby in his/her free time (culture, sport, body-building)
3. **Martin/Martina** – focuses on achieving goods results in his/her field of study, but he/she also tries to do something for his/her fellow students in the class, organize something at school or in the dormitory.
4. **Jozef/Jozefína** – focuses on achieving good results in his/her field of study, in leisure time he/she works and earns money necessary for school.
5. **Janko/Janka** – his/her field of study is not of primary interest; he/she rather focuses on the joys of student life with a good group of friends, leisure-time entertainment

Table 3
Typology of students from the aspect of "presence of organizers": self-ranking

	% universities	% secondary schools
1. Peter/Petra	12,3	8,0
2. Pavol/Pavla	35,7	46,8
3. Martin/Martina	**9,7**	**8,2**
4. Jozef/Jozefina	32,9	13,6
5. Janko/Janka	9,4	23,4
Total	100,0	100,0

It is worth mentioning that there is a significant difference between secondary schools and universities in regards to the presence of secondary school students (Janko) focusing on the joys of student life, and university students (Jozef), who earn some money in their free time.

6. Motivation for student participation in school self-government

As in our study, we have primarily been interested in the group of "organizers", and have tried to identify their motivation for participating in such activities; in particular how they are perceived by their fellow-students. We asked the following a question:

How would you explain the reasons for some students' interest in carrying out different tasks and responsibilities within the class, student councils, academic senate, school commissions, in the dormitory etc.?

Table 4
Motivation for participation from the students' perspective

Motives and reasons	Definitely yes Universities	Definitely Secondary schools
They feel useful and needed	29,7	29,4
They think one has to help other people	20,7	25,3
They have some organizational skills already, so they make use of them	22,7	24,2
Such organizational activity has traditions in their family	11,1	8,9
They are pleased if they can actually influence some things	29,6	26,3
They consider it to be free time well spent	18,7	12,8
They are gaining the recognition and gratitude of their peers	16,0	15,9
They consider it as a possibility to gain "competences" and "skills" for their professional career	27,3	22,3
They also have certain benefits stemming from it (accommodation, they know the teachers, functionaries at school)	33,8	19,6
They feel more comfortable among people, they don't like to be alone	20,0	22,2

The comparison of secondary school students and university students has shown that the motivation and reasons they indicated are rather similar. There are only a few cases where the difference was slightly more significant: competences for professional career; free time well spent, and, above all, "certain benefits".

In this case, the difference is of statistical importance. Therefore we took a closer look at this "motif" by applying our personality types at the universities. The motivational structure is evenly distributed across all identified types – with the exception of type Janko/Janka, focusing on the joys of student life. This type not only extremely sensitively perceives all benefits obtained by "organizers" of the Martin/Martina type, but it also has a tendency to give the concept of "benefits" a negative meaning.

7. Secondary schools – structure of participation

In our study, we succeeded in identifying different levels of participation of secondary school students in the self-govermental life of their schools. In particular, we found out that the majority of the students – almost 75% – are informed about the fact that there is a student school council at their school. Approximately 14% of secondary school students have worked in student school councils, or in student parliament, and an additional 15% participated in its events and/or sessions. Almost the same percent-

age, i.e. about 30%, also participated in the elections of representatives to student school councils.

Considering that this particular fact belongs to the most problematic issues, from the viewpoint of the legitimacy of the functioning of self-govermental bodies in schools, we provided the following data, demonstrating that elections are more frequently participated in (40%) by two types of students – those focusing on academic results and those focusing on organizational activities. They are followed – at a relative distance (30%) – by students pursuing leisure time activities of interest, or activities aimed at earning money, or other joys associated with living a student's live. Finally, we also obtained information about whether or not the students were candidates to be members in the student school council at their schools. The result (11%) shows that there is a relatively considerable share of students belonging to all personality types, but primarily belonging to the group of organizationally capable students highly interested in participation. In this category, "candidacy" approaches as much as 28%.

Diagram 1
Who were the candidates to student school councils – broken down by types of students
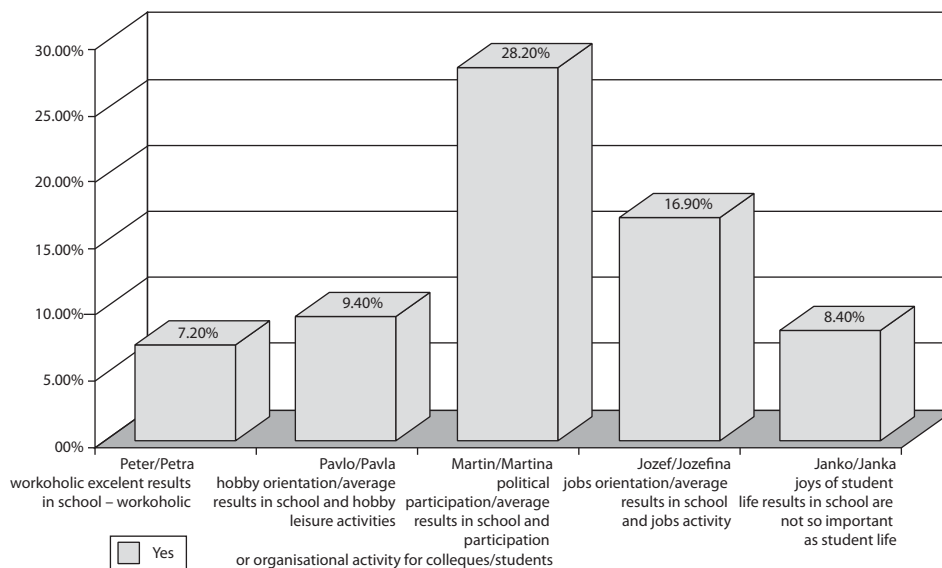
Before we start analyzing the situation in regards to the participation of university students in the self-goverment of their universities, we want to mention, that the former life and experiences of students from secondary schools may play a significant role in this regard. About 30% of university students indicated, that they have experience being in the position of a chairman or a spokesman of the class.

8. Universities – structure of participation

Analogically, we also tried to find out at universities, whether or not the students are members, were members or were candidates for membership of the academic senate (5%); how many of them participate in elections for the academic senate (27%); how many of them used the right of any member of the academic congregation to participate in the session of the academic senate (31%); how many students know (62%) about the existence of the student council at the university, and about the existence of the academic senate at the university (81%).

There are differences between the students in terms of their participation in the elections and also in relation to their attitude towards university study. In particular the type focusing on the "joys of student life", who expressed the least interest in making the representation of students in the academic senate legitimate by his/her participation in the elections.

The situation, however, differed in the area of obtaining information on the activities and results of sessions conducted by academic senates. Particular student types achieved higher scores in this area, and the achieved scores were distributed more evenly between individual types. This simply affirms that even the students, who primarily focus on the joys of being a student, may also be interested in self-governmental activities, including all issues and tasks presented by the self-government body to the executives of the university (director or rector, deputy directors vice-deans etc).

9. Secondary schools and universities – what do they expect from self-administration

The overall process of creating the structure for democratic self-administration is closely connected to the highly significant question as to what are the expectations of today's students regarding these two forms of self-administration at their schools.

Above all it seems indisputable, that secondary school students expect the student school council to help in providing specialized services at their school (53,7%), and to create conditions for their extracurricular activities of interest (41,7%). The university students more typically focus on developing and improving the quality of information services (43,3%).

The difference between secondary school students and university students can also be explained and understood by comparing the biggest differences between these two groups in the category of some "tasks" and/or "expectations".

Secondary school students mainly emphasized their specific preference of extracurricular activities; university students, on the other hand, highlighted the issues pertaining to defending the schools interests against school executives and/or administrators

and also labor services allowing them to take short-term and appropriate temporary jobs.

Table 5

Tasks executed by the self-administration of the school – as expected by students

Tasks of student school councils and academic senates	Secondary schools Definitely yes	Universities Definitely yes
1. Create conditions for extracurricular interest activities of secondary school students (sport, discotheques, theatre, student journal etc.)	41.7	25.8
2. Organize fundraising events for various necessary things	15.1	16.1
3. To establish (or improve the functioning of the existing) student web site aimed at increasing awareness of school issues, possibilities to study abroad etc.	33.6	43.3
4. Propose students' suggestions for changes in the timetable, school regulations, or educational process	37.7	31.0
5. Increase the involvement of students in resolving their own problems (e.g. accommodation, meals)	18.7	24.8
6. Bring attention to problems associated with the school maintenance, orderliness, cleanliness	21.7	17.5
7. Activate a service providing short-term jobs for students (labor service)	25.7	33.7
8. Demand the establishment and functioning of special services for students (e.g. buffet, vending machines for drinks, lockers, copy machine etc.)	53.7	35.6
9. Present and protect the rightful interests of the school to the respective municipality (Municipal Council)	16.7	30.0
10. Facilitate the equipping of classrooms and special classrooms with modern teaching technology; equipment and books/journals to the school library	36.6	35.0
11. More systematic and result oriented student assessment of teachers	26.2	29.6
12. Support the secondary school student scientific and research work	32.8	31.5

Finally, there were some additional tasks and expectations largely emphasized by the students of both types of schools – *to develop scientific and research activities, equip the schools with teaching technologies, and the possibility to effectively assess the teachers.*

Both secondary school and university students dislike fundraising events, and, they did not see such activities as important in the context of priority tasks executed by self-govermental bodies.

10. Conclusions

The analysis of the outcomes of the sociology study conducted among secondary school and university students in 2005 uncovered some very interesting information:

1. Knowledge about national and European politics is at an adequate level, in particular in the area of the most elementary and unchanging data and facts. The somewhat more difficult issues of the political life, in regards to the hectic workings of parliamentary democracy, are mainly grasped by students of secondary grammar schools, and some students of secondary technical schools. A number of students attending secondary vocational schools tended to respond "I don't know" to some of those questions.

2. The tests of civic literacy focusing on the understanding of texts with political contents showed that approximately 25% of all students – both secondary school and university – have problems in correctly understanding the given information. This is particularly true for students of vocational schools. However, university students – also in smaller numbers – had similar problems – to our great surprise. This proved true for students of the second, the third as well as of the fourth grade, for students of philosophical areas, natural sciences as well as technical branches of the study.

3. The participation of students in the activities of school self-governance bodies is developing a classical hierarchical shape – the majority of students are informed about their existence, a somewhat lower number of them follows its activities and results, or even personally participates in their sessions; and, an even smaller number of students participates in the elections, and the smallest group is made up of those students who are candidates and actually work in self-administration bodies. This is, in fact, the essence of the functioning of representative democracy.

4. The typology of students proved that there is a kind of "core of organizers" arising and forming among the students. It represents approximately 8–9% of the overall age cohort, and most of the students who are candidates in elections to student school councils and/or academic senates belong to this particular group.

5. Their motivation differs and reflects their different interests and needs, but, in general, their motives and reasons are of a positive nature. It is interesting, though, that the other types of students – "the academics", "money-making professionals", or "hobbyists" – they all perceive these activities as positively motivated, and they accept that it is in the interest of implementing their own system of values. The only exception to this is the small group of students – "enjoyers" – who participate less in the self-administration of the school (e.g. their participation in the elections), but this group also gives the notion of "having benefits by participating in the self-administration bodies of the school" negative meanings.

6. The secondary school students prefer – in regards to the agenda of student school councils – the area of services, and extracurricular interest-based activities. In terms of the agenda of the academic senate, the university students prefer information services and defending the interests against the executive representatives at school, and labor services allowing the students to take short-term job contracts. Finally, students at both school levels jointly and specifically emphasized the need to develop student scientific and research activities, the task of equipping the school with modern teaching technology. Their requirement as to the possibility of evaluating the teachers with actual results is of specific significance.

In principle we can state, that the overall area of civic participation by students through school self-governance authorities makes an impression, which leads to expectations of a qualitative change to come. It should be demonstrated as a synergic effect of the new impulses coming from two sources: a/ teaching of civics and theory of society, and b/ from multiple years of the functioning of the school self-governance.

Both forms of education – formal as well as non-formal – in particular at secondary schools – requires an impulse aimed at starting to share experiences among 8 regions of Slovakia[7]. In 2006, adequate attention has been devoted to this process of modernization, by means of disseminating information of "know-how" type[8].

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[7] Project of the Department of Children and Youth at ME SR in 8 regions of Slovakia is implemented by IUVENTA, and in May it was participated in by approximately 100 young people. In the fall 2006 (17.11.) there will be a Slovak conference on the premises of the Slovak Parliament – National Council of Slovakia.

[8] Methodology material from Austria and Ireland have been translated to Slovak; these material were welcomed with special interest of the participants of focus groups in regional cities of Slovakia. For more information please see: www.ziackerady.iuventa.sk.

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IN THE CLAWS OF ABSOLUTE RATIONALITY "NEW MATURA" AS A DECISION-MAKING SYSTEM

1. Introduction

We live in a world of modern technology. However, its social reception remains a problematic issue. Tomasz Woźniak, who on the basis of the content of daily press and periodicals of various political groups performed the analysis of technological discourse in Poland, emphasizes the existence of consensus as to ignoring the consequence of the influence of technology on social change. The issues of technological dangers, the relations of power in disciplinary institutions for citizens (also serving to manipulate citizens), the expansion of experts and the social conditioning of nature studies are usually entirely neglected, technological progress, on the other hand, is generally considered to be an "unproblematic benefit"[1]. Meanwhile, a critical look on technology and its creations has a long tradition in social study, the beginning of which can be marked with technological determinism of Karl Marx who treated the development of technology as the main source of social change. The followers of Marks (especially the representatives of *logical sequence account*) study technological progress from the point of view of universal nature laws[2], ignoring entirely the issue of social influence on technological achievements. Such a biased approach to the relation between technology and society resulted in a substantially different concept, sometimes called the perspective

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[1] T. Woźniak, *O bezradności poznawczej społeczeństwa wobec zmiany technologicznej*, "Zagadnienia Naukoznawstwa" 2004, no. 2(160), pp. 341–359.

[2] See B. Bimber, *Karl Marx and Three Faces of Technological Determinism*, "Social Studies of Science" 1990, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 333–351 and D. MacKenzie, *Knowing Machines. Essays on Technical Change*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 23–47.

of social shaping[3] or social construction of technology[4]. The theory questions the concept of technology as trajectories that cannot be regulated[5]. Instead, it suggests a heterogeneous model that takes into consideration the variety of factors influencing the ultimate shape of technological artifacts. The evaluation of a particular technology *ex post*, after introducing it to common use, was postulated to be replaced with a model in which its final shape would be the result of wide compromise. The above was to result in regaining social control over the progress of technology[6]. Nuclear power plants, nuclear weapon, or genetically modified food[7] were enumerated as potentially most dangerous. These are also the most extreme, thus drawing most attention, examples of modern technology. The danger of technological progress is not only apparent in spectacular disasters, such as radioactive pollution, or genetic mutation slipping out of control[8]. Its influence on social life is much more refined.

According to Neil Postman, at the modern level of technological progress we have to do with overall triumph of technology over culture. The governing dogma became the view that the only motivation of human work should be efficiency, which can be measured only in quantity, with help of standardized statistic tools. In the world of modern technology, the greatest power goes to experts – modern shamans that deal with introducing to life of the technocratic idea of progress. Due to them, the cult of efficiency and the common standardization begin to enter consecutive spheres of social reality[9]. George Ritzer also notices the growing importance of standardization and efficiency. He claims that modern consumption society cannot be separated from the ideas. Yet, he adds that the "reversing of magic" in reality that they cause must be balanced with another "spell-casting", courting and discreet manipulation, otherwise people would not associate pleasure with buying. Nevertheless, this contradiction of cold technology and breathtaking magic is not consequent, since the very impression of the

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[3] R. Williams, D. Edge, *The Social Shaping of Technology*, "Research Policy" 1996, vol. 26, no. 6, pp. 865–899.

[4] W.E. Bijker, J. Law, *Postcript: Technology, Stability and Social Theory* [in:] *The Social Construction of Technological Systems. New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology*, (eds.) W.E. Bijker, T.P. Hughes, T. Pinch, Cambridge/London 1989.

[5] The concepts of *Social Shaping of Technology* and *Social Construction of Technology* are not entirely synonymous, the difference between them, from the point of view of this article, are so unimportant that I decide to overlook them.

[6] A. Rip, T.J. Misa, J.W. Schot, *Constructive Technology Assessment: A New Paradigm for Managing Technology in Society* [in:] *Managing Technology in Society. The Approach of Constructive Technology Assessment*, (eds.) A. Rip, T.J. Misa, J.W. Schot, London/New York 1995, pp. 1–12 and J.W. Schot, *Constructive Technology Assessment and Technology Dynamics: The Case of Clean Technologies*, "Science, Technology, & Human Values" 1992, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 36–56.

[7] P. Stankiewicz, *Ekologia w społeczeństwie ryzyka*, "Krytyka Polityczna" 2005, no. 9–10, pp. 438––447.

[8] C. Perrow, *Normal Accidents. Living with High Risk Technologies*, New Jersey 1999.

[9] N. Postman, *Technopol. Triumf techniki nad kulturą*, Warszawa 2004.

spectacular manner in which the efficient and standardized means of consumption (the term of Ritzer that refers to Marksian means of production) are able to fulfill human needs, can be perceived as magic by the customers[10].

The cult of efficiency, standardization, an unwavering trust in quantitative indicators, and thus in technology that enables their existence (especially computer) could be defined with one term of absolute rationality[11]. In the article I would like to present the influence that it exerts on one of the most conservative social institutions – education. One of its aspects – "matura" school leaving exam will constitute the subject of my interest. I will endeavour to show how the values indispensable in modern technology world transform the maturity exam into a machine directed mostly at efficiency, one that standardizes people and limits their initiative.

I will begin with a short historical note and characteristics of the form of maturity exam today, often called – to differentiate from the one before the educational reform – "new matura" exam. Secondly, I will commence to present the tools that will be necessary to present the phenomenon. I will use to do so the term of a system (sometimes called a *setup* or a *setting*) taken from the Actor-Network Theory by Michel Callon and Bruno Latour. With help of the term I will try to show how much the ideas constituting the basis of "new matura" introduction to schools are in agreement with the theory of absolute rationality. To finish with, I will present my suggestion of calling "new matura" (as well as similar systems) a decision-making system and I will give a more detailed explanation of the idea.

2. The history and characteristics of "new matura" exam

"New matura" was supposed to be the top achievement of the educational reform introduced by the coalition of Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność and Unia Wolności from September 1999. Its premiere was planned for the year 2002, however, the weakening government had difficulties in introducing all educational acts in the parliament. The Left, that was predicted an easy and effective victory in the following parliamentary election, openly demanded the abolishment of the educational reform. Despite strong announcements, it appeared impossible to entirely eliminate the project of "new matura". Finally, the decision was made to use in 2002 a mixed option – students could choose between the old and the new form of the exam. The introduction of the one and obligatory new version of "matura" exam was postponed to 2005[12].

The reformed maturity exam was obligatorily performed for the first time in the spring session of the year 2004/5 for the graduates of secondary vocational schools, four-year comprehensive secondary schools and youth that graduated in the previous

[10] G. Ritzer, *Magiczny świat konsumpcji*, Warszawa 2001.

[11] C. Perrow, op.cit., pp. 315–321.

[12] A. Kaczmarczyk, *Do szkoły z dobrą panią minister*, "Tygodnik Powszechny" 2002, no. 36(2774).

years[13] (now the division for a winter and spring session has been abolished and the exam takes place only once a year). The completion of the introduction of "new matura" to schools is planned for 2008. The exam consists of an oral and written part. Each of the exam subjects can be taken on an equal for all the graduates level, or it can offer a choice between the basic and extended level (where the extended level contains elements of the basic level). The obligatory subjects are: Polish and a chosen modern language (taken orally and in writing), and a chosen subject (taken only in writing; such as biology, mathematics, history, geography, as well as the history of art or knowledge about dance). In the written part it is possible to take additionally up to three chosen subjects. "New matura" allows also to take the languages of national and ethnic minorities or the regional language (Kashubian).

The maturity exam, just like before the reform, is not obligatory. Graduates take it in their schools, and the head of the school's examination staff, namely the headmaster is responsible for the organization. The oral part of the exam is performed by subject examination boards, which consist of a representative of the district examination commission and two teachers, one of whom can work in the school in which the exam takes place. A supervising team watches over the written part of the examination in a particular school, a part of which must be a teacher who does no work in the same school. A teacher of the taken subject or the tutor of the students cannot be present. The supervising teams are in power to invalidate a part of the exam of each of the students when they notice an incorrectness (e.g. not individual work). The sheets necessary for the written part come from the Central Examination Commission and are the same for all schools. The results of the exam are expressed in percents. The exam is considered passed when a graduate receives 30% of the points in the oral part and the same percentage in the obligatory written part. The graduates that pass the examination are endowed with a maturity certificate. The oral part is evaluated by a subject examination board and there is no appeal from their decision. The written part is evaluated outside by listed examiners summoned by the director of a district examination commission. They are in possession of very detailed evaluation criteria of every examination sheet, which are generally called the "key". This is one of the basic differences from the "old matura", which allowed the teacher to evaluate works with more freedom in interpretation.

To conclude, it is worth noticing that the shape of "new matura" has not been finally consolidated. The detailed instructions that are in force today are different than last year, and the regulations of next year will differ from the contemporary ones. "New matura" is a dynamic phenomenon that I present in the form captured in the specific moment of its existence.

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[13] This and other data on the structure of "new matura", as well as the detailed regulations that refer to the exam were taken from the internet page of the Central Examination Comission (www.cke.edu.pl).

3. The characteristic of the term "system"

I will present now an overview of the term "system", with which I will show the phenomenon of "new matura". This term is immensely popular in sociology, a proof of which is the variety of definitions[14]. The meaning I will use here is linked to the *Actor-Network Theory* (ANT in short), by Michel Callon and Bruno Latour, and it originates in the organization theory.

Before I commence in a more detailed analysis of the system concept, I would like to briefly justify my theoretical choice. The Actor-Network Theory, though yet not widely known in Poland, offers a considerable cognitive potential, especially from the point of view of this article's subject matter. In a successful way it links the world of people with the world of objects, usually treated in sociology as a simple function of human activity, which is accurately reflected in the term "material culture". Nevertheless, the vision of a men as the maker and master of objects (*Homo faber*) is followed by a very biased vision of the relation between a man and technology. Generally, as I mention in the introduction, it is a vision of neutral technology or one remaining in service to human kind. As a result, to present how it influences social structure I require a theory that allows for its substantially different conceptualization. As far as I am concerned, the Actor-Network Theory offers such a chance[15].

It was the concept of an actor that underwent the greatest transformation in ANT. In the traditional organization theory[16], an actor simply stands for an individual with their specific features, such as the ability to plan their actions or to interact with other actors. From the point of view of ANT, an actor is only defined by what they do. Consequently, it is possible to use this term when referring to objects, since they can perform the same function as man, an example of which is the process lasting since the industrial revolution of replacing employees with increasingly efficient and infallible machines[17]. Such a "remastered" concept of an actor (often replaced in ANT by an **act-ant** to devoid of anthropomorphic association) requires an entirely fresh approach to the idea of a system.

A system is defined in the theory of actor-network as a network consisting of human and nonhuman actors, among which competences are distributed. It is always

[14] J.H. Turner, *Struktura teorii socjologicznej*, Warszawa 2004.

[15] There is no place here for a detailed analisis of the ideas of ANT, and it does not seem necessary. To find mote information on the Actor-Network Theory read the book by Radosław Sojak (R. Sojak, *Paradoks antropologiczny. Socjologia wiedzy jako perspektywa ogólnej teorii społeczeństwa*, Wrocław 2004).

[16] See e.g. M. Crozier, E. Friedberg, *Człowiek i system – ograniczenia działania zespołowego*, Warszawa 1982.

[17] M. Akrich, B. Latour, *A Summary of a Convenient Vocabulary for the Semiotics of Human and Nonhuman Assemblies* [in:] *Shaping Technology/Building Society*, (eds.) W.E. Bijker, J. Law, Cambridge/London 1997, pp. 259–264; and B. Latour, *Where Are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts* [in:] op.cit., pp. 225–258.

reconstructed by a researcher, its shape can never be the starting point[18]. The elements, of which a system consists can be potentially much varied. In case of "new matura" they can be teachers, students, the representatives of the Ministry of Education and Academic Study, examiners, but also the examination sheets, the models of evaluation ("keys"), detailed instructions of the performance of the exam, schools regulations, even pencils with which it is possible to encode the exam, or the computers that read the filled boxes on an examination sheet and an evaluation sheet (the examiners cannot know the names of the authors of the evaluated works). It cannot be decided in advance if a given actor is a part of the system. A good example is here a student-actor that actually has no influence on the functioning of the system, yet it is difficult to imagine the system without them. Such actors can be defined as "*conscribed*"[19] by the system. They do not have to be considered as elements of the network, though its existence would be threatened without them. In this work I decided to treat the students as an element of the system, to present better the features of "new matura" on the example of the demands of the examination.

The differentiation between the system and its surroundings is very difficult and often based on mutual agreement, since networks have a tendency to expand widely[20]. The level of the analysis of every phenomenon can be quite freely shaped, a lot depends here on the researcher and his needs. In the reconstruction of the net, a far fetched reductionism is allowed, yet not always substantiated. Bearing the above in mind, I will focus in this article only on the selected, most important in my opinion, actors. In accordance with the postulate of the Actor-Network Theory, I will analyze their action, and then I will draw conclusions on their basis about the system that they co-constitute. As a necessity, I will narrow my study to the participating students of "matura" exam, the examiners and the "key". I will also mention the role of computers in the "matura" system.

The concepts of input and output of the system play a substantial role in system analysis. I would like to present "new matura" as a system, the workings of which have specific and palpable results. It is based, generally, on "transformation" of the resource that is "put inside" the system into a ready-made product. The resources are students competence, their knowledge and skill that constitute the core of a cultural capital of an individual[21]. The system evaluates them in accordance with internally defined criteria, which results in a product in form of maturity certificates which are comparable

[18]　M. Callon, *Techno-economic networks and irreversibility* [in:] *A Sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*, (ed.) J. Law, London/New York 1991, pp. 132–161; and B. Latour, *Technology is society made durable* [in:] op.cit., pp. 103–131.

[19]　M. Akrich, B. Latour, op.cit.

[20]　E. Bendyk, *Antymatrix. Człowiek w labiryncie sieci*, Warszawa 2004.

[21]　P. Bourdieu, *The Forms of Capital* [in:] *Handbook of Theory and Research for Sociology of Education*, (ed.) J.G. Richardson, New York 1986, pp. 117–142.

(or it does not give a certificate, stating the incompetence of a student). The way the above is done is to my mind the key to the understanding of the phenomenon of "new matura".

To finish with, it is worth noting another feature of a system understood in such a way – its dynamics. The network provides flexibility, its elements can be transformed or exchanged for others, which modifies the system without threatening its existence. As I mention above, the maturity exam is not a static phenomenon, the process of its adjustment to external conditions (namely to the system surroundings) is always in action. The application of the Actor-Network Theory makes it possible to capture it, which constitutes another argument for using it in this work.

4. The analysis of the "matura" system

As I write in the introduction, I will understand the concept of absolute rationality as the cult of efficiency, standardization, an unwavering trust in quantitative indicators and technology that enables their existence. The influence of the above factors on the phenomenon of "new matura" will be illustrated by the presentation of selected elements of the "matura" system.

One of the most prominent is obviously the "model of answers and evaluation", popularly called the "key". It is a very detailed algorithm that serves to evaluate an exam sheet, indispensable to any examiner. Thus, writing a "matura" exam in Polish, a student has to, among others, answer about a dozen questions concerning a short, double-page text. The model of answers predicts a few alternative answers to each question (there can be more when the answer is for two points instead of one, however, it is not a rule). If a student presents an interpretation which was not predicted by the author of the "key", it will be automatically considered wrong. **Thus, standardized becomes not only the examination sheet, identical for every school in the whole country, but the cultural capital of a student, as well**. Only his adjustment to the requirements of the "matura" system ensures success in form of a passed exam. As a result, the "model of answers and evaluation" can be justly understood as a kind of "standardization vehicle" that by rendering the criteria of evaluation of "new matura" objective equalizes the views and behaviour of students[22].

The presence of the "key" also influences other elements of the "matura" system.

The role of examiners, who during the "old matura" had a much greater freedom of interpretation and evaluation of students' works, has been considerably limited. In accordance with the rule of objectivity of the exam, the "key" took over a part of the responsibilities of human actors. This phenomenon, according to the concept of ANT,

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[22] Comp. K. Konarzewski, *Reforma oświaty: podstawa programowa i warunki kształcenia*, Warszawa 2004.

can be called a delegation of rights[23]. It takes place, when the actions of one actor are transmitted to another one, notwithstanding if it is a man or an object. More often than not it happens in the name of rising the efficiency of the system. In this case, the upgrade is a result of creating a universal answer model and treating the examiners as wardens of the following of the "key".

On the other hand, the role of the ones that take the maturity exam has not been transformed. Basically, they do not exert any serious influence on the workings of the system. The only initiative that belongs to the student is the suggestion of the subject of his presentation that must be performed on the oral exam in Polish. However, students are successfully discouraged to this idea by the complicated procedure of communicating the subject. Their suggestion must be analyzed and accepted by the school and then added to the list of externally accepted subjects of presentation[24]. The procedure, as well as the number of the topics suggested by the system (which must always exceed the number of students) clearly suggest that creativity of students is not preferred here. What is more, it seems justified to claim that **the students are foremost expected "not to disturb".** Due to such an elimination of events unpredicted by the system it is possible to enhance further the effectiveness of its workings. Students are merely required to acquire a set of rules that enable them to play the role of the ones that take the exam. According to the conceptual scheme of ANT, such rules are called preinscription[25]. This term includes the overall competences which are expected in an actor **before** he faces the system.

The "key", examiners and students are not the only elements of the "matura" system. Obviously, it would be difficult to imagine the maturity exam without computers. I do not solely mean the machines that encode students' works, or the role of computers in communication between the decision centres and schools, which is possible due to the Internet (on the website of the Central Examination Commission and pages of the District Examination Commissions exist not only legal acts, but detailed regulations of "new matura", as well as examples of examination sheets, "matura" guides and bulletins). As far as I am concerned, the influence of computer technology on the "matura" system is much wider.

As I have mentioned, I would like to define "new matura" as a system that fulfills a specific job. It is based on transforming the elusive in numbers cultural capital of the graduates into maturity certificates, which are palpable products of the system. The marks printed on them are indicators that can be expressed in percentages and that are comparable. For this reason, as I have presented on the example of the "key" and the requirements that students face, it is justified to analyze the "matura" system in terms of effectiveness with which it performs its tasks. To make it work efficiently, it is essen-

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[23] B. Latour, *Technology*…
[24] I received this information from the headmaster of one of the secondary schools in Toruń.
[25] M. Akrich, B. Latour, op.cit.

tial not only to eliminate from it the unpredicted situations, but to organize it properly, as well. A thesis that seems substantiated to me is that "matura" system is similar in its construction and functioning to a computer system, in which there is software and hardware. The system could not function without either of them. As software of the "matura" system we can treat the "model of answers and evaluation". Similarly to computer software, the "key" is an algorithm of functioning which can exist both as a document (called the source code in case of computer programs) and as an abstract idea. Taking into consideration computer software, we most often deal with the second form, in case of the "model of answers..." – with the first. The "key" is a real artifact. It is an algorithm that must be followed by hardware, the role of which is played by examiners in the "matura" system. They are especially trained to evaluate the works of students in agreement with the objectives of the scheme. The division of competence is clearly visible here. Examiners can be replaced by others without any disturbance to the functioning of the system, just as a part of a computer system. Only the change of algorithm – the "key" – results in change in its operation. An algorithm is from this point of view the least flexible part of the system, since it can fulfill only the functions that have been entered into it. Hardware is another case, it is flexible and can be easily reprogrammed.

In conclusion, the "new matura" is a system organized around one artifact – the algorithm of evaluation. It is limiting towards other actors, both the students and examiners. **The lack of flexibility of the "model of answers..." results in the fact that the maturity exam is not ready for unpredicted circumstances which could disturb its functioning. To prevent their appearance, all student initiative is hindered, which makes graduates devoid of the right to shape the exam. The gratification of the "key" with the supreme role, from which there is no appeal, reduces also the function of examiners, who are lessened to the role of hardware that fulfills the objectives of an algorithm.**

5. "New matura" as a decision-making system

After the analysis of the workings of some actors of the "matura" system, and having drawn conclusions referring to its functioning as a whole, I will now proceed to present my suggestion as to calling the maturity exam, as well as systems organized in similar ways, with the term of a decision-making system and I will explain this term.

As decision-making system I suggest calling all systems that are characterized with the following features:
  – they function on the basis of inflexible algorithms, from the decision of which there is no appeal or such is very difficult;
  – these algorithms solely rule the most important rights, which limits the role of human actors, thus making them subordinate to the "key";

– they try to eliminate situations not predicted by the algorithm, which could potentially disturb the functioning of the system and negatively influence its workings;
– they widely use computer technology and / or their construction is similar to a computer system, in which it is possible to distinguish software (e.g. the "matura key") and hardware (the tool to introduce the concept of the "key").

The term of a decision-making system makes it possible to distinguish from social reality a specific kind of phenomena, an example of which is the phenomenon of "new matura". These are the systems that embody a specific type of rationality, namely absolute rationality. The priorities for them are: efficiency, standardization and trust in quantitative indicators and computer technology that enables their usage. It is directly reflected in the visible features of the system, which can be summarized in the features enumerated by me in the points above.

I chose the adjective "decision-making" to emphasize the role that the system plays in an individual's life. In case of "new matura", the criteria implemented in the algorithm fully decide if a student passes the exam, and which mark he or she gets (since they cannot appeal from the decisions of the algorithm, they cannot either influence its creation). Using the terminology of organized action theory by Michel Crozier and Erhard Friedber, it is possible to claim that decision-making systems, by definition, tend to reduce the sphere of uncertainty that is present in each of them. It is a sort of unspecified sphere that makes it possible for the actors to negotiate their position even in an extremely disadvantageous position[26]. Decision-making systems, by privileging nonhuman actors and limiting the role of human ones, aim at making any negotiation impossible.

6. Conclusion

A metaphor of the system of education as a factory that releases masses of graduates to the market is quite often present not only in academic studies, but in popular writing, as well. However, rarely are the transformations in the approach to the issue of education viewed on the background of entering into education a specific type of rationality, characteristic for the world of science and modern technology. This work deals with this problem on the example of a "matura" exam, a phenomenon with a very long tradition. I have tried to show how the influence of absolute rationality transforms "new matura" in a kind of system, which I suggested naming a decision-making one.

To illustrate the phenomenon of "new matura" I have used the Actor-Network Theory. It allows to analyze maturity exam as a system that is a network consisting of equal human and nonhuman actors. Due to this theory, it is possible to define how

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[26] M. Crozier, E. Friedberg, op.cit.

competence is shared between them. Thus, it is possible to draw the hierarchy of the importance of particular actors in the system, at the top of which comes the "model of answers and evaluation", the key one from the point of view of the functions performed by the system.

Obviously, the topic has not been analyzed completely, much remains to be researched. I mean especially the development of the concept of a decision-making system, which I presume would be worth discussing on other examples. Here, it is possible to consider phenomena such as various kinds of competence tests (also IQ tests, especially when they complete or are themselves competence tests), as well as Internet banks and shops and other specialized computer systems, especially the ones that slip through the control of human actors. Nevertheless, in this work I will finish on only signalizing such an option.

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Ewa Jackowska

A REFLECTION ON THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL CONDITIONING OF MASS CRIME

1. Introduction

In the following article I would like to present selected phenomena existing in the mental life of an individual, as well as external conditioning that binding together in the "twilight zone" (a term borrowed from Carl Gustav Jung), direct the workings of a person into path contrary to morality, directed against people. The study is not an overall presentation of the issue; it is a reflection on the psycho-social conditioning of the decisions made by the executors and decision-makers responsible for mass crimes, thus of people whose actions have directly or indirectly caused death, handicap, physical and mental suffering of numerous thousands people.

The personal interest in the describes issues will be shortly explained here.

The research on the mental effects of deportation in the depths of the former USSR in World War II commenced by me in 1999 demanded a thorough study of over a hundred CVs of the deported people, often abundant in traumatic experience in the years of the exile. They also evoked the necessity to analyze the works on that subject not only in the area of psychological and psychiatric results of the exile and gulags, but also to study the, experience and fate of people kept in German concentration camps, prisoners of war camps, kept in ghettos or persecuted in any other way. As a result, I have read about the personal experience and living conditions of various people that had been unbelievably hurt because of belonging to a particular nation, ethnic group or profession[1].

The analysis of the victims experience quickly evoked the question about the motivation of the oppressors. What were the psychological mechanisms and social pres-

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[1] E. Jackowska, *Psychiczne następstwa deportacji w głąb ZSRR w czasie II wojny światowej. Przyczyny, moderatory, uwarunkowania*, Szczecin 2004.

sures that governed their behaviour? Why did they commence actions that decided about the extermination of numerous human lives? Following questions arose, including the most important one: are people in the twenty first century free from the danger of genocide?

I looked for an answer to the question in diaries and reports prepared by the organizers of the persecutions, the victims, and researchers that had had a direct or indirect (documents) access to the aforementioned groups of people. My research showed that literature on psychology of the oppressors is very limited. A more impressive number of studies deals with the psychological and psychiatric aspects of Nazi crime; thus most of the instances refer to the executioners of mass crimes made by the Nazi.

I will refer in the article to the biggest crimes of the twentieth century committed by representatives of two criminal systems: the Nazi and communists. I found fully substantiated the view of Herling-Grudziński[2], that communism and the Nazi system are "totalitarian twins", despite the external difference of living conditions of people in the Nazi system and in communism, both systems were criminal. Describing the psychological mechanisms whose workings can lead to mass crime, an attentive reader will notice that some of them can be found today. Their existence is disturbing, since mass crime repeats itself. As recently as ten years ago we witnessed the end of the war in the area of former Yugoslavia, where tens of thousands civilians were murdered. Chechnya, Afghanistan and the Holy Land shed blood. A few months ago the dictator of Iraq was sentenced for crime against humankind. However, a majority of the actual perpetrators of the crimes of the twentieth and twenty first centuries have remained unpunished.

2. Controversy around the hypothesis on psychiatric conditioning of genocide

The simplest explanation of genocide is the agreement with a hypothesis that such crimes are committed by people diagnosed in three clinic groups: with an active process of mental illness, with distinctly shaped disturbed personality (syn. Psychopathic personality), and people in which the psychotic process is complicated by personality disturbance. From this point of view, the problem slips from psychological analysis, since it is set in psychiatric distortions and their multi factor etiology. Such a hypothesis is difficult to be neglected. Doctors' opinions revealed in the recent years suggest that the most infamous criminal of the twentieth century – Hitler, suffered from a fast Parkinson disease, as a result of brain inflammation[3]. All the Nazi tried in Nuremberg were checked in detail by doctors, including psychological and psychiatric study based on longer observation. As a result of the study, it is known that Rudolf Hess – the deputy of Hitler, who was a prisoner of the British since 1941 (after a failed mission of

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[2] G. Herling-Grudziński, *Inny świat*, Kraków 2000.
[3] J. Lattimer, *Śmiertelna choroba Hitlera i inne tajemnice nazistowskich przywódców*, Poznań 2000.

persuading the government of Great Britain to make peace with Germany) repeatedly suffered from psychotic states and numerously was a patient of psychiatric institutions. Moreover, psychogenic amnesia was diagnosed in him, as well as numerous traits of hysterical personality. Beyond any doubt, a diagnosis of disturbed antisocial personality was true about the leader of gestapo – Ernst Kaltenbrunner, or the long-serving minister of internal affairs, Wilhelm Frick[4], just as was a long lasting addiction of Herman Göring to drugs. On the basis of other documents, unquestionable seems the recognition of antisocial personality of the head of the USSR security net – Lawrentij Beria and Stalin himself[5].

On the other hand, analyzing the biographies of Nazi criminals and the creators and executioners of the communist system, in a vast majority it is not possible to find any factors pointing at an active process of a mental illness or personality deviation. Striking is also the fact that many of them, being mature executors of thousands of deaths, when younger were not distinct from their peers. An important element of the diagnosis of an antisocial personality, with the recognition of which actions against another person or groups of people are connected, is the early age (before 15 years old) of disturbed behaviour, such as instances of cruelty, deceit, violating the rights of other people, repeated aggression, etc. As far as the criminals tried in Nuremberg, not many fulfilled the criterion[6]. For example Albert Speer, a trusted architect of Hitler, who was charged with merciless usage of forced workers and prisoners of concentration camps when fulfilling his monumental constructions, or Jürgen Stroop, the supervisor of the pacification of Warsaw's ghetto, as well as Karl Dönitz signing the capitulation of Germany after the death of Hitler (the list can be widened) – they all were good students in their youth, posing no educational difficulties, displaying family bonds, and in adult life they formed long lasting emotional relationships. Thus, it can be supposed that the processes of degradation of higher feelings, of losing sensitivity and the ability to moral judgment of their own actions were gradual, yet systematic. The difficult to define submissiveness of personality to the strength of Nazi and communist propaganda, need for power, fulfillment of consecutive tasks of the superiors, constant contact with the leaders of totalitarian systems, a rich system of positive strengthening in form of promotion, prize, material profit, fright of repercussion, etc. Made them increasingly intertwined and prone to criminal behaviour. Psychiatric concepts, which explain genocide by mental disturbance, are thus not enough and must be enriched by other hypotheses. Taken into consideration must be a hypothesis that genocide can be done by individuals without primarily noticed evident instances of disturbed personality, so called "average people", for whom pathology in behaviour grows in years, and it starts when they first cross the border between a deed and judgment or feeling that something

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[4] Ibidem.
[5] A. Bullock, *Hitler i Stalin. Żywoty równoległe*, vol. 1–2, Warszawa 1994.
[6] J. Lattimer, op.cit.

not in accordance with the system of values and norms has been done. The introduction of personality defense mechanisms in the space of moral conflict constitutes an antidote for the consciously experienced moral fear in the form of guilt.

It seems that a good illustration of such a hypothesis are the events from the history of medicine and interpretations explaining the presence of doctors in mass crime.

The described mechanisms were present not only in the circles of the higher officers of the Nazi and communist systems, but in other social groups, including doctors, as well. I will refer to facts and remind the reader that in 1993 in Germany was signed an "Act on prevention of genetically burdened offspring", on the basis of which, thousands of people suffering from schizophrenia, affective psychoses, epilepsy and other mental illnesses were sterilized by force. In 1939, before the aggression on Poland, a top secret commission was created in Germany, ordered by Hitler, to exterminate all mentally ill. To its members belonged, among others, famous professors of medicine: Carl Schneider, Paul Nietche and Werner Heyde. The commission gave opinions on lists of patients of mental institutions directed for extermniation, as well as designed clues as to the methods of killing[7].

Leo Alexander – a consultant of the War Secretary of State during the Nurymberg trial, in the columns of New England Journal of Medicine in 1949, trying to explain Nazi crime writes: *Notwithstanding the final scope of the crimes, all their researchers concluded that they had quite modest beginnings. It began from an inconspicuous movement of the stress in the basic attitude of doctors to their profession. The point was for them to accept a phenomenon such as life not worth living* (my emphasis – EJ). *In the beginning, the term was referred to the seriously and chronically ill, gradually, however, the circle of people to whom the term was referred widened and started to include unproductive, ideologically or racially unwanted people, and finally,* everyone *not German*[8].

Just after the attack on Poland, in autumn 1939, thus before mass extermination of Jews, there were mass executions of the patients of psychiatric institutions. The documented list with names of the executed ill people in Poland amounts to 7136 names, including 574 children. The estimated number is much higher. It is enough to add that from September 1939 to January 1940, about 1700 patients were taken from the psychiatric hospital in Kocborow to a nearby forest and shot. Children were killed with huge amounts of medicine, the doses and content of which were specified by doctors[9]. unfortunately, the numbers are not widely known in Poland.

The knowledge about criminal use of medicine in the USSR is very limited. Nevertheless, some facts of using psychiatry for political purposes are disclosed, and not

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[7] *Zagłada chorych psychicznie w Polsce,* (ed.) Z. Jaroszewski, Warszawa 1993, pp. 10–120.

[8] From: J.C. Dobson, G.L. Bauer, *Dzieci w niebezpieczeństwie*, Warszawa 1997, p. 147.

[9] *Zagłada chorych psychicznie w Polsce…*

only in the published memories of ex-"patients"[10], but also in academic writings[11]. In the thirties of the previous century, in the Central Academic Research Institute of Judicial Psychiatry named after W. P. Serbski in Moscow, was created the infamous fourth section, where without any medical justification political prisoners were kept. They were drastically persecuted and applied with dangerous for healthy people pharmacological psychiatric treatment. For tens of years of the existence of communist system (till the year 1986), numerous institutions of closed specialist psychiatric "treatment" were brought to life. The therapy was based on psychotropic medicine and insulin (which causes drastic hypoglycemia that results in drastic somatic and mental symptoms) given to numerous thousands of healthy people – dissidents. "Slowly developing schizophrenia" was the diagnosis that legitimatized "treating" the imprisoned in hospitals, under doctors' supervision. This kind of schizophrenia was described in the course books of USSR psychiatry by renown psychiatric academics, including the generally known in medical society – professor Andrej Snieżniewski. This was another case of justifying crime with the standards of diagnosis and treatment of the mentally ill.

It seems to me, that the enumerated actions, doctors constituted a part of, were this border after the crossing of which, the criminal deeds ceased to be the source of moral anxiety for some doctors, and the way to further genocide was open.

3. Personality defense mechanisms

Trying to understand the psychological processes taking part in criminal camp doctors that in concentration camps selected the prisoners to gas chambers or provided lethal injections, Lifton uses the term "doubling", which must be interpreted as a defense mechanism that belongs to dissociation. By a defense mechanism I understand a habitual, unconscious, or not entirely realized, intra-psychological processes (cognitive distortion) and the manners of behaviour (behavioral acts) that serve to overcome emotional conflicts and fears, and thus simplifying the persistence of the sense of one's own worth. The mechanism of *dissociation* is based on the decomposition of the structure of personality, on the separation of its particular elements and on elimination of those that pose a danger in a specific situation[12]. To link two contradictory functions – healing and killing – becomes possible if the "*I*" structure is separated into two parts each of which constitutes a separate whole. Due to that, a doctor can both cure and kill without the feeling of guilt. The mechanism functioned with the use of – according to Lifton – "visionary idealism". The Nazi movement attracted people that wanted to heal

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[10] W. Bukowski, *Moskiewski proces: dysydent w archiwach Kremla* (translation J. Darczewska), Warszawa 1999.

[11] T. Nasierowski, *Psychiatria polityczna do 1951 roku*, "Postępy Psychiatrii i Neurologii" 1996, vol. 5, part 3, pp. 453–470.

[12] S. Siek, *Struktura osobowości*, Warszawa 1986, p. 200; J. Aleksandrowicz, *Nerwice. Psychopatologia i psychoterapia*, Warszawa 1988, p. 165.

the Nordic race in its biological meaning. The path to health led through sterilization, "euthanasia", and extermination of foreign ethnic groups. The doctors of Auschwitz perceived themselves as doctors that perform a salient technical task: "killing in the name of healing". Similarly, the USSR doctors, by pharmacological destruction and violent treatment of dissidents, "protected" society against the "enemies of people" and against the danger of "forceful overthrow of the system". When accepting such ideology, it was also possible to activate the mechanism of *rationalization*, which is fulfilled in an unconscious tendency to find rational explanation for a behaviour that is contrary to someone's own system of values[13].

Remaining with the subject of personality defense, numerous defense mechanisms should be discussed, an intense development of which is stimulated by the weakness of *ego* and by external pressure. I will analyze them, with reference, of course, not only to the doctors profession.

A structure that was unusually strongly reflected in the behaviour of Nazi and communist criminals was the dependence on authorities and obedience towards the supervisors. This is not merely about the kind of obedience that is the result of professional dependence. Here is meant the renouncement of the right to an individual's autonomy, a total devotion to the leader or a group of leaders considered to be gods. Such phenomenon is widely present in psychotherapy of people, e.g. of sects addicts.

It seems justified to discuss the dependence on authority as to Nazi and communist criminals in the area of defense mechanisms of *identification* and *idealization*. The identification mechanism, defined by Laughlin[14], is an unconscious process of becoming similar to other people, applying their behaviour and value system, which in the case of the discussed subject means unquestionable acceptance of the ideology and operations of the Nazi and communist systems. The mechanism of idealization is based on unconscious loss of criticism in the perception of the idealized person, and thus devoting to the person's influence and demands seems natural, almost automatic. The mechanisms of identification and idealization liberate an individual from the sense of responsibility for their deeds. It is possible to do evil, fulfill aggressive impulses, to gain profit from following criminal orders (promotion, material profit) and simultaneously to preserve the feeling of one's own worth formed by the consciousness of "doing one's duty". The stronger the idealization of leaders, the easier is to endow them with the right to decide about our behaviour.

Here, I would like to refer to the thought of Fromm, who in the "escape from freedom" saw the mechanism of fear reduction and searching for happiness[15]. The ruminations of Obuchowski on "people of a role" can be also mentioned, which are characterized by the author as "fully subjected, reduced to the world in which they are given

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[13] S. Siek, op.cit., p. 195.
[14] Ibidem, p. 165.
[15] E. Fromm, *Ucieczka od wolności*, Warszawa 1978.

a role"[16]. As a result of the lack of differentiation between *subject I* and *intentional I,* they have neither any distance to the outside world, nor psychological distance to themselves.

The idealization of a leader was unusually strongly perceived in the personality of Joachim Ribbentrop – the minister of external affairs of the Third Reich, and of Hans Frank – the Governor of the General Govern. Ribbentrop[17], confided in a psychiatrist that examined him as a result of the Nuremberg Trial: *I could directly feel his* (Hitler's – ref. EJ) *irresistible power. Though it was his fault that I was sent to prison, if Hitler came in here now, I would instantly do anything he would demand me to, not thinking about the consequence.* He also confirmed that just before the end of the Third Reich he wired Hitler with a request to let him die together.

Strong idealization, typical for a fragile *ego,* usually accompanies the following devaluation. Frank's life history clearly illustrates the phenomenon. In Frank's "Diary", in an entry from 1944, a fragment suggesting worship and cult of Hitler can be found: *And if a parish-priest came and wanted to give us final blessing, we would say: dear friend, forget about the stories about Christ; we have directly witnessed the Herald of faith*[18]. A year later, during the Nuremberg Trial, Frank writes:

Hitler was an evil messenger of Satan[19].

Submissiveness toward authority, understood only with a defect in the development of *ego,* was a factor motivating the behaviour of Stroop – en executioner of a few tens of thousands Jews from Warsaw's Ghetto. Stroop, accused of persecution and murder of Polish people, leading the action of the extermination of Warsaw's Ghetto and of crimes committed in the Ukraine and other countries, was proving during the trial that he had to meticulously follow the orders of his leaders. Among others, he said: *I hadn't thought about it. I just followed an order*[20].

Following the characteristic of doctor Lattimer, the ability to blind obedience of the highest in military rank in Germany Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitl was unheard of: *When he was asked, how could officers and men of honour perpetrate the horrible orders of Hitler, he would invariably answer, «We can only receive orders and follow them. It is difficult for Americans to understand the Prussian drill»*[21].

Isolation is a mechanism that comes into being in circumstances of huge emotional burden, and it is based on separation emotional experience from the events with which they are usually connected. Lack of sympathy, indifference to requests for relief

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[16] K. Obuchowski, *Osobowość wobec zmian cywilizacji, czyli o ludziach roli, uczenia się i autorach siebie* [in:] K. Wenta, E. Perzycka (eds.), *Diagnoza psychologiczno-pedagogiczna wobec zagrożeń transformacyjnych*, Szczecin 2003, p. 69.

[17] J. Lattimer, op.cit., p. 249.

[18] S. Piotrowski, *Dziennik Hansa Franka*, Warszawa 1956, p. 522.

[19] Ibidem, p. 161.

[20] K. Moczarski, *Rozmowy z katem*, Warszawa 1998, p. 391.

[21] J. Lattimer, op.cit., p. 223.

from the exhausted, dying prisoners, including little children, becomes possible when the perpetrator or observer turns off the emotional sphere. In the memories of numerous persecuted people appears an opinion that the oppressors were characterized by coldness and indifference. Describing the meeting with Stalin, 3. Dec 1941, General Anders noted: ...*Yet, foremost impression is made by the eyes: black, dull and cold. Even when he laughs, his eyes never do*[22].

Studying the psychological pictures of the Nazi tried by the Nuremberg Tribunal (Lattimer 2000)[23], I noticed that they are presented as very active, totally devoted to the following of their professional duties, precise in writing reports and public speeches, involved in various organization jobs, busy with intense social life, multiplying their money, further education, etc. It could be assumed, that by filling their time with work and entertainment, they drowned inside the reflection on the tragic for humanity outcomes of the escalation of military actoion of the Third Reich, of which they were the authors. *A selective lack of attention* is another defense mechanism typical for the wrongdoers. It is expressed in an unconscious tendency to deal with various issues not to deal with the cause of fear (especially moral fear) or other negative feelings[24].

4. The primitive world of desires

Kazimierz Obuchowski[25] distinguishes desires from needs. Needs refer to what is necessary for a man. Desires and appetites may reach further than real human needs. It is also essential that satisfying desires, a man can hurt himself and others.

In consecutive life stories of Nazi and communist dignitaries, an uninhibited desire for wealth is clearly seen. A pompous lifestyle, abuse in using the professional status in their own businesses, theft of public and private wealth on the occupied territories, accepting expensive gifts, as well as making use of legally unjustified facilities in private deals, all the above added to the creation of enormous fortunes that not only insured the luxurious existence of their families – wives and children, but other related people, as well. The biographer of Goringa writes: *he continually enlarged his palace, converting it into a gallery of the stolen works of art*[26].

In another biography it can be read: *Charles Lasch, the Governor of the Lvov District (Galicia) purchased for himself by a substituted person numerous carpets and works of art in the Netherlands and in France. Moreover, he used the right to confiscate that district governors had to collect in his villa unbelievable numbers of carpets, works of art, coffee, etc.*[27]

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[22] W. Anders, *Bez ostatniego rozdziału*, London 1973, p. 104.

[23] J. Lattimer, op.cit.

[24] S. Siek, op.cit., p. 200.

[25] K. Obuchowski, *Przez galaktykę potrzeb. Psychologia dążeń ludzkich*, Warszawa 1995, p. 13.

[26] J. Lattimer, op.cit., p. 88.

[27] S. Piotrowski, op.cit., p. 21.

Even the disclosure of Stalin's crime did not change the nomenclature status of the close collaborators of Stalin remaining alive after his death. In the documentary writers' words, the greedy and bribery group of nomenclature notables continued to steal from the poorer and poorer country, not resigning from life in luxury[28].

A conclusion can be drawn that the desire to become richer constituted an apparently strong impulse that strengthened the motivation to reflection-less following of the tasks given by supervisors.

It must be added here that both Nazi and communist systems kept their executives in the feeling of constant threat. Herling-Grudziński, among the factors conditioning the support for communism enumerates: *fear of terror, of prison, of persecution* as the first[29]. The feeling of threat generates hatred and desire for revenge towards people that are found responsible for the threat. If the actual perpetrators of the threat are beyong reach, the hatred towards the hurt victims is strengthened[30].

The dramatic falls of the careers of the entrusted collaborates of Stalin or Hitler suspected of disloyalty also constituted an encouragement to the "here-and-now" lifestyle[31]. They supported the hedonist values, following the *carpe diem* rule in fear of a sudden end to the period of prosperity. The pursuit of wealth, licentious lifestyle distracted attention from the evaluation of actions and was an example of the above mentioned defense mechanism of selective lack of attention.

5. External influence – stereotypes, prejudice and dehumanization

In the sphere of cognitive processes of the oppressors there are prejudices and stereotypes that play an important role in lowering the resistance against acting aggressively. The creation of prejudice and stereotypes in totalitarian systems has always been controlled by planned propaganda.

Both the ideology of national socialism and USSR communism used systematic, importunate propaganda. Propaganda messages popularized the view of categorization of people into "ours" and those who constituted "them". The "pure" as far as race is concerned Germans, especially the members of NSDAP, were "ours". The "others" were Jewish people, Slavs – especially Poles. Gypsies and many other nations. In soviet communism, "our" groups were divided from "other" groups by social background, political CV, party and ethnic membership. According to social psychologists[32], when categorizing groups into "ours" and "others", there is a phenomenon of biased perception of the members of "ours" group as "better" (it is about various features, biological, mental,

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[28] A. Bullock, op.cit.

[29] G. Herling-Grudziński, op.cit., p. 324.

[30] E. Aronson, T.D. Wilson, R.M. Akert, *Psychologia społeczna. Serce i umysł*, Poznań 1997, p. 525.

[31] K. Obuchowski, *Przez galaktykę potrzeb…*

[32] E. Aronson, T.D. Wilson, R.M. Akert, op.cit., pp. 548–555.

character, etc.), and identification with this community is a confirmation of one's worth, higher social status, thus contributing to higher self-esteem, which is especially important for people who experience some lack in this sphere. Apart from biased perception, there is also a phenomenon of homogenization, i.e. perceiving the "others" as unvaried, considerably similar, yet totally different than "our" group. An important distinguishing factor of the "others" is either hidden or exposed hostility towards "ours". A stereotype comes into being that reflects the – incomplete, univocal, negative and threatening the existence of "ours" – portrayal of members of the "others". In truth, an important psychological source of prejudice and stereotypes are self-esteem conflicts and hidden fear.

A painful for us example of a stereotype used by the Nazi was the term "Polish bandits" as to the heroes of the Warsaw Uprising. The same term was used by the Soviets after the annexation of Poland on 17 Sep 1939 meaning the heroic Polish army defending Poland against Soviet invasion on Polish cities, e.g. Grodno.

Stereotypes and prejudice generate direct and indirect aggressive behaviour, the most common nowadays example of which are fights of the fans of two competing football teams. Stereotypes-prejudice formed in such a way that function in people with authority trigger repressive orders and instructions. By devaluating the oppressed person the cognitive dissonance that appears as a natural consequence of deeds contrary to morality is eliminated. A fragment from the diaries of the manager of the General Govern, Hans Frank, illustrates the presented mechanism:

More often than not I walk along the streets of Cracow... and I observe the shameless behaviour of some Poles towards soldiers and officers and I am overwhelmed with enormous indignation. Our privates are too polite, our officers are too well educated. Our decent civilians – Germans are unfortunately led here by a feeling of somewhat pity, or are indifferent towards them. I must admit that I sometimes wonder if I should initiate a special action and introduce a specific penitentiary code against the Poles that do not give way to German officers or nudge them on purpose...[33]

And a second fragment: *substantially, we want to keep pity only for the German nation, apart from that for no one in the world*[34].

Another stereotype of a *Pole-master,* that takes advantage of a poor peasant, *greedy for free bread in USSR* was an impulse to motivate the members of NKWD that escorted the civilians sent into the depths of USSR and the commandants of camps in the locations of the exile to treat the deported people unmercifully, a vast majority of which were women and children[35].

An extreme example of prejudice is the process of dehumanization, during which the victim is subjected, devoid of human features, practically tossed outside the circle

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[33] S. Piotrowski, op.cit., p. 448.
[34] Ibidem, p. 449.
[35] E. Jackowska, op.cit.

of humanity. The cases of subjecting people have been present many years after the end of World War II. An example of the subjecting was the widely used in the dictionary of American soldiers, in the years of fighting in Vietnam, term "gook" that devoid the Vietnamese of such features as age, sex, ethnic origin, etc. The oppressor does not identify with a subjected victim. The processes of empathy are eliminated, thus it is easier to kill. A tragic consequence of mass victim dehumanization was the butchery done in 1968 by American soldiers on civilians – women, children and old people in My Lai village in Vietnam[36].

Here, I will indulge myself with a digression and I will express my personal conviction that the term "terrorist", so widely used in the media nowadays, is the most recent example of dehumanization. A terrorist is not a feeling person, one that has beliefs, is a part of a community. A terrorist is an object that must be destroyed.

As I mention before, an important influence on the consolidation of cognitive distortions in form of stereotypes or prejudice comes from propaganda.

In literature can be found detailed descriptions of the rules and techniques of listeners' and participants' of mass meetings manipulation used by the Nazi and communists. Both the leaders of the communist party – Stalin and Lenin – and Hitler were the authors of widely spread, published in hundreds thousands copies works, fragments of which were used as propaganda material put on posters, broadcast by radio, and repeated on political meetings. Goebbels propaganda, apart from the spoken and written word, used also myth, ritual and ceremony. Professionally directed, monumental performances arose emotions, imprinted in consciousness and subconsciousness the Nazi ideology. In both systems, tens of thousands of the national-socialist party and communist party members, so called delegates, were sent to factories, schools, universities with an objective to popularize the ideas of their supervisors. In such a way, another mechanism of social influence was triggered – conformism towards the rules and norms popularized by the followers of the system. The conformist attitude allowed numerous "average" people to feel a part of a group and protection against social rejection. Conformism, breaking the borders of moral resistance, required real or artificial acceptance of the social rules that offended rights.

6. Conclusion

In the given study, I have tried to point at the personality mechanisms and social conditioning mechanisms that contribute to the rise of aggressive behaviour, and in some conditions, in people with weakly developed *ego* structure, they can unleash impulses to destructive actions on a wide scale directed against the victims considered "unworthy of surviving". Both the Nazi and communist systems gave full social acceptance to fulfill the hostile impulses. With the lack of empathy, poor reflectiveness, the conform-

36 E. Aronson, T.D. Wilson, R.M. Akert, op.cit., pp. 267–268.

ist attitudes formed by propaganda, liability to the development of personality defense mechanisms that distort the view of the world and oneself, or active involvement and making decisions about mass murder of the groups that "threaten social order" were all easy to "justify".

Concluding the analysis, I would like to emphasize that a perpetrator of mass crime can grow up in an average family and show no signs of demoralization before reaching adulthood. The individual personality mechanisms described above can be found in so called average people that during their lifetimes do not turn to crime. However, some of them cross the border behind which it is possible to commit crime. Then, when the malicious personality structures overlap, and an individual entangles into connections, submits to pressure typical for totalitarian systems, learns to gain profit from being available at all times to their supervisors and accepts the ideology of such a system – every action against people can be classified as a means of reaching "higher aims".

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COMMUNICATES

Martyna Pryszmont-Ciesielska

TWO METAPHORS OF A MEETING WITH CULTURE – AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHER'S PERSPECTIVE

> There is no objective observation,
> only observation socially located
> in the worlds of the observer and the observant.
> (Denzin, Lincoln, 1997, p. 28)

The meeting with culture can take place on various levels of cognition, involving various perspectives of study/research of this phenomenon that accompanies a man from the very beginning of their existence. The quality and value of the meeting depends on such autobiographical factors/conditions of the cognitive subject as: life story, culture, language, location in the world and society, discourse that he is the object/ author of. Similarly important is the paradigm of the understanding of culture, chosen by the subject, which requires specific ways of cognition. This understanding may be hidden also in metaphors that he uses to describe his meeting with culture. As a result, the following issues are of interest for me: What are the consequences to my meetings with culture of the understanding of (the term) culture preferred by me? What is the relation between the cognitive subject, in the context of his biography, and the reality explored by him? What is the hidden sense and meaning of my metaphors describing my meeting with culture? How does it influence and shape my cognitive experience?

1. Cognition or colonization?

I will place the understanding of (the term) culture around the ruminations of Michael Agar, who stands for change in the area of defining the term "culture" and "language". The two selected elements are, according to Agar, inseparably integrated, since *culture is in language and language in culture*[1]. A language is something more than a collection

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[1] M. Agar, *Language Shock: Understanding the Culture of Conversation*, William Morrow & Co 1994, p. 28.

of vocabulary and grammar, since it is immersed in culture that provides it with specific identity. While culture is not only *this something* that a group of people posses, but *it is something that happens to us when we meet others, face obstacles, become aware of something inside us during the pursuit to understand the differences. Culture is consciousness, self-knowledge that reveals our hidden ego and opens door to new ways of living*[2]. In such an understanding, culture refers to two subjects: first, there are people that I meet and want to acquaint myself with, second, there is myself – the cognitive subject. The subject of cognition are the differences that I encounter on my way, which refer to both myself and the subjects of my cognition. The specific sensitivity, which allows me to realize and understand the differences, discloses to me other possibilities of existence, of being in the world. Through a change in my way of thinking I build knowledge, create culture. On the other hand, such formed understanding of culture contains its hidden discourse. Namely, there is the characteristic division into *I/we* and *them,* in which *I,* my development and way of cognition stand out in the foreground, and *they* are in the background – as others than me. Apart from that, in my cognition of culture I am concentrated only on what differentiates me from others, not on possible similarities. I presume, that the hidden discourse seriously limits my meeting with culture, which is based on unequal positions. Perhaps, the meeting is more like colonization of my own influence than subjective cognition?

2. Autobiographic perspective or hidden domination?

In the above discussed understanding of (the term) culture an important role is given to a reflexion on personal experience of a cognitive subject that consciously changes his perspective of existence in the world. In the context of such analysis there is a need to include my autobiography to the cognition performed by me. Consequently, I gain insight into the whole complex of conditions and factors that form my identity, and thus determine the perspective of my cognition. Since, every research is auto-formative in dimension and biographical in sense[3]. *Thus, the context of creation of my own biography, its social and cultural relation, can be treated as an important platform of methodological analyses*[4].

Each cognitive subject is intertwined with numerous relations of domination and rule to which dependent is the process of creation of knowledge[5]. M. Foucault connects the categories of power/knowledge and subjectivity, which become a chain-link of

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[2] Ibidem, p. 20.

[3] J. Piekarski, *O drugoplanowych warunkach poprawności praktyki badawczej w pedagogice – perspektywa autobiografii* [in:] D. Kubinowski, M. Nowak (eds.), *Metodologia pedagogiki zorientowanej humanistycznie*, Kraków 2006, p. 98.

[4] Ibidem, p. 98.

[5] T. Szkudlarek, *Poststrukturalizm a metodologia pedagogiki*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici" 1997, Booklet 317, p. 173.

power. Power/knowledge, trials/fights to which it is subject and of which it consists, define the possible forms and areas of cognition[6]. A subject closed in a specific discourse continues and co-creates the discourse, transmits the relations of power to other members of society, adding to the process of constructing their subjectivity. The subjectivity of a cognitive subject, following the thought of N. Postman, is limited by the language that it uses. *Yes, we do live in the edifice of language. We try to guess what is beyond it from a more or less constant location inside it. Nevertheless, the "edifice" is peculiarly constructed (and nobody knows what should be its "correct" shape). The number of its windows is limited. The windows are dimmed and placed at various angles. We have no choice, we have to watch the structure that the edifice allows us to see*[7]. As a consequence, there is a need of critical reflection over the complexity of the autobiography of the cognitive subject and of analyzing its influence on the perspective of cognition and relations with the subject, the subject of the meeting – culture.

As an example, our meeting with culture could take place based on ethnographic activity, i.e. conscious involvement in the life of a group that is the subject of our study[8]. The method of ethnography contains an enormous cognitive potential, since it allows to *truly understand the studied reality, even experience it*[9]. An indispensable element of such activity would be reflexivity directed both towards autobiography of a cognitive subject and cognitive search. It means rejecting the concept of cognition isolated from wider society or biography of the cognitive subject.

Cognitive practice could adopt, in accordance with postmodern anthropology, various forms: ethnography as auto-narration – researchers present field research filtered through their very personal experience; dialogue ethnography – placing ethnographic description in the context of interaction between an ethnographer and his native interlocutors; an ethnographic text evoking (summoning) various contents with help of suggestion, riddle, ambiguities, ironic, paradoxical, or even esoteric formulas[10]. Due to such constructed texts, a cognitive subject endeavors to reveal the hidden (under the coat of autobiography and the discourse presented by him) relation of power, prejudice and influence exerted by him on the analyzed group. Finally, cognitive search can take the form of auto-ethnography, referring to the therapeutic value of the personal life of an ethnographer, revealing the areas of his life that were hidden and ne-

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[6] M. Foucault, *Nadzorować i karać. Narodziny więzienia*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 34–35.

[7] N. Postman, *W stronę XVIII stulecia. Jak przeszłość może doskonalić naszą przyszłość*, Warszawa 2001, p. 81.

[8] I. Kawecki, *Etnografia i szkoła*, Kraków 1996, p. 45.

[9] M. Kostera, *Antropologia organizacji. Metodologia badań terenowych*, Warszawa 2003, p. 28.

[10] M. Lubaś, *Etnografia i badania terenowe w (krzywym) zwierciadle postmodernistycznej krytyki*, „Kultura i Społeczeństwo" 2000, no. 4, pp. 146–153; idem, *Rozum i etnografia. Przyczynek do krytyki antropologii postmodernistycznej*, Kraków 2003, pp. 165–174.

glected[11]. In the above sense, we include into the cognitive activity a specific perspective of experiencing the world by a cognitive subject.

Cognitive activity, auto-ethnographically and autobiographically involved, appears as a process of critical reflexion over a cognitive subject and the relations with the studied reality constructed by him/her. It seems to reveal the hidden elements of power/knowledge distorting the process of cognition, studies the relations of the one that discovers with various discourses that influence research reality. Nevertheless, in the cognitive process constructed in such a way, the cognitive subject may aim at hidden domination over the studied reality. Since, firstly, he gains an entirely new possibility to create his new identity, secondly, the right to expose his influence on the cognitive process. A hidden danger to a cognitive process may be the defined by A. Coffey production of self indulgence (of the ethnographer "I"), performer under the cover of cognitive action. The cognitive subject becomes the central area of interest in the cognitive search, and the therapist function overcomes the research one[12]. For this reason, it is worth venturing into discussion of the existence and essence of relation between the autobiographical perspective involved into the cognitive process, and the hidden/visible domination of the cognitive subject.

Two metaphors of meetings with culture

A metaphor is present not only in our language, but predominantly in our everyday thinking and life because it defines and constructs everyday actions causing that our understanding and experience of things, phenomena, processes relies on other things, phenomena, etc. For example, in a metaphor, *an argument is a war,* a fight of words is hidden, and its structure refers to an attack, a defense and a counterattack. Commencing in the discussion we imagine and realize it exactly in the form of this metaphor[13]. A metaphor can serve the function of a perspective of a meeting with culture, which on the one hand serves to describe the phenomena interesting to us, on the other hand to search for their hidden meanings – deconstruction.

Below, I will present two metaphors describing my meeting with culture, which refer to the autobiographic perspective and auto/ethnographic activity. Each of them conceals the hidden meaning prescribed to particular meetings.

A meeting as a journey

This metaphor describes my journey to the countries of Western Europe, ventured together with my friends. They were spontaneous and informal in character, accompanied by curiosity of a foreign reality and a desire to experience the difference. Sightsee-

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[11] A. Coffey, *Etnography and self: Reflections and representations* [in:] T. May (ed.), *Qualitative reseach in action*, London–Thousand Oaks–New Delhi 2003, pp. 326–327.

[12] Ibidem, pp. 327–328.

[13] G. Lacoff, M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago 1980, pp. 3–5.

ing was a common cognitive activity, which was registered with help of a camera. A meeting with another culture seemed an adventure due to which I gained new knowledge and experience.

What is the hidden sense of this metaphor? The journey suggests a return to the permanent place of living, in this sense, my cognition is a short-term process, one that does not allow for deeper insight and understanding of the culture experienced by me. I take part in it, being strongly rooted in my socio-historical placement, which is further strengthened by the presence of my friends. This situation is a source of such an attitude towards the studied culture which is based on a strong position of *I/we* and subordinate position of *they/others*. The main motivation of the meeting with a new culture seems to be the hidden desire to master the fascinating difference, assimilate it and treat it as our own. The cognition is constructed on the foundation of experiencing episodic, often unrelated elements of culture.

A meeting as a migration

This metaphor refers to my experience of being an immigrant in Danes, a stay without the set date of coming back to Poland. I study at untraditional university, I use English, without any knowledge of Danish. In addition, I intensively take part in the meetings of the University International Club.

What are the hidden elements of my meeting with Danish culture in this metaphor? This is mostly a perspective marked with the status of a foreigner, an alien that is on the side of *the others*. My cognition, marked with the feeling of being *different/worse* can cause distortions in the perception of reality. The status of *the other* is strengthened by the unfavourable to newcomers immigration law (since 1993 it has been changed over forty times to limit immigration) and by a specific attitude of Danish society towards immigrants (involved in the discourse of the dichotomous division of Danish society into *we-the Danes* and *they-the immigrants*)[14]. The decision to come back to Poland was postponed. This resulted in suspended functioning and only partial, even instrumental involvement in the cognition of Danish culture. The suspension of the decision to come back to the homeland carries serious consequence for the country in which the immigrant stays. I mean Great Britain, or Ireland countries to which, in search of jobs, numerous Poles have gone. Even though Poles were *invited* there, they are supposed to come back to their homeland. However, there is a serious risk that this will lead to a situation similar to the story of Guestworkers in Germany[15]. An important element of my theory is constituted by the academic discourse executed at my university

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[14] F. Yilmaz, *The Irony of Danishness: Egalitarianism as an obstacle for ethnic equality*, Paper Presented at International 'Culture and Power' Conference, Lisbon 2003, Portugal. http://communication.ucsd.edu/fyilmaz/paper.htm

[15] R. Mandel, *Ethnicity and Identity among Migrant Guestworkers in West Berlin* [in:] N.L. Gonzales, C.S. McCommon (eds.), *Conflict, Migration, and the Expression of Ethnicity*, Boulder 1989.

(Danes). It is specified with the given political orientation and the attitude of the university towards the government. An additional limitation of my perspective results from the lack of knowledge of Danish, which hinders, if not renders impossible to understand Danish culture. Another one could be remaining solely in the circle of other foreigners, etc.

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The purpose of the two perspectives of meeting culture presented by me was to cause awareness of how many elements of our biography can have influence on and distort the picture of the culture studied by us. In my opinion, when we are conscious of the limitations of our perspective of meeting a culture can help us better understand people and ourselves inside the culture.

Each cognitive person – a researcher, reflects the world as it appears in the context of his everyday life[16], simultaneously, with the use of the knowledge constructed for himself, he takes part in the creation of the world and social life[17]. Consequently, he is endowed with huge responsibility for the shape and quality of the result of his work, which have special meaning for social life. Reflexiveness and critical activity of the cognitive subject are the conditions of fulfilling this role. It is valiant that he functions as a hunter of what is hidden, and noticing the mechanisms that enslave an individual and society, he becomes suspicious towards all certainties[18]. For, this is them that cover the sense and meaning of the culture studied by us.

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[16] D. Urbaniak-Zając, *W poszukiwaniu kryteriów oceny badań jakościowych* [in:] D. Kubinowski, M. Nowak (eds.), *Metodologia pedagogiki zorientowanej humanistycznie*, Kraków 2006, p. 216.

[17] T. Bauman, *Badacz jako krytyk* [in:] D. Kubinowski, M. Nowak (eds.), *Metodologia pedagogiki zorientowanej humanistycznie*, Kraków 2006, p. 190.

[18] Ibidem, p. 195.

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P i o t r   S k u z a

THE AMBIVALENCE OF THE PHENOMENON: CHEERING FOR LOCAL FOOTBALL CLUBS AMONG MALE YOUTH

> "Socialization is decency.
> The most subtle social relations require
> forms that realize them – they protect the appearances
> which cover any ambiguity with the robe of honesty
> and specify their worldliness.
> Everything that is not a part of the form,
> loses the right to exist in the world."
>
> Emmanuel Levinas[1]

1. Introduction

Modern culture is like a set of boxes put one into another, which have to be opened numerous times to get access to what is inside, or like a collection of blocks that can be freely arranged. As a result, a social researcher that deals with the phenomena of today must refer to the ideas that have existed in culture for centuries, forgotten and brought back in history, as well as can he freely arrange them in agreement with the spirit of culturological constructivism to analyze them thoroughly. I faced a similar situation when I became interested in the phenomenon of cheering for local football clubs among the youth of vocational schools in Gdynia, and I intuitively reached for the works of Carl Gustav Jung, a psychologist, and a freethinker distant it would seem to modern pedagogical problems, both for the reason of time, since he lived and worked in the years 1875–1961, and of lack of direct interest in his teachings[2]. At first, my project

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[1] E. Levinas, *Istniejący i istnienie*, transl. J. Margański, Kraków 2006, p. 58.

[2] I discuss the issue of pedagogy from the perspective of Jung in the articles: P. Skuza, *O wychowaniu psychologicznym*, "Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny" 2005, no. 2(196), pp. 25–37 and idem, *Samokształtowanie w perspektywie psychologii analitycznej Junga*, "Albo albo. Problemy psychologii i kultury" 2004, no. 1, pp. 49–56.

faced a resistance on behalf of its first reviewers that are harnessed to deconstructive thought and busy with revealing the seemingly mono-logical neutrality of the structure of modernist thought[3]. However, the discovery of the society of Jung followers in Poland, centered around the quarterly "*Albo albo. Problemy psychologii i kultury*" and ENETEIA publishing house, allows me to proceed in this idea in the area of pedagogy contrary to the observed tendency in educational study. It is psychoanalysis that starts the procession of the plot makers that blow up – as put by Ewa Rodziewicz – the "super ideologies" that are strongly attached to the foundations of the modernist thinking matrix[4], formerly known simply as culture.

2. The question of cheering in the study of education – an effort to evaluate the research

Cheering is inseparably connected with sports and sport competition, which originated in the history of Europe in the idea of the ancient Olympic games[5], and was brought back to life in the nineteenth century. The beginnings of the idea of cheering are seemingly possible to find as early as in the ancient Egypt, and the modern form of this social phenomenon is over 120 years old and has its source in the nineteenth century Ireland[6]. Cheering reflects various stages of sport games, such as the Olympic games, world championships, football league competition, or local matches, e.g. in football, which causes various evaluation of such activity. An individual is perceived differently when participating as a spectator in the Olympic games, an event somewhat of the sphere of higher culture, accessible for rich people, and differently when cheering for a weak football team on a match in a small town. Football takes a special place among other sports as far as the number of spectators is concerned. The position of this discipline is so prominent that the "footballisation" of society becomes the expression of modern spirit. Still, there must be a differentiation between the proper cheering (in a narrower sense), which is the stadium cheer itself during any sports event, and cheering in the wide understanding, as a specific social phenomenon, a lifestyle, subculture or a "little culture". The second aspect of cheering is the subject matter of the following analysis. In pedagogical and sociological writings, cheering is usually associated with fighting in the stadiums usually commenced by so-called pseudo-fans, or in Polish words "szalikowcy" [a group of hooligans wearing the scarfs of their team], who are identified with "dresiarze" [a group of hooligans usually wearing tracksuits] or "blok-

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[3] E. Rodziewicz, *Pedagogika: wyzwania i teorie (zapis dyskusji)* [in:] *Różnica, tożsamość, edukacja. Szkice z pogranicza*, (ed.) T. Szkudlarek, Kraków 1995, p. 243.

[4] Ibidem, p 243.

[5] Comp. J. Szczepański, *Od Olimpii do Olimpiad*, Kraków 1980.

[6] J. Andrzejczak, „*Bóg wybacza, kibol nigdy*", "Tygodnik Powszechny", http://tygodnik.onet.pl/1547,1336843,dzial.html.

ersi" [a group of hooligans from some block of flats residential areas]. Such a bundle of labels defines not only the social pictire of the phenomenon consolidated by the media, which transmit various shocking actions of pseudo-fans, but it also determines a biased research area that is limited to the diagnosis of pathology among fans and to the creation of, undeniably necessary, prophylactics programmes. What the youth lovers of football admit themselves is that cheering is sometimes undoubtedly connected with antisocial behaviour. However, such a point of view does not fully present the research of the multi-aspect and ambivalent phenomenon, which remains a serious educational challenge, and whose pedagogical dimension should be thoroughly recognized.

Jerzy Dudała, the author of a recently published book *Fani – Chuligani. Rzecz o polskich kibolach. Studium socjologiczne* [*Fans-Hooligans: On Polish Hooligans: A Sociological Study*], points at a few areas of the potential interest of pedagogists. Namely, the reason of stadium aggression is found in boredom that the young experience. What is interesting, this category belongs to the important pedagogical terms that are placed in the sphere of the so-called category negligence discussed by Lech Witkowski[7]. Boredom is the expression of, or is linked with the youth helplessness towards themselves and their future. Moreover, it is an outcome of lack of proper stimulation which should be performed by education. The lack of stimulation on the emotional and intellectual levels appears to be a frustrating situation, and perhaps this is the reason why one of the conclusions from the study of sports fans by Jerzy Dudała is the claim that "the majority of fans that cause stadium fights are young, poorly educated"[8]. The most obvious conclusion would be: the more education the less violence. Of course, a question can be asked: what education, and, generally, if education eliminates or considerably lessens the destructive tendency of a person.

A common social perception of the analyzed issue associates a sport event with youth, and thus with expressive emotion of the people involved, even if the spectators are middle-aged. It is possible that the regressive strength of libido of the cheering individuals becomes exposed in cheering. They suspend for some time the behaviour that results from their social roles and reveal their anthropoid soul[9]. Possibly, the frenetic stadium experience, based on passive submission to regression and on the identification of an individual with a sports club that is very strongly idealized in the minds of its fans,

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[7] L. Witkowski, *O zaniedbaniach kategorialnych i teoretycznych pedagogiki w Polsce*, [in:] *Pedagogika u progu trzeciego tysiąclecia – materiały pokonferencyjne*, (eds.) A. Nalaskowski and K. Rubacha, Toruń 2001, p. 272.

[8] J. Dudała, *Fani-Chuligani. Rzecz o polskich kibolach. Studium socjologiczne*, Warszawa 2004, p. 218.

[9] "It is this anthropoid soul that does not enter, or enters very reluctantly into not entirely rational cultural forms, and as much as it is possible, opposes the development of culture. Here, we deal with a situation in which libido as if still misses this original, unconscious state of unlimited wilderness. The way back, which is regression, leads back to childhood, and finally, somewhat to the body of mother". C.G. Jung, *Symbole przemiany. Analiza preludium do schizofrenii*, transl. R. Reszke, Warszawa 1998, p. 421.

is addictive and discourages from activity that is based on the progressive mental strength of an individual. Perhaps cheering is an expression of the myth of male community, which is based on a homo-social desire[10], or could it be a kind of a rite of passage to adulthood, especially manhood[11]? Undoubtedly, it plays an important role in the strengthening of regional identity.

From the eighties of the twentieth century, modern times in Poland have been characterised with an expansion of youth subcultures, and the fans of local football teams constitute a clearly recognizable by whole society social category in the kaleidoscope of the roles and "faces" that are appointed by young men and women[12]. It must be stated here that in the cultural scenery of modern western civilization there are noticeable three competitive cultural currents: 1) the cosmopolitan culture of the elites, an outcome of which is the type of a postmodern man, 2) next, a current based on national norms and 3) finally, the tribal subculture of the excluded[13]. The cheering for local football teams, with all its richness of ritual, suits the third cultural current, and can presumably be an expression of a new rebellion of the masses. The youth fan subculture is that important for pedagogy as long as its analysis can reveal the mechanisms of reproduction of subjects in the third, new-tribal, cultural current. Nevertheless, it seems that until now not many researchers have dealt with the phenomenon of cheering, if so, it was mostly from the point of view of violence and aggression, comparing groups of fans to radical religious sects, especially as far as fanaticism and extremity of judgment is concerned[14]. For this reason, youth is the subject of cultural study, an illustration of which is a book by Barbara Fatyga[15]. The following people have written on

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[10] Comp. E. Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, New York 1985; T. Basiuk, *Co ma gej do heteryka?*, "Res Publica Nowa" 2002, no. 9; B. Warkocki, *Szczeliny tożsamości. Męski podmiot i jego inny w prozie Andrzeja Stasiuka* [in:] *Parametry pożądania. Kultura odmieńców wobec homofobii*, (eds.) T. Basiuk, D. Ferens, T. Sikora, Kraków 2006, pp. 197–238. This idea is expressed by Maria Janion in a conversation with Jarosław Kurski, *Moje herezje antynarodowe*, "Gazeta Wyborcza", of 27–28 May 2006, p. 19 by saying that "These relationships (homo social) are here strongly exposed – starting with "the nobility of brother-man", through knights troops, the Filomats and the Filarets, nineteenth century conspirators, Pilsudski's legionists, and of course modern football teams. All these groups, up to a wonderful male community of uhlans, are parts of the male national myth. These are homosocial relations, yet they contain an element of homosexual fascination".

[11] The issue of masculinity from the point of view of pedagogy and cultural studies is included in: Z. Melosik, *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej*, Poznań 2002.

[12] Even if a part of the fans consists of women, the surrounding "pals" ethos demands from them a specific behaviour and confirms the dominating role of men in these symbolic space.

[13] H. Magnus Enzensberger, *Polacy, wpuśćcie trochę życia do Europy* (a conversation with Adam Krzemiński), "Gazeta Wyborcza", of 3–4 June 2006, p. 17.

[14] P. Smoleński, *Mordercza wojna na stadionach*, "Gazeta Wyborcza", of 15–17 April 2006, pp. 21––22.

[15] B. Fatyga, *Dzicy z naszej ulicy. Antropologia kultury młodzieżowej*, Warszawa 1999.

the subject of fans: Przemysław Piotrowski and Radosław Kowalski[16]. Of foremost attention worthy is the aforementioned work by Jerzy Dudała and works quoted by him of Czesław Matusiewicz, as well as the works of Stanisław Wanat[17]. O wcześniejszych badaniach nad kibicowaniem w odniesieniu do przemocy i agresji świadczy praca np. G. Schillinga[18].

The behaviour of youth which is the subject of our interest constitutes the source of discussion mainly in social pedagogy and re-socialisation, an example of which is the section entitled "*Aggressive behaviour of pseudo-fans from the point of view of sociological and psychological theories and pedagogical prophylactics*" which is a part of a book entitled "*Social pedagogy: Achievements – modern times – perspectives*"[19] and constitutes a piece of a chapter devoted to development disturbances in children and youth. Stanisław Kawula relates the issues of cheering as pathology. He uses the metaphor of "bulldozer mentality" in reference to the blind aggression of youth visible on the stadiums and in the streets of cities. The author mentions also the ways of prophylactics, which should refer to dealing with anger and aggression, enhancing human communication and experiencing *katharsis* without reaching for destructive behaviour.

Moreover, in pedagogy, the phenomenon of cheering is important from the point of view of the issue of youth leisure time. According to Józef Kargul, this problem has been an underestimated area of interest of pedagogues from the beginning of the nineties of the twentieth century[20]. The author connects this negligence with another one, namely with the discourse over cultural activity of youth. Józef Kargul treats marginally the phenomenon of cheering itself, and of course as pathology. Nevertheless, he points at an important issue of the so-called external directiveness of many young people, anomie in development, and reminds of the destructiveness of leisure time. A similar view can be found in the work by Piotr Potejko *Dewiacyjne zachowania kibiców sportowych jako zjawisko patologii społecznej* [*Deviation in the Behaviour of Sports Fans as an Instance of Social Pathology*][21] and in a chapter "*Subkultura szal-*

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[16] P. Piotrowski, *Szalikowcy: o zachowaniach dewiacyjnych kibiców sportowych*, Toruń 2000; R. Kowalski, *Szalikowcy – potomkowie hooligana: społeczno-kulturowe źródła agresji widowni*, Toruń 2002.

[17] J. Dudała, op.cit.; Cz. Matusiewicz, *Widowisko sportowe. Analiza psychospołeczna*, Warszawa 1990; Cz. Matusiewicz, *Naruszenia porządku towarzyszące imprezom sportowym*, (ed.) A.J. Szwarc, Poznań 1995; S. Wanat, *Naruszenia porządku towarzyszące imprezom sportowym – aspekty socjologiczne*, ibidem; S. Wanta, *Socjologia zachowań chuligańskich w sporcie*, "Kultura Fizyczna" 1992, nr 7–8.

[18] G. Schilling, *Agresja i przemoc w sporcie*, Wrocław 1976.

[19] *Pedagogika społeczna. Dokonania – aktualność – perspektywy*, (ed.) S. Kawula, Toruń 2004, pp. 385––395.

[20] J. Kargul, *Problematyka czasu wolnego młodzieży – wątek godny przypomnienia* [in:] *Pedagogika u progu trzeciego tysiąclecia – materiały pokonferencyjne*, (eds.) A. Nalaskowski and K. Rubacha, Toruń 2001, pp. 173–179.

[21] P. Potejko, *Dewiacyjne zachowania kibiców sportowych jako zjawisko patologii społecznej* [in:] *Dewiacyjne aspekty współczesnego świata. Przejawy – zapobieganie – terapia*, (ed.) M. Prokosz, Toruń 2004, pp. 255–263.

ikowców" ["*The Subculture of "Szalikowcy" Hooligans*"] included in a book by Marek Jędrzejewski[22]. Foreign publications, on the other hand, reflect the poorly exposed in Poland current concerning the involvement of fans in nationalist movements, an illustration of which is a wide range of articles in English language writings[23].

3. The place of the theory of Jung in pedagogical analyzes

Basically, the phenomenon of young sports fans enters the space of pedagogical study known as parallel education or informal one, and constitutes an example of education outside school. Despite the various ways of dealing with the problem, still reduced to stadium aggression, there is some methodological deficit in the pedagogical thought developed in such a way, closed in a specific circle of explanation: fans – aggression – pathology – prophylactics. For this reason, it is time to refer to other methodology, inspired by intuitive epistemology[24], poorly explored by pedagogues, and by the category of unconsciousness[25]. Referring to the German thought of system pedagogy, of Niklas Luhmann, we can thus talk about a methodology deficit in pedagogy, or about a deficit in the understanding of youth[26]. This results in a situation, when a pedagogical thought is closed in a aouto-referencial circle, and resistant to relations with some circles of the living environment[27] of youth, i.e. associations and groups of fans, sports clubs, etc. A step towards the filling of such a gap can be, among others, using in this area the category of educational partnership. Since cheering is a heterogeneous phenomenon[28], as well as carrying various aspects, which can be studied from many points of view, depending on the determiners, i.e. who cheers and whom, in which sports, which sportsmen, when and where. Moreover, cheering is an encoded symbolic domain, this is why any research, either sociological or pedagogical, requires a decoding of (sub)cultural meaning and a translation from the language used by the circle of people connected with cheering into the language of description and scientific explana-

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[22] M. Jędrzejewski, *Subkultura szalikowców* [in:] idem, *Subkultury a przemoc w perspektywie psycho-edukacji, socjalizacji i samorealizacji dzieci i młodzieży*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 48–52.

[23] A. King, *Football fandom and post-national identity in the New Europe*, "British Journal of Sociology" 2000, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 419–442; T. Smith, *'Bataille's boys': postmodernity, Fascists and football fans*, "British Journal of Sociology" 2000, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 443–460; L. Back, T. Crabbe, J. Solomos, *Beyond the racist/hooligan couplet: race, social theory and football culture*, "British Journal of Sociology" 1999, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 419–442.

[24] A. Motycka, *Rozum i intuicja. Zbiór rozpraw i szkiców filozoficznych*, Warszawa 2005.

[25] A. Motycka, *Nauka a nieświadomość. Filozofia nauki wobec kontekstu tworzenia*, Wrocław 1998.

[26] H.-H. Krüger, *Wprowadzenie w teorie i metody badawcze nauk o wychowaniu*, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 104–107.

[27] E. Marynowicz-Hetka, *Pedagogika społeczna*, vol. 1, Warszawa 2006, pp. 58–59.

[28] The following authors write about the basic pedagogical terms: K. Rubacha, *Edukacja jako przedmiot pedagogiki i jej subdyscyplin* [in:] *Pedagogika*. Podręcznik akademicki, vol. 1, (eds.) Z. Kwieciński, B. Śliwerski, Warszawa 2004, pp. 21–33.

tion. Such research can be preceded with neutral protoacademic description: phenomenological or ethnographic. Similarly, pedagogical action (educational intervention) also needs double preparatory work. It must follow the recognition of places where manifestations of this symbolic domain are hidden, just as the reconstruction of fans fanaticism to operate successfully with the representation of this phenomenon. Moreover, there is a need to conduct a kind of phantasmal criticism in a journalist text, if as such can be concerned the texts included in fanzines, i.e. magazines edited by fans. The niche press seems to be a medium of a lower sort than the main current press, since it gives space to the voice (voices) of the emancipating fan[29].

What is more, the pedagogical view of the phenomenon should take cheering into consideration both subjectively and objectively, and in methodology, postmodern optics should be borne in mind (epistemological relativism)[30]. An academic, pedagogical view cannot be blind to cheering in various discourses, e.g. in a conservative one, neoliberal one, emancipating one or one of alternative fractions. The genetically – historical interpretation of this phenomenon will surely uncover the process of "pseudo-fan" construction, the main actor of a media transmission, as well as can it reveal the mechanisms of knowledge / power (M. Foucault) and youth taming. The historical origin of cheering as games that satisfy the instincts of fighting should be intertwined with psychological and cultural genealogy. Psychoanalytical genealogy will probably lead to the hypothesis of cheering as a structure of double meaning by referring to subject archeology, i.e. to the regressive, identifying and projective tendencies of psyche. Cheering, on the background of other social activity, can reveal its double face: both destructive and educational. Following C.G. Jung, it can be referred to what the psychologist calls an anthropoid soul, or cheering can be interpreted as an example of devouring by maternity *imago* or even follow the old culture-study vision of Levy – Bruhl who talks about the so-called mystical participation.

The post-structural approach, which in the area of pedagogy takes the lead in numerous academic circles (pedagogical), neglects individualism, and can only reveal the social backstage of the entanglement of a so-called little subject[31] into a socializing system which is a commercialized sports machine that produces claqueurs (the helpless

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[29] A phantasmal critique and an analysis of personal texts directed to the niche press was performed towards another category of people, i.e. Towards homosexual men in the analysis of readers' letters sent to gay magazines and in the phantasmal critique included in the book by Jacek Kochanowski, *Fantazmat zróżnicowany. Socjologiczne studium przemian tożsamości gejów*, Kraków 2004, where the most worthy of attention is chapter VI. entitled: *Fantazmatyczny świat 'innych' – dekonstrukcyjna analiza listów gejów opublikowanych w czasopismach gejowskich (I)*, pp. 211–256 as well as chapter VII. entitled: *Fantazmat zróżNICowany – dekonstrukcyjna analiza listów gejów opublikowanych w czasopismach gejowskich (II),* pp. 257–300. This analysis can be a clue in the reconstruction of fans' phantasm.

[30] M. Buchowski, *Zrozumieć Innego. Antropologia racjonalności*, Kraków 2004, pp. 51–60.

[31] Comp. A. Męczkowska, *Podmiot i pedagogika. Od oświeceniowej utopii ku pokrytycznej dekonstrukcji*, Wrocław 2006, p. 199 and next.

and passive as far as their biography is concerned), thus showing the mechanisms that eliminate from the main current culture. Consequently, meaningless cannot be for the research of cheering the analysis of philosophical or view-of-the-world bases of a sports spectacle and its social functions[32]. Cheering, as a part of a sports event, seems to be different in quality from a participation in sports; even contrary to the noble idea of sports competition, treated as a phenomenon from the very edge or margin of sports. On the other hand, sport does not always have to be contrary to cheering itself because it is a part of the entertaining business, and fans and thair emotions are a condition of the existence of a sports spectacle.

According to a particular understanding of pedagogy, it is a specific branch of knowledge which not only describes fragments or some chosen aspects of the world, but has the ambition to provide tools to transform it consciously[33]. Yet, which world is it about: an experienced world, an objective one, a social one, an "internal world" or a subjective one, or maybe the world of the life of socialized subjects[34]. It must be remembered that traditionally, it is a child or a young person that constitutes the subject of pedagogy, which is today being abolished in favour of a wider term – "subject"? A pedagogue, endeavoring to analyze fans, faces not only the fact of the multiplicity of the ways of thinking about subjectivity, but also the resolutions and measuring the golden means between individualism and collectivism, i.e. the pressure of society on an individual and the influence of an individual on society.

First of all, *situs* of pedagogical knowledge should be specified, which is the location, local relations with philosophical and psychological or sociological knowledge. Since *situs* also means sloppiness, negligence, filth, rust, mould, withering and passivity, this term accurately reflects the state of pedagogical knowledge, constantly prone to expiry more than other reconstructive study. For this reason, a pedagogue should passionately look for a *furor pedagogicus*, i.e. an inspiration, but of a kind that would radicalize the pedagogical discourse, namely that would tear away from passiveness and withering. *Furor* also means madness, fury, blind passion, love lust. Such a description of an academic study is possible due to the narrative character of pedagogical knowledge, that can even refer to *passionate scholarship*[35], a study that engages the researcher into the world of the studied individuals. For this reason, I have referred to the thought of C.G. Jung to search for the appropriate reviving inspiration to analyze the phenom-

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[32] Por. M. Lewicka, *Aktor czy obserwator. Psychologiczne mechanizmy odchyleń od racjonalności w myśleniu potocznym*, Warszawa–Olsztyn 1993; G. Debord, *Społeczeństwo spektaklu*, transl. A. Ptaszkowska and L. Brogowski, Gdańsk 1998.

[33] J. Lipiec, *Filozofia i pedagogika* [in:] *Pogranicza pedagogiki i nauk pomocniczych*, (ed.) S. Palka, Kraków 2004, p. 14.

[34] J. Habermas, *Działanie komunikacyjne i detranscendentalizacja rozumu*, transl. W. Lipnik, Warszawa 2004, pp. 19–34.

[35] M. Humm, *Słownik teorii feminizmu*, transl. B. Umińska and J. Mikos, Warszawa 1993, p. 241.

enon of cheering. Looking through the selected works[36] of the Swiss thinker, I aimed at finding the proper tools to the hermeneutics of the collective phantasm of young fans, existent in school environment and the space of public education, which constitutes a kind of little appreciated *locus pedagogicus*.

Studying the works of the Swiss psychologist, it is possible to pose the question: does pedagogy gain inspiration from analytical psychology, known also as complex and why does it need such an old-fashioned thought? The works of Jung presented in twenty volumes of *Collected Works, Pantheon Books, New York 1953* or *Gesammelte Werke, Rascher Verlag, Zürich 1960*, for many years thoroughly translated and published in Poland, constitutes a treasury of thought. It is an inspiration for specialists in many areas. The works of Jung are so intensively commented upon that we can talk about a sort of intellectual movement, called Jungizm. C.G. Jung did not *explicite* point out a new theory of education[37]. It must be rembered that psychoanalithic pedagogy, even more so the kind of one based on Jung, is absent in the sphere of educational study in Poland, contrary to e.g. German pedagogy. An illustration of the above is the recently published work by Heinz-Herman Krüger, *Wprowadzenie w teorie i metody badawcze nauk o wychowaniu* [*An Introduction into the Theories and Research Methods of Educational Study*], where the author, presenting the so-called "other directions" in completion to the three basic currents of educational study: humanist, empirical, and critical, enumerates the psychoanalytical pedagogy itself. It is true that in the Polish appendix to this book there are Polish classifications of pedagogical currents[38], though this direction appears only in the collection by Ludwik Chmaj as a part of a therapeutic current, or in the work of Kazimierz Sośnicki as depth pedagogy. However, it is not represented in the classification of Bogusław Śliwerski and Zbigniew Kwieciński. It suggests of a somewhat dead area which currently Hanna Stępniewska – Gębik[39] tries to revive by a new reception of Lacan psychoanalysis in the poststructural spirit.

It is interesting that Krüger precedes the chapter on psychoanalytical pedagogy with a presentation of historically-materialist pedagogy, which according to the idea of Hans Jochen Gamm is supposed to "reveal social relations, including pedagogical relations, and takes a look at the backstage of phenomena"[40]. This collection is *nomen omen* a thread that connects both currents in pedagogy, extremely important taking into

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[36] According to the idea of regress worked out in academic philosophy by Alina Motycka in the times of chaos. I think it can be used on a micro scale, i.e. If the theories so far has not explained enough a particular phenomenon. Comp. A. Motycka, *Nauka a nieświadomość…*, Wrocław 1998, pp. 55–80.

[37] J. Jacobi, *Psychologia C.G. Junga*, transl. S. Łypacewicz, Warszawa 2001, p. 15. Comp. P. Skuza, *O wychowaniu psychologicznym*, "Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny" 2005, no. 2(196), pp. 25–37.

[38] H.-H. Krüger, *Wprowadzenie w teorie i metody badawcze nauk o wychowaniu*, transl. D. Sztobryn, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 197–202.

[39] H. Stępniewska-Gębik, *Pedagogika i psychoanaliza. Potrzeba – Pragnienie – Inny. Konteksty epistemologiczne dla pedagogiki w świetle psychoanalitycznej koncepcji Jacques'a Lacana*, Kraków 2004.

[40] H.-H. Krüger, *Wprowadzenie…*, p. 85.

consideration the dominance of Marksist philosophy and neomarksism lasting for many decades in Polish pedagogical circles, and the hegemony of collective (sociologistic) look at education. Thus, there is a chance of counting psychoanalytic pedagogy into the educational studies in Poland. Though the followers of the historically-materialist movement strongly referred to the "idea of a reasoning subject"[41], called by Alina Motycka a Cartesian *Ego Cogito*[42], psychoanalysis questions such a vision of subjectivity. The psychoanalyst pedagogical current began to analyze the subconscious, thus breaking with the Cartesian paradigm which eliminates a subject from the world and turning it into a thinking substance, i.e. only and even a consciousness substance. The relation of pedagogy and psychoanalysis – which can be read in the aforementioned book by Krügera – is based on a distinct understanding of psychoanalysis and pedagogy itself. And so, psychoanalysis in the strictly medical understanding excludes the thought of pedagogues from its area, and understood as critical social study, an example of which is Georg Trescher, allows pedagogy to become a part of psychoanalisis. Consequently, once it was suggested that the two branches of knowledge should cooperate, or that psychoanalysis should be made a supporting study of pedagogy. According to Günter Bittner, pure and independent psychoanalytical pedagogy seems to be impossible. Lorenzer on the other hand, stands for psychoanalysis as a critically-hermeneutic social study, which places the so-called scenic understanding in the center of pedagogical activity. Notwithstanding the status of this part of academic study and the discipline called pedagogy or the relation between them, psychoanalysis can constitute, according to Bittner, an impulse for pedagogy if it is: 1) a theory of the understanding of the educated subject, 2) the starting point of pedagogical anthropology, 3) a piece of the pedagogical theory of relation or 4) an aspect of the theory of interaction. Given the enumeration, it is worth reminding the suggestion that psychoanalysis should be understood as a theory of educational processes, especially if education is interpreted as a communicative action. It deepens the understanding of communication and studies the "underground current of any action"[43] – as Jung writes about the unconsciousness – and the processes of projection and transfer play the main parts in a theory understood in such a way. Of course, pedagogy directed only to school or narrowly understood pedagogy, can naturally miss this valuable heritage of psychoanalysis. In case of the works of Jung and his contemporary reception, we can rather speak of culture studies than of psychoanalysis. For this reason the introduction of the theory by Jung to pedagogy should also, perhaps predominantly, refer to the pedagogy of culture, whose tradition is stil alive in the study of education in Poland and the usage

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[41] Ibidem, p. 87.

[42] Comp. *Destrukcja paradygmatu kartezjańskiego* [in:] A. Motycka, *Rozum i intucja…*, pp. 16–19.

[43] C.G. Jung, *O istocie psychiczności. Listy 1906–1961*, selected, transl. and described by R. Reszke, Warszawa 1996, p. 13.

of psychoanalysis in accordance with the spirit of culture-study constructivism should be revived in humanistic.

The psychology of C.G. Jung is considered by critics as a modern form of gnosis, i.e. as the underground of philosophy, as a knowledge of the soul. It is not an empirical psychology with operationalized terms. Neither is it, more specifically, a philosophy nor anthropology. Is it agogics or pedagogy? – the answer to this question requires a deeper study and resolutions. Moreover, a query arises if by any chance, as an example of a huge psychoanalyst movement, it does not deepen a biased approach to an individual? How is reality constructed by Jung? Does he not perform magical *ex nihilo* creation of the inside so wide spread that it exceeds the limits of an academic and critical analysis? An how does it refer to the need of rewriting the subject and to the fact of narrowing of the traditional understanding of the inside and to the imaginary hypostasy[44]? The answers will be for a moment left without an answer, but I suspect that most probably the "affirmative" usage of the theory by Jung may happen within the borders of a particular paradigm that contradicts a linguistic term.

On the other hand, is pedagogy, on the basis of which I perform research and the analysis of the phenomenon, an academic study or art, if only the art of using not only academic knowledge? And finally, how is it possible to transfer an idea from such a distant period, i.e. from the beginning of the twentieth century, to modern phenomena? The issue is the more complicated the more collapsed is the universe of values and beliefs shared by Jung's contemporaries. Thus, how should the categories of the doctrine be wisely applied, if the sole fact of its choice must be criticized and subject to defense, so that the assumed procedure takes place with a minimal dose of arbitrariness and maximum precision? The reason of the choice among numerous doctrines and psychological theories to analyze a particular phenomenon is especially difficult as far as the state of epistemic anomie is concerned, which is described by Jean Baudrillard as a game with leftovers[45]. The mixture of the old with the new, and the weak with the strong is characteristic for the landscape of postmodern knowledge. However, sometimes the so-called old ways of creating knowledge have an unusual vitality and are somehow resistant to skepticism and minimalism of the modern knowledge, where the hierarchies have been questioned and judgment has been mixed with knowledge .

The procedures of regaining ideas, symbols and traditions were a recognizing strategy of C.G. Jung, who consciously turned back to the intellectual output of the former epochs. He also explored fine literature. Not without a reason, the Swiss master, referring to German romanticism in literature, claims, "Everybody wants today to come to

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[44] P. Dybiel, *Hieroglify Innego w psychoanalizie Lacana* [in:] *Inny – Inna – Inne. O inności w kulturze*, (eds.) M. Janion, C. Snochowska-Gonzalez, K. Szczuka, Warszawa 2004, p. 21.

[45] *Gra resztkami.* An interview with Jean Baurillard performed by Salvatore Mele and Marks Titmarsh, transl. A. Szahaj [in:] *Postmodernizm a filozofia. Wybór tekstów*, (eds.) S. Czerniaka and A. Szahaja, Warszawa 1996, pp. 228– 229.

the Kingdom of Mothers, yet they do not have the key that once belonged to Faust. In my own way, I try to hold tightly to this key and to open the closed door that leads there"[46]. These words refer to an important quotation that Jung mentions, namely from a fragment of the drama "Faust" by Johann Wolfang Goethe and the words of Mephistopheles:

"Will you see now what blessing it bestows? The key will scent the right place from all others; Follow it down, 'twill lead you to the Mothers"[47].

Carl Gustav Jung paid much attention to the collective subconsciousness, i.e. doubled subjectivity. The hypothesis about collective subconsciousness and its archetypes, as well as theology and psyche dynamics characterize the psychoanalysis of the Swiss thinker. The subconsciousness is sometimes understood individually, while the differentiation into "I" and "ego" suggests that the category of hidden subjectivity plays an important role in the whole process of thinking about psyche. Subconsciousness is endowed with an enormous causative power in the words that "(…) subconsciousness (…) is an underground current of all action that cannot be stopped"[48]. The second trait of analytical psychology is the process of individualization, which can be read pedagogically[49]. C.G. Jung, defining the term of individualisation, puts it in the context of "psychological education". He writes that "By no means can individualization be the only aim of psychological education. Before individualization can be perceived as a goal, the goal of education must be reached, which is adjustment to the minimum of collective norms indispensable for existence: a plant that is to reach the maximum state of the development of its uniqueness must first root itself in the ground where it has been placed"[50]. In such a manner, the Swiss scholar gives a kind of a lead for specific humanistic research, including pedagogical study.

The recognition of the pedagogical dimension as well as the educational challenges of the phenomenon of cheering seems to be an important research issue facing the growing interest in this phenomenon on the part of public opinion and a biased interpretation of this phenomenon by pedagogues and sociologists that associate it mostly with pathology and deviation. Pedagogy, notwithstanding its practical attitude to the solving of educational problems, cannot be blind to an individual and deeper perspective of explanation. What should be a challenge is such a way of analyzing the subject of cheering that endeavours to equalize the levels and exaggerated stress in the discourse of pedagogy set to a collective and sociological point of view, yet that looks at

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[46] C.G. Jung, *Rozmowy, wywiady, spotkania*, (eds.) W. McGuire, R.F.C. Hull, transl. R. Reszke, Warszawa 1999, p. 236.

[47] C.G. Jung, *Symbole przemiany…*, p. 164 and 263 [from:] J.W. von Goethe, *Faust*, part 2. act. 1: "A dark gallery", lines 6272–6279, p. 260.

[48] C.G. Jung, *O istocie psychiczności…*, p. 13.

[49] Comp. P. Skuza, *O kształtowaniu psyche*, "Kultura i Edukacja" 2004, no. 2, pp. 31–41.

[50] C.G. Jung, *Typy psychologiczne*, transl. R. Reszke, Warszawa 1997, p. 88.

cheering also from the point of view of an individual, reproductive subject, since the Marksist assumption that social existence specifies consciousness is outwardly narrowing the cognitive horizon. Thus, it is not only the "socioanalysis of the andro-centric subconsciousness"[51] that is supposed to support pedagogical theory, but psychoanalysis, as well[52]. Since the problem of cheering is neither solved as far as the danger and escalation of violence is concerned, nor explainable with the help of the offered theories (J. Dudała has presented six theories), all pedagogical activity, e.g. in the form of pedagogy prophylactics, should follow anthropological, hermeneutic and culture-study reflection, while a fan and his subjectivity or its defect should be verified by the category of subconsciousness or a "hidden mind"[53]. As it can be noticed, in pedagogy it is not solely the general (collective) dimension, but also an individual one that matters in processes such as an educational biography, entering adult life, experiencing the development stage as an educational one, and finally, dealing with the future, professional and status aspirations, as well as using institutional stimulation, then the influence of its degree, effectiveness and occurrence as far as the active school education is concerned, on the life of a student.

The key issue that constitutes an antinomy in the pedagogical thought is the solution as to the meaning of childhood (youth). Namely, while a fan is the object of interest for pedagogy no matter if he is underage or adult (as long as he continues education), the pedagogues that study such a recognized object of analysis and design pedagogical action face antinomy between the need of free experience of youth by the educated object and the necessity of preparing the young for their social roles, if only to a role of a consumer of a sports spectacle. Another issue is the difficulty of the fact that fans constitute a net of groups that are seemingly separated from other groups or formal and informal institutions of society, while the border line is not entirely noticeable, thus the free experience of of youth blends with some socialization. As a result, cheering, from a pedagogical point of view, can be described with the term of socialization. This term has been created in opposition to pedagogical simplifications and aimed at widening the meaning of such a word in relation to such terms as a "pedagogical relation" and others: pedagogical action and relation. Thus, the category of socialization is often used as a term wider in meaning in comparison to the "education" term, and

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[51] P. Bourdieu, *Męska dominacja*, transl. L. Kopciewicz, Warszawa 2004, p. 9 and 13.

[52] On the role of psychoanalysis in pedagogy comp. H. Stępniewska-Gębik, *Pedagogika i psychoanaliza. Potrzeba – Pragnienie – Inny*, Kraków 2004.

[53] *Nieświadomość jako kategoria filozoficzna*, (eds.) A. Motycka, W. Wrzosek, Warszawa 2000; I. Błocian, R. Saciuk, *O pojęciu nieświadomości – wstęp* [in:] *Nieświadomość to odrębne królestwo…*, (eds.) I. Błocian, R. Saciuk, Toruń 2003, p. 17.

reflects the general living conditions of a subject's development, not only the conscious and deliberate ones[54].

The traditional aim of pedagogy, even when it was only the pedagogy of philosophers, not a separate academic discipline, is to provide the methods to tame passion, i.e. the help in the creation of a personae (social roles), or in accordance with the idea of permissive pedagogy, or to give vent to instincts in controlled conditions[55]. At the beginning of the twentieth century, psychoanalysis takes a part of its role. Thus, cheering can be a material object of pedagogical analysis, and its formal aspect refers to the quality of socialization of a young man in the area of the imagined community of fans. The pedagogical dimension of the studied field is very complex because it includes a number of components:

1) a diagnostic dimension, i.e. the recognition of social facts – here, of the behaviour of groups of fans and the recognition of psychological facts – here, what a fan experiences, and it all is based on some philosophical and ideological foundation and the recognition of this state concerns exactly the educational order that creates a specific social – psychological – cultural quality.

2) a normative dimension – in this case what is the ideal of a "real fan", the argument here is between the vision of a fan-consumer tamed by normalizing mechanisms and a vision of a free member of a regional community;

3) a dimension that designs social action.

The mentioned here theory of C.G. Jung only refers to the part of this analysis that concerns the insight into the mental condition of an individual, i.e. what and why a fan experiences. It can only be done indirectly by an insight into the collective phantasm of fans. And the psychoanalysis itself is a theory that results from modern process of the formation of subjectivity, but also from the beginning of its transformation, about which postmodern pedagogues should be reminded. And a pedagogical analysis can be twofold, either 1) minimalist, concentrating on the description of educational order, widened with socialization and emancipation, or 2) maximal – apart from that it is supposed to design action or at least general frameworks of future pedagogical action.

4. Conclusion

A postulate of the given study is to widen pedagogical analysis with Jung's genealogy of subjectivity and paying attention at what happens in collective subconsciousness of fans that results in the form of passionate fandom. An obvious starting thesis is that some examples of cheering can be archaic forms of being devoured by a picture of

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[54] K.-J. Tillmann, *Teorie socjalizacji. Społeczność – instytucja – upodmiotowienie*, transl. G. Bluszcz, B. Miracki, Warszawa 2005, pp. 11 and next.

[55] H. Stępniewska-Gębik, *Pedagogika i psychoanaliza. Potrzeba – Pragnienie – Inny. Konteksty epistemologiczne dla pedagogiki w świetle psychoanalitycznej koncepcji Jacques'a Lacana*, Kraków 2004, p. 44.

a femaly carer[56]. Another starting hypothesis is that frenetic experience and sacral attitude towards the club[57] on behalf of a young fan testifies about the need for total, even stupefying participation, which might result in exclusion from society that is based on individualism, competition and information. It may be an exclusion from participation in the higher forms of culture and social life, if this cheering is not accompanied by autoirony, distance and the ability to smoothly come from one level of culture to the other. C.G. Jung writes, "The loss of the last achievements of the function of reality (or the function of adjustment) is replaced by an earlier form of adjustment, i.e. by a regressive revival of parental *imago*"[58].

The regressive instances of personality are embarrassing for subjects under pressure of competition and constant activity. While the mental (in the psychoanalytical understanding) background of numerous exclusions are, apart from social mechanisms, the inseparable mechanisms described as the loss of an adaptive function in favour of regression and touching of the mental picture of a parent, especially mother, carried inside (*imago*). This act of regression is considered by psychoanalysts as important in the theory of neurosis, and can be of key importance in the explanation of the behaviour of fans as frustrated people (a working thesis)[59].

The context, in which Jung writes about regression is different from the one of this article. The subject of concern of the Swiss scholar is "the other" of psychoanalisis, i.e. a schizophrenic or a neurotic. However, in a different context, (pedagogical), we have the right to ask if a young fan loses the ability to adjust to the given variable social reality? We have the right to worry and investigate whether the creation of male identity (E. Badinter)[60] by collective strengthening with instances of specific symbolism and "stadium" rituals does not lead to subordination, i.e. in the language of Jung to the evil face of Great Mother, or if he is allowed to do it as a part of a prolonged psychosocial moratorium (E.H. Erikson), and maybe it is a form of *katabasis* /replacement (R. Bly), which can be described by the term of retreat into the original forms of contact with the world (C.G. Jung)? The sketched methodological dilemmas of a researcher indicate that cheering is an ambivalent structure, which both pathologises and educates, where the emancipating or educational value of cheering is rarely visible.

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[56] "Arka [a football club – transl.] is our life" – a writing on the wall.

[57] Illustrated by a writing on the wall: ARECZKA – a tender name for Arka Gdynia football club.

[58] C.G. Jung, *Symbole przemiany*…, pp. 181–182.

[59] The following words of a student-fan who quotes a rhyme shouted out during matches by a crowd of followers of Arka Gdynia illustrate the regressive role of involvement in cheering to a football club and its destructive function:

> „Areczka, Areczka...
> Dear Areczka!
> We love you more than life.
> For you we'll kill ourselves".

[60] E. Badinter, XY. *Tożsamość mężczyzny*, transl. G. Przewłocki, Warszawa 1993.

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YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE REFORMED EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The reform of the education system which started in September 1999 was designed, on the one hand, as a response to transformation-related changes which had been taking place since the early 1990s and, on the other, to the globalisation processes in which Poland had also got involved. The reform has three basic objectives:
  – adjusting the school structure and educational content to the needs of the contemporary society;
  – equality of opportunities for young people from socially disprivileged segments of society;
  – popularising education at the secondary level.

A change in the school structure – through the introduction of a new element, i.e. a three-year junior high school after a six-year elementary school – is supposed to serve these objectives. The junior high school is – from the formal point of view – non-selective in character (it does not differentiate children's school paths). Instead, it is supposed to even out differences in the level of pupils' knowledge, as educators are equipped with information about their competence (results of the test following the sixth grade). So this is an element of the education structure designed to minimise the impact of status of the family of origin on students' school attainments. But is it really fulfilling these tasks?

Nowadays junior high school graduates crossed the first formal selection threshold start education in one of the segments of the new school structure: high school, vocational high school, technical school or basic vocational school. Has the introduction of the external appraisal system and the establishment of the junior high school contributed to ensuring equality of educational opportunities (chances to attend a school qualifying for entry into university) to young people from socially disadvantageous groups? Has the relationship between the status of the family of origin and place of residence, on the one hand, and the allocation of individuals in the post-junior-high-school (upper secondary) education structure, one the other, become less pronounced?

What processes are hidden behind the transformation of the secondary-school struc-
ture, which has been taking place since the early 1990s. What kind of youth, with what
social backgrounds and educational competence, is educated in increasingly numerous
high schools and increasingly marginalized basic vocational schools? What are the
consequences of the education system changes for educational aspirations of young
people, which sharply increased during the transformation period?

This study is an attempt to answer these and many other questions on the basis of
data collected in the research project entitled *Young people in the Reformed School Sys-
tem*. The project was implemented in all upper-secondary schools of Toruń and Toruń
region in October and November 2003. It covered the whole population of these schools'
first-graders – a total of 4,069 pupils. The applied research tool was a questionnaire
survey conducted at school. It included questions about parental education and occupa-
tion, place of residence, educational plans and career-related aspirations of the students.
We also collected information about their results and marks scored at the junior high
school exam and their junior high school graduation certificates. The applied research
procedure is to some extent a continuation of longitudinal research implemented since
the yearly 1970s, which consisted in tracing the school and life careers of selected age
groups. This research, initiated by Zbigniew Kwieciński and then continued by Ryszard
Borowicz and Krystyna Szafraniec, has been implemented until the present day[1].

In our analyses, we focused on four problems of key importance:
– pupils' achievement at school (results of junior high school tests and school
  marks),
– actual social and school-related selections after leaving junior high school,
– changes in the structure of upper secondary education,
– young people's aspirations.

In our opinion, these are the most important problems in the analysis of the selec-
tion threshold following junior high school. On the basis of our research results, we are
able to present the beginnings of a new education system emerging in Poland, a system
which is now undergoing fundamental reform-related transformation. This allows us
to draw a few conclusions as regards the results of the five years of education reform.
Moreover, we can venture to make a few predictions concerning changes in the social
structure heralded by the educational change.

1. Effects of junior-high school work

One of the most distinct distinguishing features of the education system reform is
junior high school, established with a view to providing equal educational opportunities
to rural youth and young people from families of low social status. Meanwhile, it turns

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[1] See: R. Borowicz, *Plany kształceniowe i zawodowe młodzieży i ich realizacja*, Warszawa 1980;
Z. Kwieciński, *Dynamika funkcjonowania szkoły*, Toruń 1995; Z. Kwieciński, *Wykluczanie,* Toruń 2002.

out that results scored by young people at junior high school exams are closely related to the status of their family of origin (of course, this phenomenon is not specific exclusively to the Polish education system). Youngsters from families occupying positions in low-status groups more often score poor exam results, while young people from families of higher-than-average status achieve relatively higher results.

Table 1.
Junior-high school exam scores depend on family of origin status (in percentages)

Junior-high school exam score	Family of origin status					Total
	Low	Lower-middle	Middle	Higher-middle	High	
Low (under 19 p.)	14,4	10,1	4,2	1,0	–	6,2
Lower-average (19-27,5 p.)	39,0	34,3	21,8	11,4	1,9	24,0
Average (28-36,5 p.)	35,2	38,9	44,4	30,5	21,8	38,3
Higher-average (37-43 p.)	10,1	14,0	23,5	42,6	52,3	24,2
High (over 43 p.)	1,3	2,8	6,0	14,5	24,1	7,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Recourse: research project Youth in the reformed school system, 2003.

At the same time, exam results are to a large extent correlated with school marks. Junior high school did not contribute to minimizing the influence of the status of the family of origin on school achievement. The problem seems even more serious in the light of the fact that the results of junior high school exams scored by pupils from families of low social status are poorer than the level of their school marks. In the case of youngsters coming from families of high social status, the contrary is the case. So one can hardly resist the impression that pupils from low-status families more often "lost" as a result of the introduction of junior high school exams, while those coming from families with high positions in the social hierarchy more often benefited. In this respect, we can say that reform produced a result opposite to what was intended. The more so as the system of external appraisal did not contribute to changing the way in which 16-year-olds select upper secondary schools. There was no revolutionary liberation of aspirations from the intra-school appraisal system. The reason is, first of all, that in the case of some 50 per cent of the surveyed pupils exam results confirmed their earlier educational achievements reflected in school marks. Despite that, as many as four in five representatives of the surveyed young people implemented their plans connected with the selection of upper secondary school. This means that even youngsters

whose exam results did not correspond to marks on their junior high school graduation certificates made correct assessments as to their ability to apply for a place in their "dream" upper secondary school.

Auto-selection continues to play a decisive role in the process of recruitment to schools of different types and categories and all attempts to equalise educational opportunities of young people at the second stage of the education system are belated[2]. In this situation, the opinion that the large-scale and unusually expensive undertaking – i.e. the introduction of junior high school exams – turned out to be fruitless as regards the implementation of some of its objectives seems justified. Educational choices of young people graduating from junior high schools are to a large extent independent of exam results.

The analyses conducted by us show that the effects of the functioning of junior high schools in different communities (rural areas, a medium-sized city and a large city), measured by the level of pupils' achievement in junior high school exams, are similar.

Table 2.
Junior-high school exam scores depend on community of living (in percentages)

Unior-high school exam score	Community				Total
	Rural	Small size city	Medium size city	Large city	
Low (under 19 p.)	7,9	1,2	4,3	6,0	6,3
Lower-average (19-27,5 p.)	28,4	10,8	28,7	22,4	24,2
Average (28-36,5 p.)	38,1	30,1	38,4	38,8	38,1
Higher-average (37-43 p.)	20,6	40,4	20,2	25,3	24,2
High (over 43 p.)	5,0	17,5	8,5	7,5	7,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Recourse: research project Youth in the reformed school system, 2003.

Slightly worse results scored by rural youth compared to big-city youth are the result of the impact related to the status of the family of origin. In rural areas, compared to cities, there is a larger share of pupils coming from families of low social status, while it is exactly this category of young people whose exam results are markedly poorer. Exam results of rural and big-city youth are similar for the same family-of-origin categories. Should the credit for this go to the reform of the education system imple-

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2 See: R. Borowicz, *Nierówności społeczne w dostępie do wykształcenia. Casus Suwalszczyzny*, Olecko 2000.

mented for five years now? The material we have at our disposal does not allow us to provide an answer to the question posed in this way. It is possible that the evening out of the level of educational competence represented by rural and big-city youth has resulted from the decrease in the educational competence of young urban residents, something which was already noticeable soon before the reform[3].

2. Changes in the structure of upper secondary education

Another visible effect of the education system reform, apart from the introduction of junior high schools, is a fundamental change in the structure of upper secondary education. Despite the fact that transformation in this segment of the system had been taking place since the early 1990s, the process accelerated in the past five years. By 1998, i.e. over eight years, the percentage of young people attending basic vocational schools decreased from around 50 per cent to 30 per cent. The next five years were enough to bring this percentage down to 10 per cent. And the percentage of people planning to end their education at this level amounts to a mere 0.8 per cent. Therefore, changes in the structure of secondary education which had been taking place by 1998 and their continuation after 1999 contributed to the implementation of one of the three main reform objectives: popularisation of secondary education (one which qualifies graduates for entry into university). At present 60 per cent of young people attend high

Fig. 1
Structure of de secondary education level in Toruń region between year 1972 and 2003
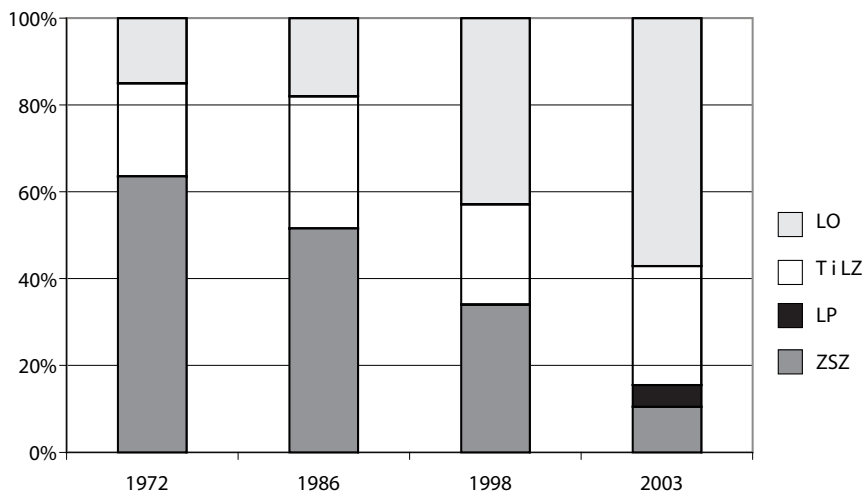
Recourses: Z. Kwieciński, *Wykluczanie*, Toruń 2002; Research project Youth in the reformed school system, 2003.

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[3] See: Z. Kwieciński, *Wykluczanie…*

schools, 25 per cent – technical schools. A new element in the education system – vocational high schools – are attended by only 5 per cent of the 16-year-olds in Toruń[4].

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What is the mechanism of this structural change in upper secondary education? Since the beginning of the 1990s main mechanism of selection was inclusion of the best skilled pupils into high schools. This was really *Royal Path of Education* (term used by M. Kozakiewicz[5]) leading to the best occupational and social positions. As many research showed that educational path involved mainly children from families placed higher in social positions. This mechanism changed in the middle 1990s when the inclusion mechanism of the best turned into exclusion of the worse skilled into basic vocational schools. Nowadays they are really excluded from the main education current, which is the beginning of social exclusion process. This is a very homogenous group, both in respect of their school competence and social background.

Does the fact that 60 per cent of all pupils attend high schools mean that the level of their competence is so high? It turns out that the popularisation of education at the level qualifying for university entry has been accompanied by differentiation within school types. Our research results indicate not only essential differences in the level of school achievement among high school students, technical school students and vocational high school students but also differences within individual school types, in which it is possible to distinguish categories of schools whose pupils represent quite different levels of educational competence.

Table 3
The school achievements (school marks and junior high school exam score) in different types of secondary schools

School achievement	The secondary school types				Total
	High school	Vocational high school	Technical school	Basic vocational school	
Very low	1,4	8,6	7,0	44,5	7,4
Low	5,8	22,7	19,5	30,1	12,7
Lower-average	10,6	22,2	27,5	14,9	16,2
Average	23,5	25,4	30,6	7,2	24,0
Higher-average	21,6	15,1	10,3	2,4	16,4
High	20,9	4,9	3,9	0,5	13,5
Very high	16,1	1,1	1,1	0,3	9,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Recourse: research project Youth in the reformed school system, 2003.

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[4] See: ibidem.

[5] M. Kozakiewicz, *Bariery awansu poprzez wykształcenie*, Warszawa 1973.

Vocational high schools and technical schools are attended by young people of average and below-average educational competence. Basic vocational schools gather students with lowest school achievements. High schools are more differentiated, but it is clearly seen that they gather the best part of junior high school graduates. As it is the largest pat of secondary education level it is not surprising that high schools vary greatly from one another. Some of them are attended by young people with outstanding educational achievements, others by pupils with above-average achievements and there are also schools which group together pupils with average and below-average competence. So in fact these schools do not differ in this respect from vocational high schools and technical schools.

Therefore, a rise in the number of high school pupils resulted in lowering the threshold for access to this type of education. Practically everybody who has achieved average school results has a chance to start education at a high school. But this does not mean that the competence of pupils attending different schools is equalised downwards. We can observe division into five categories of secondary schools:

Schools of category A – grouping together young people with outstanding achievements

Schools of category B – grouping together young people with above-average achievements

Schools of category C – grouping together young people with average achievements

Schools of category D – grouping together young people with below-average achievements

Schools of category E – grouping together young people with lowest achievements

Basic vocational schools are all in category E. Category D groups technical schools, vocational high schools and also high schools. In category C we find similarly technical schools vocational high schools and high schools. Category B and A are grouping only high schools.

As recently as the mid-1990s pupils with average and below-average school achievements, who now attend high schools, would not have a chance for this type of education owing to their insufficient educational competence. The educational potential of these youngsters is much lower compared to the potential of their peers who attend high schools which group together pupils representing above-average and outstanding school achievements. This means it is impossible to implement curricula at a similar level in all schools of this type, despite the fact that the schools are formally obliged to follow the same programme of education. The equalisation of opportunities through placing a pupil in a school which formally provides the same education as traditional high school, coupled with the low level of competence represented by all youngsters attending this type of school, is a fiction and a sort of deception. You cannot change a vocational school (until recently these buildings were occupied by technical schools,

basic vocational schools and primary schools) into a high school by merely changing the sign board. In any case, such a high school will not be of the same sort as schools which once constituted the "royal educational path".

3. Social selections in secondary education

Secondary schools differ not only in regard to the school competence of their pupils but also in regard to their social background. This of course is rooted in the correlation between school attainments and the status of the family of origin. Therefore, different school environments which are formed as a result of different levels of their pupils' competence also constitute separate social environments. Consequently, school selections continue to be social in character. They channel young people with different backgrounds into separate educational paths. Despite the fact that young people from families with lower social status now have easier access to schools qualifying for university entry, most of them attend technical schools, vocational high schools and those high schools which group together pupils representing average and below-average school competence (schools category D and C). Schools attended by junior high school graduates with above-average and outstanding educational competence form elitist environments also from the social point of view.

Table 4
Social environment in schools of each category

Family of origin social status	School category					Total
	cat. A	cat. B	Cat. C	cat. D	cat. E	
Low	1,4	6,5	14,7	22,4	38,2	15,8
Lower middle	7,2	13,3	22,1	26,5	30,9	20,5
Middle	33,7	49,0	51,2	44,0	28,3	44,3
Higher middle	23,1	16,4	7,2	5,1	2,2	9,9
High	34,6	14,7	4,7	1,9	0,5	9,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Recourse: research project Youth in the reformed school system, 2003.

We have found that the education structure is divided into three social worlds:
– the world of basic vocational schools, dominated by young people from families of low social positions,
– the world of schools qualifying graduates for university entry (high schools, vocational high schools, technical schools), which are more varied socially and are dominated by pupils from families of medium social status, with a considerably strong presence of young people from low-status families,
– the world of schools forming socially elitist environments, dominated by pupils from high-status families.

We can see that neither the introduction of junior high school nor formal popularisation of education qualifying for university entry leads to the equality of educational and social chances of young people. Of course one could defend the thesis that educational opportunities have been equalised thanks to the popularisation of high schools by pointing to the fact that fundamental selection processes now take place during enrolment to universities and colleges or perhaps even later, at a moment of entering the labour market. Nowadays 90 per cent of the young are in educational paths which enable them to continue education at the college and university level. In this sense, we have to do with equality of opportunities. However, there are two aspects to which attention should be paid: firstly, different levels of young people's aspirations, and secondly, the impact of their staying in homogenous educational and social environments in the course of secondary education.

4. Students' aspirations

Although the young generally show very high aspirations as to their education and professional career, it is clearly visible that the level of aspirations differs depending on social background.

Table 5
Students' educational aspirations dependence on social status of family of origin

Educational aspirations	Family of origin social status					Total
	Low	Lower middle	Middle	Higher middle	High	
Basic vocational	2,4	1,2	0,4	–	–	0,8
High school	45,6	36,2	20,6	5,7	1,6	24,4
Licencjat	15,4	14,2	14,1	8,7	4,5	12,9
Tertiary	29,0	34,4	45,4	59,0	59,2	43,2
Tertiary plus	7,7	14,0	19,5	26,6	34,7	18,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Recourse: research project Youth in the reformed school system, 2003.

The young from families with lower positions on the social ladder do want to break off the status of their family of origin through a longer education path but their ambitions are always one step below the level of aspirations represented by their peers from average and higher-than-average social strata.

Especially disquieting in this respect is the situation of rural youth whose school achievements have been comparable with achievements of their urban peers. Despite that, young rural residents tend to start education in vocational high schools, technical schools and high schools grouping together pupils with average or below-average school competence. And as regards the level of educational aspirations, rural youth falls behind

urban youth. It turns out that at higher levels of the education system and in the sphere of educational plans rural origin restricts life aspirations in this category of the surveyed generation[6].

Therefore, the described school segments constitute paths which group together young people of a similar school competence level, status of the family of origin and a similar level of aspirations – related both to education and professional career. Joining a group of this kind marks a beginning of the process in which the person's aspirations are consolidated through relationship with people sharing the same outlook on life. Individual educational paths not only equip people in different levels of competence but also consolidate different aspirations.

In this way, the school selection process at the first selection threshold marks the beginning of channelling pupils' biographies. The result of this channelling will probably appear as early as the moment of selecting the type of university and college education. As mass secondary education is becoming increasingly varied internally, higher (tertiary) education is also subject to differentiation.

But even at this stage, selection processes will be proceeding according to their own rhythm and young people's high educational aspirations can be fulfilled owing to enormous internal differences at each level of the education system. Consequently, the scenario according to which the high level of educational aspirations may contribute to an eruption of frustration at higher stages of the education process does not seem very probable.

This does not mean, however, that this generation – thanks to changes in the education system – will achieve "full personal fulfilment." Looking at young people's educational and career-related aspirations, one can venture to propose certain hypotheses related to possible scenarios of social structure development. Are we really facing an imminent structural revolution and formation of a knowledge-based society?

Considering the structure of young people's educational aspirations, one can expect deep changes in the structure of the nation's education. The young are well aware of the requirements set by the contemporary labour market and want to gain qualifications which their parents do not have. Formally, this generation will definitely achieve a higher level of education than their parents. Their education in the changed school system, adjusted to new economic conditions, has a different character (one of its basic features is the duration of schooling – the process of young Poles' education will certainly be longer than their parents'). Thus a shift in the level of education to a higher level (at least secondary) is clearly visible. The future will show what changes will take place in the structure of occupational positions. There will certainly appear categories of people (they are already appearing) who can hardly be classified according to contemporary classification standards.

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[6] K. Gorlach, Z. Drąg, Z. Seręga, *Młode pokolenie wsi III RP. Aspiracje życiowe w przeddzień integracji z Unią Europejską*, Warszawa 2003.

A separate problem is the question of distances between social strata. Looking at the differences in educational and social aspirations of young people depending on the status of the family of origin, one can see that despite relatively high hopes for the future in all social groups, these ambitions have different ceilings for different social categories. The young from families in which parents have university-level education are relatively more ambitious than the young from low-status families. The popularisation of education at the secondary and higher level does not mean at all that distances are reduced. It only results in the devaluation of university degrees and moving the whole population one stage upwards in the education structure. Consequently, we have to do with a situation when a university degree is not a guarantee of employment nor prestige but when you do not have such a degree you are excluded from the mainstream of social life. One can say that to have a good education is not a big deal but not to have one is a disaster.

Aspirations as to education and professional career, especially when declared at the age of 16, at the start of building one's individual social path, are not an absolute and unchanging indicator of the direction of change in the social structure. This is so because in the course of education these aspirations can be subject to modification as young people learn more about conditions on the labour market. Moreover, the education process itself – in different school types – can considerably modify young people's aspirations. As a result the young may come to the conclusion that their initial plans have been unrealistic, silly, senseless and not worth the trouble or just the contrary – their ambitions may be fuelled and they may receive motivation to increased effort. The data collected in the repeatable "Toruń surveys" clearly indicate that in the course of education in an upper elementary school aspirations are gradually cooled down and tailored to the situation on the labour market. This process takes place in all school types. However, aspirations of basic vocational school students decrease the most, while aspirations of high school students – relatively the least. The most important intervening factor is the status of the family of origin.

Considering that the change in school structure is only on the surface and the same mechanisms which functioned before the reform continue to be in place, one can expect that in the course of secondary education young people's social ambitions will be curbed and will become more realistic. But it is clearly noticeable that the young are looking for quite different occupations for themselves than their fathers and mothers did. There is a trend to seek jobs connected more with information processing and services than production. And this is probably the sphere where the most important changes related to the occupational structure will take place – transition "from a society of workers to a society of people behind the desk." At the same time, one should be aware that white-collar work, "behind the desk," does not determine these days a specific level of prestige, income or influence – the indicators of social status. Both a secretary and the manager of an enterprise in which this secretary is employed belong to the group of people dealing with information processing. At the same time, they would both have university-level education. The formal level of education loses in importance.

Perhaps it is the labour market that is becoming the main selecting factor. Having the same qualifications (formally), we will take different occupational positions and they will determine our social status.

5. Conclusions

Our analysis shows clearly that educational reform which started in 1999 in Poland has not achieved its all goals. Perhaps it is to early to find it in educational structure which nowadays occurs. As we could see in this paper junior high school does not minimise the influence of the status of the family of origin on school achievement, popularisation of high school education and equalisation of educational opportunities are apparent. Wider attendance into high schools, vocational high schools and technical schools does not mean higher educational skills in population. That is still related to family of origin status, as the level of educational aspirations of pupils. We can observe creation of new educational paths within secondary education level, related now to categories of school in respect of pupils' educational competence. That new division into schools for the young with outstanding competence, more that average, average, lower that average and low competence level is an important factor in the sociological analysis of educational system. This is also an important issue for educational policy.

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Marta Chyła

THE SENSE OF CHANCES IN LIFE OF THE STUDENTS OF A PRIVATE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL

1. Introduction

Although private university schools have existed in Poland for fifteen years, their students are still a poorly known group. The study that I have performed does not aim to describe this social category in detail, I have dealt with a study of a fragment of the students' reality – the sense of life chances as far as private university education is concerned.

To start with I would like to explain what I will mean by **the sense of life chances.** The term of a "sense" suggests an emotional factor, yet it will be here understood as a connection of two aspects – emotional and cognitive. It seems that in the situation of evaluation of our position in society and of the possibility to migrate in it, emotional and so-called reasoning elements influence it unavoidably, yet not always equally. I am not endowed with the competence to measure the relations (psychologists deal with that) and it is not the purpose of the given study. I would merely like to notice that it were both the factors that certainly influenced the fact how the researched group "senses" their life chances. Therefore, the sense will be understood here as a subjective evaluation of their own chances, filtered through experience, emotions and cognitive possibilities.

I will understand the term of life chances, present for so long in sociology, as *the likelihood that a person of a given status will reach a specific goal or experience a specific failure*[1]. The aim will be here to achieve the planned, expected position in society, especially in reference to professional position (which is in turn connected with the possibility of gaining various goods). I deliberately use the term of a planned, expected position, not a "better" one, since I want to avoid the simple association with improving our position. In the research, I treat "success" as the fulfillment of my plans, which does not have to be synonymous with a rise in position, but e.g. with keeping the present

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[1] R. Meighan, *Socjologia edukacji,* Toruń 1993, p. 327.

one (the situation of people that have worked for a long time and have to educate themselves to keep their work and post).

From conversations with students conducted by me in relation to the didactic work there can be drawn conclusions that the context of education in a private school can influence this sense. It is connected with encountering negative opinions of private education, views that paying for university education is paying for the diploma, good grades without the necessary work. Even though such pathologies exist[2], transmitting it to the whole private university education seems an overstretched simplification, what is more, a socially negative one. As much as the stigma put on individual schools can bring profit to some, the generalizations, negative labels put on private schools in advance, can harm both the ones that study there and the whole local community. A student, having graduated from such a school, can face obstacles from which the school was supposed to free them – resentment and disbelief in their qualifications. These external, "objective" obstacles can be multiplied by subjective barriers – the sense of little life chances, and as a result, a fall in motivation and ambition. What is more, the community where the university is located will "devoid itself" from an institution that could contribute to its development, not only by absorbing and transforming the young part of the community into a more useful one for themselves and others (the development of human potential), but also by building social potential and prestige of the specific place.

The value of university education today is also reflected in the creation of "the proper" attitude to the world, one that will help young people to deal with the condition of constant and sudden change. Education at the university level is not only achieving knowledge. It also gives access to various views, people with whom a young man could otherwise not meet (lecturers and students), it is taking part in actions they would not otherwise deal with. Modern world requires first of all openness and flexibility (the features of the so-called modern personality according Alex Inkeles[3]), which cannot be learned by closing in a specific environment. Simultaneously, in today's economic situation, where work needs constantly more time and involvement not to be promoted but to keep it (and to earn one's living) – to my mind work itself does not always contribute to such development. It rather leads to the development of reserve and to avoiding risk, without which, in today's world, success is impossible. Therefore, universities, both private and public, have an important task apart from educating – developing in the young generation the right features (such as an open mind to innovation and change, prospective orientation, the sense of subject power, anticipating events and planning future actions[4]).

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[2] Comp. K. Wasielewski, *Niepubliczne szkoły wyższe w Polsce,* "Kultura i Edukacja" 2001, no. 2.
[3] P. Sztompka, *Socjologia*, Kraków 2002, pp. 564–567.
[4] Ibidem, pp. 565–567.

2. The method and organization of research. Characterizing the researched

This research is a pilot study to a bigger project that analyses the sense of life chances of private universities students. It was conducted in May 2006, on a group of 104 students of the third year of Bachelor-degree stationary and extramural studies in pedagogy of one of private schools in a voivodeship city (this group constitutes 35,49% of the whole population of the third year students at this university). The study was performed using a survey-quantitative method, in an auditory way on the present group of students.

The characteristics of the respondents
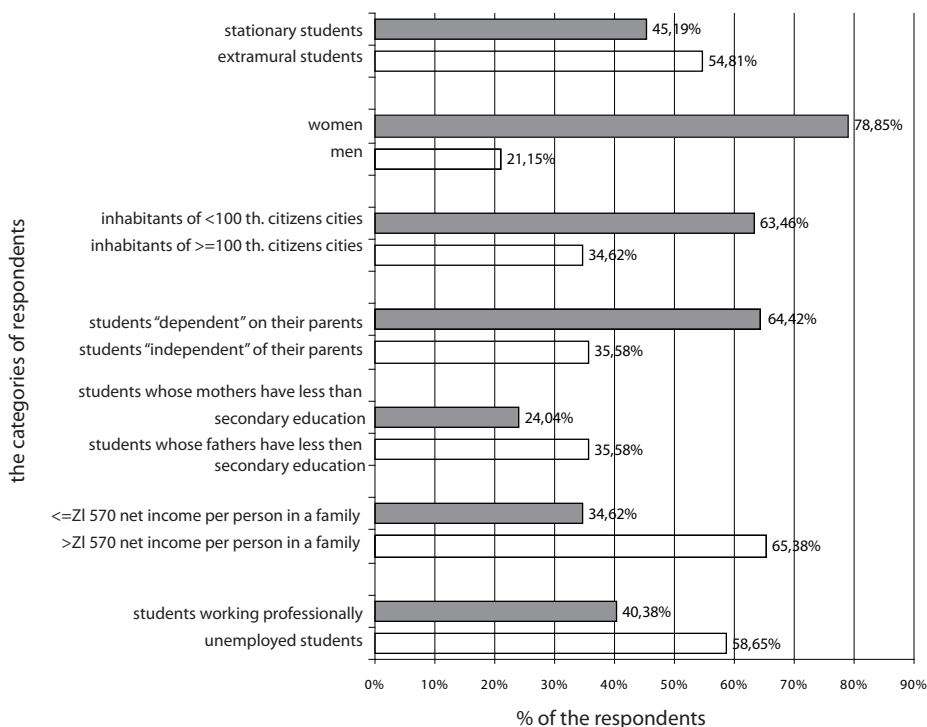
In the researched group, stationary students constitute 45,19%, and the extramural ones – 54,81%, which practically reflects the proportion of the features in the whole population of third-year students at this university. It is worth noticing, since even a few years ago it was said that the number of extramural students seriously exceeded the number of stationary ones in private schools[5]. Therefore, I paid extra attention to this feature.

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[5] Comp. K. Wasilewski, op.cit.

Women in the group constitute 78,85%, and men – 21,15% (which also reflects the proportion in the whole researched population). Most of the studied people were born in 1984 and inhabit cities (74,04%), 25,95% of the researched live in the countryside. Most of them come from small or middle-sized towns (up to 100 thousand inhabitants), i.e. 63,46% of the respondents (2 people did not give the size of their place of living – that is why the numbers do not sum up to 100%).

Most of the respondents (64,42%) still live in their "family home" and are dependent on their parents, others have become independent" of them. 40,48% of the respondents claim to have a job, 23,88% of whom are the "dependent" students (dependent on their parents): 29,73% of the "independent" students do not have a job.

An important factor to the presented data is a characteristic of the families from which the respondents come. As many as 41,35% of them come from families where one or both parents have lower than secondary education (18,27% from families where both parents have lower than secondary education). It means 35,58% of fathers with such education, and 24,04% of mothers. It is, to my mind, an important characteristic. The students must have probably been considerably motivated to overcome obstacles, since due to the characteristic of their cultural capital[6] it was difficult for them to reach this level of education.

A group of people, identified by me as a group of low income (namely such that guarantee a social scholarship and just above this line – i.e. Zl 570 net per person in a family) comes up to 34,62% of the respondents. People with higher income (i.e. above Zl 570 net per person in a family) constitute 65,58% of the researched.

3. "Common" anxiety or not

The main aim of the research was to study the sense of chances as far as the fulfillment of their life plans is concerned. The situation of these people, as I write above, is specific. On the one hand, young people cannot deny the fact that it is the highest possible level of education that guarantees the way to the fulfillment. On the other hand, they face not always positive opinion on the place they study at. In addition to the long-lasting unemployment, the fall of which has not probably been sensed by them, yet, it is not surprising that as many as 42,31% of them experience *fear* when thinking about the future. Only 17,31% feel joy when thinking about it (the rest chose the answer *calm* as defining their state). In the following part of the article I use the terms of fear and anxiety interchangeably, though it is not entirely accurate. However, in the questionnaire of the survey I use the term of fear when thinking about the future. I realize that the usage of the term "anxiety" would probably change the results of the research. Nevertheless, I assume that the general mechanisms that produce such an answer would be

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[6] Comp. *Słownik socjologii i nauk społecznych,* (ed.) G. Marshall, Warszawa 2005, p. 142.

similar – thus the simplification, which, of course I will try to eliminate in the proper study.

In today's "society of risk"[7] it is difficult to find people that can fully satisfy their need of security. We have probably become already adjusted to anxiety. However, the pessimist attitude to the world of young students must be worrying. Eventually, it can be a source of numerous negative phenomena. If only it was a reserve in commencing action (negative to whole economy), a fall of the motivation to achieve aims that are higher[8] than basic, a fall in self-esteem. Yet, it mus instantly be noticed that this study does not show if the fear is higher or lower than in other groups of young people. Therefore, I will analyze not the level of fear, but the factors that influence its creation and, consequently, can influence the sense of life chances. I will also analyze how it happens that in spite of the fear, youth will still "plan" their future instead of sinking into complete torpor.

Nevertheless, first, it must be considered which category of the respondents experiences the anxiety in a most powerful way, and which in the least.

As we might have assumed, the strongest anxiety is experienced by people with low income per person in a family – by as many as 61,11% of them (i.e. almost 19 per cent more than among all the surveyed). A similar role is performed here by another common factor – low education of parents, which rises the feeling by 13,69 per cent in case of mothers, and 9,04 in case of fathers with education below secondary level. These are common factors, present in whole society and understandable. The lack of economic or cultural capital is a hindrance in the rivalry for a better position in society, thus evoking insecurity. There is a question, which factors can decrease the insecurity? Once again, there can be seen a co-relation with the previously mentioned elements of capital. Lower fear (9,96 percent lower than the average) is experienced by people with higher income and people from "educated" families. Additionally, it appears that the higher education of a mother does not lower the anxiety. Anxiety falls by 11,06 per cent when a father has university education, and by as many as 25,64 per cent when both parents are educated. These two factors are presumably connected, granting the sense of security and thus rising the motivation[9] to achieve higher aims and the feeling of causation, eliminating anxiety. Moreover, less anxiety is experienced by men (by 15 per cent), which is probably a reflection of the situation of women in the job market and already employed people (11,36 per cent), among whom the fact of working probably is also a result of the given above theory of motivation.

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[7] Comp. U. Beck, *Społeczeństwo ryzyka. W drodze do nowoczesności,* Warszawa 2002.

[8] Comp. M. Maciejewska, *Koncepcja Frederica Herzberga, czyli o zadowoleniu i niezadowoleniu z pracy,* "Personel. Zatrudnianie – Motywowanie – Szkolenie" 2000, no. 5, pp. 16–17.

[9] Ibidem, pp. 16–17.

The experience of fear in thinking about the future (X=42,31%)
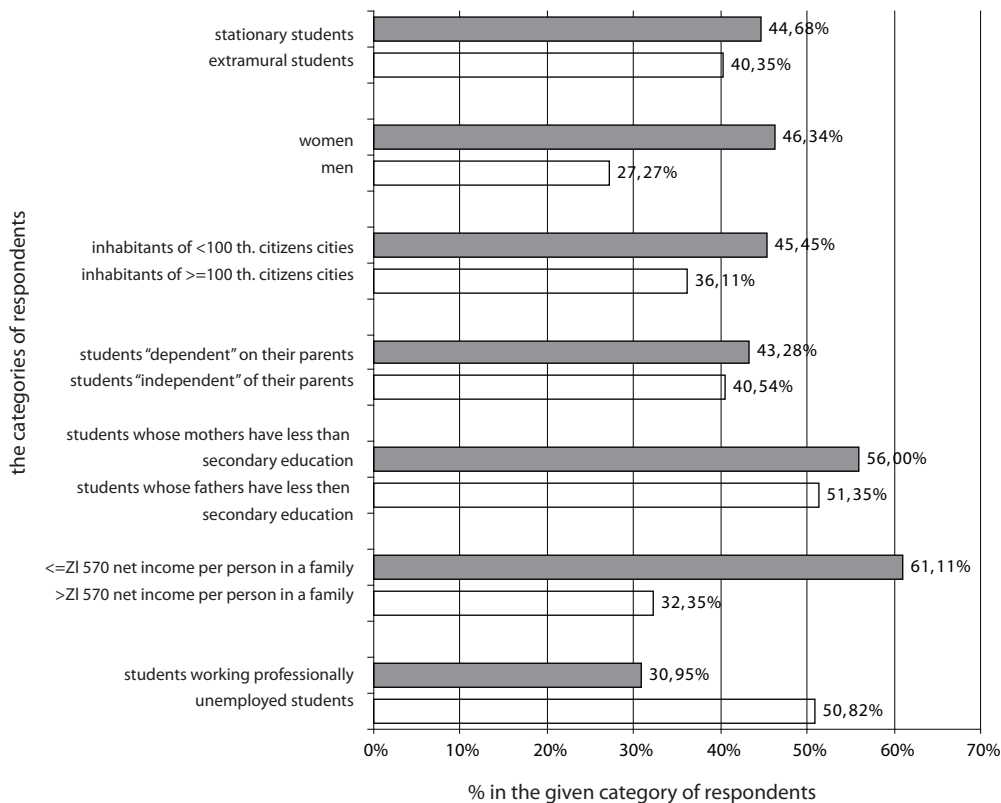
In the given situation, it becomes interesting how the respondents evaluate their own life chances in comparison to the time before going to university, as well as whether they see the study in a private university school as their chance or not (and what influences it). However, it must also be analyzed if the respondents follow their declaration as to the actions they consider successful in fulfilling their life aims, since the so-called wishing strategy[10] is an enemy of achievement. Certainly, I will predominantly refer to achieving success in the professional sphere, which today, in the highly professionalized world, for people who do not gain an important economic or cultural capital from their family homes, is the only way of any change of position in the social structure.

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[10] Comp. C. Timoszyk-Tomczak, *Strategie konstruowania własnej przyszłości*, Szczecin 2003, pp. 47––48.

4. The present position and plans

The experience of constant anxiety and the resulting stress[11] can be demotivating in consequence, yet the respondents venture into activities to form their future. Youth knows that university education is no longer in the modern world an extravagance reserved only for the interested, but a necessity. Do they really know, though, what to do not to be left behind, not to experience constant fear?

In the beginning I would like to present how I asked the respondents where in their opinion they are situated in society and where they would like to "get". Realizing that the term of social hierarchy or stratification can be unknown or known insufficiently, I posed the question in the following form:

"Society consists of individuals/groups that are organized hierarchically – some are higher some lower in social hierarchy (thus they have a better or a worse access to various important goods). Taking the above into consideration, please place on the scale that represents Polish society today:

A – yourself today B – the position you would like to finally reach"

Moreover, I added a chart on which I had marked the extreme, it seems, social categories. The respondents place themselves relatively high (**A**), if the middle of the hierarchy is 0, and its extremes -4 and +4, they placed themselves on 0,11 on average. It can be understandable in people who are independent and have relatively high income, or in "dependent" people whose parents have high incomes or are highly educated (so-called "old intelligence"). Although I used the picture of social-professional variety defined at least eight years ago[12], it appeared that it was not entirely known to the respondents. How else could it be explained that people with low income pointed at a similar position (equal to or above 0) to people with higher income (as many as 94,45% of them), as well as dependent people whose parents are poorly educated (25 such cases!).

the highest positions

owners of huge companies

● B

● A

middle positions

the homeless

the lowest positions

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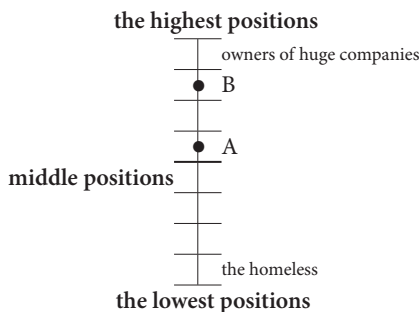
[11] Comp. G. Mietzel, *Wprowadzenie do psychologii,* Gdańsk 2002, pp. 326–341.
[12] Comp. H. Domański, *Miejsce w szyku,* "Polityka" 1998, no. 9, p. 5.

Therefore, there seems to be a more important question of how many levels the students want to advance. The survey suggests that they want to make a jump over 2,23 of a level on average (**B**). There are no important differences in the level of this jump between people with a better and worse start (see the paragraph above).

The aim seems to be right, yet do the respondents commence in as ambitious activities so as to be able to fulfil their plans, in spite of various obstacles that they find on their way.

5. Plans and actions

Do the respondents believe that learning and studying alone (*gaining university education itself)* [way no. 1] will guarantee success in the profession they study for? Well, they, rightly, do not. Only 2,88% of the respondents is of the opinion. Most of them bend towards some connection of studying with working – as many as 87,49%.

52,88% percent of the respondents think that the best solution is *to study and start some (even without payment) work – but related to the subject of their study (e.g. Voluntary work, apprenticeship)* [way no. 2]. Such activity adds to formal education a verification of the gained theoretical knowledge, practical experience and additional skill. It is essential in the system of education, in which the programmes prepared in advance change too slowly in relation to the modern world.

Even though the question referred to success only in the specific, chosen profession, and from this point of view the question should be really satisfactory. However, at this point, a certain important phenomenon should be noticed. Today, it is practically impossible to predict exactly what will be happening in economy (and in our professional life) in five years, not to mention in 10 or 15 years. It is rather outdated today to invest in a one-way manner. It is widely known that on today's work market hardly anyone works in one (even in related) profession. Therefore, just as positively, in my opinion, can be evaluated the point of view of the next group of people (27,88% of the respondents), who think that the best solution is *to study and to undertake any work with payment* [way no. 3]. Gaining experience, even not related with the subject of study is in the modern world, I presume, a very rational choice. It is positive to gain as much qualification and experience as possible. In addition, it develops the aforementioned and so inevitable openness and flexibility in attitude to our professional life (as well as to other areas of life) and the habit of constant further education.

Much more rarely chosen means of achieving success in a selected profession are: to *start any job as soon as possible and only after achieving a stable material position to begin education* (6,73% of the respondents) [way no. 4] (here, the distinguished people are independent and working) and *to start working as soon as possible – as much as possible reflecting the most wanted one – and to try and "work out" the success (without starting formal education)* (5,77 of the respondents) [way no. 5].

It is worth noticing here that people who already work and study in the extramural system tended much more frequently to choose the way no. 3, and more seldom the way no. 2 (even about 17 percent less often than the average). Respectively, the unemployed and stationary students chose the opposite (the difference in percent was similar). The ones that work and study in the extramural system, have probably already realized the aforementioned phenomena.

The researched group had started to study, and 58,65% of them earn money at work. All of them had to undergo 15 weeks of apprenticeship and 2 terms of the so-called mid-year practice, which is a part of their curriculum (visits in some institutions, meetings with practitioners, etc.). Is it enough to achieve success today – it is a problematic issue. What I am interested in is whether from the point of view of the respondents, education in a chosen school intensifies their chances in comparison to the period before the beginning of study and in comparison to other groups of young people.

A brief explanation of a particular issue must be given here. Every action will be more successful if it will be found reasonable (also education). It first of all depends on the fact that we lack proper motivation if our action seems nonsensical. Motivation, according to motivation theories, is the product of the value of the outcome of an action and the likelihood of achieving it[13], and in case of nonsensical action, the score is 0. Secondly, recognizing the usefulness of a particular direction of our actions, here – education, we undertake a lot more, not always conscious actions to fulfill the conviction[14]. Therefore, our chances grow even if the circumstances are not entirely supportive.

Basic remains the question whether the researched venture into proper action to make their plans come true, and if graduating from a private university will, in their opinion, contribute to the success or will it raise even stronger anxiety. Perhaps graduating from school is seen as something that simply must be "gone through", yet without any influence on our life chances? What is it that according to the respondents defines life chances in modern Poland?

Since the respondents themselves found limiting themselves to formal education alone as not satisfactory today, I also asked them if they got involved in some other, systematic action to fulfil their plans.

The percentage of people that had done it, as far as the above statement is concerned, is not impressive – 63,46%. However, I did not mark in the question whether professional work can be such an action or not (40,38% of the respondents had one), thus the scope of people who undertake such action may be wider (though not necessarily, since among the working people it is the highest anyway – 80,95%). The proper analysis of the state of the matter must be performed further and in more detail, there-

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[13] M. Maciejewska, *Skutek w zależności od celu. Motywowanie na przykładzie koncepcji oczekiwań*, "Personel. Zatrudnianie – Motywowanie – Szkolenie" 2000, no. 8

[14] It is explained in detail by psycho-social theories of self-fulfilling prophecy and cognitive dissonance of Festinger.

The statement of venturing into a systematic action (apart from studying)
to fulfil their life aims (X=63,46%)

the categories of respondents	
stationary students	55,32%
extramural students	70,18%
women	59,76%
men	77,27%
inhabitants of <100 th. citizens cities	62,12%
inhabitants of >=100 th. citizens cities	66,67%
students "dependent" on their parents	61,19%
students "independent" of their parents	67,57%
students whose mothers have less than secondary education	68,00%
students whose fathers have less then secondary education	56,76%
<=Zl 570 net income per person in a family	61,11%
>Zl 570 net income per person in a family	64,71%
students working professionally	80,95%
unemployed students	50,82%

% in the given category of respondents

fore I will limit to the above. I will only mention that, unfortunately, the stationary students present themselves in a negative manner, as far as the issue is concerned (there is a difference of about 8 per cent in comparison to the average), explaining themselves most often with lack of time (though only 8,5% of them have extra work!) or with the need/necessity to focus on their study. As far as the problem is concerned, extramural students are better disciplined and they undertake such actions more often (which I will mention again later), not excusing themselves with lack of time (though most of them work – 66,67%).

Will the situation change in future? As could be expected, the percent of declarations to take up such action in future rises considerably (on average up to 85,58%), yet, this number is known to change noticeably in realization. However, it is worth pointing out that "fortunately" the percent of stationary students that want to venture into such action rises considerably (it is even higher than the average – 89,36%), though extramural students are not worse (82,46%). More "active plans" characterize the inhabitants of big cities (94,44% of them), yet none of the categories can be distinguished "in minus". It is a very high score, it is widely known, though, that to plan is not enough. A vast

proportion of the respondents did not write what they would like to do, but gave enigmatic answers "courses, trainings". It should be hoped that the planning process itself will not be too comforting and will not replace the actual actions in future. It is worth making young people realize even more the inevitability of constant self development and of investing in themselves.

Do the respondents think that (due to these and other actions and their own features) they will manage to overcome the difficulties that lay between them and achieving success? As many as 75% said that *definitely* or *rather yes* and none of the categories falls below this level (the citizens of big cities are located even above it). 5,77% claimed that it is *difficult to say* , and 14,42% did not give an answer. Only 4,81% of the respondents chose to say that they will *rather* or *definitely not* overcome them. Where does this pessimism (in the question about the future) come from, then, if obstacles can be overcome? It seems that the respondents are confused in the blurred social and economic situation of Poland, which does not necessarily have to become clearer[15]. On the one hand, they experience fear, on the other hand, they know that nobody but them will change their situation. It is impossible, as people once did, to trust the state, the state does not guarantee jobs today. Neither can they stand still, because today it means to fall – the competition on the job market is too strong today (which the respondents themselves notice) to stop running. Therefore, in spite of the fear, everybody runs, though not everyone will arrive at the planned destination.

To fully analyze the rationality and adequacy of the activity commenced by the researched, it must be checked which factors do they consider meaningful to achieve success in life. Even if the consideration is false, acting in accordance with the factors can be viewed as at least partially positive because coherent and rational. Then, the only thing to work on will be to make them realize the real factors, and motivation will already exist. If the consciousness of factors remains contrary to actions, it may, unfortunately, mean lack of the right motivation, lack of self-belief, etc., which requires a more serious interference, and is much more difficult to change.

The respondents were given 14 factors to evaluate, among which were present the typical ascribed factors (parents' education, parents' material status, the place of living, ethnic origin, handicap, sex) and the factors that are considered meaningful in the meritocratic theory (their own university education, the choice of the subject of study, the choice of university, actual qualifications and skills, hard work, their own initiative, entrepreneurship, cleverness, cunningness) and the categories of "connections" and "luck".

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[15] Comp. L.W. Zacher, *Ryzyko społeczne* [in:] *Encyklopedia socjologii,* vol. 3, Warszawa 2000, pp. 357––361.

The meaning of particular factors for achieving success in life (from 2 – very big meaning, 1 – big meaning, 0 – average meaning, -1 – little meaning, -2 – not meaningful for an achievement)	
parents' education	0,39
parents' material status	1,33
the place of living (city/countryside)	0,57
ethnic origin	-0,13
handicap	0,81
sex	-0,47
"connections"	1,62
their own university education	1,47
the choice of the subject of study	1,1
the choice of university	0,73
actual qualifications and skills	1,3
hard work, their own initiative, entrepreneurship	1,42
cleverness, cunningness	1,28
luck	1,29

The first place among the factors that influence the achievement of success in life the respondents gave to "*connections*". The researched accredited it with the value of 1,62 (on a scale: 2 – very big, 1 – big, 0 – average, -1 – little, -2 – not meaningful). "Luckily", *their own university education* comes next (1,47), and *hard work, their own initiative, entrepreneurship* (1,42). Next places go to *parents' material status* (1,33) and *actual qualifications and skills* (1,3). The enumerated factors do not differentiate the studied group from the rest of youth[16]. At the top come here first of all the "meritocratic" factors, which means that the respondents believe in the possibility to change their status on their own, they have a sense of cause and effect, which is enormously valiant for the sense of their own life chances. At the same time, they also realize the inequality of beginnings, i.e. the existence of ascribed factors, such which they cannot influence, which I consider to be a virtue because their evaluation of reality will be in consequence more accurate, which can give them a stronger sense of control[17] and render their aspirations more real.

It is disturbing that just behind the meritocratic factors there is *luck* (1,29), which could mean fatalism and lack of the feeling of cause and effect. Nevertheless, such a schizophrenic connection finally, explains, at least partially, the anxiety that the respondents experience. Our society is in majority "a society of risk", a society of constant transformation, which makes it difficult to plan anything[18], yet, quite stable factors are

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[16] Comp. M. Falkowska, *Równość życiowych szans,* 1999, a communicate of CBOS no. 2102.

[17] Comp. P.G. Zimbardo, *Psychologia i życie,* Warszawa 1985, pp. 384–385.

[18] Comp. M. Piorunek, *Projektowanie przyszłości edukacyjno-zawodowej w okresie adolescencji*, Poznań 2004, pp. 54–59.

still present in Poland (e.g. family), which can to some extent eliminate the instability (especially as far as work is concerned) and motivate. The respondents confirm the above in the open questions. The obstacles in achieving their aims are mostly: the changeable situation on the job market, and lack of connections (or protection used by others). As far as the factors that help to achieve an aim are concerned, family support and education are very common.

The factors that according to the respondents have little influence on their "fate" are: *sex* (-0,47), and *ethnic origin* (-0,13), i.e. the ascribed factors that should be evaluated in such a way for any active motivation to appear (some things cannot be "exceeded").

Parents' education got an average meaning (0,39). According to the theory of cultural capital and its reproduction by Pierre Bourdieu[19], this factor is, to my mind, a little underestimated. On the one hand, it could have a liberating effect, give hope that obstacles can be overcome. On the other hand, it could result in cultural aspirations that are too low for people who are supposed to own a university degree. It could result from the negation or neglect of some differences in the original cultural capital, and consequently, too little work on the capital.

To conclude, it must be stated that the students approach the fulfillment of their plans in quite a rational and adequate (to the present social and economic situation) way. Although their scope can be possibly limited in future, "counting on" not only university education, but hard work, own initiative, entrepreneurship and actual qualifications and skills is at present mostly praised. Unfortunately, the meaning of social background, family economic and social capital (connections) cannot be denied – they do play an important role. And the social instability and ignorance of all social and economic factors that influence the success in fulfilling aims can result in an impression that it is "luck" that determines our lives. Therefore, the researched students' evaluation of the means of succeeding in achievements seems quite adequate to the situation, and, what is important, motivating to action.

6. Plans and university education

The respondents have already got involved in one of the ways, and during the analysis they were in the process of finishing one of its basic stages (just before taking the Bachelor degree exam). Therefore, I wanted to check in more detail how much they value university education itself.

As I have mentioned, it is for the respondents a highly estimated instrumental value. However, simultaneously, as many as 69,23% of them think that apart from enhancing the possibility of getting a better job it is also necessary e.g. for their own satisfaction and raising their own esteem, i.e. it has a self-explanatory value. It suggests

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[19] Comp. P. Bourdieu, J.C. Passeron, *Reprodukcja. Elementy systemu nauczania,* Warszawa 1990.

that they do not only educate themselves as an obligation. There are no noticeable differences among the categories. The only one is such that the less wealthy students appoint to these features of education about 14 per cent more often (the wealthier ones valued it similarly to the average value), which in their situation can be an advantage on the one hand (they do not have to wait for for an instant change of their situation and can prepare for a longer effort because they have already achieved a kind of prize), on the other hand it can be a disadvantage (demotivating sense of achievement). Though, I assume it is not the case, since as many as 83,33% of people from this group intends to educate further. None of the respondents strongly claimed that once they have the Bachelor degree they would not educate themselves further. 12,5% answered that they still do not know whether they will undertake such action, and as many as 87,5% that they are going to undertake it.

The ambition to study more, after achieving the Bachelor degree is presumably a good measure of the high estimation of education. In the group that is going to continue their education, stationary students create a positive majority (95,74% of them), yet they are mostly dependent on their parents (living in their "family home") (84,44% of them) and not working, but with higher income in their family (73,33% of them). In my opinion, it explains the almost 8-point difference. The least motivated to further study are the children of people with less then secondary education (about 10 per cent less), and it is mostly these people that do not know whether they will take up further education (about 2 per cent more than the average). It can be the result of lack of forming higher aspirations in their family homes, also an aforementioned achievement of a chosen aim.

A similar indicator of the self-explanatory value of education is an answer to the question what would the respondents do if at the first year of their study they received a huge fortune (that would allow them to live without work). Only 6,73% (i.e. 7 people) said they would not continue their education!

The value of university education as a means in achieving a goal is expressed e.g. in the opinion of the respondents on whether employers take the education under consideration in prizing and promoting. However, the question was not asked in a dichotomous way, yet it was also supposed to verify what, according to the respondents (from the enumerated factors in a cafeteria), employers pay most attention to: a – *actual qualifications, which do not have to be connected with the degree,* b – *actual qualifications referring to the achieved education,* c – a *certificate, "an affidavit" of graduation (preferably at the best possible university).* A majority of the respondents (75%) chose the first two answers. It can only be hoped that it is also most of employers that consider university education as a benefit (not excluding, "of course", just as the respondents say, the actual qualifications). Since the working people, i.e. those who had already verified the above in practice, chose the answer "b" a little more often than others (about 6 per cent more often), and a little less frequently (about 7 per cent) they pointed at the answer "c", we can have positive predictions about their education.

The statement of an intention to continue education after being granted
the Bachelor degree (X=87,5%)
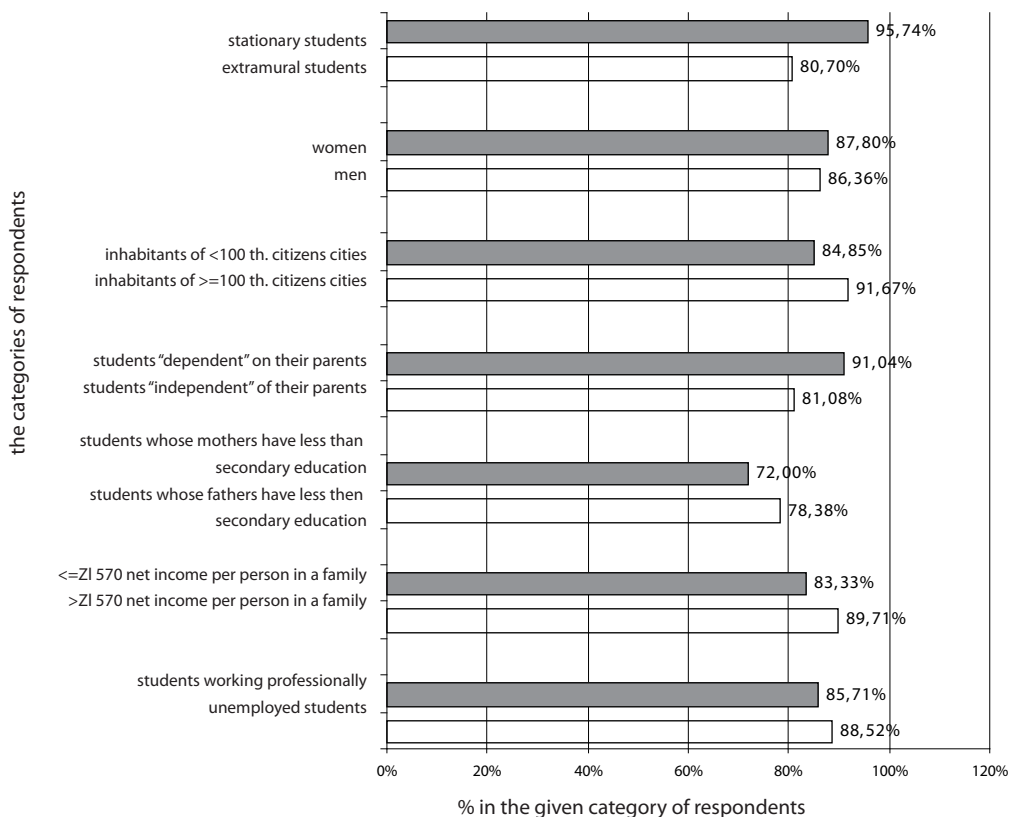
The respondents highly estimate university education as a both self-explanatory and instrumental value, yet, "luckily not that much" as to think that actual skills and qualifications can be replaced by a "piece of paper". To the question: *Will university education help you to achieve your life goals?,* 54,81% of the respondents claimed that *definitely yes,* and 45,19% – that *rather yes.* There were no other answers.

7. Plans and school

Being aware of the above relations, there must finally be asked a question whether it is the education in a private school that the respondents perceive as a factor that raised their chances, or not.

First of all, I inquired the students how they evaluated their school in comparison to other public and private universities as far as the quality of education and preparation for their future profession is concerned (i.e. what they will really get from the school).

The evaluation is very positive. A vast majority of the respondents describe their university as comparable, in the specified field, to public schools (70,19% of the respondents think so) and as many as 23,08% consider it even better. This, in my point of view, is a high score. Only 6,73% of them claim that their school is worse in this respect. The causes will be hinted at in the following part of the article. The evaluation of their school when compared with other private ones is even better. 43,27% of the respondents claim that their school is better, and 54,81 think it is comparable.

Another question that refers to the influence of the educational situation of the respondents on their sense of life chances is the inquiry of how the respondents evaluate it in comparison to other peer groups. Below is presented a table with the results of the comparison (the per cent of the whole analyzed group; the columns do not sum up to 100 because a lack of an answer was not classified).

My chances are:	In comparison to peers who:				
	have not began studying at university and work	have begun studying at a public university and do not work	have begun studying at a public university and work	have begun studying at a private university and do not work	have begun studying in a private university and work
bigger	58,65%	14,42%	23,08%	31,73%	19,23%
comparable	23,08%	63,46%	33,65%	53,85%	53,85%
smaller	5,77%	7,69%	31,73%	5,77%	14,42%
difficult to specify	8,65%	11,54%	8,65%	12,5%	9,62%

As can be seen, the respondents feel quite well in comparison to their peers. Only in comparison to the category of peers who have begun studying at a public university and work, there is quite a noticeable percentage of people that estimate their chances as smaller (though, this per cent is still lower than in the answer – "comparable"). Therefore, it can be assumed that the respondents do not feel much "harmed" by their situation – i.e. studying in the particular university. However, either to affirm or to contradict the hypothesis, more questions must be asked.

In the question: *Will the finished school help them succeed in life, achieve their life goals?,* 25% of the respondents answered that definitely yes, and 49,04% that rather yes, which according to me is a very good score, though, in comparison to the evaluation of university education alone, a little lower. On the other hand, 15,38% of the respondents claimed that rather not (no one that definitely not, 9,62% were not able to provide an answer). It does not constitute a vast percentage, yet it should be analyzed. None of the studied categories distinguishes itself in negative evaluation. In the question which is even more direct: *Thinking about the future, do you consider the fact that you study at this university as your chance, an obstacle or is it difficult to say?* – 49,04% found it as a chance (men distinguished themselves "in plus", and the children of poorly educated

mothers "in minus"), for 46,15% it was difficult to make a choice (the most indecisive were the children of poorly educated mothers and the inhabitants of smaller towns, the least – men and the inhabitants of big cities). Only three people (all inhabitants of big cities) in the whole group stated that the school will constitute an obstacle for them in the future. Still, it is worth it quoting here all their explanations:

- *"Because there still exists a stereotype about private schools: if you pay you do not have to do anything and that a person cannot do anything after such a school".*
- *"Because the private ones are perceived as worse (a bribe and you get a 5), and it's not like that."*
- *"Because nobody will employ me after a private school if there is someone else after a public one."*

Even if a researched person claims that the school is an obstacle for him, it is not the quality of education that is the reason, but the social evaluation of private university education. Presumably, it does not need further consideration. The students are not able to win the uneven "fight" on their own – the will of people with power is necessary.

As described, a majority of the respondents presented studying in their school as a positive factor in the fulfillment of their life plans. What are, in my opinion, the results of this fact?

As I have mentioned, in agreement with the theories of education, I assume that the more positive is the opinion of the undertaken way to success, i.e. education in a private university (positive evaluation), the more "helping" factor it will become because of stronger motivation. The students that have a more positive attitude to their school will be more engaged in their classes, since they will consider them beneficial, they will seize as much as they can from them and spend enough time on preparing to the classes. Such attitude will also contribute to venturing into extracurricular activity at school, for example creating academic circles, student organizations, taking part in charities organized by the university, etc. Provided that such circumstances are created, even if a given school is of poor educational quality (which is not the case in the analyzed school, since the university was granted a positive opinion of PKA [The National Accreditation Commission]and received the right to educate at the Master level), a properly involved and motivated person will be able to benefit from the education much more than an unmotivated one, he or she will develop undertaking various activities, which, apart from specific skill, will imprint in him or her the so much valued today habit of constant self-improvement. To contrast with, it is possible that the students of the third year, asked for an evaluation of the school to which they attended for so many years, will not "be able to" evaluate negatively even a worse school, because there might appear an instance of the cognitive dissonance reduction[20]. To reduce the feeling of mistake, of the wrong

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[20] Comp. P.G. Zimbardo, *Psychologia...*, pp. 549–550 and W. Łukaszewski, *Motywacja w najważniejszych systemach teoretycznych* [in:] *Psychologia. Podręcznik akademicki,* (ed.) J. Strelaua, Gdańsk 2000, vol. II, pp. 435–437.

choice of school – I will evaluate it in a positive way, I will deny facts, because every person wants to be right. However, it does not have to exclude the evolutionary effect of the positive evaluation of a school given above. Though, it can also result in, for example, the lack of venturing into activities other than learning, as an outcome of the subconscious resentment towards the confrontation of the acquired knowledge with practice and in the perseverance of our own vision of reality. Psychologists deal with these mechanisms in detail, I only suggest here some possibilities.

In the analyzed case, I will assume that the positive evaluation of their own educational situation is and will be a benefit for the students, i.e. a situation that motivates them to self-development and achieving the planned goals.
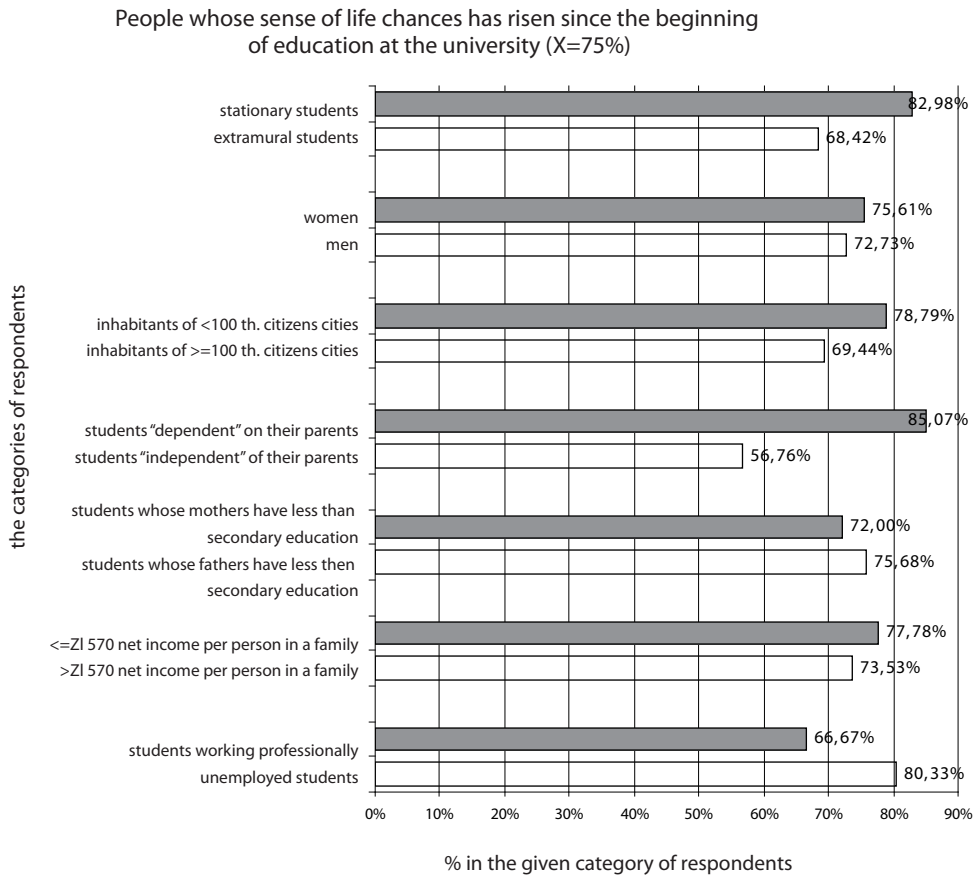
8. The sense of life chances – final remarks

Finally, the respondents were asked to evaluate whether their life chances had risen since the beginning of education in their school. They were supposed to specify the per cent of chances to fulfil their plans from 0% – no chances to 100% – full success in the given stages of life (past and future). The first was the moment when the students started education in the given school, the second – the time just after graduation with a Bachelor degree. The difference will specify if during their study the sense of life chances had risen or not. It is certain that in the lives of the researched group there are/have been situations other than education that modify their sense of life chances. Nevertheless, I tried to ask the question in a way that would make them separate it and answered how it was that education in the particular school influenced this sense. As before, also in this question I resolved to focus on the chances that first of all refer to the professional sphere.

30,84% of the respondents stated that their chances for achieving success (in the professional sphere) after graduating from the school with the degree of a Bachelor will rise noticeably (above 30%), 26,92% – that it will be an average rise(from 20 to 30%), and 17,31 – that the increase will be small (less then 20%). As described, as many as 75 of the respondents found education at this university as their professional chance (it was similar in questions about other spheres of life). Only 11,54% of the respondents claimed that school will not change anything in this respect (0%), and 4,41%, (i.e. only 5 people) that it can cause a fall of their chances.

Who is it that "expects the least from the school" (thinks that their chances will not change or decrease)? Majority is composed of the already independent people – 76,47% of the ones sharing the opinion. It is not alarming news, because these respondents are usually older (born in about 1978), with a higher, in my estimation, income, thus probably mostly settled down in life. School can therefore be for them e.g. only a means of keeping their post.

The most "trusting" in the power of education seem to be the stationary students – as many as 87,97% of them think that the studies will raise their chances, and 38,3%

People whose sense of life chances has risen since the beginning
of education at the university (X=75%)

the categories of respondents

category	value
stationary students	82,98%
extramural students	68,42%
women	75,61%
men	72,73%
inhabitants of <100 th. citizens cities	78,79%
inhabitants of >=100 th. citizens cities	69,44%
students "dependent" on their parents	85,07%
students "independent" of their parents	56,76%
students whose mothers have less than secondary education	72,00%
students whose fathers have less then secondary education	75,68%
<=Zl 570 net income per person in a family	77,78%
>Zl 570 net income per person in a family	73,53%
students working professionally	66,67%
unemployed students	80,33%

% in the given category of respondents

– that it will be a noticeable improvement. In spite of the aforementioned mechanisms, it is not an entirely positive score, since as many as 92,31% of the people from this group have not started to work yet (the third year of studies!), and as I have mentioned, a big part of them – 48,72% – (the groups overlap) have not commenced any other systematic activity (apart from studying) to achieve life success. It is an overindulgent luxury in the modern world.

In this respect, extramural students, though a little less trustful in the effect of school (68,42% believe in its "efficiency"), are more disciplined. Apart from professional work, which have started 66,67% of people from the "trustful" group, 71,79% of them have got involved in other systematic actions – therefore the percentages can overlap, yet it is still a high score (these respondents do not excuse themselves with lack of time).

Commencing additional activity that supports development in order to stay on the job market is a necessity today, "even" for people who already have university education. I do not claim that the specified students do not do anything for their development. On

the contrary, they must do something (e.g. learn how to use IT, which is required when living among other young people, voluntary work popular on this course, etc.). It is worth it for them to undertake more activities, yet it is also important that they realize what they are already involved in. From the point of view of today's job market, which demands not only the concrete factors, such as formal qualifications, rights, education, but the more elusive ones, as well (if only interpersonal competence), it is worth it for all young people to realize their strengths and use them to their advantage.

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Maria Witkoś

A PROGRAMME OF SUPPORTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A GIFTED CHILD (LESSONS SCRIPTS)

1. Theoretical foundations, aims, procedures

There are differences in the definition of an exceptional ability.

The psychological criterion is based on the use of the results of psychological tests (IQ tests, special abilities, etc.).

The psycho-pedagogical criterion (more and more emphasized) refers to the achievements of a student: a gifted student is one that has profound achievements in his actions.

The most recent approach to the issue of unusual ability[1] assumes the co-existence of three elements:

1) above average ability,
2) creativity,
3) involvement in work.

Ad. 1. Above average ability stand for a high efficiency of cognitive processes (perception, thinking, speaking, memory and attention, learning) or special ability (mathematical, language, musical, arts, movement, etc.);

Ad. 2. Creativity means originality of ideas, their innovativeness. Creative thinking (contrary to convergent – where only one solution is possible) is divergent – it is based on the production of numerous elements as an answer to a problem; it is conducted according to heuristics – random clues and rules. Creative ability is connected with venturing into new, unconventional problems, openness to ambiguities, taking up risks, great sensitivity, and rich emotional reactions;

Ad. 3. Task involvement, motivation, the need for achievement decide about the direction, the relentlessness and high achievement of the gifted individuals.

Special abilities can be general or directed (specific) in character.

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[1] Renzulli following A.E. Sękowski, *Osiągnięcia uczniów zdolnych*, Lublin 2000, pp. 27–29.

it is teachers that first realize the gifts of a child. Teachers' marks are most often the best indicators of student performance, especially during elementary teaching. In the younger classes the gifted students get better marks. The abilities of younger children are usually not that specified, they are revealed in the overall cognitive ability. About the twelfth year of life, directed abilities become visible[2].

the main aim of the programme was stimulation, supporting the development of (the abilities of) a child. I have adopted the psycho-pedagogical criterion in specifying ability, i.e. I rely on the teacher evaluation of a student's achievement.

I have presented the subject of abilities on meetings with teachers. I have presented the tools of recognizing abilities: the Teacher Form of Eby Recommendation and the Eby Indicator of the Behaviour that Recognize Ability[3]. On the basis of the above I asked for a ranking of students as far as the features/dimensions presented there are concerned: Ability, Task Involvement, Creativity and Perceptiveness, Activity, Reflexivity, Persistence, Independence, Direction towards an Aim, Originality, Efficiency, Self esteem, Communicating Ideas.

The people that achieve the highest scores were selected to take part in the classes. At the same time I emphasized that every willing and interested child can take part in them. The rule was that participation was voluntary.

Not every student selected by the teacher came to the classes. During the programme other people joined the group (interested in the heard news about the performed tasks). The total number of the participants was 17, 12 children came systematically.

The classes took place once a week throughout the semester, extracurricularly. They were to last one hour, but following children requests, they often lasted two hours (school or clock hours).

I chose the third year of primary school. Students at that age are past the season of adaptation to the conditions of school work and student environment. Moreover, abilities at this stage of life are still general in cognition (which I – as a psychologist can shape). At an older age, special abilities become specified. Teachers of the subject (teachers – masters) should deal with the development of these gifts using the system of the subject teaching, as well as various forms of extracurricular classes.

The stimulation of development is a multi-directional influence.

As detailed aims I adopted in the programme of my work (taking into consideration the earlier mentioned conception, the picture of ability):

1) development of cognitive ability
2) development of creative thinking
3) awakening of action motivation

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[2] See M. Witkoś, *Szczególne uzdolnienia – zarys problematyki,* "Życie Szkoły" 2001, no. 6.

[3] J.W. Eby, J.F. Smutny, *Jak kształcić uzdolnienia dzieci i młodzieży*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 104, 107.

Ad. 1. In the classed I used such intellectual functions as: deductive and inductive reasoning, verbal fluency, the capacity of memory, concentration of attention, visual and hearing perception.

Ad. 2. The main axis of the programme were first of all the exercises that develop the abilities of creative thinking. Such reasoning is a condition of achievement, self-fulfillment, preserving mental health and general very beneficial cognitive-emotional functioning.

Unfortunately, it constitutes a recently neglected sphere of human activity (both educational and extracurricular). There are few situations in everyday life, in which non-standard and original action would be appreciated and rewarded.

In the process of education it is often reconstructive and conformist behaviour that is praised, as well as the usage of strictly set procedures. It results in an attitude of waiting for standards, ready made rules, which leaves no space for own ideas and creativity.

Children had difficulties at the beginning of the classes in doing exercises that required stepping out of the set schemes. They were often helpless when faced with open tasks that refer to imagination or work in accordance with their own idea. Yet, they made progress very fast and made up for the lacks in these skills.

Ad. 3. It is hard to shape motivation directly. It was performed by awaking cognitive curiosity, the construction of tasks and organization of the classes (there are no winners, the task is interesting in itself; there is no judgment – only the consciousness that I do it for myself, not for a mark, no criticism of partial success, reducing the fear connected with social evaluation; awaking trust, sense of security, atmosphere of fun, realizing that a mistake or weakness is human, and overcoming difficulties can give satisfaction)[4].

As additional (remaining) detailed aims used the following:

4) developing social skill;

5) harmonizing the work of brain (by exercising educational Kinesiology following the method of Dennison – where by specific movements brain functions are improved, especially using the full potential of both brain hemispheres[5].

Ad. 4. A gifted child usually acts individually, separately. He or she can have difficulties in interpersonal contact.

The classes here were mostly team work (in smaller or bigger groups). They required following the earlier set rules (a contract – i.e. a collectively created, written down and signed by the students agreement). Children spontaneously supervised each other in following the rules. They learned to compromise, listen to another person, present their arguments, and to achieve final effect together. The classes also included elements of socio- and music therapy, as well as integrative games. It was important to show and name emotions, body language, etc.

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[4] E. Maksymowska, A. Wojna, *Wspieranie w rozwoju – program*, "Remedium" 1998, no. 1.
[5] See C. Hanaford, *Zmyślne ruchy*, Warszawa 1998.

Ad. 5. The intellectual functioning of a gifted child is more often then not connected with the instability of development. The exercises following the method of Dennison can stimulate and benefit to a the full development of mental functioning, improve cognitive (thinking, learning, memory and attention), perceptive, kinetic, and motivation processes, as well as the usage of the potential of both hemispheres (especially of the neglected at school right hemisphere, which conditions, among others, the synthetic and discovering ability)[6].

The conducted classes gave me a lot of satisfaction. The hard work of the children, their cognitive abilities, mutual responsibility for the process of work awoke high praise in the eyes of the author of the programme. The benefits and positive impression were most probably mutual. Children, in their final evaluation (they were asked for such on the last meeting), underlined the free, open, playful, ... and peaceful atmosphere of the classes (probably not possible on the standard school lessons), which allowed for the creation of various ideas and the deepening of emotional and social bonds among the participants (the possibility to get to know or make friends with the people with whom – as they mentioned – they had always wanted to do that; according to the author they were simply people close to them as far as their cognitive needs and emotional sensitivity is concerned: "of similar ways of thinking and feeling").

It is important that in the future the children have the possibility to develop their specific ability. The author of the programme encouraged them to use their interests and abilities in various forms (on their own or with the help of a teacher) in the following school year, in their next class, when subject teaching begins, e.g. by taking part in contests, Olimpic Competitions, additional tasks and activities, extracurricular classes and their own search (e.g. of the sources of knowledge – initially with help of the librarian, etc.), by studying the achievements and experience of specialists in a given area (by taking part in meetings, lectures, exhibitions, etc.).

Will they meet a teacher – master?... a person fascinated in his or her subject, motivating by his or her own passion to work and development of skills? – I do not know. The poor means of financing education can be an obstacle. They do not motivate teachers to such efforts.

2. Scripts of classes

The first script.
1. Greeting. Presenting the purpose and character of the meetings. Autopresentation – every child introduces themselves giving their name and surname, talks about their interests, favourite and least favourite activities (the participants say what they want or prefer to say about themselves – unforced answers).
2. Integrative games; in a circle:

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6   Comp. M. Łukasiewicz, *Sukces w szkole (booklet 1),* Poznań 1999.

- a consecutive person sys their name and then the names of the previously intro-ducing children, the last participant has the most difficult task because he or she must without mistake give all the consecutive names of others (exercising mem-ory, recognition);
- the second part of greetings: as an answer to e.g. "welcome all in blue trousers" everyone that fulfills this condition shouts "hi" and throw their arms above their head (finding other mutual features, e.g. the colour of eyes, favourite food, pets, etc.);
- "a mirror" – a game in pairs: slow repetition, following the movements of the person standing in front of you.
3. Writing an agreement (a contract) – the suggestions of the participants (e.g. "we help each other", "we call each other by our first name"), signing the created agreement.
4. Drawing and naming geometric figures.
Children draw and name (e.g. by approaching the blackboard – they enjoy it) known geometric figures – with more difficult shapes (parallelogram, diamond, ellipse, etc.) the teacher assists them.
Next, each child creates their own figure and gives it their own name. In the pres-entation they explain the chosen name.
5. Introducing the exercises from the Kinesiology theory of Dennison (alternate movenments, Coock's position).
6. Conclusion – an endeavour to complete the sentence: "I felt like...", to express own impressions, feelings.
Saying goodbye.

The second script.
1. Greeting – sharing experience; students introduce new persons (if there are such); preparing a list of participants – children themselves in an alphabetical order specify their place on the list.
2. In a circle:
- getting to know each other – everyone demonstrates with a gesture or whole body movement their favourite activity, other children guess, name the activities and everyone repeats the action;
- creating associations – every consecutive child adds a word to the word spoken by the previous person, so that a meaningful utterance, a sentence or a few sen-tences will be created (e.g. "at home...").
3. Brainstorm – we create a crossword puzzle (children explain what a crossword puzzle is, how words cross), so that there could be a vertical solution: the letters written down should create the word "spring" (when will spring come?, are its signs visible? – the classes began in February); volunteers write a word in agree-

ment with the group and after considering other suggestions. Describing a cross-word puzzle – forming the explanations of the used words, finding their order.

4. Creating a mental map (nonlinear note taking, graphic and pictorial presentation of a content)[7] of the topic "spring" – children in groups write down all the words associated with spring. Presentation of the sets of words. Next, in each group – connecting the words following some similarities. Drawing a mental map together – defining the subordinate terms, relations; structuralism of knowledge. Justifying the words and terms used and ordered in particular surroundings.

5. In a circle – practicing the Dennison method exercises: alternate movements (precise, slow, with eyes following the movement), drawing of "lazy eights", Coock's position, as well as forming fingers into a "chimney-sweep" (difficult for many).

6. Sharing the impressions – "I felt well when…", "I liked…" (finishing the sentences basing on own feelings).

 Saying goodbye.

The third script.
1. Greeting, sharing experiences and information from the day (spontaneously).
2. In a circle:
– reminding the names of all the participants (every child gives his name and all others that have presented before him);
– associations – a chain (developing divergent thinking) – another child adds to the word spoken by his predecessor a word that he associates with it (a noun).
3. Integrating game:
– children stand in the order of being born without using speech, only gesture, movement (children exchange their data, arrange among themselves the order of their positions: an endeavour to transmit information nonverbally, e.g. the order of a month and day by showing the right number of fingers);
– "a train" – using the previous arrangement (to assure random order of children), they divide into threes (by counting to three), arranging threes, one person behind the other, each three is a separate train that moves using the signals provided by the second person from the third to the first one that has, likewise the second one, their eyes closed; the third child looks and choses the route, pays attention to obstacles. The signals are transmitted by pressing the right shoulder – turn right, and left – turn left, both – stop, no signal – go straight (learning non-verbal communication, transmitting emotional support, creating the sense of security, responsibility and cooperation).
4. Children receive a set of a few dozen pictures (forty), which show various specific objects: animals, different professions, furniture, fruit, tools, music instruments, means of transport, etc. The task of the participants is to group the pictures

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7 See M. Łukasiewicz, *Sukces w szkole…*, p. 34.

using their similarities. Everyone works individually. Next, children present the results of their work, i.e. the way of classifying. We pay attention to naming the classes of the objects, brainstorm about the possible criteria of classification, we write down, add the criteria that are difficult for children.

We try to agree on a common classification, children define categories, subcategories, arrange particular names to them.

5. Associations in the form of a star (main word placed centrally – on the spreading arms there are the associated terms) – each child chooses a selected picture and tries to create as many associations as possible with the object presented in it; presentation in a circle.

6. Still in a circle – practicing the previously presented exercises of educational kinetics study (alternate movements, "lazy eights", the Coock's position), as new ones: symmetric scribble (drawing with both hands – integrating the work of both hemispheres).

7. Conclusion – "I felt bad when...", finishing the sentence, trying to name the feelings.

Saying goodbye.

The fourth script.

1. Greeting, presenting events – personal experiences of the day (any presentations).

2. In a circle:

– arranging in the alphabetical order of the first letters of the participants names, children arrange themselves, information is transmitted non-verbally (it is forbidden to communicate with words, but allowed with gesture or facial expression);

– introducing oneselves by presenting the activities that are most often performed: each child says his name, presents his activity with a gesture, names it (e.g. stroking a cat, working at a computer, etc.), all children repeat the movements; in the second part – the leader enumerates the name of any child, the participants present (together) the activity that the owner of the name presented as the favourite (practicing the skill of reenacting, recognizing, reminding, people identification, getting interested, sensitive to another human being).

3. Still working with a set of illustrations (also used in the previous meeting).

Children construct their own series of associations (linear) using any chosen illustrations (e.g. a pond – a frog – a prince, etc.). Each child works individually. Presentation of the results to the whole class. Interpretation. Building as long as possible chains of associations.

4. From the set of pictures each child chooses one (apart from people and animals), they do not show it to others – the task is to present the object with their own body, gesture, movement.

The group tries to guess which object, profession, etc. The participant presents. We check the relevance of he presentation, of guessing; the child shows the picture.

In the second part: children imagine an object themselves (first they write it on a sheet of paper), and present it with their bodies. The group makes guesses as before. Applause for the one that shows and the one that correctly recognized the object.

5. In a circle – practicing the exercises of educational kinetics study (alternate movements, "lazy eights" in various sets and dimensions: e.g. in the air, on the blackboard; Coock's position).

6. Conclusion – completing sentences "I felt well when...", "I was sad when..." (expressing emotion). Also free speeches.

Saying goodbye.

The fifth script.

1. Saying hello, sharing experience, impressions.

2. A game – opening the fist of another person (treated symbolically – opening somebody or ourselves to others): we do not talk, we do not use violence, everyone decides on their own when to open themselves/their hands.

3. We create pairs so that the companion could be a less known person (e.g. When children have not visited each other at home). Each describes to the partner what his room and the place for doing homework looks like. We encourage to pose various questions: about the colours, arrangement of elements, etc. Children know that they will have to draw their partner's room, but without asking any more questions. When pairs have the feeling that they have enough information, they split, go into different parts of the classroom and draw.

Confrontation and the description of drawings takes place in a circle. The person whose room has been drawn shows the parts accurately reflected and corrects the mistakes (praises the work of his partner). To finish with the pairs officially switch their drawings.

4. In the same or different pairs, depending on the will of children – role play, using only gesture or pantomime:
   – I am comforting a friend,
   – I am making a friend laugh,
   – I am explaining something to a friend,
   – I am inviting a friend (or other interpersonal moments, following the will of the participants and the leader).

After each role play a change of roles.

Presentation to the whole group. Children guess what were the situations about.

5. In a circle – revising the Dennison method. Practicing the worse known exercises (Cook's position, "lazy eights", symmetric scribble), introducing other symmetric movements: drawings, writings; and a new figure: "an elephant".

6. Conclusion – in pairs, as before, forming emotional communicates, nice constructive words and feelings for partners (children can express their feelings in a cozy and pleasant manner).

Saying goodbye (wishes on the approaching Easter).

The sixth script.

1. Greeting, as usual sharing the current news and experiences.
2. Developing non verbal communication. A game: A Martian and an Earthling. The Martian would like to get to know our planet in detail, collect as much information as possible from the Earthling. However, the Martian does not hear, see or speak. The Earthling can explain only using touch, leads the Martian to various places, presents various objects, their specific features, etc., thus presenting to the Martian the Earth and its inhabitants.

Then, there is a change of roles.

Sharing experience and feelings.

3. Creating an association star.

Writing in the centre of a blackboard of any word chosen by children. Every consecutive child approaches the blackboard and writes down a new word in form of a ray that is associated with the one in the centre.

The aim is to create as many rays-associations as possible.

4. Creating groups. Consequence (predicting): in groups, the participants imagine and present various situations, possibilities, answering the question, "What would happen if dogs could speak?" creating ideas and writing them on common group lists. Presenting the outcomes to the whole class. Explaining the possibly misunderstood descriptions, rewarding (each) effort with applause.
5. Expressing emotions with our body. Children create two rows; children walk between the rows one by one and present emotion specified in the instruction, e.g. "a crying girl", "a happy gentleman", etc. Next, each participant presents an individually invented figure and others guess who this is.
6. Revision and introduction of new exercises of the Dennison Whole Brain Learning Method [Kinesiology] (in a circle): Coock's position, "an elephant", "the hood of a thinker", "points to think"
7. Conclusion. Spontaneous comments of children.

Saying goodbye.

The seventh script.

1. Greeting – in a circle:

"Games to say hello":

– everyone says their name and adds an invented gesture, the group repeats as echo; all gestures and names are repeated;

– pronouncing your name with various emotions: joy, anger, calling each other (shouting your name is the most difficult task for people with emotional problems);

– rhythmical echo: each participant claps and/or stamps the rhythm created by himself, the group repeats it (practicing concentration, attention, memory, perceptiveness, sight – hearing – kinetic coordination, the sense of rhythm).

2. Various purposes. Work in small groups. "What can be the purpose of e.g. a cup (a newspaper, etc.)?" – enumerating ideas on a piece of paper, reading them to the whole class.

3. A word game. Still in groups: finding the biggest amount of words that contain some syllables e.g. "cat", "May", word clusters "nn", etc. or ten rhymes, e.g. "a shoe – a flu", etc. (then only work in pairs to individualize children's effort).

4. The leader fastens to one of the children a piece of paper with a noun spelled with capital letters and a word that describes it, e.g. "a school trip", "a gold fish", "a small scooter" or "a good man" (as more abstract), or others, according to children's suggestions. The task of every child is to guess the expression that is written on his back – based on the analogy created by other participants. Children can only use sentences that start and follow in such a way, "This thing is like... because..."

5. Revision of the Dennison Whole Brain Learning Method [Kinesiology]: alternate movements, "lazy eights" in various dimensions, "the hood of a thinker", "points to think", symmetric scribble – symmetric drawing (with both hands at the same time) of any picture (a house, a tree, a man, etc. whatever children want).

6. Conclusion, sharing impressions, both the positive and negative experiences, explaining them to each other.

Saying goodbye.

The eighth script.

1. Greeting

2. A kinetic game. The participants take various positions in the room, adapting some postures. Moreover, everyone makes up a sound that they will use. One of the children stands at the edge of the room with his eyes blinded. His task is to cross the room without bumping into the children located in many places. Children will warn about an obstacle with quiet and louder sounds, reflecting the distance of the one that is crossing the room. Led by the force and direction of the sounds he must cross the room without making physical contact.

3. Rhythmical "walking" in a circle (elements of music therapy) – clapping the rhythm with crotchets: 4/4, 3/4, 2/4, showing the stress (i.e. the first note in a time). The next child claps the length of a crotchet (counted as a "one") but depending on the adopted rhythm: every fourth in 4/4 time, every third – when 3/4, or every second – when 2/4, he claps louder and stronger, he must clearly

present the stress, i.e. the first note in a time (it is an exercise of concentration, listening and movement coordination and the sense of rhythm).

4. In a circle – we create a complete, closed chain of associations, e.g. from the word "bread" to the word "shovel" (or "the sky", "theatre", "science" – the choice is free). It is important to specify how many rings will the chain have.

5. A thousand definitions – we agree on an object that will be defined, favourably something common, known from everyday experience (e.g. a shoe, a school, a child, a hand, a leg). Next, we create an unlimited number of definitions, starting with the words: "A shoe is..." Working in a circle or in at desks with writing on sheets of paper (of the most surprising, extraordinary, etc. definitions).

6. A word game – creating as many words as possible out of the word „concentration" (in 5 minutes, or a longer time, depending on the children's needs).

7. Revision of the Dennison Whole Brain Learning Method [Kinesiology].

8. Conclusion – sharing the impressions, experiences from the classes, suggestions accompanying negative opinions.

The ninth script.

1. Greetings.

2. A kinesthetic game: "walking across a narrow path surrounded by a precipice in the mountains". Division into two groups. Each group stands at the opposite edges of a line that symbolizes the path. From opposite directions simultaneously set off two persons. Each has to cross the path. When they meet in the middle of the path they have to find such a solution that saves them from falling down (developing co-operation, mutual responsibility, predicting).

3. In pairs: children talk to each other about some positive experience (3–4 minutes). To finish with, everyone finishes a sentence on a piece of paper: "I have a friend who is...". All sheets of paper are read and put on a board. Thus, there is a list of features which characterize a true friend. Next, everyone is asked to choose from the list a few (e.g. 3) most important in their opinion features that they can also ascribe to themselves. They finish the sentence: "I am a ... friend", providing in the gaps the features from the previously prepared list. The cards are displayed on their clothes and they walk around the classroom and read each other's notes.

4. Division into two groups (e.g. By counting 1 and 2). Each group works separately. Its task is to guess, or to imagine most accurately the way that particular persons from the other team spent the previous weekend. We read out the ideas and check how many things were true (developing the ability to predict, pose hypotheses).

5. A list of attributes. Work in pairs. Distinguishing all the features of any chosen and discussed object (well known:physical, social, or symbolic, etc.), starting with the basic and defining features, finishing with the unnecessary, useless. It

should be remembered that the completing sentence is an adjective, not a noun[8] e.g. "X is pink", etc. (an example of one of children's suggestions: "A bird is curious").

6. Playing a role. Creating any groups according to children's will. Each group selects one of the suggested persons that play an important role in social life, e.g. the president of the country, city mayor, children rights spokesperson, the head of UN, etc., as ideas suggest. An expose is created (a speech, in which the character presents his views, important matters and aims, what he wants to deal with, change, repair, etc.). presentation to the whole class.

7. A revision of the technique of a mental map. Discussing the subject of "summer holiday".

Possible associations: we create a sequence of associations (linear), consisting of about twenty rings, coming back to the initial word, e.g. "the sun", "the end", etc.

8. Revision of the method of educational Kinesiology.

9. To finish with – a conclusion. Children's reflections on their own experiences, feelings (forming thoughts and feelings in a written form).

An appeal of the teacher to develop their cognitive independence, to look for the sources of knowledge, to be active in groups that develop their interests, to get involved in new additional subjects and tasks, to be creative, to make use of the help of their teachers, to take part in contests, competitions of a various level, etc.; in meetings with interesting people, lectures, etc.

Wishing success.

Saying goodbye.

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REVIEWS

Aaron Ben-Ze`ev, *Miłość w Sieci. Internet i emocje*, **Dom Wydawniczy Rebis, Poznań 2005. Original title:** *Love Online: Emotions on the Internet*, **Cambridge 2004.**

Close and Distant[1]
Bo widzisz tu są tacy, którzy się kochają
i muszą się spotkać aby się ominąć
bliscy i oddaleni jakby stali w lustrze
piszą do siebie listy gorące i zimne (...)
są inni co się nawet po ciemku odnajdą...
[For, you see, there are such who love each other
and must meet to pass each other by
close and distant as if reflected in a mirror
they write each other letters, hot and cold (...)
there are others who find each other even in the dark...]
Rev. J. Twardowski

I've been going out with a girl for two years, and she
starts to fuss:
"I want to know your full name"
Mike Binder [A. Ben-Ze`ev, p. 43]

Love Online. This title of the book, which was published in 2005, could be still considered an oxymoron a few years ago. It is though one of the many reasons to justify the thesis that an increasing number of elements in the social life of modern people is becoming virtual. It also concerns emotions. Including love. The reason is because love, as Tomasz Szlendak states in *Architektonika romansu* [*The Architecture of a Romance*], is a social product, "because behind love – according to sociology –

there is nothing not-standard, nothing unique, and nothing outstanding. Erotic love is a social institution, shaped in the long history of Euro-American culture, where sexual experiences are pushed into the machinery of standardized, repetitive and schematic rituals with constantly the same set of gadgets, words and tricks to use"[2].

The fact that people living in the modern world are looking for love, a feeling that by the culturally shaped social institutions is considered as a fundamental phenomenon of human life, without which the personal life of a person seems unthinkable[3], cannot surprise. Even more so, because it has been confirmed by a limitless number of literary works devoted to this subject, as well as by research. In the studies of Hanna Świda-Ziemba it has been proven that for youth it is love that is considered the most important value (it takes the first out of the nineteen values given in the questionnaire). 67% of the respondents sees considers it fundamental. Life without love, as "drained from any sense, wasted" is seen by 22,1% of the respondents. The position of love in the lives of the researched is very high. Nearly a half of them identifies with the claim, "I would not appreciate life to its limits if I hadn't

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[1] The title of the article is a quotation from a poem by Rev. Jan Twardowski, *Bliscy i oddaleni.*

[2] T. Szlendak, *Architektonika romansu. O społecznej naturze miłości erotycznej*, Warszawa 2002, p. 131.

[3] A. Siemianowski, *Zrozumieć miłość. Fenomenologia i metafizyka miłości*, Bydgoszcz 1998, p. 5.

experienced great love, that would be terrible. Love is a value even if leads to suffering"[4].

The goal of the book *Love Online* by Aaron Ben Ze`ev is to analyze a new social phenomenon – the relation of human emotions and virtual reality, which the author sees as "one of the most exciting places, both from the social and socializing point of view" [p. 11].

Following the concept of a social scenario (a cultural script) by Edward O. Laumann and John H. Gagnon, all sexual behaviour is culturally and locally shaped. As a result, also the cyberspace can condition and redefine such behaviour, as it is a new "location" of people's social interaction.

"Individuals collect in their lifetimes, from birth to death, cultural scenarios of sexual behaviour"[5]. Laumann and Gagnon note that the models are not static and given, and they are not subject to change over time. On the contrary. The changing conditions, new influence of people and technology can exert a considerable influence on them, notwithstanding the age of an individual. New mass media undoubtedly play an important role in the transformation.

What is love then, if we adapt the sociological perspective? It is a social script "defined in an inter-subjective interaction that is obligatory in our (and only our) culture"[6]. Its wonder, uniqueness, supernatural and unparalleled aspects are social products created by society to serve specific purposes, just as reactions and attitudes to love, an impression that it (in the western civilization) "moves stars and the sun" (Dante)[7]. The term of needs, known in psychology, i.e. according to A. Maslow "a substantial lack in the organism, a somewhat empty place that must be filled to sustain health and that must also be filled by human beings other than the subject"[8], the needs are also created by various social pressures. Therefore, if in a given society there is a present need of love, individuals will experience lack of it. According to the today popular scripts, they will try to fill this gap.

One of such cultural scripts is today finding a partner through electronic media. They generate a kind of processes that cause the closure of virtual world, they suggest a sort of solutions that exist only in one environment. "The Internet – simultaneously and paradoxically – being an enormous source of information about the surrounding reality, closes itself and leads to isolation as «a world within itself». It behaves like a car whose function is no longer to move in space to carry passengers to some destination. However, it attracts attention to itself by offering a formula, «Thus my inside is just as interesting as my outside. Let us stop on that»"[9]. It is such, more and more "claimed" from the real world, phenomenon that the sphere of feelings constitutes: of love and friendship among people.

Aaron Ben Ze`ev, a philosopher, the rector of the University in Haifa, as well as one of the directors of the Center of Interdisciplinary Study of Emotions working at this university,

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[4] H. Świda-Zięba, *Obraz świata i bycia w świecie: z badań młodzieży licealnej*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 445–449.

[5] T. Szlendak, op.cit., p. 151.

[6] Ibidem, p. 153.

[7] A. Siemianowski, op.cit., p. 111.

[8] A. Maslow, *W stronę psychologii istnienia*, Warszawa 1986, p. 28.

[9] W. Godzic, *Czy nowe media potrzebują nowej estetyki? Humanista w Internecie* [in:] K. Wilkoszewska, *Piękno w sieci. Estetyka a nowe media*, Kraków 1999, p. 259.

provides in his book a detailed analysis of changes in the nature of emotions, which have happened as a result of new communication possibilities, provided by the Internet and mobile phones.

Love Online was published by Rebis Publishing House located in Poznań, who had earlier published three important works devoted to reflexion on social phenomena happening on the Internet: *Wandering on the Internet* by J. C. Herz[10], *Psychology of the Internet* by Patricia Wallace[11], and *Galaxy of the Internet* by Manuel Castells[12].

The book is comprised of ten chapters. Each of them tries to discuss in detail issues related to the subject of the work.

It is worth noticing already in the beginning that each of the chapters and sub-chapters is given an interesting quote, a motto. These are extracts from the canon of world literature, words of writers, pop-culture stars, anonymous Internet users, even texts from bumper stickers or tombstones. They provide an unusually concise summary of the sub-chapter content or, e.g. due to their controversial character, they are supposed to arise interest and encourage the reader to carry on. The clear organization of the book, the graphics, as well as the font, they all add to the goal. To study further the detailed issues there is an index of interesting terms and a bibliography placed at the end of the book – only in English.

Aaron Ben-Ze`ev dedicates his work to his wife Ruth – his "true love". As far as publi-

cations from other subject areas, such a dedication would perhaps draw little attention. However, in the book that explores the phenomenon of emotion anchored in the virtual world, the dedication has – in my opinion – a slightly provocative character. It must be underlined here, that in the first chapter, discussing the nature of cyberspace from the pint of view of inter-human communication, the philosopher claims that it is not the opposite of reality. It is a part of reality[13]. Therefore, online relationships are also true, just as the emotions that are experienced by the partners in interaction. The key thesis of the work is the following: any interaction of this kind is possible due to the extensive power of imagination. It is thanks to imagination that the mental reality of virtual relations is possible. It is imagination that Aaron Ben Ze`ev endows with a revolutionary meaning as far as evoking emotions online is concerned, since it does not limit an individual in almost any way, "It allows to present yourself and others in the most positive light – much more perfect than in reality" [p. 35]. The author discusses in detail various forms of communication (such as e-mail, messengers, chats, SMS), which are accessible via the Internet and on mobile phones. Pointing at their characteristic traits, he analyzes the nature of relationships based on text messages.

As the salient features of cyberspace, "responsible for its power of attraction", he considers, as mentioned before, imagination, as

[10] J.C. Herz, *Wędrówki po Internecie*, Poznań 1999.

[11] P. Wallace, *Psychologia Internetu*, Poznań 2001.

[12] M. Castells, *Galaxy of the Internet*, Poznań 2003.

[13] Comp.: "Cyberspace is less real in the ontological sense – as it is a virtual place – yet it can be true in the epistemological sense, since it evokes live fantasies. The fantasies are even more real, because they do not only consist of passive pictures, but true interactions", A. Ben Ze`ev, *Love Online…*, p. 85.

well as its anonymous character, interactivity, openness, accessibility and uniqueness. The interactivity strengthens the key feature of relationship: being for each other and feeling close, "Online relationships are defined as distant closeness (physical distance, emotional closeness)" [p. 71].

The anonymous aspect and openness is one of the paradoxes of online relationships emphasized in the second chapter. The sense of being anonymous decreases all kinds of dangers which appear together with openness in an Internet conversation, it enhances the honesty of speaking, and it makes it easier to talk about feelings, "the process of disclosing oneself will be happening in the cyberspace steadily and in one direction – from lack of trust to almost total disclosure". The charm of being anonymous on the Internet is reflected in the fact that people often feel the need to claim controversial views in public, to ask questions of which in reality they would be ashamed or afraid to ask, or they want to play social roles different from their real ones, outside the network. Some Internet users develop their Net skills for whole weeks, or even years. When they log in using their nickname, their digital personalities replace the real ones[14].

A lot of people "exist" mostly on the Internet. Some people feel so well under cover of their nickname or number in an Internet messenger that they seem naked without them[15]. The nick is for them as important as their name in the driving license or ID. Their Net identity, just as their nickname and the person that hides behind it, is to some extent created by them alone. One of the proofs for this thesis is the introduction of legal rules that make it possible to keep the phone number in spite of the change of an operator. The strong relation with the number (apart from economical aspects) was so huge among phone users that they pressurized the legal system.

As Ben Ze`ev argues, this, and other kinds of deception are traditionally parts of emotional relationships. As far as online relations are concerned, this phenomenon is found much more often. G. Van Der Leun and T. Mandel claim that "a virtual figure is always deceitful"[16] the author of *Love Online* quotes the following words of a respondent, "Honesty is the secret. If you learn how to pretend it, you win" [p. 62]. It has been noticed that the longer and deeper a relationship is, the bigger is the honesty. Though it sometimes is painful.

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[14] The structure of human personality I-The World contains various layers: "intimate" and "public". Such a personality, which is experienced and preserved on the most intimate level of consciousness, is not entirely synonymous with the one that is revealed to others in social "public" relationships. In case of a well integrated personality, an individual feels natural in his "public" personality, totally accepting at the same time the "intimate" I.J. Nuttin, *Struktura osobowości*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 249––251. However, there can be some disturbances in this respect, and the intimate layer of personality, manifested for example during synchronized communication, e.g. on a chat or IRC, can begin to dominate over the public sphere. "Kieran spends his whole time on the Net, usually on MindVoks. He has no friends, he has nothing apart from his Net life and a net job on CompuServe. His existence outside the Net, where his name is Aaron, has almost entirely disappeared and there is only the ghost of Aaron – Kieran, pathetically jingling with his electronic chains to attract attention", J.C. Herz, op.cit., p. 213.

[15] P. Wallace, op.cit., pp. 147–150.

[16] G. van der Leun and T. Mandel, *Netykieta, czyli kodeks dla internautów*, Warszawa 1998.

Another feature of cyberspace, which immensely influences relations among people, is accessibility. The access to a conversation. A certain reference to the idea of the age of accessibility by J. Rifkin can be noticed here[17]. Apart from the access to goods and services, it is also people that belong to some resources that are "available". Even terms referring to the degree of availability are a part of the Internet messages: *available, inaccessible.* The "availability" is manifested by being often present on chats, setting the messenger's options to "available", an if there are some matters that distract somebody's attention from the computer, he sets a description that informs others when he will be back and "available" again.

The presence and "availability" for others can be revealed by a matrimonial-sociable-erotic add on one of the pages created for this purpose. Then, by clicking on pictures, a candidate becomes a potential "product" that may become attractive for somebody. Just as objects which can be bought in thousands of Internet shops that offer almost anything that can be imagined. Therefore, the Net availability leads in some sense to dehumanization. Thus, I agree with the thesis by T. Szlendak, who claims that modern courtship takes the form of rituals found in shops, "we select the «product» looking only at its outside cover and making sure that it will provide «a moment of relief», just as a product put into the shopping basket"[18]. Notwithstanding whether it is a trolley in a supermarket or a basket in an Internet shop. "This phenomenon can be, I presume, defined analogically to recreational shopping with the term *recreational romanc-*

ing. Postmodern society will increasingly get involved in consumption and will treat partners as providers of "powerful" experiences, and sex and courtship as a drug that eases the addiction"[19]. I have no doubt that the words of respondents included in various researches on cybersex, quoted by Aaron Ben Ze`ev, prove the existence of the described attitude.

The search for partners on the Internet becomes a kind of ritual, often similar to consumption attitudes. The Internet pages with candidates to flirt with remind us of a huge hypermarket, where being anonymous you can select people as the wares collected in a shop under some categories. "Someone even compared finding a romantic partner online to ordering pizza: we specify the kind, size, extras and the kind of delivery and in thirty minutes, maybe earlier, we receive a ready-made product. On the dating Internet pages it is possible to specify all the qualities that we wish for in our partner, including age, colour of hair, religion, profession and hobbies, and then choose only the persons that fulfil our criteria" [p. 79]. The problem is dealt with as one of many in the third chapter of *Love Online*.

In this part of the book are discussed also other important features of specific feelings present in online relationships: emotional intensiveness, responsibility, intention, as well as the role of intelligence. Internet relationships are created by mental contact. It is impossible to check what a partner is really like. A feeling is born not to a person but to an imagined identity of the person. In psychology, this phenomenon is called projection and is synonymous of providing society with our own feel-

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17 J. Rifkin, *Wiek dostępu*, Wrocław 2003.
18 T. Szlendak, op.cit., p. 277.

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19 Ibidem.

ings and thoughts[20]. An enormous influence on this phenomenon is exerted by the ability to express thoughts in an attractive way. This aspect of Internet communication is also present in the seventh chapter, which is concerned with flirting, the rules of Internet dates, etc. Here is the motto of this part of the work: "All great lovers are eloquent, and seduction through words is the most certain way to true seduction"[21].

The fourth chapter is devoted to imagination and its role in the creation, lasting and sustaining of relationships that are set in virtual reality. The author of *Love Online* defines it as "the ability to consider possibilities that are impossible for the senses (...), it is an intentional ability that refers to nonexistent events – or at least to events that we consider as such" [p. 97]. As mentioned above, it is to imagination that Aaron Ben Ze`ev allocates the key role in initiating the feelings of partners in an Internet interaction, it is imagination that compensates for the lack of real contact, as the author puts it, "it fills the gaps".

In this and the consecutive chapter, emphasized are the threats connected with imagination and emotions online, especially with those that refer to emotional betrayal, the feeling of frustration, regret, loss of illusion, expe-

riencing a pretended feeling, shattering of dreams, shame, disappointment, the threats of losing privacy (in a wide and multi-aspect meaning), as well as to cases of sexual abuse. These are undoubtedly problems that happen also in relationships in the real world, yet the scope of these phenomena seems to be wider here and an undoubted advantage of this book is their clear presentation.

Some aspects that refer to interpersonal attractiveness on the Internet have also appeared in the book by Patricia Wallace *Psychology of the Internet*, published in Poland four years ago. The ruminations concerning that problem are deepened in the eighth chapter of *Love Online*, which is entirely devoted to cyberlove. Aaron Ben Ze`ev pays attention to the phenomenon of the halo of attractiveness, so important in traditional relationships, which is replaced in cyberspace by the halo of personality. It means that "to a person at whom we notice some positive personality trait we attach other positive features, sometimes even related to physical appearance"[22]. Basing on the above, a partner in the interaction can fall in love in the other person. Idealizing him or her without any limits. It is an immensely significant phenomenon, directly related with imagination and the process of projection. "Falling in love in cyberspace is simmilar to the following situation: we do not have all the information, and we fill the gaps with idealization. Is there, then, «love at first bit»?"[23] or the first click?

The author of the book is of the opinion that online relationships are so common because they are much easier, they do not need

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[20] *Psychologia*, (ed.) T. Tomaszewski, Warszawa 1978, p. 791; "the influence of the internal subjective states of a subject on the outside reality", ibidem, p. 243; "The Net is your perception, and your perception has a tendency to project", G. van der Leun, T. Mandel, op.cit., p. 83.

[21] M. Mannes [in:] Ben Ze`ev A., *Love Online...*, p. 171. The Internet, and SMS now have the function of a butler, a messenger that used to carry letters for lovers, B. Pietkiewicz, *Kocha, lubi, kalkuluje*, "Polityka" 2001, no. 19, p. 3. Comp. Ch. de Laclos, *Dangerous Liaisons*, Warszawa 1998.

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[22] Ibidem, p. 190.
[23] Ibidem, p. 205.

much effort. Internet love is not exclusive, i.e. there is a possibility to love a few persons at the same time. "The non-material character of an online relationship enables the emergence of a different kind of relationship"[24]. Here lies an emotional problem connected with jealousy and lack of devotion to each other online.

Important questions about moral dilemmas linked with online relations can be found in the penultimate chapter. As research shows, the problem of the Internet betrayal is increasing[25], also the betrayal of imagination. Aaron Ben Ze`ev considers the emotional cost of Internet infidelity and decisively underlines that it "has always been considered as one of the

worst offences of people against each other (...)"[26]. Cyber-infidelity also carries moral harm with it, as the author puts it, at its base "lies the harm that we do to others"[27], and it is the loss of emotional exclusiveness that hurts the most. "It seems that online relationships are the biggest threat to stable emotional bonds that has ever existed. It is caused by the simplicity of venturing into a cyberromanse, their private character and little cost"[28].

The tenth and last chapter is devoted to reflexion on the future of Internet relations. They are based on contradictions, and the dynamics of cyberspace causes a distraction of balance in an individual's life. A lot of the so-far constant landmarks in the social world of the Internet (time, space, the understanding of the traditional social structures or morality) have been ultimately torn away. Will there, since people look for love, maintain friendship on the Net, have cybersex, remain any areas that will "be saved" from digitalization? It is difficult to say, we can only observe, which is for a sociologist the best work and an enormous challenge.

Love Online is presumably the first book on Polish publishing market which discusses in such detail the questions of emotions as far as using the Internet is concerned. *Love Online* is undoubtedly an effort to exploit the most important topics that fall within the scope of the author's interests. It seems that the goal has been achieved. He presents a number of outstanding theses that prove the wide and deep analysis of the subject. Most of the assumptions are supported by the outcomes of surveys and internaut statements.

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[24] Ibidem, p. 212.

[25] "«The Internet will soon become the most common form of unfaithfulness. Everyone can confirm that – the computer has already disturbed the family relations» – claims Yannick Chatelain, a specialist in modern technology, who has just published, together with a psychologist Loick Roch, a book entitled: *In Bed with the Web, internet et le nouvel adultere* [Internet *as a New Form of Adultery*] «Unfaithfulness has always existed, yet the Internet makes it easier, lets us remain anonymous, as well as to cross from a virtual secret to reality» – the psychologist adds. According to the authors, the Internet infidelity takes various forms, sometimes totally unexpected, which threaten relationships. The British Statistics Office conducted research on this subject, which revealed that the Internet is one of the factors that increase the number of divorce. (...) yet another statistics performed on 15 th. Internet users showed that in 2004, 32% of women and 13% of men were afraid that the Internet would make betrayal easier. This fear was confirmed in other American survey published on the website of BBC News, according to which, 30% of the respondents admitted to meeting their partners in virtual reality.", 26.07.2005, PAP, http://dziennik. pap.com.pl/?dzial=INT&poddzial=ZAG&id_ depeszy=17009153.

[26] A. Ben Ze`ev, op.cit., p. 239.

[27] Ibidem, p. 243.

[28] Ibidem, p. 252.

Although openness is one of the basic features of the Internet, I think that even if one of the basic questions analyzed in the work is cybersex, the fact that the most intimate confessions of respondents are provided in almost every chapter of the book is a disadvantage of the book. It is true that this sort of content can be extremely easy found on the Internet[29], yet, striking the reader with such words in an academic thesis is to my mind negative for the publication.

In my opinion, in spite of a few drawbacks, the book is immensely useful and valuable. The popularization of knowledge on the relation of people in the cyberspace, as the research shows – an increasingly common phenomena, is in my understanding indispensable. The dynamics of the social processes and problems connected with human communication on the Internet and mobile phones, observed both in the real world and in the cyberspace itself, encourages researchers in asking questions and conducting academic studies in this field. I presume they can have a special meaning for all people. They help to understand the nature of the Net and they point at the ways of conscious usage of the benefits of modern technical inventions and prevent the extensive mental and emotional costs resulting from lack of knowledge on the subject. Aaron

Ben-Ze`ev, in his final remarks, points out that "The Internet has drastically changed the romantic sphere; the process will be even faster in the future. Such change will inevitably modify the present social structures, such as marriage and informal relationships, as well as the modern romantic strategies that refer to inter-human relations, such as accidental sex, close romantic relationships and romantic exclusiveness (…). Society is facing an enormous challenge if it considers including the cyberspace to our romantic relationships. We are facing a grave danger, since any failure in this respect will carry huge costs"[30].

The author neither condemns Internet relationships nor claims that they will eventually replace the real friends and emotions. However, he notices that paradoxically, despite the predicted liberalization of norms, especially as far as emotional exclusiveness is concerned, still both in the real world and in the cyberspace it is trust that will play the key role.

The sixth chapter of the work is entitled "Is It Worth It?" Ben Ze`ev considers there, among others, the possibility of achieving happiness online. Even after reading "Love Online" the reader must answer the question himself.

Aleksandra Nowakowska

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[29] "Day after day, Internet users all around the world search in their browsers for 68 million inquiries for porn and erotic content. It constitutes 25% of all the serviced by search engines (the data come from the Internet Filter Review). (…) according to the August results of the Megapanel PBI/Gemius survey, 2,51 million of Polish adult Internet users out of the 7,38 million, visits erotic services", *Internet rośnie dzięki erotyce*, http://www.mediarun.pl/news/id/12390/internet_rosnie_dzieki_erotyce

[30] A. Ben Ze`ev, op.cit., p. 286.

Zygmunt Bauman, *Życie na przemiał* [*Life to Shred*]**, transl. Tomasz Kunz, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 2004, pp. 208.**

It will not come as surprise to anyone that to understand and reconstruct the idea included in *Life to Shred* one must dig through numerous metaphors, digressions, rich narration and semantic games. It is the manner in which all articles and books, with no exception, by Zygmunt Bauman look like (in case of this book, Bauman goes as far as to include special subchapters which constitute complex, specified in the whole narration, multi-page digressions). Having gone through the narration specific for Bauman, we reach a comprehensive view of the processes that are characteristic, according to Bauman, for the late modern times.

The idea that organizes the whole argument of *Life to Shred* is the certainty that it is a characteristic feature of the modern times that it generates widely understood waste. The first category of waste is of course production waste – industrial waste that does not constitute any consumption value and can hardly be recycled, thus finish on dump sites. As Bauman emphasizes, only the modern times are familiar with waste – in the pre-modern cultures there were no useless or unwanted objects that would have to be disposed of. They are generated in an institutionalized manner and constitute a permanent, inevitable outcome of production systems. Similarly, the modern times generate in a system-like way numerous categories of people that are socially excluded – defined by him as "human waste" or "people to shred". The exclusion of some people is a part of the modern system, since it is the modern times that constitute a kind of a project (or rather consecutive projects of the

transformation of the world and relations among people). What is more, each project requires the rejection of those that would not fit into it. Consequently, it is possible to track the history of the modern times as consecutive endeavours to transform societies, as a result of which new categories of the excluded have been created. Simultaneously, there have been efforts to eliminate the social categories from the borders of social systems not to allow them to disturb their functioning, which resulted in, among others, forced emigration.

The situation on the job market is a perfect illustration of the exclusion processes characteristic for the late modern times. According to Bauman, job markets are not that spacious as to include all the people that look for work. Once, the unemployed constituted a reserve work force that could be reclaimed by the market. Today, these people have become unnecessary for productive systems, therefore, no system endeavours are undertaken to include them. People devoid of work become as a result handicapped consumers, which also has an effect in their social exclusion. Simultaneously, an exclusion is almost always irreversible in character, which is strictly related to, according to Bauman, the fact of disintegration of the *welfare state*. Another instance of the lack of will on the part of a state to include the excluded individuals are the strategies of penitentiary systems, which instead of reinstating criminals to society, pay attention only to the fact if their prisoners stay within their walls. A similar function is performed by the ghettos described in the book, as well as the so-called "hiperghettos" and camps for political refugees and emigrants – they are not supposed to – according to Bauman, make it possible for the excluded to return, but only to gather them in particular

areas, so that they would not disturb the functioning of markets and states. Especially meaningful, in this context, is the described in *Life to Shred* birth of a new industry, whose only aim is to secure the society of rightful consumers against any threat from the excluded ones. Most importantly, all the forms of exclusion described by Bauman are not far from the norm. Neither do they result from the wrong functioning of an institution, but are formally inscribed in the late modern times. Just as Ulrich Beck[1], Bauman shows that for the late-modern society it is characteristic to feel permanent risk referring to the possibility of joining the excluded group. The risk is even greater, since a possible exclusion, which according to Bauman happens to an increasing number of people, is irreversible. At the same time, the costs of system contradictions (generated on a macro- or micro-level of social structure) are individualized. He presents the negative influence of this situation on the mental and social condition of people in a very suggestive manner.

Are there really no efforts to include the excluded? It must be remembered that there are some actions undertaken in the area of social policy[2]. The procedures are connected here mostly with the *empowerment* procedures, which are based on the creation in excluded people of a positive image of themselves, and on giving them more competences, necessary to come back on the job market, which constitutes the main tunnel of social inclusion. What is more, there are efforts to organize and develop local communities, so that their inhabitants could learn how to cooperate and gain collective strength. Thus, the marginalized people are activated, they are taught independence and entrepreneurship. As the representatives of social services claim, there are numerous instances of actions undertaken in the countries of the European Union which show that it is possible to weaken and reverse the direction of the processes of social exclusion. However, the discussion between the representatives of active social policy and Bauman is difficult to provide. Firstly, the author of *Life to Shred* does not present any specific data with which it would be possible to discuss. Secondly, his concept of the late modern times is mostly based on the observation of the situation in the USA, where as he claims, the policy is more focused on the penitentiary system than on bringing people back to society and trying to include them, while the active social policy relies mostly on European models. Thirdly, it seems that Bauman finds the sources of poverty and system exclusion somewhere else than representatives of social policy. The concept of social activation of the excluded is based on the conviction that people are prone to social exclusion when they lack some resources and competence necessary to function on the job market, as well as represent a wrong attitude. Bauman on the other hand, seems to believe that productive system is simply unable to contain all people, as a result of which, there has always been a margin of the excluded.

An important issue raised in *Life to Shred* is the problem of social functions of excluded groups – Bauman claims that human waste perform some important functions in social system. Let us analyze the following example. In the globalism-stricken world, no country is able to control the workings of over-national

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[1] U. Beck, *Społeczeństwo ryzyka. W drodze do innej nowoczesności*, transl. S. Cieśla, Warszawa 2004.

[2] *W stronę aktywnej polityki społecznej*, (eds.) T. Kaźmierczak, M. Rymsza, Warszawa 2003.

subjects. The lack of relevant regulations and institutions results in the lack of distinction in this area as to what is in accordance with, and what against the law. States make up for their helplessness towards the elusive over-national actors with pointing at "substitute enemies", who are searched for in the excluded groups, e.g. of immigrants. In his previous works, Bauman exposed other social functions performed by excluded people. For example, the fact that the situation of poor people constitutes a kind of a communicate sent to the consumers, showing what are the dangers of falling out of the job market and what is the only alternative towards consumption (it was connected with a range of ways to humiliate the excluded). However, Bauman also shows that poverty has lost many of its functions. In this sense it is worth reminding the functional analysis of poverty by Herbert Gans[3]. He showed a number of other positive functions that poor people served. First of all, they were the source of cheap work force, ready to undertake the "dirty" and poorly paid tasks. Poverty created the work places in the area of social care, in addition to the area of protecting the rest of society against the excluded. The poor, as the recipients of social services and charity made it possible for the rest of society to achieve emotional satisfaction (more often than not, the help for the poor is a result of the religious ethos). What is more, poverty constituted a constant point of reference in the social structure that makes it possible to define one's own identity and status (among others by charity work, which is a reflection of the social and economic status of the benefactor). In

a similar way, political leftist parties used the category of poor people as a legitimization of their existence. The poor also performed, according to Gans, important functions in respect to the processes of social change – for example, they were the source of cultural innovations (as an illustration there can be given such music styles as jazz and blues that were born among the poor of the American South; a similar situation can be observed today in form of the music created in Brazilian favellas). Moreover, they constituted a group, on which the political and economic expense of social change could be placed. Especially noticeable in this respect are the efforts of the USA to enlarge and keep control in various parts of the globe and the connected military conflicts – it is the category of the poor that was the source of soldiers. According to Gans, the positive functions enumerated by him often have their functional alternatives – to illustrate, there are other possible sources of cultural innovation or the army's staff; the "dirty" job done by the poor can often become automatic due to technological progress. However, in the seventies, in which Gans's analysis originates, many of the functional alternatives were much more expensive. For example, to get involved in a war without the poor would consume a larger part of the budget – a higher soldier's pay would be inevitable as a proper motivation, as a category of people under a strong economical pressure would be gone, besides, it would be politically not popular. Gans drew a conclusion from the above that poverty has been and will be present always, because of its important social function, and a lot of its functional alternatives would appear dysfunctional for the more affluent part of society. In his opinion, poverty will disap-

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[3] H.J. Gans, *The Positive Functions of Poverty*, "American Journal of Sociology" 1972, no. 2, vol. 78, pp. 275–289.

pear only when it becomes dysfunctional enough for the wealthier social actors.

Nevertheless, as Bauman suggests, today the poor have lost an immense part of the above social functions. They no longer play the role of a reserve work force. They have also lost their religious function – they are no longer essential as the ones whom the wealthier help to earn their salvation. What is more, charity work ceases to be an indicator of the social status. Plus, aristocracy does no longer exist, who with help of charity legitimatized their existence and differentiated themselves from the new rich group. Due to technical development, "dirty" jobs are also eliminated, which have so far been reserved for the excluded[4]. Even the army has changed the source of its men – the young poor ones are increasingly replaced with well paid professional soldiers[5] as a result of the process of gradual loss of social functions by poverty, the excluded are increasingly marginalized, since they become decreasingly necessary. They are becoming useless not only as far as production and consumption is concerned, but also in reference to the structuring of social relations. It is in this process of the disappearance of the social and economic functions of poverty that lay the sources of *Life to Shred* author's convictions as to the permanent character of exclusion in the late modern times – yet another inclusion of the excluded is not profitable

for the market institutions and production systems because these people are totally useless for them. In addition, as a result of the aforementioned practice of spacial isolation of the ones excluded by society, and predominantly by the production system and market, they can function without any disturbance. Due to these means, instead of solving the problem of poverty we can pass it and simply forget about it. From such a point of view, poverty will last not only because it performs positive social functions (their number has considerably deteriorated in the last decades), but mainly because another inclusion of the excluded is unprofitable and dysfunctional for the social system. If the above remarks are true, it can be expected that poverty will disappear only when the mechanisms of separation of the excluded will no longer be efficient and human waste will "flood" other spheres of social reality and disturb or paralyze consumptive practices.

The threat of exclusion and constant production of waste (either human or material) also influences culture. In the last chapter Bauman argues that the dynamics of consumption lead to questioning of the values that are characteristic for the modern times. It appears that society, which constantly consumes consecutive products only to almost instantly send them to a dump site, is not able to understand the idea of eternity. Similarly, in the situation of one fashion change following another, we are unable to conceive the idea of unchangeable beauty. Similar change, according to Bauman, takes place in the sphere of human relations, where bonds or friendship become impossible because people treat each other just as the consumed things (the phenomenon of "fast dates" is an interesting issue enumerated by Bauman in this context).

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[4] See J. Rifkin, *Koniec pracy. Schyłek siły roboczej na świecie i początek ery postrynkowej*, transl. E. Kania, Wrocław 2003.

[5] See Ch. Coker, *Outsourcing War* [in:] *Non-state Actors in World Politics*, (eds.) W. Wallace, D. Jossalin, New York 2001, pp. 189–202; H. Hoyng, S. von Ilseman, *Złoty strzał*, "Forum" 2004, no. 25, pp. 18–21.

As far as the analyzes of the late modern culture presented by Bauman are concerned, it is worth relating to the works of two other researchers: a French philosopher Gillesa Lipovetsky and a Scandinavian anthropologist Thomas Eriksen. Both of them present a picture of modern culture that is a reflection of Bauman's concept, yet they point at other reasons of these phenomena. The first of the mentioned authors, in his book *The Empire of Fashion*[6], analyses contemporary societies from the point of view of fashion. In his opinion, fashion constitutes one of the most influential social institutions of the late modern times, which organizes other social practices. First of all, due to fashion, there has been a change in the time horizon in which social actors function. As late as at the end of the nineteenth century it was tradition that constituted the main source of the models of behaviour – the reproduction of social relations was based on the past and following the habits of our ancestors. However, today, in every sphere of social life – education, science, hygiene, consumption, sports, and entertainment, we follow social fashions; we look up not to our ancestors, but to our contemporaries – the time horizon of contemporary societies is "here and now". Consequently, the future seems to be open and unpredictable, while in societies based on tradition it was clear that future social relation will reproduce the familiar habits. The fact that individuals follow the example of their contemporaries results in a situation in which they more frequently look for models outside their original groups. Instead of family influence, an individual is shaped by numerous and varied factors – we take various features from different people with no institutionalized models of connecting cultural contents and models.

In analogy to Lipovetsky, Eriksen, in his book entitled *The Tyranny of a Moment*[7] writes about how the modern culture is dominated by the perspective of the so-called "fast time" – we do not think in the categories of the future or the past since we are absorbed in the fast-changing present. However, the determinant of this process is not placed in fashion but in the sphere of communicative and technical innovations, which have speeded up various kinds of social practices and caused an increase in information. Nevertheless, the processes described by him have paradoxical consequences. It appears that, for example, a wider access to information leads to an information overload, paralyzes us in a cognitive sense, and finally results in the so-called informative inflation. The informative acceleration and overload influence, according to Eriksen, a number of social processes and relations, including the attitude to an old age and the apotheosis of youth, relations at work, including the requirement of flexibility, and contradiction between work and family life. The information overload transforms our way of thinking. In today's societies there is no place for long cumulative narrations in which complex sequences of conclusions are performed – they are replaced by information separated from its context. As we can see, the cultural phenomena, characteristic for the late modern times, discussed by Bauman, can also be

[6] G. Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion. Dressing Modern Democracy*, transl. C. Porter, Oxford 2002.

[7] T.H. Eriksen, *Tyrania chwili. Szybko i wolno płynący czas w erze informacji*, transl. G. Sokół, Warszawa 2003.

explained from the point of view of other categories.

To sum up the above construction of *Life to Shred*, it must be noticed that in this book nothing new can be found (unless we consider new, following Bauman, the fact that instead of talking about the postmodern times we use the term of "late modern times"). All the more important theses and observations referring to the modern world that are formed in the book had been presented by Bauman in his previous works. Moreover, most of the claims seem to reflect what other researchers of the late modern times say, both the famous ones – Anthony Giddens, Ulrich Beck; and the less known – Lipovetsky and Eriksen.

However, it does not mean that *Life to Shred* is totally devoid of new ideas. Next to the most representative theses of Bauman, we can also find here new heuristic and bibliographic traits. Writing about the heuristic value of *Life to Shred*, I mean among others the remarks included there about what is the proper, sociological meaning of the discourse about overpopulation. Bauman claims that the so-called "overpopulation" is not a problem of demography or geography, but first of all of sociology. The fact that our Earth is overpopulated does not mean that the ecosystem is not able to sustain more people (Bauman refers to the estimations that present this claim as a false one), but that, in the late modern times, we are in a situation in which there are no more parts of the globe where we could move the excluded. It is by the urge to get rid of human-waste that Bauman explains the process of conquering America and exterminating its native inhabitants – in such a way, in his opinion, there was created a space for the "dump sites" of the excluded. Today, though, when countries are not able to throw their excluded

away from their borders, the excluded that constitute both the source of crime and budget overload, the waste of the processes of modernization distract the functioning of the structures that constitute the fruits of modernization. What is more, there is no inclusion of the excluded, thus the pathological situation intensifies. However, the above remarks of Bauman constitute only another conceptual link for his observations of the late modern times.

It is also worth emphasizing that even though it is possible not to agree with the statement of the author of *Life to Shred*, it is worth looking inside the book if only to find there other productive and interesting works. Once again, Bauman appears to have excellent knowledge of the most recent and highly interesting books in the area of social study.

However, in spite of the above heuristic traits, "Life to Spare" does not seem to offer any value added, at least as far as the cognitive aspect is concerned. The author does not try to consequently widen and enrich the created model of the late modern times. Instead of introducing new issues, he continues to apply his "theory" to various problems (in case of this work it is obviously about the processes of social exclusion that are, according to Bauman, an inevitable, system effect of modernization). Yet, the final applications performed by Bauman, turn anyway into a lecture of his general theoretical perspective. Once again, Bauman proves that all his publications constitute the presentations of various aspects of his coherent view of the late modern times. This theoretical perspective is system-like and complex in character. Bauman, even when focusing on only one aspect, he always does it in a wide context. Therefore, all earlier points of his works can also be found in *Life to Shred*:

modernization is linked here with the late modern culture, market and consumption analyses, and with relatively new issues in Bauman's works, i.e. with the problems of migration and risk. He revolves in the areas with remarkable fluency – he is very efficient in binding the exclusion practices that take place on a microlevel with the processes of globalization.

Why is it worth it to read Bauman? A sociologist that would expect from Bauman a cognitively organized presentation of theses or hypotheses that could be analyzed, will of course find no such thing. Bauman does not prove, only tries to charm the reader with his narration, erudite style and fluency with which he binds the issues and problems that usually constitute the subject of interest of various categories of researchers, who would not be able to connect their studies. In such a way, Bauman makes it possible to see the late modern times, from a more general and philosophical than sociological perspective, as a system of relations and processes. He shows, in a philosophical mode, what no researcher in specialized sociological discourses is able to catch. It can be treated as either a disadvantage or an advantage. However, in the context of *Life to Shred*, the words of Bauman gain a new value. The author is aware that in the late modern times of fast changing behaviour of people, academic concepts, as well as common goods are fast destined to be shred. Bauman tries to uphold his ideas by continuous re-telling it from the very beginning – thus, he reproduces his thought by telling it again. In this sense, *Life to Shred* is not cognitive in character – it seems to be of smaller meaning than the effort to petrify the sociological discourse by telling it again and again.

To understand the means that Bauman uses, I will make a digression. As primatology shows, there are complicated social relations among the primate mammals. Though, they are temporary in character – they last only as long as the interaction itself. When animals turn their backs at each other, the social order created in the interaction disintegrates. Therefore, apes live in a constantly disintegrating social order, which must be sustained by interaction. It is a society without any structure. Human societies have structures. We owe it, among others, to culture – to symbols, knowledge, language and material objects that constitute functional culture. Due to them, social structures can retain their integrity. Modernization constituted another element of social order – to the methods of stabilizing social relations known to pre-modern societies were joined such modern and rationalized institutions as bureaucracy, law, modern markets, or science. This led to even stronger stabilization of social structures[8]. However, in the time of late modernism, the lasting of social order was disturbed. In the fast changing world of late modernism, cultural content, symbols, knowledge and values are prone to constant change, just as goods and fashion trends. As Bauman claims, they have a short "expiry date" and thus are quickly "shredded". As a result of continuous social change that have no chance of institutionalize themselves, social structures also become blurred, since the factors and institutions that have so far stabilized them by social history, have been almost entirely eliminated. Therefore, in some respects, the social relations that bind us are coming closer to the ones we deal with among other primates, and not to those we dealt with in modernism. This

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[8] Comp. B. Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 174–215.

is the reason why Bauman writes about elusive modern times.

Let us now look again at *Life to Shred*, and at other works of the author. Bauman, due to continuous narration, reproduces his concept. What is more, in this way he reproduces culture itself! It lets us (sociologists, philosophers, and common people that live in late modernism) to reconstruct and remember better the vision of our modern world in its magnitude.

Łukasz Afeltowicz

Dominik Antonowicz, *Uniwersytet przyszłości. Wyzwania i modele polityki* [***University of the Furure: Challenges and Models of Politics***] **Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa 2005, pp. 200.**

A lot has been said today about the crisis of the idea of university. The problem is even deeper because there is no agreement as to the new concept of this institution. The defenders of traditional academic values do not always specify enough which heritage they mean. Is a true university a corporation of the Middle Ages, or is it a bureaucratic institution, closely related to a national state? The evolution of university did not stop on the concept of Humboldt. The modern academies must actively create their vision in the world of globalised economy based on knowledge, in societies who are endangered by unemployment and that want to study in huge numbers, even at university level. Looking for the right model of a government policy towards universities, such issues as academic autonomy, financing universities, putting university education on the market, etc. must all be analyzed. The book by Dominik Antonowicz performs a double

function in the discussion on the future of universities. Firstly, it is a source of knowledge on the development and transformation of universities, whose history started in the ancient times. The author also makes a detailed review of the concepts of government policies towards academic institutions, as far as legislation, financial and personal policy is concerned. On the other hand, the book is a voice in the debate. Antonowicz analyzes the models of politics towards universities in in the countries of Western Europe and the USA, and he refers those problems and solutions to the situation of Polish universities. On which foundation, he forms instructions for Polish policy towards universities.

The book includes eight chapters. The author develops quite numerous aspects and refers to the rich history of the university. However, it must be noted that the whole was created very coherently and clearly. The initial three parts describe the evolution of the aspects fundamental for universities: the rules of the functioning and organization of the school, the term of academic autonomy, and the sources of financing the academy.

Antonowicz widely discusses the evolution of university from the Middle Ages' corporations (he also mentions ancient academies) to the modern age institution. Nevertheless, the main of his interest are constituted by the problems and tasks of modern universities. The last decades of the twentieth century constitute a breakthrough also for the idea of a university. Globalisation, the decreased role of the national state, which constituted a base for the culture-creating functions of a university, mass education, also at the university level, drastic limitations of finances from the budgets of countries, which have been directed into social spheres, as

a result, universities have had to find other ways of financing their activity – all the above does not constitute, according to numerous researchers, a crisis of a particular idea of a university, but of the university in general. Antonowicz is not in agreement with this claim. The university faces new problems, yet it must defend its highest values, its unique mission "to stay faithful to universal tasks of extraordinary significance" [p. 37]. What is this significant mission comprised of? Defining it in detail could become an excellent weapon in the fight with vocationalization of universities, with the opponents of the whole concept of academy, and with the followers of the idea of putting whole university education on the market. Unfortunately, the "significant tasks", though intuitively understood, are difficult to specify and their definition is also absent in this book. However, the author reminds us that it is the "European and integrating character" of a university that constitutes its multidimensional idea, as well as the long history, creation of "the sense of belonging to the same cultural community based on searching for the truth, in spite of national, state or religious divisions (...)" [p. 34]. Pure cognition must also be completed with knowledge transferred to society to enable it to enhance its existence, since due to the applied teachings a university forms "human everyday life", which strengthens its credibility and endows it with social legal force. Protection of the unique values seems to be the main aim of government policy towards universities in the times of globalisation and commercialization of all the sectors of human activity. However, it is not synonymous with academic ignorance of all the phenomena or with functioning as an isolated from the world "ivory tower". Antonowicz rightly emphasizes almost in every

part of his book that a university must notice the changes in the functioning of economy, actively react to the social need of continuously acquired new qualifications. Otherwise, it can simply cease to exist.

The aforementioned "ivory tower" is a symbol of the ideal model of a university autonomy, which is missed by so many academics. It is a specific myth, with which the author is preoccupied in the second chapter. The traditional understanding of this value refers to the idea of freedom of academic knowledge, i.e. freedom of research, choice of views, contents and methods of teaching. In the practice of organization, autonomy is connected with the self-government of a university, but not with total independence. Antonowicz considers autonomy to be an unquestionable value of an academic community, which should protect it against an overstretched interference of authorities. However, he points at the fact that the autonomy guaranteed to a university binds it to take full responsibility for its actions. Numerous researchers share this point of view. "Autonomy is always followed by responsibility, which means that on demand of the interested parties (...) a university should be able to prove that it has efficiently and effectively used the public means"[1]. As Leja writes, referring to the Bologna Declaration, "a standard that is accepted at European Universities is autonomy together with an executed social mission"[2]. A university is not a financially independent institution, therefore, it seems natural to opt

[1] J. Jóźwiak, *Model uczelni przedsiębiorczej a model tradycyjny – doświadczenia polskie,* "Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe" 2003, no. l (21), p. 11.

[2] K. Leja, *Uniwersytet – świątynia wiedz czy sprawnie działająca organizacja?,* "Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe" 2002, no. l (l 9), p. 104.

for the realization at universities of the tasks set by society and state. Autonomy should realy on the free choice of the means that lead to these goals. Antonowicz rightly points at the threats that result from the modern model of university autonomy. It is the so-called conditional autonomy, which can in reality seriously limit a university. A university, when looking for partners that would finance its activity must bear in mind particular requirements and the fact that it will receive money for specific research, not for its general activity. As a result, there is a possibility of fast disintegration of the mission of a university, which, in a short perspective, will not be profitable for a given sponsor. Therefore, a diversification of the sources of a university's financing is necessary, and it is the state that can be the only guarantee of the freedom of knowledge.

The analysis of the evolution of an organizational structure, the idea of autonomy and the means of financing a university leads the author of the book to the description of five concepts of the functioning of an academy in society, and just as many models of adequate government policies towards such universities: a traditional one, a pluralist one, a bureaucratic one, a totalitarian one and an evaluating one. To some extent, the evaluating model is the closest to the author's views, the existence of which was enforced by the crisis of the *welfare state*. The drastic limitations of the means for science and education meant an increase of control over their management. In this model, a university can act within wide legislative limits and is answerable as to the fulfilment of the goals that have been contracted between the university and the government. Schools are forced to look for different sources of donations, other partners outside the state, they start to function on a quasi-market, compete for money and stu-

dents, and apply for accreditation. The opening to the market demands a reorganization of university management and a change in the attitude to the academics employed there. The employees of a university are also answerable for the effects of their work, they compete for posts, research grants, they are treated as representatives of any other profession.

The author, although he prefers the evaluation model, can see a number of threats to the idea of universities coming from this form of university organization. Although it has not been directly stated, in the book, the evaluating model approaches the concept of a company university understood as a factory of useful knowledge and specialized graduates, a corporation run by managers aiming at the highest profit possible at the lowest expense. This may be the easiest way to vocationalizing universities and abandoning their civilizational and cultural mission, which is not accepted by Antonowicz.

In the final part of the book, the author tries to define a new model of university. The European University must adapt to the new paradigma, which is the result of mass higher education and reduction of the financial means that come from the budgets of countries. Just as important are here the economic transformations connected with the placement of knowledge and information in the centre of economic development. The author underlines that the creation of a policy towards higher education, including academic education, must refer to the substantiated in this respect tradition in a given country. One universal model that could work anywhere is a fantasy. The reformation, or shaping of academic policy should take place in accordance with the system solutions of a particular country, yet the people in authority cannot forget about the sphere of ideas and values that are

fundamental for a university. Their protection belongs to the basic responsibilities of authorities towards academic communities. Antonowicz claims that the state should unequivocally specify the scope of the fundamental tasks of academic education. This concerns the choice between social targets (equal chances in social career by equal access to education) and economic ones (meritocratic selection of individuals to represent important social functions). An elimination of this postulate makes academic policy dependent on social moods and other unpredictable factors, thus it becomes impossible to realize a long-term strategy. It must be noted that the state should not allow to resign completely from one of these aims. For Antonowicz, the meritocratic role of a university should be of primary importance. However, it is strictly bound to its social role, since, to find the really gifted individuals, young people from the poorer families must have an equal access to higher education. According to the author, in Poland there is only one solution to this problem. The constitutional claim about free education should be abolished. The state should provide for a smaller share of the expense of students education. The saved means would make it possible to give financial aid to a bigger number of students. Moreover, there should be a gradual introduction of common fees for all kinds of studies. Today, Poland supports, in the words of Antonowicz, "the luckily born", i.e. well-off people, of a higher social status can study for free, while paradoxically, the poorest use the fee-paying forms of education. Tuition fees would constitute another source of income for universities, which is not without importance.

The vote for commonly paid higher education is very unpopular in Poland. The interested students oppose it and a part of political parties is beginning to do the same, therefore, there has been no solution to this dilemma in the recently accepted act on higher education. Society, being used to the so-called free higher education, will not resign from this privilege without any opposition. Explanations that fee-paying education will be accessible only to the richest seems to be more logical. Moreover, there are also rational arguments against fee-paying studies. A number of changes is necessary for such a step. This is mostly concerned with organizing an efficient scholarship system that would be accessible to all young people that want to study, notwithstanding the credit ability of their parents. A question arises here, how can a young person granted a preferential scholarship be certain that he or she will be able to pay it back after graduation. A similar problem concerns nowadays the students that are wondering whether to take a students' credit. Today, graduating from university does not guarantee finding a job that would make it possible to pay the loan back. It is also difficult to imagine that, given the situation, the state should take the responsibility to provide full employment for every graduate. Therefore, it may result in a situation where still only the socially and economically privileged will study at university. Apart from that, both the followers and the opponents of fee-paying higher education point at the obvious fact that the inequalities start as soon as at the level of primary school, not to mention the family of origin. It is mostly children from the better-off families that come at the level of decision making about going to university. The idea of fee-paying studies is certainly right as far as universities are concerned, which facing mass education, to maintain their level of didactics and research, simply need bigger means, which should come from various sources, from all the concerned partners of a university. The fee-

paying studies, on the other hand, does not have to lead to a wider access for all young people to the best public universities. To the arguments for the tuition fee, it can be added that the value of university education would rise and it will be treated with due respect by students. Today, numerous individuals simply want to get the certificate and "slip through" the consecutive years of education paid by the state. It should also be considered that a fee-paying offer of a university would have to be better suited for the needs of the students, who in majority treat knowledge in an instrumental manner, as a means of getting a job. It should not be criticized, yet the teaching programmes should be treated in such a way so as not to vocationalize students on the one hand, and to provide youth with some necessary qualifications on the other hand (foreign languages, computer skills, etc.), however, these are not the issues discussed by Antonowicz.

An important postulate is also to invest in universities with a prosperous research facilities, not in the local educational institutions (this is the character, according to Antonowicz that some of Polish universities start to represent). Of course, the author does not decrease the meaning of university education, which should be continuous in character and should be open to the the social needs defined from the point of view of a society bases on knowledge. In the opinion of Antonowicz, it is research that has the greatest part in the development of knowledge, due to which it is possible to co-operate closely with various social partners, just as is it the basis of the development of economy and academic education. An argument that would successfully reach the government should be the demographic prognosis, which say that population has been decreasing. Therefore, in Poland, the author

votes for the "policy of support for the best Polish universities", because it is for the best public interest and it will add to the increase in the competitiveness of Polish academic knowledge in Europe. According to Kazimierz Denek "(...) only the elite universities with old traditions can maintain the traditional devotion to their constitutive features, functions and tasks that are realized in education and research at the highest academic level"[3]. The creation of Polish *Ivy League,* that should be privileged in financing from the state's budget and a wider autonomy, becomes an economically and academically substantiated argument, yet one that contradicts the egalitarian aims of higher education, and thus just as difficult to introduce as fee-paying studies.

Not intending to undermine the need for the development of universities with a wide research potential, it must be noticed here that the author almost entirely neglects the question of subjectivity of students. Academic youth is mentioned in the book in reference to their payment for education and in the context of mass university education. It is obvious that it is impossible to deal with everything. However, it must be remembered that without students a university would cease to exist. The aim, which is to prepare graduates for their future professional life is specified both in the "Law on Higher Education" and in the Bologna Declaration, one of whose priorities is to rise the mobility and attractiveness of Europeans on the world job markets. Antonowicz takes up the sensitive subject of vocationaliza-

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[3] K. Denek, *Uniwersytety w służbie społeczeństwa wiedzy* [in:] *Szkolnictwo wyższe w Europie, w Polsce w świetle założeń i realizacji procesu bolońskiego,* (eds.) E. Kula, M. Pękowska, Kielce 2004, pp. 23–24.

tion of universities, which in his opinion would lead to the fall of university mission. On the other hand, he does not analyze the problem of graduates in the study programmes that are not adapted to the requirements of the job market and are not consulted with employers. Here also returns the question of tuition fees for higher education. What is it that a student should pay for if outside university he or she must invest considerable sums of money in education, learning foreign languages, or computer skills. It seems that, when looking for the model of government policy towards universities this issue should also be considered.

Antonowicz created a coherent set of recommendations for polish politics towards universities. Apart from the postulates described above, the author also speaks about the necessity to stabilize the legal order, make more flexible forms of employment and decentralize personal policy. He opts for the strengthening of the position of a rector and organizational leadership, as well as for the replacement of the rule of democracy with collegiality, which would improve the decision-making processes and enabled an inside integrity of the undertaken actions. In the state-controlled putting of universities to the market, they should notice themselves the chance to build their autonomy and subjectivity. A diversification of the sources of finances, co-operation with business, but also with local authorities and organizations from outside the government will make it impossible for them to be dependent on only one partner. Nevertheless, the state and society must remain the main sovereigns of universities, so as not to let the schools fully devote to the market and commercialization.

The book by Antonowicz must be recommended to everyone who is connected with a university and is interested with its future.

This work constitutes a kind of a compendium of knowledge about the ideas, values and specifications of universities, which is essential to anyone who takes part in the debate on higher education, who forms the government policy towards universities. Similarly, students should also learn more about the history, values and problems of their Alma Mater, since it would enable them to take a constructive and serious part in the discussion on the fate of universities, and not only to be limited to the instrumental treatment of education. The ideas of the author for the Polish area of higher education arise from righteous assumptions on the necessity to change numerous aspects of university activity when facing new social and economic challenges and conditions, accompanied by preservation of the core of the institution's values. However, a part of the projects may appear very difficult to accept by all the interested subjects: academic communities, authorities, and society.

Magdalena Dybaś

Arkadiusz Karwacki, *Błędne koło. Reprodukcja kultury podklasy społecznej* **[Vicious Circle: Reproduction of the Social Underclass Culture], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2006, pp. 243.**

The analyzes of the social position of the former workers of State Farms (PGRs) and their families constitute an important fragment of the sociological study of Polish political system transformation. It is in relation to this group that the researchers dealing with the problem of poverty starts to form a hypothesis on the creation of the Polish form of so-called underclass – people constantly ex-

cluded from full involvement in the economic, social, cultural and political life in Poland. The discussed work creates a part of these studies over the processes of social marginalization of the people that live in the areas of former PGRs, which have so far been conducted by Elżbieta Tarkowska and Katarzyna Korzeniewska, Zofia Kawczyńska-Butrym, and Elżbieta Psyk-Piotrowska.

The problems included in the book refer to the questions about the causes and forms of the mechanisms that recreate the "culture of poverty" among the former workers of PGRs. In other words, the goal of the study – in the author's intention – was an endeavour to answer the question: "Why do the young inhabitants of post-PGR communities inherit the low cultural capital and have minimal chances of […] getting out of their local circles of social degradation?" [pp. 11–12].

The reviewed book consists of an *Introduction*, six chapters and a *Conclusion*, as well as of a bibliography and a summary in English. The initial three chapters are theoretical in character. In the first chapter, entitled *Global Background of the Current Local Crises*, the author tries to put the problem of the creation in the former PGR regions of a new social category – the underclass – in the context of the current globalization processes. If we refer to the works by Bauman and Lasch, Karwacki, they emphasize the ambivalence of the processes: on the one hand they contribute to the sudden increase of productivity, the "shrinking" of the world, popularizing pluralism, multiculturalism and individuality – understood as emancipation of an individual from the traditional, limiting and enforced social frames; on the other hand, they lead to an overstretched concentration of the produced goods in the hands of the few elites, and they contribute to

the intensification of the processes of social marginalization and disintegration of local communities. It is to the reaction of the communities to the crisis caused by the influence of globalization processes that the author gives a salient role. The reactions can take the form of building opposition, personal or inclusive communities. The first are communities "consolidated as a result of economic marginalization and of rejecting the social identity of some groups in a give society", the second are "nets of loosely connected individuals with shared interests and business that are characterized by no longer public relations (limited to their households) and by «privatization» to their closest friends". An inclusive community, on the other hand, is based "on an ideological and view-point pluralism, trust and co-operation. The common good, or the public business constitute the major value here" [p. 39]. It is with the creation of this last type of local bonds that the author connects his hopes to overcome the threat created by globalisation processes. According to Karwacki, the successful (i.e. effective and adapted to the reality of the modern, globalised world) forms of social help in the post-PGR areas should be based on the activation of these local communities, on mobilization of the social strength hidden in these communities, on the release of their hidden potential. In other words, the aim of the supporting action in the post-PGR environment should be the creation of social capital – both on the level of an individual (a change of attitude and mentality of some people), and of a community (building mutual trust, social norms and a net of connections among the inhabitants of a given community). In his book, Karwacki refers then both to the Bourdiean and the Putnam's understanding of the term of social capital.

In the second chapter, entitled *Educational Environment Facing Social Transformation*, the author notices that the models and structures of young people socialization are relative for specific social groups. The personality models, norms of behaviour and values transferred in the process of socialization can be both functional from the point of view of a local environment, and dysfunctional for the social system as a whole. Such a situation takes place as far as the post-PGR communities are concerned: children of the former PGR workers are at home under the influence of "survival socialization", which is supposed to make it later possible for them to successfully function in the deprived local environment. Simultaneously, acquiring this socializing message results in the fact that the children that come from socially handicapped communities are successfully shut away from the way to social advancement in the global social system.

The third chapter (*Underclass and Culture of Poverty – Terminology and Interpretation Conflicts*) is devoted to the discussion of debates taking place in sociology on the meaning of the terms "underclass" and "culture of poverty". The author describes in detail the discussion and thoroughly presents the difference in attitude both in the first and the second approach. He tends to support the Wilson understanding of the underclass as a social category that arose as a result of structural enforcement (technological progress and the accompanying structural unemployment), the members of which category – as a consequence of being pushed to the margin of society – gradually create the foundations of subculture "based on total negation of values recognized by society" [p. 96]. According to Karwacki, among the former workers of PGRs there has evolved – in consequence of socio-economic

transformation accompanying Polish system change – an independent cultural identity, transferred in the process of socialization to the next generation [pp. 133; 215].

In the fourth chapter, entitled *Underclass and Its Culture in Post-PGR Communities*, the author analyzes the features of the former workers of PGRs using – defined by Mary Daly – five dimensions (spacial, structural, deprivation, temporary and cultural) that constitute the phenomenon of underclass. Therefore, to start with, the post-PGR areas are spatially isolated (most of them are located in areas distant from cities or villages), moreover, their inhabitants limit relations with their neighbours to the essential minimum (a phenomenon of the so-called "shutting off at homes"), which inhibits of prevents the creation of the so much-wanted in these areas social capital. The inhabitants of post-PGR areas are also characterized with a low spatial mobility, which results from an action that began after the closure of PGRs and was based on buying out the farm flats: "most of the workers were obliged to take credits when buying out their flats. Facing problems with redemption of the credits, they could not get rid of them on the free market, which then made migration and working somewhere outside their place of living impossible" [p.121]. Apart from that, the regional isolation of the PGR inhabitants and their children is strengthened by the division into the "commuters" and the "natives" that can be found in many secondary schools, which adds to limiting educational chances of the former ones.

A factor that strengthened the marginalization process of post-PGR communities was also the dissolution of the institutional net created till 1992 by State Farms. Since marginalization is based on exclusion from the func-

tioning in the institutional and organization structures of society, the institutional gap in these areas resulted in deepened poverty.

"The spatial isolation and the resulting limited access to educational institutions causes constant decrease, possibly hibernation of the current low cultural capital, which influences the missed adjustment of the competence of individuals to the requirements of free market economy. The resulting limited possibilities of employment contribute to low household income, and thus, without the essential financing, spatial barriers are for many an impervious surface" [pp. 124–125].

According to Karwacki, this "long-lasting, rooted in Polish People's Republic addiction from help «from outside» has noticeably influenced the rormation of Polish underclass" [p. 127]. He thinks that poverty in the post-PGR areas is "substantially rooted in time and cannot be considered only from the perspective of more than a dozen years of transformation", and the system transformation "did not bring to life «the culture of poverty», but in a way revealed it" [p. 128]. Poverty among the former workers of State Farms most often takes a permanent form, and the addiction to social help and treating them as a "wage" seems normal and natural there. "Getting used to" social benefits is accompanied by other elements characteristic for the culture of poverty: resentment towards the representatiuves and institutions of the existant order (the police, government, authorities) and blaming them for their own, difficult situation; lack of chilhood understood as a safe and long-lasting phase; early sexual initiation of youth; home violence towards women and children and treating it as a certainty without any need for explanation. The only feature of the culture of poverty described in the classic works by Lewis

and absent in the research by Karwacki is the tendency to live in informal relationships.

In the next chapter, entitled *Reproduction of the "Culture of Poverty" in Post-PGR Societies* Karwacki forms a view that in relations to the constantly poor societies, there must be noticed an "alternative" – not – "negative" social capital. Among the former workers of PGR there was created "a system of attitudes, beliefs, norms, and values, which in the opinion of the concerned is an illustration of an active and independent search for the solutions to problems. *What is commonly called a pretentious attitude is a strategy of survival, which in particular circumstances is more likely to succeed than active search for work" (my emphasis* – T.D.) [p. 154]. However, as I have mentioned before, the strategies generated and acquired in a family and peer groups to survive in a local, deprived social environment make it impossible to achieve success on a larger scale. From their families and peer groups the young inhabitants of former PGRs take over the low level of educational aspirations, the sense of "temporariness" and the immediate aspect of needs and goals or ignorance as far as successful ways of family planning are concerned. Educational institutions do not try, on the other hand, to break this "alternative" habitus – as Karwacki writes, "for the members of post-PGR communities, school has partially performed the educational function, transmitting the basic knowledge, yet it does not shape the attitudes characteristic of the wider society. School does not fulfil the adaptive-cultural function, since it fails to make a connection with children, it does not attract their attention outside classes, and it is not able to transmit and «implement» cultural content. School, then, does not either fulfil the caring and shaping function, since it sustains

the attitudes internalized in a family and a peer group, and it sustains, at the same time, social statuses. Educational institutions do not level disproportions among children, what is more, they seem to sustain and deepen the divisions" [p. 181].

In this situation it becomes necessary to intervene as far as social politics is concerned. The last chapter of the reviewed work is devoted to such suggestions, entitled *Reproduction of the "Culture of Poverty" of Post-PGR Communities as a Challenge for Social Policy.* Karwacki presents himself there as a decisive follower of the so-called active model of social politics. He thinks, that social help that limits itself only to redistribution of financial means will never be effective. This is not, however, about a total resignation from providing benefits, but about decreasing the number of monetary allowances and a reform in the system of their gratification [p. 205]. The author has a few specific suggestions of such changes. As he writes, "A sum provided for a benefit for a specific family should be divided into parts, of which only a certain per cent should be given in cash. The rest should be spent on additional financing of heat fuel, the rent, food coupons in the local shop" [p. 205]. The help should be foremost directed to young people. *Notabene*, it is impossible to resist the impression that the author predestines the whole older generation of the former PGRs workers to waste as completely "unreformable". Yet, the key to successful social policy towards youth should be education that provides chances to learn about the world outside the local, deprived system. It results in, according to Karwacki, a necessity of complex investments into social facilities for schools, their sports infrastructure, the system of scholarships (social, motivating, and sports) and free, given by

school textbooks [p. 207]. In the *Conclusion* to his book, the author claims, "We will achieve success and it will be impossible to say that poverty is not inherited in the post-PGR communities, when a part of the active young individuals is able to achieve professional success, the sense of multidimensional freedom (in reference to Amartyia Sen) coming back to where they grew up and feeling a bond with the neighbourhood and common local interest, and being simultaneously able to form cooperation norms" [p. 219].

Summing up, the reviewed book constitutes a proper conclusion to the research that has been conducted from the beginning of Polish system transformation on the social marginalization of the post-PGR communities. Its advantage is undoubtedly realizing that the norms and values common in the circles of the former workers of PGRs are, from the local point of view, functional. The tragic paradox of the social position of youth that lives in the post PGR areas is based on the fact that by acquiring the subcultural message that makes it possible for them to survive in the pauperized surroundings, the young simultaneously shut off their way to future escape from the environment. Therefore, it is not enough, the author writes, to ritually condemn the people that live in the enclave of poverty. They need to have access to resources (mainly educational and financial) and to receive patient and consequent social help.

The reviewed work is not free from flaws. It is foremost surprising that the author has included few of his own discoveries in the studied area. Karwacki draws his conclusions referring mostly to works by other authors (without the references to works by Elżbieta Psyk-Piotrowska or Elżbieta Tarkowska and Katarzyna Korzeniewska, the reviewed book

would be decisively less rich). Methodological issues are discussed only on a few pages of the introduction, thus, they do not comprise a separate chapter, which would be expected in this kind of work as a kind of standard. Unfortunately, it weakens the justification of the author's conclusion. Since the empirical basis of the work is not unified, it is not certain if it can be justified to conclude that in the areas of the former PGRs we are dealing with a process of formation of the underclass, whose members differ from the rest of society in their subculture, based on a separate axiological system. Even if it is true (and I tend to believe it), it seems at least disputable to acknowledge the suggested by Karwacki understanding of success in the area of limiting the intergeneration transmission of poverty. The emphasis, which he puts in the fragment quoted above, on the issue of the young returning to their family environment is in my understanding utopian. The revitalization of local communities still remains, of course, an important instrument in the policy of preventing social exclusion. However, it seems that actions directed at the prevention of inheriting poverty from generation to generation can be also considered successful when they assume the necessity for the young to leave their local environments in search for work and a better quality of life.

Tomasz Drabowicz

A Report from the Polish Conference "Active Social Policy from the Point of View of Social Europe".

On 21–22 September 2006, once again from the initiative of Krzysztof Piątek, there was a meeting in Toruń of representatives of various disciplines linked with the issues of social policy and social service. The conference was an opportunity to exchange experiences and views and to analyze critically the current state of Polish social policy, which is facing not only the challenges imposed by the European Union, but also the ones that come into being with the dynamic development of the world.

The plenary session that opened the conference consisted of four presentations that prepared the background for the following discussions and speeches. Even though the titles of the plenary presentations seemed very promising, the speeches did not cross beyond providing the subject, theoretical, or even ideological scheme for the commencing debate. Julian Auleytner did not give an unequivocal answer (impossible, perhaps, in the present socio-political situation of Poland) to the question, "Is Poland a welfare State?", Katarzyna Głąbicka, describing "the future of European Social Space" presented theoretical visions of countries of wealth in Europe. Analogically, a slight interpretative lack was sensed in the presentation of Jolanta Grotowska-Leder, who showed in numbers and per cents the state of "unemployment of Polish youth from the point of view of the European Union". Krzysztof Frysztacki presented "the main dilemmas and directions of development in social America" in a less report-like manner, pointing at, among others, the possibilities resulting from finding space for social policy among such currents as "individualism" on the one hand and "solidarity" on the other; in addition, he underlined that defining America as "social", not "welfare" is not only a term, but a terminology trait.

For some time now, we have observed in the discourse of social policy the promotion of an idea to make use of the "benefits" of social

economy in solving various social problems. The so-called "third method' – a field method of social work, is, according to theoreticians, supposed to give quite considerable chances of fighting social exclusion, unemployment, pauperization, etc. The image of activating social capital, not only in theoretical debate, but in practice as well, in specific local communities, in coping with specific social problems, was shown in the presentations in the next session, entitled "Faces of Active Social Policy". The speeches of Małgorzata Baron-Wiaterek and Krystyna Faliszek reminded us that the role of local administration cannot be underestimated in the creation of local social policy. The presentations of Izabela Mandel, Maria Pierzchalska and a collective presentation on the subject "Use of Instruments Activating the Unemployed on the Lower Silesia Job Market" emphasized the potential (the social capital – as the driving force of specific actions) that can be excavated as a result of building the foundations of a citizen society, enforcing specific social initiatives and mobilizing the beneficiaries of social help themselves to active involvement in the life of their authority districts. Jolanta Borek presents a particular case study of social work through activation, showing what barriers and challenges in this respect we encounter in the world of the disabled. Dobroniega Trawkowska presented from the perspective of her long practice in teaching social workers the idea of activating people who are sentenced to marginalization, and other challenges that current social work faces. Dawid Bunikowski pushed the challenges for social policy even further searching in the complex social service for a context to solve such controversial moral and legal issues as e.g. euthanasia.

In a parallel session, devoted to "Faces of the Current Social Problems", numerous plots and so-called detailed social issues were present. The present social problems, from the perspective of II Polish Republic, were discussed by Lech Kościelak. Wojciech Nagel pointed at the possibility of the demographic reserve fund as an instrument to stimulate risk in retirement insurances. The unexploited potential of the term "integration" as the basic aim of social policy was presented by Katarzyna Szymańska-Zybertowicz on the example of immigration policy. Three speeches focused on the issues of employment. There was Aleksandra Bronk, who presented the social dilemmas connected with flexible forms of employment; Sabina Bieniecka, who defined the possibilities and limitations of the third sector as a place of professional activation, and Małgorzata Podogrodzka who analyzed the problem of illegal employment in the context of social exclusion. There were also presentations of the current situation of social workers (Tadeusz Kamiński) and the clients of social help (Jerzy Bielec).

On the second day, the morning session was devoted to the social face of Europe. The presentation were focused around the summary of the experiences of researchers and practitioners so far in the area of the initiatives undertaken in Poland that use the European Union funds and the "new" instruments of Polish social policy (such as the acts on social employment, activity to public benefit, or voluntary work). The perspectives and barriers in implementing the European Social Fund were presented by Mirosław Grewiński, and practical experience in this respect – Krystyna Dowgiałło; similar reflection referring to the initiative of the EU programme EQUAL on the example of social employment of women was given by Magdalena Bergmann. Monika Sot presented the perspectives of economic

development in Poland that result from being a member state of the EU. The reform of the social state in Germany were presented by Grażyna Bukowska, and Arkadiusz Durasiewicz showed a comparison of welfare for a family in Poland, Germany and Great Britain. While a vision of social Europe according to the Commission of European Churches was discussed by Marcin Ziemkowski.

The conference was closed with a very important session referring to the education of social services in Poland – its diagnosis and direction of change. Beata Rataj, Krzysztof Frysztacki and Krzysztof Piątek were invited to a panel discussion. The last discussion evoked numerous emotions and fears as to the future of social services education in Poland. Both the panelists and the participants of the discussion agreed that a coherent educational system, using the experience of experts and the educational experiences of other European countries is essential for the training of competent social workers. There was also voiced a need to create a kind of lobby to vote for the summoning in Polish education a discipline called Social Work. Without serious and complex education we have little chances to educate social workers that would be able to cope with the intricate problems that concern our citizens, and we only have "clerks".

Katarzyna Szymańska-Zybertowicz