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Introduction

The invariably valid words of Tadeusz Lewowicki point to the fact that "the years-long tradition of multi- and intercultural education provides examples of blurring the differences between cultures, of searching for common or uniting elements of cultures (and not the matters that divide) and for such elements that may bring people living in these cultures closer" (Lewowicki, 2000, p. 31). These words take on a new meaning in the current geopolitical situation of our country, Europe and the world. Social experiences and the practice of everyday life confirm the need for continuous research and analysis of the phenomena of multiculturalism, identity shaping, education of minority and ethnic groups, and relations between representatives of different nations, religions and cultures. There are many contemporary events illustrating the scale and complexity of the problems related to multiculturalism, caused, among other things, by growing xenophobic attitudes, aversion, prejudices, but also by the contradicting political, social and economic interests that can lead even to war conflicts.

Right now, in such a difficult time of trial for us and our neighbours from Ukraine, the sense can be seen of credible intercultural education, which academic circles have been calling for in the three last decades in our country, working out the assumptions of the scientific subdiscipline of intercultural education. This subject matter is also part of the nineteenth volume of "Intercultural Education", a journal edited by the research staff of the former Department of General Pedagogy and Research Methodology as well as of Social Pedagogy and Intercultural Education at the Faculty of Ethnology and Educational Sciences in Cieszyn[1]. The journal comprises texts that are theoretical, theoretical-empirical, and practical. The articles – as well as the scientific activities of the authors – represent various disciplines: pedagogy, sociology, political science, history of education and cultural studies. At the same time, we hope that our journal confirms our joint efforts to continue and develop intercultural education in Poland and abroad, fostering the knowledge and understanding of Others and their cultures, friendly cooperation and peace.

The present volume is divided into six thematic fields. It opens with texts from the section *Articles and treatises*. The process of creating and exemplifying the reality, as emphasized by Andrzej Radziewicz-Winnicki (p. 203), is entangled in the socio-cultural and historical context of various kinds of knowledge about the world, in the ideas about it and in many different worldviews. They can all be seen as in some sense relative. Therefore, there is no ontologically objective world that could constitute a model or criterion, for example, of the reality of other worlds. Moreover, the constructed imaginaria are relative to each other, which means that none of them is distinguished in any way, especially in the axiological sense. Thus, there is a greater need for interdisciplinary research, as encouraged in their texts by the authors of the section. This applies to both research in the field of exact sciences, natural sciences, as well as social ones and humanities, which is emphasized by Stanisław Juszczyk in his text, and which is presented in detail by the authors referring to the exploration of social memory (Anna Odrową-Coates, Jacek Kulbaka and Bartosz Gondek).

In the second section *Intercultural education in Poland and worldwide – life situation of students and academic teachers*, the presented theoretical and empirical considerations are situated in the academic world. The first two texts (by Ewa Ogrodzka-Mazur and Anna Szafrańska) analyze the results of the comparative research carried out in three countries – Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Contemporary academic youth is in a special situation – they take part in a rapidly changing socio-cultural reality and at the same time experience certain phenomena that have never occurred on such a large scale. Reflection on the young learning generation of Poles, Czechs and Slovaks is associated with an attempt to find answers to many questions, among which the most important seem to be those concerning plans for the future,

[1] Currently, after structural changes in the University of Silesia that have eliminated the existing departments and chairs, these are staff members of the Faculty of Arts and Educational Science (Institute of Education) at the University of Silesia.

the sense of the quality of life and satisfaction with it. The research was carried out in the countries that are culturally close to each other and experience similar historical and social changes, and yet – the obtained analyses of the research results indicate differences in the preferred values and lifestyles of the surveyed youth. The next text (by Jolanta Suchodolska) introduces the issue of designing the future by academic youth. In early adulthood, developing a life plan proves to be both an important protective factor and a manifestation of being proactive. In this context, making a plan for one's life can also mean taking care of oneself and one's self-development. The next two texts are the presentation of some studies carried out among academic teachers, illustrating the importance of e-learning activities (which became particularly important during the Covid-19 pandemic) and having a special practical dimension. The author (Krystian Tuczyński) summed up the results of the research in the final part and presented recommendations for universities in the field of distance learning in the academic environment. The section ends with a text in which the authors (Beata Pituła and Barbara Grzyb) present the results of a diagnosis of the level of psychosocial competences of academic teachers in a technical university (Silesian University of Technology).

An important place in the section *Research reports* is occupied by the considerations by several authors pertaining to school as a space in which the assumptions of intercultural education should be, but not necessarily are, implemented (Krystyna Slany et al., Katarzyna Górak-Sosnowska and Urszula Markowska-Manista). A question is also raised: Should grit be our educational goal? (Marcin Kolemba and Tomasz Bajkowski).

Referring to contemporary problems, the texts of five authors have been submitted in the section *Global challenges in intercultural education*. It includes studies addressing the issues of responsibility for global challenges in the economic, environmental and social spheres, which have been so important in recent years, as well as reflections on racism – both that experienced by migrant children and in the dimension of protest-songs in hip-hop music.

Forum of intercultural educators is a permanent section of the journal "Intercultural Education". This time, the discussion of the authors who prepared the texts in this section, focused on the category of migration and emigration (also in the historical context), religious attitudes of young Poles in terms of the impact of the Internet and the analysis of the stage of the Gender revolution in two conservative welfare states (Poland and Austria).

The volume closes with the section *Reviewing articles*, consisting of two articles. The first one written by Andrzej Radziewicz-Winnicki is a review of a collective work prepared by E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, A. Szczurek-Boruta, B. Grabowska and A. Szafrańska (2022) for the jubilee of professor Tadeusz Lewowicki. The author of the review refers in the introduction to the time of its preparation, which coincided with the tragic Russian attack on Ukraine. This event is of particular importance for the environment of Cieszyn intercultural educators – including the jubilarian himself – who have closelycollaborated with scientists from Ukraine for years. This was also reflected in the reviewed volume, in which a number of texts were prepared by employees of The National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, as well as the University of Boris Grinchenko in Kiev. A. Radziewicz-Winnicki has captured Tadeusz Lewowicki's actions very accurately: "The Jubilarian deserves gratitude and universal respect not only because of his extensive knowledge and scientific work, but also because he – in the course of his many years of teaching and research – has spread an atmosphere of kindness and faith in the human being" (p. 204). The most important assumptions of this extremely extensive study, combining 40 articles located in three substantive sections, are discussed further.

Another review article was prepared by Łukasz Kwadrans. The Roma, as the author emphasizes, constitute one of the most numerous ethnic groups in Europe, whose number is estimated at six to twelve million people, two-thirds of whom live in Central and Eastern Europe. Hence, the reviewed study is a valuable collection of texts dealing with various areas of social functioning of Roma communities in Europe.

* * *

On behalf of the Editors and the Scientific Council of the journal "Intercultural Education", we would like to thank all the authors of the prepared texts for their creative contribution to the development of articles, and thus the development of multicultural and intercultural education. The publication of this issue of the journal was possible thanks to the constant favour and help of the academic authorities of the University of Silesia in Katowice, its Institute of Pedagogy and the Adam Marszałek Publishing House.

Scientific Editors
Ewa Ogrodzka-Mazur and Anna Szafrańska

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ARTICLES AND TREATISES

Stanisław Juszczyk

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Some reflections on the methodology of multidisciplinary empirical research conducted within the paradigms: "Education 4.0", "Industry 4.0" and "Society 5.0"

Abstract: The article is an attempt to characterize the methodology of multidisciplinary empirical research, designed and implemented within technical, exact, natural, social, and humanistic sciences. Three paradigms have been characterized: Education 4.0, Industry 4.0, and Society 5.0. The author's attention was drawn to the need for a clear formulation of detailed concepts as well as their content and context. The types of possible empirical research and the methods and techniques used in them were presented, attention was also drawn to the importance of the model used in the research. It was considered necessary to disseminate methodological knowledge for the reliable execution of empirical research, allowing for its repeatability, verification, and evaluation.

Keywords: methodology, multidisciplinarity, paradigm, Education 4.0, Industry 4.0. Society 5.0, post-digital world, model

Introduction

Multiculturalism in the era of globalization is characteristic not only for certain societies of developed countries, e.g., the USA. Canada or Australia, but it is also a result of the migration of Asian or African societies to other regions of the world, including Europe. European society is becoming more and more multicultural because of the migration process of residents not only of other continents, but also of people moving within the European Union countries, e.g. in search for high-quality education (e.g. under ERASMUS plus programs) and thus obtaining education recognized in many countries or getting a well-paid job. As a result of this process, multicultural student classes, student groups or work teams are formed. Therefore, it becomes necessary to introduce intercultural education in secondary school (Lewowicki, Ogrodzka-Mazur and Szczurek-Boruta, 2000, pp. 21–35). These processes and phenomena are becoming more and more dynamic due to the implementation of new technologies into education, economy, and social systems, especially the Artificial Intelligence, which exponentially causes the development of enterprises and organizations, promotes the emergence of new professions, provides education with new teaching tools, and enables people to communicate faster and more effectively.

For several years, all over the world intensive theoretical studies and empirical research have been conducted under the current scientific paradigms: Education 4.0, Industry 4.0, and Society 5.0. Empirical research, which increasingly has a multidisciplinary character, combines distant (not only scientific) disciplines, but also fields of science. The studies are conducted by multidisciplinary and often multicultural research teams, using the general methodology of sciences or the tools of different sciences and disciplines applied to find an explanation to the issue under study.

The above mentioned paradigms closely correlate and are related to the long-term, dynamic development of digital media, used in many aspects of the modern individual, social and professional group functions, as well as in the functioning of organizations, enterprises, and factories. Problems in today's world have become complicated and complex. The processes of industrialization and urbanization, globalization and liberalization, the spiral development of modern society's digitization, called digital transformation, and everyday life algorithmization have contributed to the synthetic view of economy, not only of individual countries, such as Germany, Japan, or the USA, but also their integrated federations, such as the European Union.

The aim of the study is to characterize multidisciplinary empirical research, designed within the framework of scientific methodology and concerning research problems related to scientific paradigms: Education 4.0, Industry 4.0, and Society 5.0. The study is based on the hermeneutical analysis of the selected theories and examples of multidisciplinary research.

Characteristics of the paradigms: Education 4.0, Industry 4.0, and Society 5.0

The term "paradigm" is treated here as a model theory of fundamental importance for each field of study, which allows researchers in a specific field to adopt assumptions considered to be given facts and focus on solving more specific problems (Kuhn, 1970, pp. 26–28).

Education 4.0

Many of today's children will work in new job types that do not exist yet, with an increased focus on both digital and socio-emotional skills in the coming years. The gap between education and jobs is further widened by limited innovation in learning systems, which were largely designed to mirror factory-style growth models. The Fourth Industrial Revolution has made it imperative that education systems adapt. The Education 4.0 initiative aims to better prepare the next generation of talents through a transformation in primary and secondary education. The initiative will trigger impact through four interconnected interventions: (1) Implementing new measurement mechanisms for Education 4.0 skills; (2) Mainstreaming technology-enhanced Education 4.0 learning experiences; (3) Empowering the Education 4.0 workforce and (4) Setting Education 4.0 country-level standards and priorities (cf. https://www.weforum.org/projects/learning-4–0).

Experts and scientists from many countries believe that these concepts require a change in economic law, as well as the implementation of a reform package concerning: the system of education and modern educational process, the development of social communication, the standardization (including Internet) and development of planning, the implementation of AI in all areas of human activity, while priority is granted to the implementation of education and information programmes.

Industry 4.0 (Economy 4.0)

The concept of Industry 4.0 is not unequivocal, as it includes a number of other concepts related to processes involving the use of new technologies, such as: Internet of Things (IoT) and Industrial Internet of Things (IIoT)), computing clouds (CC), big data analysis (BD), artificial intelligence (AI), as well as incremental printing (3D printers), Augmented Reality (AR), Collaborative Robots (Cobots), or Cybersecurity. The economy is a social system, a set of cooperative rules within the limits described by law and Economy 4.0 is a concept of an industrial and cultural revolution, stimulated by the development and widespread use of digital media. It includes the processes of automation as well as data processing and exchange, the implementation of various new technologies, allowing the construction of so-called cyber-physical systems and changing the methods of producing goods. This new way of manufacturing is implemented through the digitization of production in which devices and technological systems relate to each other, also via the Internet, and where large sets of production data are analyzed.

The second dimension of the Industry 4.0 concept is related to production management, an organization's activities and to the value creation chain (Prades et al., 2013, pp. 115–122; Benitez et al., 2012, pp. 2432–2441). One can directly talk about the values in the processed data (Oracle, 2020) (as well as about technology evaluation), in which linear processes and traditional pyramids of management systems are transformed into a network of connections and non-linear production. The non-linearity of modern production processes is a reflection of the non-linearity in globalization processes.

The idea of Industry 4.0 (Economy), a term first used during the Hannover Messe in 2011, is a concept developed by German scientists and experts. It has contributed to the European Commission's development of the general concept of EU economic development which takes place until 2050. This idea has been implemented in many developed countries: the USA. Japan, South Korea, Germany (Liao et al., 2017, pp. 3609–3629; Johnson, 2019, pp. 21–23; Ganzari and Errasti, 2016, pp. 119–1128).

Society 5.0

People are functioning today in a society which is most often called the information society, but is also referred to as the knowledge society, civil society, postmodern society, or post-digital society, heading towards the society of the future called society 5.0 or, interchangeably, Super Smart Society. This concept of modern society has been developed by Japanese scientists. In January 2016, the Japanese government adopted the Fifth Science and Technology Basic Plan, which led to the transition from industry 4.0 to society 5.0 (5th Science and Technology Basic Plan 2020; Keidaren – Japan Business Federation 2020 and a UNESCO Science Report, 2020). All aspects of such a society, including work in industry, are to be shaped by the latest techniques and technologies which were listed on the previous page. The Japanese define the society 5.0 as a symbol of interpersonal relations focused on the human (a human-centric society). It uses economic progress to solve social problems with the help of the system and technologies that strongly integrate cyberspace with physical, real space. The interpenetration of both real and virtual reality, and therefore embedding cyberspace in the real world, leads to the establishment of augmented reality (AR). The new social order is also called a super-intelligent, creative society or a society of imagination. In the new society 5.0 we are talking about collective intelligence functioning in the web.

The innovative concept of the next social order was a result of Japan's problems related to energy shortages and its import from abroad, limited natural resources and an aging society, therefore the parallels between Japan, Germany and other industrialized countries are becoming visible.

In conclusion, it can be stated that industrial and social transformations result from digital transformation and especially from the introduction to our life of the Artificial Intelligence. It must be remembered that technological and social development must take place simultaneously. When technological development is faster, future social problems will be very difficult to solve.

Selected aspects of the methodology of multidisciplinary research. Multidisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity, and transdisciplinarity

The definitions of terms such as "multidisciplinarity", "interdisciplinarity" or "transdisciplinarity" are vague and not well differentiated. The distinctions between these concepts revolve around the degree of collaboration and cross-fertilization between the disciplines. A multidisciplinary approach means that knowledge of several disciplines is used to a given problem and these disciplines are supplementary to one another in such a way that it is possible to draw clearly cut conclusions, free from being branded as isolated or partial. In multidisciplinary research, several fields are involved in a certain line of inquiry which is specific to a problem or region. Multidisciplinarity also means that a particular problem or an observable phenomenon is considered from different disciplinary viewpoints. This eventually involves a confrontation of different scientific approaches (concepts, models, methods, findings), in the hope that together the multidisciplinary research team will succeed in producing a coherent picture of the relevant problem, its possible explanations and potential solutions (Uiterkamp and Vlek, 2007, pp. 175–197). It can be defined as a search for knowledge through an objective and systemic method, for an original contribution to the existing stock of knowledge, involving a combination of several disciplines and methods (Molteberg and Bergstrom, 2000).

In an interdisciplinary endeavour, the relevant parts (concepts, models, methods, findings) of different scientific disciplines are merged and neatly integrated. Thus, for example, a natural science model concerning the spreading of air pollution might be coupled with a behavioural science model of using motorized transport; or an economic model of consumer utility maximization might be combined with a psychological model of habit formation and seeking a social status (Uiterkamp and Vlek, 2007, pp. 175–197).

Transdisciplinarity signifies the crossing of boundaries between scientific and non-scientific communities. It represents a set of lively interactions between scientists on the one hand, and representatives of industry, government, and/or civil society on the other. For scientific researchers transdisciplinarity means "reaching out to society" (Uiterkamp and Vleck, 2007, pp. 175–197).

Science aims to describe, explain, and understand natural, technical, exact, social, cultural, and educational phenomena and processes. Since all the sciences, apart from mathematics and logic, are empirical sciences, the methodology of empirical, but at the same time multidisciplinary research will be considered here, because it will apply to such disciplines as: philosophy, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, (inter)cultural studies, linguistics, computer science, automation, cybernetics, robotics, mechatronics, management, economics, production engineering, transport, neurobiology, and physics. Economists for example may focus on cost-effective mechanisms; sociologists on empowering the poor and addressing social inequity; anthropologists on acknowledging local customs, practices, and social structures; psychologists on the attribution of responsibility, or individual relations at work (Karlsson, 2007, pp. 103–126); and development practitioners on relations with the local community (Eyben, 2005, pp. 98–107). Without inclusion of these diverse perspectives, and the interaction of economic, sociological, and anthropological/cultural variables, the risk of confirmation bias becomes, logically enough, elevated (Clements, 2008). All members of a team should be involved in all aspects of the study: design, data collection and analysis. Multidisciplinary research is a learning experience in which the participants also learn from each other.

Model of a phenomenon or a process

Theorists often try to create conceptual systems by developing a model (an ontological, semantic, and syntactic model, which are all related to the concepts present in any particular model, their meaning, mutual relations, environment and context) of the analyzed phenomenon, process, event, or thing (an object). Therefore, in simple terms, the model may be an image of something (e.g. a model of a vehicle, machine, robot, or a team or organization). However, in social sciences, models are symbolic rather than physical. This means that the characteristics of empirical phenomena, including their components and inter – connections, are recreated through the logical ordering of concepts. Therefore, the model in social sciences is the abstract presentation of reality in a way that allows to organize and simplify the view of reality by recreating its basic characteristics (Helmer, 1996, pp. 127–128).

Methods and techniques in multidisciplinary research

A multidisciplinary research project should be developed very carefully and should be repeatedly discussed in the team. Due to the general nature of the research concepts presented in this study, the methodological structure of the project should include the following stages: (a) characteristics of the designed research, its subject and objectives (e.g. theoretical, cognitive and practical ones); (b) research issues; (c) variables and their indicators as well as the hypotheses for nomothetic, quantitative studies, which should be falsified by statistical tests; (d) methods, techniques and research tools used in the studies; (e) characteristics of the research field and the subjects (e.g. people, things, devices, materials, documents, processes, etc.).

Referring to the general methodology of empirical research, it can be concluded that under the Education 4.0, Industry 4.0 (Economy 4.0) and Society 5.0 paradigm, both quantitative and qualitative empirical research can be conducted. The following general methods are used in empirical research: abstraction, analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, modeling, comparison, experiment, testing, the historical method, and logical scientific cognition. Qualitative research involves, among others, the following detailed methods: monography (e.g. of a multicultural team, organization, enterprise, factory, etc.), case studies (or case-by-case methods), ethnography (such as internet ethnography), action research, and grounded theory. In quantitative research, the method of a multidisciplinary experiment carried out in the natural functional conditions of the organization (enterprise) is used, yet not exclusively (e.g. to determine the effectiveness of a new production method or cooperation between enterprises, to diagnose a new device performance – e.g. a robot, or work efficiency with the use of AI, to check the effectiveness of a new management method, a specific type of multicultural team cooperation, or of new software, etc.). It is also necessary to use the method of diagnostic survey, which involves an analysis of documents and products of activity (work), a standardized online survey, various types of interviews and observations, as well as tests. The so-called mixed research is most often carried out, e.g. quantitative-qualitative, depending on the form and content of research questions. The research will be largely team-based, usually composed of research engineers, industrial engineers (practitioners), representatives of exact and/or natural sciences, researchers in social sciences and/or humanities, representatives of the government and local authorities. An effective multidisciplinary process is likely to require some "softer" human skills – like teamwork, leadership, tolerance of difference and ambiguity, and selflessness (Fanelli, 2007).

A critical question in an empirical study is sampling (e.g., people, documents, devices, processes, etc.), which may be random (it is then necessary to provide and justify the sampling frame) or purposeful (it is also important to provide justification).

In the phase of research design, it often becomes necessary to construct and analyze a model of a phenomenon or process course, based on a critical analysis of theories describing them and the latest results of empirical research published over the last five years. The model allows researchers to develop the course of the analyzed phenomenon, or at least to indicate the most important variables that determine the course of the explored phenomenon or process. The construction of the model helps researchers to understand difficult questions, and to visualize the probable course of the phenomenon. That is the reason why in many works pertaining to the Industry 4.0 paradigm, researchers construct models of various phenomena or processes to illustrate their course better, to indicate important factors/variables and to demonstrate the obtained changes.

For example, Flavio Tonelli (2016, pp. 122–127) and his colleagues proposed the Manufacturing Value Modeling Methodology and then the analysis of that model with the use of the Value Modeler Tool. This allowed for a comprehensive analysis of the factors creating value in the analyzed organization. In qualitative research, scientists used a critical literature analysis of the subject, concerning the production of quality and a research area analysis, related to the process of improving the functions of the organization, strategic management, the management of values, management design and management benefits. The authors identified different aspects of creating an added value, the importance of competition, and methods of risk and cost reduction. The goal of the research was to develop what is called a Value Map and is closely related to the features of the analyzed organization, its operating environment and market trends.

A three-step model of diversifying the vision of the cooperation process, strategy and construction of activities was developed by Jaione Ganzarai and Nekane Errasti (2016, pp. 1119–1128) for railway companies under the Industry 4.0 paradigm. The authors think that the dynamic development of this industrial sector creates new opportunities for cooperation between enterprises which have individual development visions, but the vision of co-operation between them is compliant with the analyzed paradigm of effective development.

In his work, Michele Gattullo and colleagues (2019, pp. 276–286) proposed an "innovative" methodology aimed at supporting the authors of technical documentation or the usage of augmented reality (AR) interfaces. The authors applied the conversion of the existing traditional documentation methodology to develop a set of new AR use activities which comply with Industry 4.0 paradigm foundations. The methodology was based on the optimization of the text written in simplified technical English, two-dimensional graphic symbols were introduced, and the content was structured by a combination of Darwin Information Typing Architecture (DITA) and Information Mapping (IM).

Conclusions

Year after year, empirical research, designed and implemented within the discussed paradigms, will appear in the world with growing frequency – starting from simple models of devices and process analyses, through the simulation of phenomena, to the case studies, monographs, and then experiments in multidisciplinary research, in which representatives of various scientific disciplines, practitioners and representatives of governments will take part. One should be carefully prepared for research of that kind. It should be widely proclaimed that cooperation between scientific disciplines, which are much different from one another, or cross-domain cooperation is possible and can be fruitful, if methodological knowledge is shared earlier and if teams precisely define their ideas and use understandable models, based on the latest, reliable, and repeatable results of scientific research. According to Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz (1983, p. 73), scientific cognition is intersubjectively communicable and intersubjectively controlled. Repetition of research while obtaining similar results (within the margin of error) by researchers or research teams, as well as their objective interpretation, is a confirmation of the legitimacy of the applied theories and models, the reliability of the research and the repeatability of the phenomenon (Polit and Beck, 2006). Without an objective interpretation of research results, breakthroughs in science, its development would be impossible. All in all, in their studies, researchers quantify (measure and evaluate) a phenomenon and establish relations with other phenomena (Vance et al., 2013, pp. 67–75).

Multidisciplinary research offers an opportunity for the international development research community to become more broadly consistent with the key principles in the developmental policy. Linking development policies to multidisciplinary research practice also presents an opportunity to minimize the risk of "confirmation bias" (Easterly, 2006).

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Fading memories of the Second World War in a socio-educational and cultural perspective. A research report from Poland

Abstract: Memories of World War II (WW2) have a deeply cultural dimension and therefore are interesting for intercultural studies. This paper is based on an interpretative analysis of some field and desk research data, carried out in Poland by an interdisciplinary team of social scientists, educators and historians in 2018–2020. It is focused on socio-educational factors in the transfer of knowledge and memory of WW2. The researchers try to distinguish socio-educational factors responsible for the preservation of this memory across a range of age cohorts. Sources of knowledge, school curricula and socio-demographic aspects are set against the measured levels of historic facts concerning WW2. The data sets derive from questionnaires, telephone interviews and in-depth interviews with diverse groups of respondents along with a review of teaching history curricula in 1946–2020. On the basis of the findings, it is argued that a successful transfer of memory and knowledge of WW2 goes beyond teaching history at schools and beyond the contemporary political agenda. This article is meant to serve as a barometer of social changes in respect to fading memories of WW2.

Keywords: teaching history, memory, WW2, schoolbooks, reconstruction, living history

Introduction

According to Tappan (1998, pp. 141–160), Fivush and Widaad (2011, pp. 51–63) and Odrowąż-Coates (2019, pp. 55–70), family narratives (including war stories) have an impact on children's moral attitudes. They help to form group identity and unite family members through shared memories and emotions concerning historic events in family history. An emotional connection to family narratives may have a positive impact on the maintenance of living memory across generations. Individual and group memory is a part of the cultural memory of the nation, of the ethnic group, and may be also related to social classes and their distinctive cultures. The more one identifies with historic events, the more one remembers them and passes them on to the next generation (Luckmann, 1983), establishing continuity and forming a part of group culture. Wiesław Theiss distinguished 3 generations involved in the transfer of knowledge about WW2: "the generation of the apocalypse", who witnessed and survived the war, "the generation after" – their children, and finally the "grandchildren with an excess of memory load" (Odrowąż-Coates, 2019, p. 58). Alexander Freund showed how the transfer of knowledge and memory about life in Nazi Germany worked within 3 generations of war survivors (Freund, 2009, pp. 1–26). Was the choice of only 3 generations considered because those who came after were too displaced in time? Does this mean that living memory ceased after the third generation? Our intention was to test this and to discover the situation regarding intergenerational transmission of knowledge about WW2, considering Assmann's approach that collective memory, in its nature, belongs to a specific social group defined by a limited timeframe and limited space (Assmann, 2011). He claimed that it is difficult to distinguish pure historical facts because these are constantly reconstructed and processed in collective memory, in new emerging contexts, new events, and an access to more sources of information. Amongst these sources are the first-hand witnesses of past events, who interpret them in individualized ways, through their own perspectives. When the witnesses die, the memory persists in one form or another, in artefacts, souvenirs from the past, archival sources, personal diaries and finally in places of memory. There is also the 'agreed' collective memory, reflecting the negotiated, ideologically tainted version of history in encyclopedic textbooks (ibidem). As Laclau wrote: "History, is not the terrain on which a unified and coherent story would unfold" (ibidem, p. 146). The elements of historic heterogeneity are brought together by political reasoning contributing to the group identity. Our research team wanted to explore the sources of knowledge amongst our respondents to find out more about their sources' importance and meaning, and how they keep the memory of WW2 alive across new generations. Another aim was to learn if collective memory in this respect is relevant for strong identity. According to Assmann (p. 109), "Memory is the faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level"

(Assmann, 2008, pp. 109–118). He distinguished 3 levels of memory connected with identity, memory and time: inner individual memory, communicative memory (social memory), and cultural memory. Our intention was to check if we would find connections between them in the study group. The initial phase of our resaerch pushed us to explore in more depth the phenomenon of people who are reconstructionists of WW2. These people represent the field of public history, seen as participatory historical culture, where non-academic people, with some training or knowledge, work together for the preservation of history and memory (Ashton and Kean, 2009).

When planning our study, the goal was to diagnose the state of knowledge about WW2 amongst various age cohorts, particularly (but not exclusively) the: X, Y and Z generation. The most interesting factors were the sources and reasons of diversity in the level of knowledge, which go beyond the demographic factor of birth date. Our interest was in the role that oral history may play in the transmission of knowledge about the war. Our team wanted to test if knowledge of WW2 is conditioned by environmental factors, including the socio-demographic dimension, but also the contact with people who survived the war or who were immersed in the first-hand stories of their parents and grandparents. The results of the study contributed to our understanding in which social layers the intergenerational oral transmission of knowledge goes together with the objective level of knowledge about the war and with the measurement of the state of knowledge among various age groups and diverse social groups. The research had an interdisciplinary character, bridging sociological, historical, and educational aspects. It may contribute to making pedagogical forecasts and may influence the direction of methods and contents of historical education, may serve to design educational and pedagogical activities, focused on maintaining a living memory of WW2. Therefore, our research results may have a practical application through their implications for the methodology of teaching history at various levels and for maintaining social memory. Although this study is treated as a pilot for further exploration in this area, a decision was made to share the results obtained so far.

The impact of school curricula. A desk-review of WW2 historical education in Poland in 1945–2020

Before the field research phase, a review was made of the teaching of history in elementary and secondary schools in the past decades. The plan was to confront it with different generations of respondents' level of historical knowledge. Although we were convinced the history curriculum would have an impact on people's knowledge, this did not bring any conclusive statistical confirmation in our sample. What seems interesting, however, is providing a review of the curricula to put our study in a specific socio-cultural and political context.

The Second World War (1939–1945) resulted in a change of Polish borders and in regaining previously lost territories in the West and losing a vast area of land in the East in favor of the Soviet Union. After the war, parliamentary democracy was replaced by a single party totalitarian regime, subordinated to the Soviet Union. Since 1947, Polish schools became a tool of indoctrination of the young generation, meant to support political aims, and to reject any western pedagogical ideas or pre-war traditions (Gorloff, Grzybowski and Kołakowski, 2010). Historical education regarding the war was focused on glorifying both the role of the Soviet Union in the liberation of Poland from Nazi occupation and the sacrifices of the Soviet nations during the war. The role of the Polish Home Army (AK), and Polish armies formed in the West, was marginalized in textbooks and limited to a small number of battles with large number of casualties e.g. the Battle of Monte Cassino. The syllabi were hermetic and schematic, based on the Marxist dialectical materialism (Kryńska and Mauersberg, 2003). A new periodization of history was introduced to highlight class struggle and 'social progress' perceived as socialist morality. The Soviet pedagogy of Kairow, Tiepłow, and Makarenko gained dominance with complete negation of West – European contributions to educational theory and practice (Suchodolski, 1957). Teaching history was set to glorify masses, unskilled labourers and peasants, promoting secularization and anti-clericalism. Teachers were carefully selected on the basis of their political party alliance and were fully controlled by the government. Educational programs were linked to economic plans and subsequent party congresses. Under the rule of Władysław Gomułka, the quality of teaching was secondary to ideological messages, taking historical education to a new fall (Mauersberg and Walczak, 2005). On the 15th July, 1961, educational reforms introduced a new system. It was based on 8 years of obligatory primary school followed by 2–3 years of vocational education or 4 years of general secondary school or 5 years of technical secondary school. Children from the so-called proletariat and those of party members were given extra recruitment points when entering university. The history curriculum was coherent with political rhetoric. It was characterized by being silent about certain events and by the falsification of history, promoting internationalism, glorifying the communist party and demonstrating the power and progress of the USSR. Despite ideological programming, illegal leaflets, books and information, secret meetings and lectures took place underground. Polish workers fed up with party corruption, food shortages, poverty and lack of freedom, carried out protests – the biggest in 1980–1981. This led to the introduction of martial law by the alarmed authorities (Styk and Dziekanowska, 2012). In the first history curriculum introduced after the war in 1947 (Mauersberg and Walczak, 2005), there was no information promoting communist ideology. The updated program in 1959 introduced these factors at all levels of education, including the elementary one (Walewander, 2002). In the 1960s, under the rule of Gomulka, a consolidation of the socialist model of teaching was introduced alongside the Marxist semantics and interpretation of history. This prevailed until the 1980s, when the focus was shifted towards shaping patriotic and emotional attitudes to the working people of homeland (Osiński, 2010). This caused a softening of the ideological significance of teaching goals, leading to the introduction of new goals of historical education: shaping historical awareness, knowledge of macro and micro history and the regularities of life. The representatives of the Solidarity movement were lobbying for a concentric rather than linear curriculum and were demanding a complete reconstruction of the teaching content in line with the latest research findings and the historical truth (Kupisiewicz, 1996). A study of learners by Jerzy Rulka (Bogdańska-Zarembina, 1980) in 1980 showed that children and youth declared that their history knowledge was acquired at school (80%), from TV (60%), from parents at family home (55%). 40% listed grandparents as their source of knowledge of history, 33% radio, 29% – journals and 25% – newspapers. This information must be confronted with Zbigniew Kwiecinski's (1991–97) survey of school knowledge of Polish people aged 16–65 carried out in 1989/1990, which showed that a staggering percentage (77%) experienced great difficulties in understanding simple written texts. They could read but they could not understand, critically assess or combine facts they read, which indicates that despite granting universal access, communist schools were highly inefficient in their teaching programmes – unless this was an aim of the hidden program. This claim may be confirmed by Janusz Reykowski's comprehensive survey of the mentality of Poles (Reykowski, 1988), carried out on a randomized national sample in 1988. It showed that the role of the individual was perceived as a component of society – a cog in a machine – reflected in social passivity, conformity towards authority, consumerism and a feeling of entitlement. A review of historical education carried out after the change from communism to democracy in 1989, revealed poor knowledge of contemporary history of Poland (Kupisiewicz, 1989). The historical events that were absent from schools were introduced into the curricula at that time. These included: some events on the Eastern border of Poland, the Ukraine famine, the social effects of Stalinism and the massacre of Polish officers in Katyn, carried out by the Soviets in 1940.

The political transformation and the massive changes it caused have proved that the years of manipulation, intrusive political indoctrination and the many difficulties of living in a society governed by the party apparatus, did not destroy the collective (Halbwachs, 2008) and cultural memory (Assmann, 2015). The past became one of the mechanisms of social self-identification after 1989 (Sztompka, 2002).

The essence of identity in individual and collective life is reflectivity and awareness of past times – what is discussed in this context is social, collective, historical or generational memory (Szacka, 2006). The events of the past decades prove that in the process of constructing collective memory, the past and the present interpenetrate each other and constitute an important bond-forming element in relation to "what must not be forgotten" (Assmann, 2013).

Field research procedure

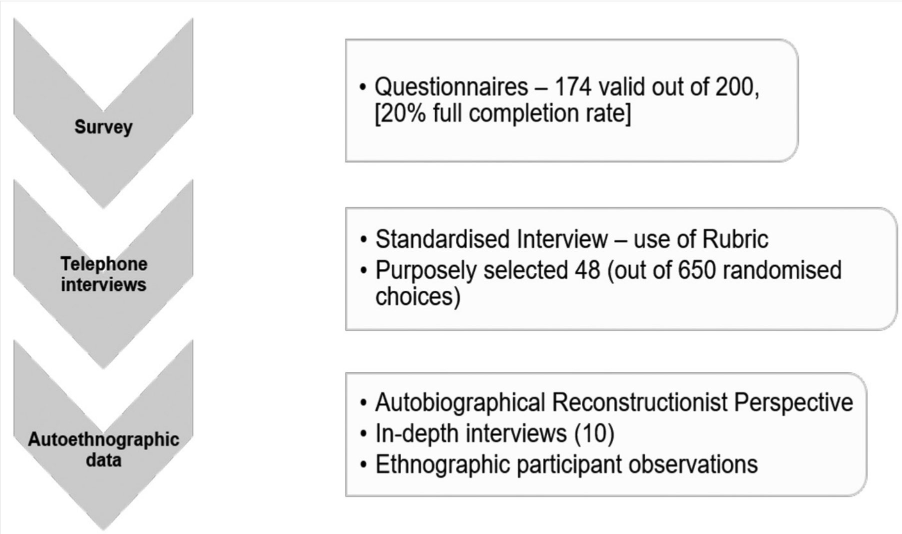
For the field research, a qualitative questionnaire was constructed to measure the knowledge of WW2 facts amongst participants. Depending on the ability to provide dates, details, in-depth explanation of events and ability to identify facts, we assessed and rated respondents' knowledge. To do this, specially trained assessors were used who graded respondents knowledge on a 0–5 point scale. Some questions were also formulated about personal experiences, attitudes, and finally – about demographic qualities. The questionnaire had to be filled with a researcher present in situ to eradicate any external aid or consultation concerning the knowledge component in the questionnaire. It was quite lengthy and filling it took approximately 30 minutes. The questionnaires were handed to diverse groups of people at community events, in educational facilities and workplaces, in a large city, a town and a small village. 1000 questionnaires were distributed but only 200 returned complete, which may indicate that people who did not complete them had insufficient knowledge and did not want to reveal it to the researchers despite the anonymity of the forms. Our focus was on the second and third generation after the war – grandchildren and great grandchildren of war witnesses. When the questionnaires were distributed (2018/2019), all the respondents were aged 17–65 and the largest group was between 24–46. They were diversified not only by age but also by residing in a large city, town or village, by various educational attainments, professions, by the employment status and gender. Experiencing the material heritage of destruction might have been different for different age cohorts in our study, yet many of the ruins are still present in the local surroundings today and therefore one could take them for granted in one's neighbourhood and did not consider them in this study.

There was a question about direct close contact with a family member who witnessed the war and also about whether the war was a topic of conversations in the family home and whether any of the respondents' ancestors were in the resistance movement, suffered repressions or died. Furthermore, the questions pertained to the sources of information about WW2 and to which ones were, in their opinion, the most efficient in passing on the history of the war. Other inquiries concerned the remaining tensions and the most traumatic events during the war from their personal perspective. If their family discussed the war at home, another question was what the main subject areas of these conversations were. There was also free space left for additional comments. Most questions were open-ended and required short written narration. For the data analysis, MAXQDA 2020 software was used to code, cross analyze and interpret the obtained data.

The second phase of our study was based on telephone interviews. Our team wanted to know if our initial results could be verified in a randomized sample. The procedure used consisted in calling random telephone numbers. The interviews were standardized, with simple questions that allowed the interviewer to use a rubric to simply tick in order to grade their answers. The first 3 questions asked in the interview were the decisive ones – whether the interviewees had contact with a member of family who was a witness of the war, had higher education, or passion for war as a topic of interest. Only those who fitted the above criteria were further tested for their knowledge of events and places related to WW2. 650 phone calls were made and 48 people that fitted our criteria were interviewed.

In the final phase of study, in order to go deeper into the field, autoethnographic narrative interviews were used to reach out to a special group of respondents that emerged from the data obtained during the initial stages of our study, the active WW2 reconstructionists.

Figure 1. Methodology of data collection



Research outcomes phase 1

Our objective was to check if there is a relationship between live contact with the witnesses of WW2, conversations in the family home about WW2 and the state of individual knowledge about the war. It was discovered that a positive connection was indeed found, but only in the cases of families where the respondent obtained higher education and at least one of their parents had higher education as well. Therefore, in the group of 174 participants, it was possible to identify 37 people with the high level of knowledge. 33 of them fulfilled the criteria for contact, conversation in the family, and finally, for the higher education.

Additionally, this connection was tested on a wider scale and our team was able to confirm it. The results showed that in families with a higher level of education, more conversations about WW2 took place and there was a more productive contact between the witnesses and respondents, which influenced their interest in WW2 and increased their level of knowledge about it. This reflects Bourdieu's view on social reproduction through an education component, where the habitus of families with higher education enables family members to promote family conversations, philosophical reflection and the use of elaborated language codes and facts. This is then reflected in better school results and favorable conditions for the development of a wider spectrum of interests, favorable to our case.

The people in the age group 19–21 displayed the lowest level of knowledge about WW2 and the lowest interest in progressing that knowledge, although there were 2 cases where the respondent was studying as a historian. In fact, some participants in the 20–24 years bracket declare that the war topic makes them feel anxious, that they are fed up with it, do not want to think about it, as it was horrifying and they feel traumatized by the topic. This declaration was more strongly expressed amongst 20-year-olds and amongst participants who did not have contact with living relatives and whose family did not converse about the war at home. The following quote reflects this sentiment: "Generally, I do not like remembering these events and thinking about them, because I react badly to them. I feel them too much." (APSII, 8) and "Why should I think about it? It was so awful. Why would I torment my children with images of death and suffering? It is enough that I cannot sleep at night when I think about it. I do not want to go deeply into this topic" (I 39).

When analyzing which sources of information were mentioned most often amongst the respondents, the high scoring group chose almost 50% more sources of information than the overall average. Students of pedagogical and language studies as well as teachers, regardless of their specialty, pointed to school lessons as the primary source of information. Teachers, regardless their specialty, displayed a very good knowledge of WW2, in contrary to students. Perhaps the regular patriotic assemblies at schools have had an impact on teachers' enhanced knowledge of WW2. However, the combination of 3 the three identified factors is a more probable cause, since all our respondents have been exposed to Polish patriotic schools' assemblies.

The majority of respondents – 68%, (52% low knowledge scoring and 78% high scoring participants), declared that their family members took part in resistance, were prosecuted, suffered repressions, or were killed during WW2. However, these factors had no clear data-derived connection with the level of knowledge about WW2.

Moreover, a group of 17 respondents who take part in reconstruction of WW2 events were identified. In 15 cases out of 17, those participants were characterized by the highest level of historical knowledge of WW2. Most of this group were men and came from educated families. Interestingly, 3 of them, 2 male and 1 female were very young people who did not have direct contact with a family member who survived the war, but the war was a topic of conversation in their family home and their high level of knowledge contrasted with the average for their age group in our sample. This may indicate that participation in reconstruction associations and clubs enhances a transfer of knowledge and instigates increased interest in the war.

Neither gender nor city/town/village were a statistically significant factors for the level of knowledge about the war. However, younger people and people with a lower level of education, especially those from villages and small towns, were more likely to declare a level of distrust and anxiety, based on the memory of WW2, towards neighboring countries (Germany and Russia). This was observed in 30 cases. In 3 questionnaires, positive attitudes towards Ukrainian immigrants were expressed, despite the first referring to Volhynia (Pol. *Wołyń*) massacre (Institute of National Rememberance, Wolhynia Massacre) and mentioning the ongoing sentiment of unease concerning border atrocities on both sides.

Only 6 out of 174 participants listed YouTube and the Internet as their personal sources of knowledge about the war. There were significant differences in information sources between the high scoring group and the medium and low scoring ones. The high scoring groups pointed to 4 or more sources of knowledge that they considered the most important about WW2, listed in order of importance: books (86%), live history (storytelling, meeting with witnesses and their children) (81%), places of memory (73%), owning and handling artefacts (e.g. photos) (73%), reconstructions of real events (71%) and school lessons (68%). These were followed by films and documentaries (63%). Yet, the medium and low scoring groups most often chose 3 sources or less: books (68%), artefacts (62%), places of memory (58%), contact with live storytelling etc. (57%), films (51%), school lessons (47%) and only 36% chose participation in reconstructing some events. This is an interesting choice, keeping in mind that the reading of books in Poland is on a low level (National Library Reports 2012–2019).

Amongst the war events discussed in family homes, the participants mentioned: the Battle of Monte Cassino, Home Army – Polish Army in the West, the occupation of Poland, resistance and uprisings, personal accounts of forced labor, labor camps, extermination camps, relocation to labor camps, rapes and killings, operation Barbarossa, the Gibraltar disaster, battles on the Eastern front: Kursk, Stalingrad, Leningrad, the Allied Landings in Normandy, the history of Romania, General Anders, the Red Army, Soviets, Stalin, Cursed Soldiers (Pol. Żołnierze Wyklęci), key dates in the first months of the invasion of Poland and the eventual victory over Nazi Germany, Wolhynia, Katyn, victories overseas, hunger and fear, loss of family members, communism after WW2, the phenomenon of Kamikaze pilots, the Warsaw and London blitzes, the resistance movement and the underground press.

Many focused on local events, linked to their current place of residence: the defense of Westerplatte, the Battle of the Bzura River, the Warsaw Uprising, the Nazi occupation of the Kashubian area, the defense of the Hel Peninsula, Palmiry, the Battle of Wizna, the explosive destruction of bridges e.g. in Tczew, which all showed a connection between WW2 memory and the contact with memory sites.

When considering the most traumatic events, research participants chose: the Holocaust, concentration camps, Auschwitz, the massacre of Polish officers in Katyn, the mass murder of civilians, the political allies' betrayal, forced displacement, retaliations against the innocent, the Warsaw ghetto uprising, the Warsaw Uprising, the NKVD, the Yalta agreements and the Wolhynia massacre. The majority of these traumatic events that they referred to happened in Poland and were therefore related to their Polish identity.

Research outcomes phase 2

In the second field research phase of our study 48 participants aged 23–60 were selected: 28 men and 20 women. The disparity in number between men and women may be coincidental, although men in general showed more enthusiasm to join when the topic was revealed. 44 out of the 48 purposely selected participants displayed high or at least medium high level of knowledge about WW2. Medium high was more frequent amongst younger participants (aged 23–35). 4 participants – 3 women (aged 33, 36, 41) and 1 man (23) displayed medium low level of knowledge, which is a low percentage for this group and therefore is not significant for the overall outcome of the study. Most cases confirmed our hypothesis that the combination of 3 factors: higher education, family contact with live witnesses of the war and family conversations about WW2, contributed to an increased interest and therefore increased the level of knowledge. Amongst this group, we found 2 active reconstructionists aged 46 and 55, who scored amongst the highest scores for knowledge of WW2. The participants choices of the sources of knowledge concerning the war were similar to the ones in the initial sample, with books and storytelling being the most popular, followed by memory sites, artefacts and the reconstructions of events. 70% mentioned school lessons as an efficient source of knowledge, with only 60% pointing to films in general and 4 participants to films on the internet in particular. Summarizing the second phase of our enquiry, our initial findings were verified in regards to the educational level and its relevance when confronted with 2 other factors (family conversations and contact with the witness) and that this contributes to an increased knowledge about WW2. Although it is a small-scale study, it may contribute to the preservation of WW2 memory both in the Polish society and outside it.

Living history. An autoethnographic perspective

Historical reconstruction refers to period costumes and artifacts (original or recreated) used to reconstruct specific events from the past. Therefore, the activity of reconstruction groups consists mainly of historical re-enactment and the preservation of or making the copies of items from the period such as clothes and weapons, in order to reproduce and to popularize knowledge of the past. Although there are many controversies surrounding the moral issues related to the topics of re-enactment, such as the instances of re-enacting executions, the details of the Holocaust or wearing Nazi uniforms by reconstructors, our goal is not to promote the activities of these groups but to give them a voice about their motivation in the context of preserving the memory of the war. Controversies such as militarism or possibility activating a trauma were not mentioned by our respondents but were also not prompted during the interviews.

Despite wide criticism, there are also some proponents of historical reconstruction and re-enactment classed as living history (Bogacki, 2006, p. 34). It can be defined either as living archaeology that recreates the ways in which people lived in the past and recreates some aspects of material culture, everyday life and includes the ideological issues, or as combat re-enactment, which focuses on military operations – in some cases of re-constructionist groups, it can be both. It is indeed both in the case of the group of Polish WW2 reconstructionists that was encountered. Using their autobiographical narratives obtained during participant observations and the ad-hoc in-vivo interviews (Odrowąż-Coates, 2016) served to find out their motivation to become reconstructionists and how they defined living history and its role for preservation of the memory of WW2. Our intention was to use their personal experiences to pursue the role of reconstruction in forming collective memory amongst new generations. A positive educational link was found by Markowski (2009, pp. 68–89) and by Skotnicka-Palka (2014, pp. 62–69) between participation in historical reconstructions and the interest of young people in the preservation of history. The collected information is based on participant observation and several in-vivo interviews with the coordinators and self-identified leaders of reconstructionist groups SRH Garnizon Toruń (SRH Garrison Torun), Fundacja Polskiej Broni Pancernej (Polish Armoured Weapons Foundation), SRH Fort z Gdańska (SRH Fort from Gdansk), Heel on Wheel – USA military reconstructionists and the Leib-Husaren (Hussars) Regiment No 1& Nr. 2 Danzig.

Our focus was on the personal experiences of people involved in historical re-constructivism. Their views were analyzed pertaining to the definition and the purpose of the movements and the types of activities carried out by the members. Our team was also interested in members' profiles, their personal motivation, aspirations and family circumstances connected with their active participation. The 10 interviews were carried out in Polish and took place in 2018–2020. The information collected during the interviews was grouped into themes and is consolidated in the following paragraphs.

The term living history was associated by respondents with the quasi-military environment and the historic re-enactment understood as a wide range of activities. The most common were identified as staging historic plays, building dioramas and the individual reconstructing of historical characters. These can pertain to historical figures, but most commonly to anonymous figures of soldiers, non-commissioned officers and commission officers of a given military formation. It can also include playing the role of a civilian figure from the times of historic events. When taking a role of a historical figure, there is a necessity to not only know and understand the historic events, but also the general context, the physique, and the behavior of such a figure.

The contemporary reconstruction movements, especially those set in the realities of the interwar period or during WW2, require a very high level of accuracy. This applies to both uniforms (uniforms sewn exactly as museum originals from the same woven materials), equipment – in this case very often original (helmets, gas masks, badges, original weapons without combat features) and also the manners and the ways of behavior. A good re-constructivist not only knows the drill, garrison and uniform regulations, but also cultivates patterns of behavior typical of the era that they recreate. Groups recreating foreign units must be able to communicate commands in the appropriate foreign language. This attention to details requires constant study and self-improvement both of a group and of an individual. It also requires significant financial resources. Apart from equipment, uniforms and individual weapons, more and more groups invest in either original or faithfully replicated heavy machinery (machine guns, mortars, cars and tracks, field hospitals, etc). According to our respondents, it is the synthesis of all these elements – with individual knowledge, specific sets of skills and the ability to pass it on – that enables the transfer of memory.

Preservation of memory for many re-constructivists is not only based on historical enactment but also pertains to taking part in national and local commemoration events and lectures. The local dimension is very important because groups that re-enact certain units, seated in their local area, inspire others to immerse themselves deeply in the history of the local area. It is a common practice to actively seek contact with living witnesses of events or at least with their family. They also try to pursue their own family history in search of memoirs, photos and other memorabilia to pass them on to the next generation, together with the oral history associated with their life-story.

If one was to create a profile of an average re-constructivist of Polish military formations, from both before WW2 and from the war period, based on the narratives of our respondents, one can find people motivated by several factors. The first group is considered the most valuable by the leaders, it consists of energetic young people who were involved in scouting or Airsoft and became interested in history. They perceive joining reconstruction groups as a natural progression and development of their passions. Every group leader reported that they had at least a handful of such new members every year and they classed them as a 'pure and ready product of living history'. There are multiple instances where their parents acted as the initiator or joined with their children. The second largest group consists of historians, whose educational background and passion meet with the active lifestyle offered by the group. The third brings together retired, semi-retired or serving military personnel who extend their professional experiences (military drill, procedures, tactics, military customs) to engage young people attached to this kind of experience. Furthermore, several reconstructionists became inspired by their own family history or by stories told in their family about the war. Some found their inspiration in computer games and wanted to take their virtual reality experiences into real-life.

In many cases, the respondents informed that living history became a lifestyle for the whole family. For instance, when men recreated uniformed formations, sisters, daughters and wives, decided to either wear female auxiliary service uniforms or recreate civilian formations of the times. Family participation in reconstruction came to Poland in the 1990s, starting with interest in the medieval period, followed by interest in the Napoleonic era and eventually in the Second World War. The respondents claimed that women created a lively networks of trade in original fashion and accessories, purchasing necessary items overseas in the UK, USA and Australia. They embrace opportunities to create vintage events, fashion shows, dance lessons and lectures about everyday life in particular periods. They managed to create a network of vintage dance schools and are renowned in the community for their ability to transform an ordinary gym into an RAF canteen from 1944, with the use of original artefacts.

Participants of the re-constructivism movement mentioned a phenomenon of military archaeological event tourism. They embraced it with enthusiasm, having an opportunity to travel from place to place, event to event, sharing their talents, skills and knowledge and learning from one another. They take part in events, rallies, shows, flea markets and military equipment expositions. They feel that these events give them opportunities of recreation, of being a tourist and also being a tour operator taking an active part in these events. Some highlighted the opportunities to earn money for their hobbies (Jędrysiak and von Rohrscheidt, 2011, p. 232) thanks to being part of the organizing crew or displaying their skills or equipment. Military tourism or archaeological tourism is a significant part of historic tourism and an integral part of cultural tourism (Žuromskaite, 2009, p. 4).

Many reconstructionists co-produce local tourist attractions. The respondents valued their contribution to local area development and the promotion of its history. Amongst co-produced, open-air museums, respondents mentioned an exhibition of police and military vehicles from the communist era of the People's Republic of Poland. Every year in the Museums of Coast Defense in Hel and in Jastarnia, reconstructionists of 1939 display for the public. In their camp, the respondents find not only thematic exhibitions, photographs, correspondence, and documents from the epoch but also a collection of cans and metal containers. Many other artefacts brought by the reconstructionists often have higher value that the entire collections presented in the museums. The respondents mentioned their international exposure during friendly reunions with units from other countries. They follow a Spanish reconstructionist group that focuses on Polish military of the WW2 period and Sabaton music group from Sweden that became interested in Polish history through their contact with the reconstructionists and released a number of songs presenting the WW2 events, such as Warsaw Uprising 1944.

Discussion

It was only possible to ask about declared sources of historical knowledge whilst people are not always fully aware of them. Seixas (1993) and Seixas et al. (2000) proved that they often unconsciously repeat the cliches from popular non-documentary cinematography. Although our respondents pointed to school as one of the main sources of their historic knowledge, the school history curricula did not reflect in any way on the personal knowledge. Some groups that attended school in different periods were tested and there were no significant differences in remembering objectively recognized facts, battle fields or dates that could be directly associated with their school experience.

According to the theory of learning by Illeris (2004: 95), learning should be analyzed in 3 interlinked dimensions – the cognitive, emotional, and social. Our study demonstrates how these dimensions are activated in the stimulating family environment with storytelling in direct contact with witnesses of war or their children (emotional aspect), conversations during family reunions (social aspect), actively seeking knowledge in result of the latter (cognitive aspect) and the identification with witnesses and their children (emotional aspect). The groups of reconstruction may work in a similar fashion, instigating emotional attachment to places of memory and the personal role played in the reconstruction, leading to stronger identification with past events, providing positive social environment for discussing and re-living of historic moments, encouraging the thirst for knowledge about them. The outcomes of the interviews with the reconsructionists contribute to the international debates on public history and its definition, taking the 'naive' but genuine perspective of an insider (c.f. Dean, 2018; de Groot, 2016; Sayer, 2019; Cauvin, 2016; Demantowsky, 2019; Kean and Martin, 2013). However critical we may be about reconstructionists, it must be said that they are able to create an activating learning environment, which may increase the cognitive effects (Zepke, 2013, pp. 97–107).

It is also interesting to look at our results in the context of other studies related to memory carried out it Poland. For instance, a representative random sample of the adult population of Poland (N = 1111) was tested by a public opinion research center (CBOS) in 1999 to assess family history in living memory. 61% of respondents declared that the fate of their grandparents and parents is discussed in their family, in 17% of cases very often, in 44% frequently, and that these discussions most often pertain to the period of WW2. 37% believed that their family members had participated in important historical events during WW2. 38% of respondents still have relics and photographs from that period (CBOS, 2000). The same research center tested the general historical awareness of Polish people in 2016 (CBOS, 2016). In this representative sample 87% of respondents believed that knowledge about the past is needed in modern times. Only 11% deemed such knowledge completely unnecessary. 25% assessed their interest in history as very high. However, the level of knowledge of Polish history tested in this regular survey has been in decline and this includes memory of WW2. Therefore, the respondents were asked about their predecessors and their exposure to this subject in their family homes. Our findings confirmed, as mentioned before, that there is a link between family history, direct contact with witnesses or their children and the living memory of the war, but it is more pronounced among the highly educated.

Conclusions

Preservation of memory is at stake for a strong national identity. E. Laclau (2005, p. 140) writes about a specific category of people: 'people without history', people living outside of historicity, who are not involved in popular identities, built on dialectic oppositions of shared memory. It seems that these people are not fully integrated in their society through the lack of common memory. For our generation, the third generation after the war, the subject of WW2 may be perceived as the uniting factor. Perhaps future generations will find commonality in emotional attachment to different events. It is important to know how the memory of the war was successfully intergenerationally transmitted and what the conditions and factors responsible for the memory to survive are. The factors identified in our study were: higher education combined with close contact with eyewitnesses or their children.

Personal inspiration occurs by preserving family artefacts and memoirs or controversially, by an active involvement in the reconstruction movements. School curricula appear to play a limited role in looking for causes of reduced knowledge amongst the youngest of our respondents. To our surprise, highly problematic, ideologically tainted teaching of history during communism, cannot be clearly linked to the knowledge of WW2 history amongst our respondents (Topolski, 1981). Some researchers of Holocaust studies question whether the detailed factual knowledge is crucial for the presence of historical events in the collective memory, especially when Internet sources are readily available (c.f. Wineburg, 2018), yet such knowledge may be an indication of living memory (Odrowąż-Coates, 2019). Our study indicates that emotional attachment to historical events may aid learning and remembering historic facts.

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INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN POLAND AND WORLDWIDE – LIFE SITUATION OF STUDENTS AND ACADEMIC TEACHERS

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The personal life situation versus identity behaviours manifested by university students from cultural borderlands – a socio-pedagogical comparative study

Abstract: In the pedagogical analysis undertaken in this study, some theoretical and methodological conceptualizations were applied, referring to the model of youth's quality of life, developed on the basis of qualitative material collected in the course of international comparative studies – Tadeusz Lewowicki's Theory of Identity Behaviors and Harold J. Noah's model of comparing the quality of academic education. The basis for outlining the relationship between students' life satisfaction and their sense of identity in the local, regional, national, European and supra-European dimension was the comparative research conducted in 2019–2021 in the Polish-Czech-Slovak borderland. The analysis and interpretation of the collected empirical material show that – although the neighbouring countries have undergone political changes, they belong to the European Union, and they collaborate in many areas – the living standards, but above all the influences in the educational sphere, the models and social values, as well as in lifestyles, are significantly different.

Keywords: sense of life quality, identity behaviours, university students, Polish-Czech-Slovak cultural borderland, comparative study

Introduction: The sense of life quality as a function of developmental quality in university students' cycle of life

The assessment of their own life situation by young adults is associated with such cognitive categories as satisfaction, happiness, a sense of mental well-being, satisfaction with life or quality of life. As emphasized by many psychologists – researchers into these issues, the above mentioned terms are not identical, but they all refer to an individual's general attitude to life, thanks to which they actively struggle with adversities and consistently strive to achieve values that are important to them (Reber, 2000; Czapiński, 2004, 2004; Bańka, 2005; Daszykowska, 2007; Wnuk and Marcinkowski, 2012, pp. 21–26; Kanasz, 2015; Dębska, 2017, pp. 55–63). It is also worth stressing that the assessment of one's own life situation can be treated as a cognitive-affective process that comprises an analysis of one's own situation and its assessment in terms of the implementation of internalized standards or as a process involving the evaluation of life as a global project stretched in a temporal perspective (Şimşek, 2009, pp. 505–522; Suchodolska, 2017). Currently, a specific dynamism and evolution can be observed, alongside some tendencies to expand the scope of the understanding of these categories. They have entered the language of public discourse, have become an object of reasoning and the goal of planning the life and activities of almost every human being. In social sciences, quality of life is quite often identified with the feeling of happiness, satisfaction with life, freedom from coercion, and complete well-being (Dębska and Komorowska, 2007, p. 56).

When considering the criteria for assessing academic youth's own life situation, it is worth drawing attention to the specificity of the period of late adolescence and early adulthood (age: 18–25), as well as to the developmental tasks in this period. They refer to the set of skills and competences acquired by individuals during their contacts with the environment. Taking up and solving developmental tasks entails changes in motor, cognitive, emotional and social skills. Success in fulfilling developmental tasks in later periods depends on how the individual has coped with earlier tasks (Brzezińska, 2000, pp. 227–228; Malina, 2015, pp. 559–572). The following are often mentioned as the most important developmental tasks of this period:

- achieving emotional independence from parents and other adults,
- achieving economic security and independence,
- choosing and preparing for a profession / occupation,
- launching a professional career,
- preparation for marriage and family life,
- choosing a life partner and learning to live with a partner,
- starting family roles,
- developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence,
- assuming civic responsibility,
- acquiring a set of values and an ethical system as a behavior guide,

– finding a right social group (Havighurst, 1981; Brzezińska, 2000, pp. 234–235).

Taking up by individuals the most important tasks at this stage of development in three basic dimensions: social interactions, educational and professional activity, and building the own worldview, determines their sense of life quality. In the context of the above mentioned developmental tasks, the study of the life quality of academic youth must therefore take into account everything that this group defines as important for the assessment of their own life situation. This condition was fulfilled, among other things, in the course of developing the model of life at the University of Washington in Seattle (*Seattle Quality of Life Group*). The qualitative material collected in the international comparative studies shows that the quality of life of young learning adults is determined by: friends, family, being oneself, university/education, financial resources, participation in social life, commitment, social environment, care for others and support from adults, future, personal security, physical and mental health, freedom and spirituality. On this basis, a model of the youth's quality of life was developed, which covers the most important areas of life quality in late adolescence and early adulthood:

I. Self-sense – self-confidence, being oneself, physical and mental health and the spiritual sphere;

II. Social relations – contacts with others, relations with the family, social support, freedom, friendship, participation in social life;

III. Environment – opportunities and obstacles in the social and cultural dimension, i.e. engagement and activity, education, neighborhood, financial resources, personal security and future prospects;

IV. General satisfaction with life – reflects how good life is in the perception of the respondents, to what extent it is a source of joy and it provides a sense of meaning.

The areas of assessing of one's own life situation comprised in this model can be treated as empirically distinguished important criteria and indicators of life quality of academic youth (The KIDSCREEN Group Europe, 2006; Oleś, 2016, p. 124).

The most recent psychological studies on the process of undertaking adult social roles and on the development of personality have been largely influenced by Jensen Arnett's theory of emerging adulthood, which was put forward nearly two decades ago. The stage of emerging adulthood occurs in the countries in which the knowledge-based economy dominates and in which the people aiming at satisfying social positions have to devote many years to gain education and experience and – therefore – they postpone the adulthood tasks until they acquire an appropriate (in their opinion) social and professional position (Arnett, 2000, pp. 470–479; Arnett, 2004; Piotrowski, 2010, p. 14; Wysocka, 2013, pp. 69–96). Such a situation takes place in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, where many young people aged 18–29/30 (especially until 25) complete the consecutive levels of education (after graduating from secondary school) and collect their first experiences at work. This will bring effects not earlier than in the next years.

The cases of these countries point to the occurrence of similar social transformations which result in putting off the moment of entering the adulthood and in prolonging the time for shaping the basic competences, such as responsibility for the own acts, the acquisition of autonomy, or building the own – open, flexible, but at the same time clear and stable – identity. In contrast to the beginning of the transformation period in the 1990s, currently – the number of Polish, Czech and Slovak young adults who continue education at university has increased three times and constitutes 50% of the whole population at the age 19–24. Similarly to most of the EU countries, they also get married for the first time later and later decide to have children. There is no doubt that contemporary university students – living in a complex (multi) cultural reality – are in a special situation, because they are subjected to socialization experiments in history, they experience the phenomena of exclusion, freedom, identity disintegration and integration. Their identities and biographies are shaped by current macrosocial and macroeconomic trends.

Theoretical and methodological assumptions

In the pedagogical analysis of the issues related to the assessment of their own life situation by young adults living in the Polish-Czech-Slovak borderland, some theoretical conceptualizations were applied, referring to the above mentioned **(1) model of life quality** of young people, developed on the basis of the qualitative material collected in the course of international comparative studies. In the four most important areas of the sense of life quality, due attention was paid to:

I. Self-sense – health condition, emotional life;

II. Social relations – family life, friendship and friends, participation in social life;

III. Environment – university studies, professional prospects after graduation, ways of spending free time, financial situation;

IV. General satisfaction with life – life and educational achievements, economic and political situation in the home country.

In the context of the applied model, it should be emphasized that high quality of life does not mean the complete lack of difficulties, negative emotions or experiences, but the way/ways in which a young person deals with the surrounding reality by making choices.

Another significant perspective in the search for some regularities which determine identity shaping in the changing environment of cultural diversity is Tadeusz Lewowicki's **(2) theory of identity behaviours.** It has made possible to provide a holistic but simultaneously comparative approach to the processes and phenomena taking place in multicultural environments. In this theory, six fields (elements) of identity are distinguished: the first comprises history and identification with a particular territory and social group; the second is indicated by the unlikeness of culture, language, transmission of tradition, and the knowledge of spiritual and material output of a particular community; the third is associated with a specific historical genealogy and some particular features of the group(s) and the stereotypes which function within it; the fourth concerns the economic condition and the group's living standards; the fifth is connected with the needs, life aims, and axiological preferences; and the sixth takes into account the political, ideological, social and economic context. All these fields of identity are important determinants of identity behaviours (Lewowicki, 1995a, pp. 51–63; Lewowicki 1995b, pp. 13–26).

Due to the comparative character of the research, some references were made to Harold J. Noah's **(3) model of qualitative comparison of academic education** (Noah and Eckstein, 1988, pp. 165–192; Marshall, 2014). This referred to the case of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia and took into account a description of the traditions and latest tendencies in higher education of these countries, the analysis of university curricula, socio-economic and cultural contexts, some interpretations of the educational phenomena which might become change predictors, and statistical methods (Malach, Kostolánová, Chmura, Ogrodzka-Mazur and Szafrańska-Gajdzica, 2016, pp. 41–58).

The main problem raised in the author‘s own research is comprised in the following questions:

- What feeling of satisfaction with their own life situation do students from the Polish-Czech-Slovak borderland show?
- Is there a relationship (and what kind is it) between the satisfaction

with the life of Polish, Czech and Slovak students and their sense of identity in the local, regional, national, European and supra-European dimension?

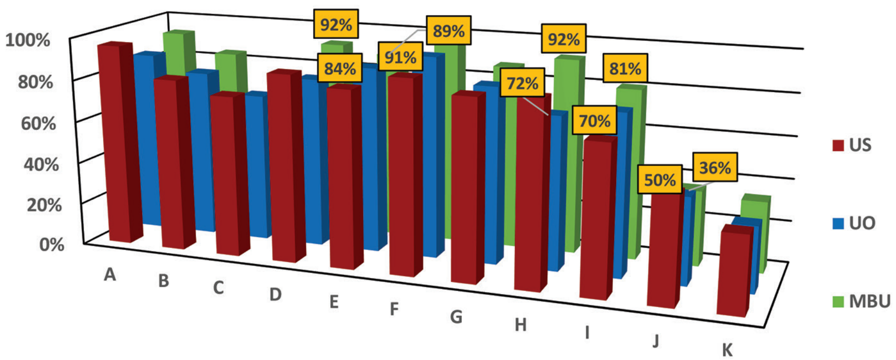
Compliantly with the applied methodological standpoint, in the conducted research activities, a quantitative-qualitative approach was used, as well as some specific research tools, developed on the basis of research procedures recognized within them. Their choice and/or construction (in the case of the author's own tools) were determined by the adopted theories and the research assumptions resulting from them. In the analysis of empirical materials, both the reducing and developing data processing was applied. Moreover, the assumptions of the interpretative approach to the analysis of utterance senses were taken into consideration, in the context of understanding respondents' thoughts, critical reasoning, and theoretical understanding (Kvale, 2004, pp. 213–231; Miles and Huberman, 2000; Denzin and Lincoln, 2009). For a full description of phenomena, the phenomenological approach was applied as well, which involved the transition from the individual textural-structural relations between senses and the essence of respondents' experiences towards a synthesis – in the form of a universal description of cultural experiences, representing a group (groups) as a whole (Moustakas, 2001, pp. 147–149). The comparative studies were carried out in three stages. Stage I included monographic (field) studies aimed at getting to know the inherited and currently created sociocultural capital of the Polish-Czech-Slovak borderland. In stage II, quantitative (questionnaire) research was carried out with the use of standardized authorial tools. In the final stage III, qualitative research was conducted with the use of ethnographic observation, individual interviews and document analysis in order to deepen the obtained data concerning the examined areas of the sense of life quality.

The research carried out in 2019–2021 comprised 504 students, including 164 in Poland (97% women and 3% men), 166 in the Czech Republic (72.3% women and 27.7% men) and 174 in Slovakia (90.8% women and 9.2% men). 51.7% of the respondents were aged 19–22, 24.3% of them were aged 23–26, and 24% of students were 27 years old or older. The examined group is representative of pedagogy students educated at the 1st and 2nd degree studies at the University of Silesia in Cieszyn, the University of Ostrava and the Matej Bel University in Banska Bystrica.

Young adults' assessment of their life situation – research results

Assessing their own life situation, the surveyed universitty sttudents expressed their opinions on a scale from 1–7: from extreme, big and moderate dissatisfaction, through moderate, big and extreme satisfaction to „Not applicable in my case". The declarations formulated by the respondents created four characteristic subsystems (cf. Figure 1).

Figure 1. Polish, Czech and Slovak students' feeling of satisfaction at their own life situation (percentages)



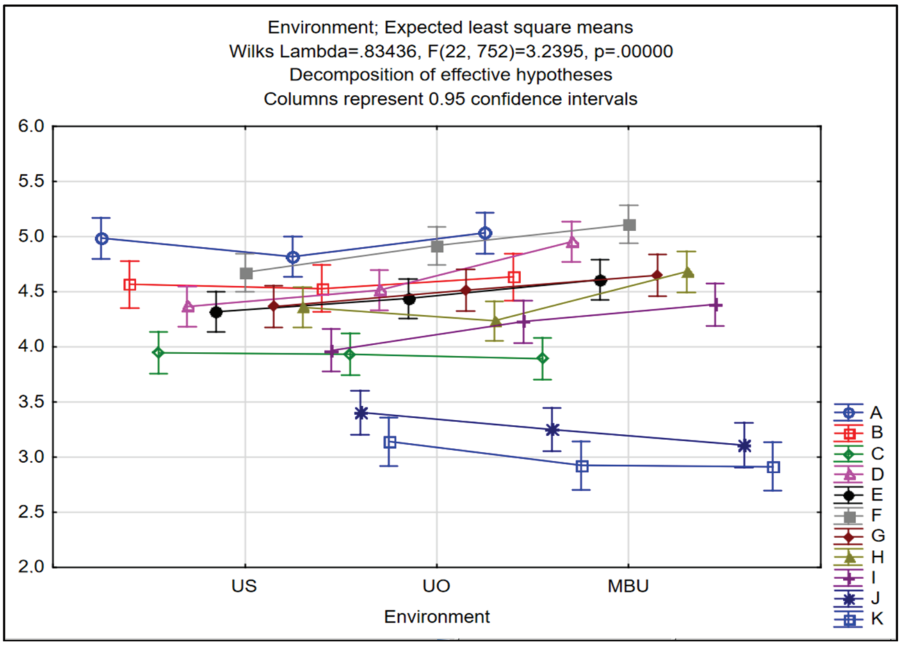
Legend: A – family life; B – emotional life; C – financial situation; D – health condition; E – studies; F – friends; G – way of spending free time; H – own life and educational achievements; I – professional prospects after studies; J – economic situation in the home country; K – political situation in the home country
US – University of Silesia, UO – University of Ostrava, MBU – Matej Bel University
Yellow labels indicate statistically significant differences in the examined categories.
Source: own research

In the first subsystem, there are indications concerning the spheres of life with which academic youth is the most satisfied – the environment of friends (PL – 91%, CR – 95%, SK – 96%) and family life (PL – 96%, CR – 87%, SK – 93%). The students express less satisfaction with their university studies (PL – 84%, RC – 88%, SK – 89%), their own health (PL – 88%, CR – 80%, SK – 92%), the ways of spending their free time (PL – 85%, CR – 83%, SK – 87%), life and educational achievements (PL – 86%, CR – 72%, SK – 92%) and their emotional life (PL – 82%, CR – 80%, SK – 84%). They are also less satisfied with the prospects of employment after graduation (PL – 70%, CR – 76%, SK

– 81%) and their current financial situation (PL – 76%, CR – 70%, SK – 68%). The fourth subsystem comprises the spheres with which the respondents are the least satisfied, mostly the economic situation (PL – 50%, CR – 41%, SK – 36%) and the political one (PL – 36%, CR – 31%, SK – 34%) that are taking place in their countries.

The image of the students' declared feeling of satisfaction with their life situation in the examined environments is fairly homogeneous. However, a comparison of their opinions indicates a significant differentiation of the three analyzed groups of university students in the answers to the questions concerning the assessment of their health condition, friends, life and educational achievements, and career prospects after graduation.

Figure 2. Polish, Czech and Slovak students' feeling of satisfaction from their life situation (one factor analysis ANOVA)



Legend: A– family life; B – emotional life; C – financial situation; D – health condition; E – studies; F – friends; G – way of spending free time; H – own life and educational achievements; I – professional prospects after studies; J – economic situation in the home country; K – political situation in the home country
US – University of Silesia, UO – University of Ostrava, MBU – Matej Bel University
Source: own research

Students from the Matej Bel University in Banska Bystrica, significantly more often than their peers from the Universities of Silesia and Ostrava, express higher evaluations in relation to their (cf. Figure 2):

- health condition (Kruskal-Wallis test: H (2, N = 487) = 29.26156; p = .00),
- studies (H (2, N = 495) = 10.20941; p = .0061),
- friends (H (2, N = 477) = 20.58362; p = .0000),
- own life and educational achievements (H (2, N = 490) = 12.02786; p = .0024),
- work prospects after graduation (H (2, N = 467) = 11.33252; p = .0035).

Young adults from the University of Silesia are significantly more satisfied with the economic situation in their country than their peers from the University of Ostrava and the Matej Bel University (H (2, N = 487) = 9.849046; p = .0073).

The above outlined subjective assessment of their life situation and the level of satisfaction with it, made by students from the Polish-Czech-Slovak borderland, is determined by the individual system of their values and, at the same time, it determines their way of perceiving the surrounding reality.

As the analyses carried out so far show, young learners value their peer environment (including friends, mates and acquaintances) the most in their lives. Family values are also important to them. They are also satisfied with their studies and health condition, undertaking various activities in this area (including regular sport practice, healthy nutrition, healthy lifestyle), which prove their pro-health attitudes. What seems not a surprise is the dissatisfaction with the economic and political situation in the respondents' countries, which determines their financial situation, educational opportunities and career prospects after graduation.

On the basis of the data collected within the 7th edition of the international Eurostudent survey (EUROSTUDENT VII Synopsis of Indicators, 2021, pp. 58–77), it can be concluded that the financial situation of students depends primarily on the income from their own work (PL – 51%, CR – 49%), family or partner contribution (PL – 41%, CR – 47%), and the least from public support guaranteed by the state (PL – 4%, CR – 3%). What therefore seems worth mentioning are the countries where students receiving support from public sources constitute the vast majority of their population (over 60%) – these are: Turkey, France, Sweden, Malta, Norway, the Netherlands and Denmark. In the latter, as many as 91% of students receive public funding and it constitutes 66% of their total budget (ibid., p. 75). In several countries, including Poland, 28% of students admitted that they are currently experiencing serious or very serious financial difficulties, which is one of the highest scores in Europe (ibid., pp. 185–187). Almost 80% of students in the countries participating in the EUROSTUDENT VII project both work and study. For some, work is a necessary condition to continue education and pay for studies, for others – an additional activity supplementing other sources of income, e.g. scholarships or donations from the family. The most overworked group are students from the Czech Republic, where the majority, i.e. 92%, took up employment in 2018–2021, including 70% both in their non-university time and during the semester. High percentages of employed university students were also recorded in Iceland (89%) and Norway (87%). On the other hand, the lowest percentage of working students can be observed in Luxembourg (59%) and Georgia (46%) (ibid., p. 146; Postrzednik-Lotko, 2019; Eurostat, 2021).

In the authorial studies, an attempt was also made to specify the relation between Polish, Czech and Slovak students' satisfaction at life and their feeling of identity in the local, regional, national, European and supra-European dimension.

In the environment of Polish students, the people who feel significantly more strongly associated with their living place are simultaneously very satisfied with their studies (Mann-Whitney U test: $Z = 2.65$; $p = 0.008$), family life ($Z = 2.35$; $p = 0.02$) and friends ($Z = 2.20$; $p = 0.03$). Yet, they critically evaluate their town or village as regards the economic and political situation of the country ($Z = -2.45$; $p = 0.04$), professional prospects after studies ($Z = -2.19$; $p = 0.029$), the possibilities of spending leisure time ($Z = -2.03$; $p = 0.042$) and their own health condition ($Z = -2.01$; $p = 0.044$).

The significantly strong association with the region is related to students' satisfaction at friends ($Z = 2.97$; $p = 0.003$), studies ($Z = 2.76$; $p = 0.006$), professional prospects after studies ($Z = 2.54$; $p = 0.011$) and family life ($Z = 2.22$; $p = 0.03$).

Young adults assess their feeling of being a citizen of Poland through negative experiences and dissatisfaction at the economic situation of the state ($Z = -2.34$; $p = 0.019$), professional prospects after studies ($Z = -2.40$; $p = 0.017$) and their own emotional life ($Z = -2.03$; $p = 0.04$). Only the students who are satisfied with their family life are at the same time more strongly emotionally related to their homeland ($Z = 2.03$; $p = 0.04$).

Two dimensions of the feeling of identity – the European and supra-European one – are determined by significantly positive evaluations resulting from students' satisfaction with their professional prospects after studies ($Z = 2.67$;

p = 0.008), friends (Z = 2.32; p = 0.02), emotional life (Z = 2.21; p = 0.03) and family life (Z = 2.01; p = 0.04).

Satisfaction (or its lack) due to the financial situation and the own life and educational achievements does not significantly differentiate the evaluations of all the surveyed students' feeling of identity. What draws attention in the general image of the respondents' assessment of their own life situation and satisfaction at it is a low evaluation of the feeling of being a citizen of Poland. It can be assumed that the contemporary phenomena (associated with globalization, integration or migration) taking place worldwide are changing the way of thinking about oneself and Others. The choice of the place/country of everyday life, work or education verifies the perception of oneself and of Others and contributes to the change of the feeling of identity and the related behaviour patterns. The surveyed academic youth living in the cultural borderland shape their awareness in complex sociocultural arrangements, which in turn verify their view on and evaluation of the present reality. Therefore, their identity problems, confirmed by the results of other studies (Rembierz, 2008, pp. 47–60; Nikitorowicz, 2013, pp. 29–49; Paleczny, 2017, pp. 63–81), are not surprising.

The community of Czech students is more diversified in their declarations pertaining to satisfaction at life and its relation to the feeling of identity. Only family life does not significantly differentiate the evaluations of all the respondents' feeling of identity. In the remaining cases, both positive and negative evaluations occur. The number of the latter particularly increases in regard to the dimension of the feeling of being a European and a citizen of the world.

Young learning adults in the Czech part of the borderland feel significantly more associated with their town/village, being at the same time satisfied with the way of spending free lime there (Z = 2.55; p = 0.011), their own life and educational achievements (Z = 2.24; p = 0.025), friends (Z = 2.22; p = 0.0265) and professional prospects after studies (Z = 1.99; p = 0.047). Yet, they critically evaluate their residence place as regards the economic situation of the country (Z = – 3.07; p = 0.002), which determines their own financial situation (Z = – 2.12; p = 0.034).

The strong feeling of identity in the regional dimension is determined by both moderate and strong satisfaction with the economic and political situation of the state (Z = 2.44; p = 0.015), respondents' own life and educational achievements (Z = 2.25; p = 0.025), and by extreme dissatisfaction at the economic situation of the state (Z = – 2.45; p = 0.015), at the own financial situation (Z = – 2.29; p = 0.022) and the way of spending leisure time (Z = – 2.06;

$p = 0.039$).

In the national dimension – the feeling of being a citizen of the Czech Republic – students also declare extreme evaluations. They are both extremely satisfied and dissatisfied with their professional prospects after studies ($Z = 2.71$; $p = 0.0067$; $Z = -2.35$; $p = 0.019$) and their own financial situation ($Z = 2.41$; $p = 0.016$; $Z = -2.33$; $p = 0.02$). Only their strong satisfaction at life and educational achievements is positively related to the feeling of identity in this field ($Z = 2.47$; $p = 0.014$).

A similar phenomenon takes place in the case of the feeling of being a European. University students in the Czech environment, satisfied with their professional prospects after studies ($Z = 3.38$; $p = 0.0007$), with studies ($Z = 2.77$; $p = 0.006$) and their emotional life ($Z = 2.64$; $p = 0.008$), significantly feel the most strong associations with Europe. However, they also formulate extreme assessments of both satisfaction and dissatisfaction at the way of spending leisure time ($Z = 4.13$; $p = 0.00004$; $Z = -2.04$; $p = 0.042$), their own life and educational achievements ($Z = 4.65$; $p = 0.00003$; $Z = -2.76$; $p = 0.0057$), financial situation ($Z = 3.82$; $p = 0.0001$; $Z = -2.41$; $p = 0.016$), health condition ($Z = 2.74$; $p = 0.006$; $Z = -2.78$; $p = 0.005$) and economic situation of the state ($Z = 2.08$; $p = 0.038$; $Z = -2.03$; $p = 0.043$).

The respondents express the weakest intensity of the feeling of being a citizen of the world, which is mostly manifested in their dissatisfaction at many aspects of their own life, mostly at the economic situation of the state ($Z = -2.75$; $p = 0.006$), the way of spending free time ($Z = -2.25$; $p = 0.024$), studies ($Z = -2.13$; $p = 0.033$), their life and educational achievements ($Z = -2.07$; $p = 0.038$) or their own financial situation ($Z = -2.00$; $p = 0.047$).

The environment of Slovak students is the least diversified in their declarations of satisfaction with life and its relation to the sense of identity. The factors significantly differentiating this feeling in the distinguished dimensions are satisfaction or lack of it at the financial situation and studies.

The people very satisfied with their financial situation significantly more often show a high sense of being a resident of the region ($Z = 2.23$; $p = 0.026$) and a citizen of Slovakia ($Z = 2.024$; $p = 0.043$), while those moderately satisfied feel significantly more often citizens of the world ($Z = 2.10$; $p = 0.036$). On the other hand, young learning adults who are moderately dissatisfied with their financial situation significantly more often show a low sense of being a resident of their town ($Z = -2.60$; $p = 0.009$) and of the region ($Z = -3.11$; $p = 0.0019$). Yet, the academic youth very satisfied with their studies feel significantly least connected with Europe ($Z = -1.98$; $p = 0.047$).

Referring to the aforementioned model of youth's quality of life developed on the basis of qualitative material collected in the course of international comparative studies, it can be concluded that the surveyed students from the Polish-Czech-Slovak borderland very consciously and objectively assess the most important areas of their quality of life in terms of: self-sense, social relationships, the environment, and general life satisfaction. The obtained research results seem to confirm that the academic youth present two clearly different approaches – on the one hand – to the evaluation of the feeling of satisfaction at their own life situation, and – on the other – to the feeling of identity, especially in the European and supra-European dimension, which is determined by the former. Although these both neighbouring countries have undergone political transformations, they belong to the European Union and they collaborate in many fields, it turns out that the conditions of life, particularly the influences in the educational sphere, models and socially recognized values or lifestyles are significantly different.

What seems to be confirmed as well is Arnett's standpoint, formulated in his theory of emerging adulthood. According to it, the stage of emerging adulthood occurs in the countries in which the knowledge-based economy dominates and people – to achieve a satisfying social position – have to devote many years to education and collecting experience, so they postpone the tasks of adulthood to the moment of achieving an appropriate social and professional position (Arnett, 2000, pp. 470–479).

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The attitude of pedagogy students to staying in their homeland and some selected aspects of their sense of life satisfaction in the Polish-Czech-Slovak perspective

Abstract: The existing borders have very often lost their meaning and do not fulfil the functions assigned to them for many centuries. Today, especially in Europe, many borders are "dematerialized" and exist mostly in the memory and consciousness of people. Contemporary academic youth is in a special situation – they participate in the rapidly changing sociocultural world and, at the same time, experience some phenomena that have never been present on such a large scale. The reflection upon the young, learning generation of Czechs, Poles and Slovaks is associated with an attempt to find answers to many questions, among which those regarding plans for the future and the sense of life satisfaction seem to be of great significance. What I have recognized as important is finding out if the young plan their future during their studies and/or work abroad and how they assess their sense of life satisfaction, taking into account two aspects – their family life and financial situation.

Keywords: Czechs, migrations, young adults, Poles, Slovaks, university students, life satisfaction

Introduction

The contemporary world is illustrated in the best way by the metaphor of being in perpetual motion. "Whether we want it or not, we are all in motion, on our own or someone else's initiative. We move, even when we stand still: in a world of constant change, stillness is unreal" (Bauman, 2000, p. 6). Human history is the history of perpetual moving that is a part of people's functioning. In the world, on the one hand, the strengthening of borders can be observed, which limits free movement (as in the case of the border between Mexico and the USA or, recently, Poland and Belarus). Yet on the other hand, there is a tendency to eliminate physical borders when numerous borders – such as the Polish-Czech, Polish-Slovak or Slovak-Czech ones – are of a "dematerialized" character and exist in people's memories and symbolically on maps. The Schengen Agreement guarantees freedom of movement (Ministry of Interior and Administration, Schengen Area), which in turn enhances establishing individual contacts, as well as economic and cultural exchange.

Contemporary academic youth is in a special situation – they participate in the rapidly changing sociocultural world and, at the same time, experience some phenomena that have never been present on such a large scale before. The identities and biographies of young people are shaped with unprecedented strength by macrosocial and macroeconomic trends. The reflection upon the young, learning generation of Czechs, Poles and Slovaks is associated with an attempt to find answers to many questions, among which those concerning their perceived situation and plans for the future seem to be of great significance. Therefore, my research focus was on how pedagogy students viewed the issue of changing the place of residence and starting their studies or work abroad. It seems important to know how they assess their sense of life satisfaction, taking into account two aspects – their family life and financial situation. In the presented analyses, the respondents were chosen from three universities, two of which (University of Silesia with the Faculty of Arts and Educational Science in Cieszyn and University of Ostrava) are located in the borderland. It is assumed that living in an "open" borderland is favourable for free moving, for seeking better conditions in everyday economic functioning (e.g. shopping), or for a better job offer. However, having lived for years on the Polish-Czech border and carrying out numerous research and transfrontier projects here (Gajdzica (Szafrańska) and Kubiczek, 2012; Szafrańska, 2022), I am often faced with the views and actions proving the existence of a "mental border", certain beliefs, opinions and attitudes that limit particular individuals, and sometimes larger or smaller communities, and block the possibility of crossing the border that physically no longer exists.

The situation in the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia after the political transformation in the context of migration

The Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Poland are all located in Central and Eastern Europe. Despite the differences in their area and population, the countries are very similar. This results from their close geographical location, which to a large extent has also determined their similar history and common fate of societies subjected to a similar historical and life experience. The last great change experienced together was the regaining of political independence from the USSR. That time marked the beginning of a period of intense political, socioeconomic and cultural changes in those countries.

The initial period of changes concerned two countries. In Poland, this happened thanks to the "round table" agreements (Woźniak, 2009) and in Czechoslovakia – as a result of the "velvet revolution". An additional important change that our southern neighbours experienced was the break-up of Czechoslovakia, which resulted in the birth of two independent states on January 1st, 1993 – the Czech Republic and Slovakia (Kochnowski, 2005; Mlynárik, 2003; Zenderowski, 2005). Since Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic joined the Schengen group, borderland mobility and the general nature of contacts have changed significantly. This was an effect of the opportunity to establish relationships at the individual (e.g. social) level or of undertaking some joint initiatives on a local or micro-regional scale.

Migration and moving have never before taken place on such a scale as in the recent years and a constantly growing tendency can be seen in this respect. After the political transformation, new opportunities opened up to the inhabitants of post-communist countries. It is assumed that the greatest migration potential is characteristic of middle-developed countries, in which residents have high aspirations and are aware that it is migration that will enable their implementation[1]. Migrations, which to a greater or lesser extent have always existed, are becoming a challenge in the individual and social dimension. Relatively easy departure from the homeland[2] resulted in a massive increase in the number of people who were looking for a better place in the long – or short-term perspective. This was felt differently in particular countries – e.g. due to a workforce loss and the long-term consequences indicated in the reports related to the impeded GDP growth (which was more noticeable in Poland than in the Czech Republic) (Parker, 2020, pp. 66–79). However, in recent years the situation in the CEE countries has changed – for example, due to the declining unemployment or the reduced distance between Western Europe and CEE

[1] Zelinsky wrote about this already in the 70s, pointing to the so-called theory of migration transition.

[2] The restrictions resulted mainly from the individual approach of the host countries which applied visa restrictions for residents of particular countries.

countries in terms of the purchasing power of wages (Strzelecki and Pachocka, 2020, p. 257). Leaving the country is therefore not as attractive for young people as it used to be for those who entered adulthood 20–30 years ago. How do the surveyed students of pedagogy – representatives of three CEE countries – perceive their own future in this respect?

Methodological assumptions of the author's research

Does living in the borderland really enhance greater openness to changes related to the approach to the place of study or work? To the willingness to move? To looking for another place? These are some of the questions that sparked off the broader international team-based comparative studies, which started in 2018 and which are also conducted currently[3]. The data needed for preparing this text were collected among students of pedagogy at the universities in: Poland (University of Silesia in Katowice – Faculty of Arts and Educational Science in Cieszyn) – 164 respondents, the Czech Republic (University of Ostrava) – 166 respondents and Slovakia (Matej Bel University in Banska Bystrica) – 174 respondents. The surveyed groups are representative of pedagogy students enrolled in the above-mentioned universities. The starting point for the research was the analysis of the Polish, Slovak and Czech expert literature on the social, cultural and educational functioning of academic youth in the conditions of cultural diversity. The inquiry made it possible to state that in the above-mentioned countries very few studies had been undertaken in that field so far. The research conducted mainly within comparative pedagogy is most often limited to the issue of broadly understood academic education.

The obtained empirical data were subjected to quantitative statistical analysis. For this purpose, the statistical analysis programme IBM SPSS Statistics, version 28.0.1.0, was used. The text also comprises contingency tables that illustrate how students of particular groups answered the questions. Additionally, for the crossed variables, the concordance test χ^2 was applied. The confidence level (p) of 95%, typical of social studies, was assumed. For the results $p < 0.05$, appropriate measures of the relationship strength were used which illustrate the strength of the relationship between the crossed variables. When two nominal variables were crossed, the Cramer's V coefficient

[3] In the first stage, it was a Polish-Czech team, in the further – a Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Slovak team.

was used. The result ranges from 0 and 1. The closer the result is to 1, the stronger the strength of the relationship between the variables is. However, it should be remembered that in social studies it is practically impossible to achieve the result of 1 and also that the size of the contingency table to some extent negatively affects the result. Yet, it is worth emphasizing that the scientific value is not proved by statistical significance and a strong correlation between the variables. Crosstabs are a source of interesting analyses and provide important information, regardless of whether the crossed data are statistically significant or not. For the needs of the article, some descriptions and explanations were prepared in regard to the problem of the surveyed youth's attitude to study and work abroad and to the respondents' assessment of selected aspects of the quality of their life.

An analysis of the research results

The analyses prepared for the purposes of the article[4] were aimed at checking the declarations of the surveyed students from Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic regarding their feeling of satisfaction from selected aspects of life and their attitude to going abroad. Students rated these aspects on a 1–7 scale.

An important element that may determine the willingness to stay in or leave the country is the level of satisfaction from family life. The χ^2 test showed a statistical significance ($p = 0.001 < 0.05$) between the "nationality" variable and indicating the level of satisfaction from family life in the questionnaire. Cramer's V showed a correlation at the level of 0.204. The image of the students' declared feeling of satisfaction from family life is varied in the surveyed environments. The students from the University of Ostrava significantly more often than their peers from the University of Silesia and Matej Bel University express lower scores in the assessment of satisfaction from family life. Only when extreme dissatisfaction was indicated, students from Slovakia dominated – 2.9%, with 1.8% from the Czech Republic and no such responses from Poland. It was also the students from the University of Ostrava who, more frequently than students from Slovakia and Poland,

[4] Extensive analyses of the research carried out in the Polish-Czech borderland are presented by the team in the monograph: Ogrodzka-Mazur, E., Szafrańska, A., Malach, J. and Chmura, M. 2021. *The cultural identity and education of university students in selected East-Central countries: a Polish-Czech comparative study.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage.

were unable to assess their family life. Moderately positive evaluations were most often indicated by the surveyed youth from Poland (48.2%), with less frequent indications by students from Slovakia (32.8%) and the Czech Republic (25.9%). This picture changes in the case of positive assessments, among which the responses of students from the University of Ostrava (38.6%) and Matej Bel (37.9%) dominate, with definitely fewer statements at this level of students from the University of Silesia (24.4%). In the case of extremely positive assessments, Poles (8.5%) dominate, with few such responses indicated by Czechs (1.8%). See: Table 1.

Table 1. Assessment of the level of satisfaction from family life by students from Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia

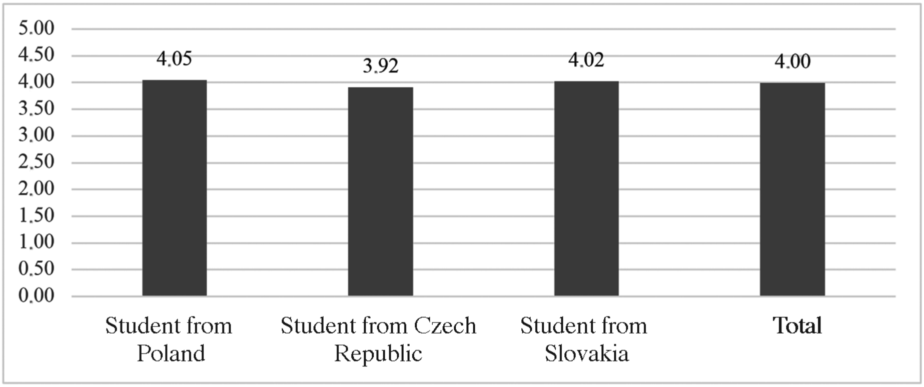
Students from:		**Level of satisfaction from family life**							**Total**
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	
Poland	Number	0	2	4	25	79	40	14	164
	Percentage	0.0%	1.2%	2.4%	15.2%	48.2%	24.4%	8.5%	100.0%
Czech Republic	Number	3	4	15	34	43	64	3	166
	Percentage	1.8%	2.4%	9.0%	20.5%	25.9%	38.6%	1.8%	100.0%
Slovakia	Number	5	2	5	30	57	66	9	174
	Percentage	2.9%	1.1%	2.9%	17.2%	32.8%	37.9%	5.2%	100.0%
Total	Number	8	8	24	89	179	170	26	504
	Percentage	1.6%	1.6%	4.8%	17.7%	35.5%	33.7%	5.2%	100.0%

N of valid observations: 504

χ^2=41.987, df=12, for p=0.01<0.05, Cramer's V=0.204

One of the most important elements indicated by young people as determining their satisfaction from life are finances. At the same time, it is the main reason why they decide to leave the country and start working in a place where it is possible to improve their financial situation. Hence, this question was included in the research. The students, as in the case of other aspects, assessed the satisfaction with their finances on a scale of 1–7. The $\chi 2$ test did not show statistical significance in this case, but it is still worth examining the results – the mean scores by nationality (Figure 1) and data crossed (the description below).

Figure 1. Level of students' satisfaction from their current financial situation – average assessments



Source: own research Highest possible score: 7

As it can be seen, students from all the three countries assess their financial situation similarly – at about 4/7. The average assessment for Czech students is slightly lower (3.92) than for Slovaks (4.02), whereas Polish students assess their financial situation in the best way (4.05).

After crossing the described variables, it turned out that the least numerous are extreme statements of the respondents who are either very dissatisfied or very satisfied with their financial situation. Among the students from the Czech Republic, there were the most extremely dissatisfied respondents and no students who provided very positive assessment. After adding up the positive[5] and negative responses[6], the differences between the statements of students from particular countries are more noticeable. Among students who assessed their financial situation negatively, the students from Slovakia dominated (31% of the respondents), the students from the Czech Republic gave such statements slightly less often (29.5%) and the least frequent indications of that type were from Poland (23.8%). In the case of positive indications, these differences are very blurred and oscillate from 28.9% among the Czech students to 29.9% among those from Poland. Polish students dominate

[5] In this case, the ratings include 5 – partially satisfied, 6 – satisfied and 7 – very satisfied.

[6] In this case, the following ratings were combined: 1 – very dissatisfied, 2 – dissatisfied and 3 – slightly dissatisfied.

significantly among the respondents who could not clearly evaluate their situation (46.3%).

My focus was on two aspects related to the attitude to international mobility – studying and working abroad. Both the previous experience in that area and the willingness to undertake such a change were taken into account in the research. Students of all years of university studies took part in the research – those educated both in the system of uniform master degree studies and in the two degree studies. Only few people had had earlier experience with studying in a foreign country. Most frequently, those were the students from the Czech Republic (13.9%), slightly less often from Poland (11%) and the least often from Slovakia (6.9%) – see: Figure 2. This picture changes when the respondents are asked about their willingness to study abroad. The χ^2 test showed statistical significance (p = 0.001 <0.,05) between the "nationality" variable and the choice of willingness to study abroad in the questionnaire. Cramer's V showed a correlation of 0.135 (see: Table 2). Almost half of the students from the University of Ostrava (44%) declared such willingness, less often this was done by students from the Matej Bel University (28.2%) and the least often – from the University of Silesia (24.4%). At the same time, in each group the number of such students increased significantly when compared to those respondents who had already had the experience of undertaking studies in other countries.

Table 2. Willingness to study abroad of students from Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia

Students from:		**Willingness to study abroad**			**Total**
		yes	**no**	**I do not know / I have no opinion**	
Poland	Number	40	122	2	164
	Percentage	24.4%	74.4%	1,2%	100.0%
Czech Republic	Number	73	92	1	166
	Percentage	44%	55.4%	0.6%	100.0%
Slovakia	Number	49	125	0	174
	Percentage	28.2%	71.8%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Number	162	339	3	504
	Percentage	32.1%	67.3%	0.6%	100.0%

N of valid observations: 504

χ^2=18.507, df=4, for p=0.01<0.05, Cramer's V=0.135

The χ^2 test showed statistical significance (p = 0.046<0.05) between the "nationality" variable and the indication of the experience with working abroad in the questionnaire. Cramer's V showed a correlation of 0.111 (see: Table 3). In this case, a similar, relatively small group of students from the Czech Republic (15.1%) and Poland (15.2%) had such experience, while a positive declaration in this regard was made by almost every fourth student from Slovakia (24.1%).

Table 3. Experience of undertaking work abroad by students from Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia

Students from:		**Work abroad**		**Total**
		yes	no	
Poland	Number	25	139	164
	Percentage	15.2%	84.8%	100.0%
Czech Republic	Number	25	141	166
	Percentage	15.1%	84.9%	100.0%
Slovakia	Number	42	132	174
	Percentage	24.1%	75.9%	100.0%
Total	Number	92	412	504
	Percentage	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%

N of valid observations: 504

χ^2=6.168, df=2, for p=0.046<0.05, Cramer's V=0.111

The χ^2 test showed statistical significance (p = 0.01<0.05) between the "nationality" variable and the indication of the respondents' willingness to work abroad in the questionnaire. Cramer's V showed a correlation of 0.212 (see: Table 4). Students from Poland turned out to be definitely the group that was most unwilling to work abroad (68.3%), and the students from Slovakia were most open to this type of trip (68%).

Table 4. Willingness to work abroad of students from Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia

Students from:		**Willingness to work abroad**			**Total**
		yes	**no**	**I do not know / I have no opinion**	
Poland	Number	49	112	3	164
	Percentage	29.9%	68.3%	1.8%	100.0%

Students from:		Willingness to work abroad			Total
		yes	no	I do not know / I have no opinion	
Czech Republic	Number	69	92	5	166
	Percentage	41.6%	55.4%	3.0%	100.0%
Slovakia	Number	70	32	1	103
	Percentage	68.0%	31.1%	1.0%	100.0%
Total	Number	188	236	9	433
	Percentage	43.4%	54.5%	2.1%	100.0%

N of valid observations: 433

χ^2=18.507, df=4 for p=0.01<0.05, Cramer's V=0.212

Conclusions

What turned out to be characteristic of all groups of students is the positive attitude of their large number to mobility in the future in relation to the activities already undertaken. This was expressed in doubling the affirmative responses in comparison to the previous experience in this field. The analyses showed statistically significant results concerning the willingness of the surveyed students from Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia to study abroad, as well as their experience of working abroad and the willingness to undertake work abroad in the future.

When pointing to certain trends among students from particular national groups, it is worth noting that:

- students from the University of Silesia (Faculty in Cieszyn) are most often the least mobile in terms of the experience of studying and work abroad, they also have the most negative attitude to leaving the country, both in the case of studying and working there. Among the respondents from this group, those who assessed their family life positively dominate (81.1%), with few people who indicated negative opinions (3.7%). The respondents evaluate their financial situation less favourably, although these assessments are still higher than in the other groups (29.8% of satisfied students and 23.7% indicating a negative opinion);
- among the surveyed students, the respondents from the University of Ostrava are the most numerous group that has already had experience with studying abroad and by far the largest group declaring their willingness to study abroad. Relatively few have experience in taking up

a job, but over 41% would like to do it in the future. At the same time, students from the Czech Republic are the least satisfied with their family life (66.3%), they are most often unable to assess it (20.5%) or provide negative indications (13.3%);
- students from Slovakia have rarely undertaken studies abroad, but a much larger group is determined to do this. At the same time, they have most often undertaken work abroad and almost 70% would like to do it in the future. The respondents most frequently assess their family life positively (75.9%) – slightly less often than students from Poland, but they dominate among the respondents who indicate negative assessments of their financial situation (31.2%).

The hypothesis that functioning in the borderland enhances the openness to the willingness to study or work abroad has been only partially confirmed – in the case of the students from the Czech Republic who most often declare their willingness to go abroad to study. The surveyed students from Poland, who rated their financial situation and satisfaction with their family life the highest, are not oriented towards leaving their country.

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Academic youth in the borderland – in the process of designing their future

Abstract: The contemporary socio-economic reality generates the need to create a life project that determines the direction of implementing important goals as well as of developing new competences. This inspires the individual to look for ways of thinking and behaving which can serve as protection against various risk factors. This applies to the factors which enhance socio-professional ambivalence, the difficulty of taking advantage of life opportunities and performing new social roles.

The study introduces the subject of designing the future by academic youth. It is a group that, at the stage of entering adulthood, takes up the challenge of adequate learning about their own needs and confronting them with the value system, in order to realistically determine their capabilities, both at the emotional and behavioral level. Then they will be ready for their internal and external exploration. In early adulthood, developing a plan for life turns out to be both an important protective factor and a manifestation of proactivity. In this context, creating a plan for life can also mean taking care of oneself and one's self-development.

Keywords: academic youth, young adults, life project, psychological time, borderland

Introduction

Contemporary education should support the formation of many new skills necessary in the process of adaptation of a young person to changes in social life. In practice, it turns out to be an area that requires not only additional investment, but above all, adaptation to social needs. In changing socio-cultural and economic conditions, these needs – on the one hand – are expressed in increasing access to education for young people and young adults with a lower status of origin and family habitus (from socially and mentally poorer backgrounds)[1]. On the other hand, these needs make sense in the tendency of the educational system to keep up with social, cultural and economic changes (Suchodolska, 2014). One can indicate, among other things, a clear need to use the doctrine of critical and creative education to teach the acceptance of democratic social principles and their introduction into individual areas of education (Lewowicki, 2011). This is particularly important due to the ongoing changes in the labor market, requiring transformations in the planning of lives and careers by young adults – as one of the elements of general human professional development (Cybal-Michalska, 2015, 2013). In practice, the effect of growing deficits can be increasingly observed in the area of using education to search for individuality and human creativity. This then becomes a means of prolonging the stage of adolescence and the (pre) professional status of young people. In this sense, it also serves to prolong the period of a development moratorium, without adequate reference to the goal of constructing a life plan. Then young people focus more on what is "here and now" and stay in it for a long time, delaying their start into adulthood and taking responsibility. It seems that this phenomenon today has a new social face and socializing significance. In view of the above, an important task of environments supporting young adults is to show the strength of the humanistic dimension of education, and especially actions aimed at change, creativity and proactivity of young people (Bańka, 2005). This manifests itself, among other things, in the need to strive for education and search for a good job in the future. It can be said that the quality of education becomes a factor of change and that it sets the direction of human development and self-creation. In addition, it can be pointed out that only an education open to individual paths of personal development, new experiences and explorations can contribute to better adaptation of young people in changing living conditions.

The perception of education as a space for creating one's own future and giving it a direction finds its place in the expert literature (Cybal-Michalska, 2015, 2013; Melosik, 2009; Szczurek-Boruta, 2007). The educational context of the projected future turns out to be particularly important in the context

[1] Wozniak (2006) points out that the Polish educational system differentiates the probability of achieving success through uneven availability of young people from different backgrounds to education of the same quality.

of young people entering adulthood[2] and new social roles. Early adulthood, also known as "emerging/becoming adulthood" (Arnett, 2004, 2000), is understood as a psychological and social time, revealing new possibilities for experimentation in roles (social and pro-professional ones).

Psychological time in life of young adults

Early adulthood is an important criterion in the timeline. In the expert literature, it is referred to as the socio-psychological time of young adults. It is the time of the greatest variety of experiences over the course of life. Most of the processes that are observed in this phase of development are non-normative, determined by the individual pace of change. This period of "becoming adulthood" is well described by such distinctive features as: instability (lack of stability), self-concentration (self-interest), feeling of being in between ("suspension"), feeling of having many possibilities and exploring (searching for) an identity. They result in taking on roles consistent with their needs and resources, less often than with social expectations.

Treating university education as a space for shaping the life project of young adults, one notices what place it occupies in their lives (Suchodolska, 2021, 2017). It turns out not only to be the task of and the key to raising their socio-professional status, but it also serves to raise the level of their quality of life. This quality is changed not only by recognizing the measurable benefits of having a higher education, but – in particular – by being more aware of one's needs resulting from individual experience[3] and learning about one's own capabilities. As research results indicate, having a good education allows you to adapt more comfortably to the requirements and changing conditions of life, to cope better with difficulties and to search for information more effectively (Czapiński, 1995). A person with a higher educational status also more easily accepts both material and psychological difficulties of adaptation in unusual and difficult conditions, also in the changing labor market. In the perspective of extending human life, education seen and defined by

[2] In the study, I am interested in the second phase of this period, characterized by relatively good stability of entering the world of other adults. Then young adults begin to fulfil themselves in various social roles, which also serve the search for (pro)professional identity. L. Miś (2000) describes this in more detail.

[3] Suchańska and Worach (2013) describe the contextuality of the above mentioned issues in a broad perspective in the research on the formation of a sense of identity.

J. Czapiński is worthy of notice – it is seen as a remedy for most of the negative effects of rapid social change (Czapiński, 1995, p. 299). In addition, what seems important – in the context of lifelong education – is an increase in life competences. They play a protective role in confronting dynamic social changes leading to a new quality of life in the surrounding world. In such a world, universal values as well as clear signposts become weaker – the lack of authorities can be observed. In the process of building life competences, an important task for young people to perform is therefore not only to become aware of their resources, but above all, to care for them and their further development. The means by which this is done should be, among other things, education. However, this requires an increase in awareness of one's own resources and life competences.

Planning the future as a developmental task

A life project is one of the time-oriented action programmes. In this temporal perspective, it becomes an important life goal for a young person. This is especially important at the stage of becoming an adult. Then the young person feels the need to be active in various areas of life, the common denominator of which is building their own effectiveness and life success. In addition, it can be expected that the main goal of youth is to develop such a plan for life which will make it possible to follow socio-economic changes in the world of competition and consumerist behavior. Life plans are therefore visible as important, overarching goals and a natural developmental tendency.

Nowadays, it is very important to create one's own plan (project) of action which determines the developmental direction of life-important goals and areas of competence. An economically uncertain reality strongly inspires (or even forces) the individual to look for ways of thinking and behaving that can provide protection against various risk factors. This risk may generate socio-professional ambivalence, difficulty in taking advantage of life opportunities and limitations in fulfilling important social roles (also as a result of mass culture impact). In early adulthood, where it is important to take on new social and professional roles, developing a plan for one's own life turns out to be both a manifestation of proactivity and an important protective factor. Resourcefulness in this area teaches one to take care of oneself and one's development. At the stage of entering adulthood, it also obliges one to understand the world and one's own future in terms of extensive cognitive representations (Kuźnik, 2008, p. 627). This results in obtaining a real picture of personal needs and the possibility of satisfying them, both on an emotional and behavioral level. This also means readiness for internal and external exploration.

In the perspective of analyses concerning students, it seems interesting to look at the life project as a type of thinking and acting in the area of subjective dimension (Suchodolska, 2017). According to such an understanding and perspective, the individual reacts vividly to external and internal conditions, opening themselves to what life brings. This is how young people react, changing their expectations and plans for life under the influence of external factors. They are associated with new experiences and possibilities. This situation quite adequately characterizes young adults at the stage of transition from the level of planning life events to their potential implementation.

Building a project of one's own life by young adults – transitional status – duality of being in the borderland

The stage characterizing the transition from planning to the implementation of life goals is a special moment for several reasons. First of all, it affects the understanding of the status of activity at the stage of entering mature social and pro-professional roles. Secondly, it symbolically makes one familiar with the perspective of the "duality of being" (Witkowski, 2013, p. 160) in students' everyday situations. This overlap of two realities has adequate social references. One of them is expressed in the borderline and moratorium-like suspension between youthfulness and adulthood, between education and the labor market (between semi-autonomy and entering mature roles, exploring them and making commitments and life choices). The other is visible in the status related to life and education in the conditions of the sociocultural borderland. This situation means that students function simultaneously in the social, economic and cultural dimensions. They define their ability to live in the borderland, understood as the ability to be "in between" or "on the threshold". This perspective of Bakhtin's understanding of the borderland is shown by Witkowski (Witkowski, 2000). At this point, one can refer to the understanding of the borderland presented in the approach of Michał Bakhtin, which the author describes as functioning measured by the ability to "be on the border". Awareness of the existence of the border poses some questions to be answered – where and why is it is worth being? In this perspective, the ways of human functioning in culture and social environment become an important issue. Being as being together (co-being) or cooperation and participation allow for a deeper involvement in relationships. This sentence quite clearly reflects – on the one hand – the situation of contemporary young adults, on the other hand – the ambivalence and contexts present, among other things, in intercultural education, which has been developing vividly for years in cultural borderlands (also in the Polish-Czech border of Cieszyn Silesia).

University education as a developmental task and an element of the life project of young people

In the life project of students, not only values and plans for implementation in the future are present. In particular, there are forms of activity present in it, the implementation of which is already in progress. Experiencing youth at the stage of higher education is associated with many personal, sociocultural and educational components. The changes experienced by young adults in education are felt individually and affect their life situation. It is thanks to these experiences that young adults have the chance to create a mature life project. Not only does it take into account the personal sphere, but also the perspective of lifelong learning. The educational space prepares them for professional activity and makes them aware of the need to take care of themselves (also of their presence on the labor market in the near future). The examined students of the University of Silesia are at this stage of pro-professional development. The studied group consists of people at the age 23–25[4] years, who are future educators. The group presented in the research are full-time students who participated in broader, multifaceted research on the sense of quality of life, conducted by the author of this study. The research in question included a group of 1400 students in several universities (including the University of Silesia). These are people recruited from the whole group of surveyed students of Pedagogy. The group of future teachers included in

[4] The group of research respondents are full-time students who participated in broader, multifaceted research on the sense of quality of life, conducted by the author of this study. The research in question included a group of 1400 students in several universities (including the University of Silesia). These are people recruited from the whole group of surveyed students of pedagogy. The group of future teachers included in this study (consisting of 80 people) is educated in the field of pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts and Educational Science in Cieszyn. The separation of this part of the subjects is related to the adopted criterion of the place where they study. Therefore, these are students pursuing pedagogical studies in Cieszyn, on the Polish-Czech border.

this study (consisting of 80 people) is educated in the field of Pedagogy at the Faculty of Cieszyn. The separation of this part of the subjects is related to the adopted criterion of the place where they study. Therefore, these are students pursuing pedagogical studies in Cieszyn, on the Polish-Czech border.

In the analyses, the results of research conducted with the use of diagnostic survey method were used, referring to the surveyed group of 80 people who study pedagogy at the Cieszyn faculty of the University of Silesia[5]. These circumstances allow the group to be treated as homogeneous, taking into account the way in which their individual, social and educational goals are achieved (Frankfort-Nachmiast and Nachmiast, 2001), as well as the nature of developmental tasks carried out at this stage of life (typical of students in early adulthood).

The obtained research results allow one to notice the linearity of students' thinking about their own future. It is expressed in their current experiences in different areas of life. Young adults are open to social exploration. They assess current events as typical, natural, related to age and the social time they experience. They provide an opportunity to build social relationships, improve skills and competences, as well as expand experience. In many areas of activity, youthful imaginations and expectations are confronted with what life brings in the perspective of current events "here and now". This sequential order of experiences with education and future work, confrontation with the realities of life and the experienced (pre)professional space make it easier for students to access the content of their life project. This also allows them to verify values, goals and previous life plans and try to answer the question "Who am I today and who do I want to be in the future?" This happens in a situation in which this confrontation is still of a temporary nature. What is currently happening in their lives turns out to be predictable, and in an emotional sense – neutrally beneficial (good) and even satisfying. In a sense, the status of the respondents can be defined in terms of a development moratorium. Although the moratorium is understood especially in the context of development during the period of adolescence, it can be assumed that this phenomenon is present today. Moreover, early adulthood implies its presence (and even its legitimacy or thr natural aspect of its occurrence in

[5] The group included in the research pursued education at the second-degree master's studies at the Faculty of Arts and Educational Science, in the following specialties: Integrated Early Childhood Education with Pedagogical Therapy, Integrated Early Childhood Education with Preschool Education and Care and Educational Work with Family Assistant.

modern culture). Parents often permit young people not to make professional commitments (and build autonomy), despite their being adults. All these processes are currently considered – on the one hand – the consequences of functioning in an individually understood norm and psychological time. On the other hand, as J.J. Arnett believes, they may be a manifestation of a new social universe of this period (Arnett, 2004).

Certainly, the criteria related to students' becoming adult seem to be individualized, depending on objective living conditions and the course of their socialization (mainly family socialization). In addition, as it turns out, they also depend on their individual ideas and subjective assessments of their own place and moment in life. Students pursuing university studies function in the educational space they have chosen. They declare that they want to co-create it, because they feel that they fit there well. An assessment of the rank that higher education has in their lives (and the choice of faculty) indicates that these choices are conscious and autonomous. The chosen field of study turns out – in the case of the majority of respondents (67%) – to be consistent with their previous plans. In the case of people who have chosen the faculty as an alternative (for various reasons) to another one, there is their visible acceptance of such a fact and a positive assessment of this situation. One can even get the impression that students willingly accept what life brings them in order to give it an individual direction and meaning. The explored roles are subject to minor modifications on an ongoing basis and provide a sense of satisfaction. In the life project, there are mainly short-term plans the implementation of which is already in progress. The emotional involvement of students in performing the developmental tasks (Suchodolska, 2018, 2017) is revealed in subjective assessments of their own place and moment in life.

Students seem to be aware of their own needs. They declare satisfaction with life and with their current life status (81% of respondents). These are quite typical areas of personal satisfaction for this period of life. The highest rank is given to love relationships (90% – partner rather than marital), satisfying relationships with close people (76%), relationships with friends (84%), attractive forms of spending free time and self-fulfillment. In the area of education, the current stage of education corresponds to their personal preferences and choices (81% of respondents). This is extremely important when one tries to determine the dominant factors which indicate not only the place of values in the life project of students, but also their personal educational status. In addition, the above conclusions of the research also correspond to results obtained in the research conducted among academic students by Janusz Ślusarski (Ślusarki, 2021, pp. 95–96). In the case of the group studied by this author, the highest preferred values are the ones related to self-directing and crossing one's own boundries.

This psychological perspective of young adults being in the process of their studies allows us to see that they are in control of their own lives and their planning. In the context of education, which at this stage of life leads to gaining education and independence, they make choices according to their own belief and preferred values. Moreover, they judge these educational choices to be right. In addition, they declare that they intend to keep to these choices and – in the future – they want to improve themselves. Students plan to remain in the area of pedagogical work. It is very heartening to observe but it is not known whether these views will not change when they start practicing the profession. In the areas of assistance, requiring a special confrontation of one's own competences with the reality of life and the goals of education of children and young people, the firmness (constancy) of beliefs is extremely valuable. This creates opportunities to set priorities and give a personal shape to your professional future. A significant group of students also enjoy paid work. It allows you to gain at least partial financial independence and builds a sense of semi-autonomy in the emotional dimension. This is important in the context of striving for full autonomy of the individual. On the one hand, this aspect shows the value of gradual independence at the stage of ongoing education. On the other hand, this idea reflects the proactivity (and proactive needs) of young people. This particularly applies to people who do not have support in their environment in adapting to social conditions and the needs of the labour market. Therefore, they undertake proactive activities themselves, personally engaging in some area of (pre)professional development. The effect of this is (re)defining one's social role and the effectiveness of thinking oriented towards one's own development. In a sense, they "scan" the environment to get a good idea of its possibilities and to make use of them. What facilitates this search of young people is the support from the family, awareness of the risks, and readiness when a change occurs. The perception of this fact may currently have a new space of description, due to the difficulty in predicting conditions of getting independent in times of inflation and the tangible effects of the pandemic. It may be that the awareness of risk and uncertainty (as a feature of contemporary socio-economic reality) triggers self-educational strategies and activities in the examined group. The surveyed young adults collect various experiences in the area of supporting the development of others, e.g. participating in volunteer actions at the level of the local environment. This applies to both children and older age groups. In the case of students, pedagogy is a space of activity that gives an opportunity to build empathic attitudes and verify their personality traits.

The effective involvement of young people makes it easier for them to find their place in many relationships and sociocultural roles. It is also likely to be conducive to solving problems and conflicts that may accompany early adulthood. Taking up activities in relationships, social roles, education and commitments related to the future, co-creates their mature identity and helps to build new competences. Transculturation of competences at the stage of transition from youthfulness to adulthood – from dependence to life independence (also pro-professional) – is a process oriented towards change. At this stage, knowledge, commitment and (pro)professional activity are needed. What is highly significant are – on the one hand – the changes in socialization processes, preparing young people for adulthood and responsibility for their own lives, and on the other – the diverse potential and readiness of young adults to explore. Explorations on the internal and external level are in a sense determined by the psychological mobility of the respondents. In the process of designing the future, both motivators and barriers of students' subjective activity are involved. The awareness of their impact also determines the individual pace of change, the direction the life project is heading for, and the achievement of success in important life spaces. The presence of personal motivators – as a source of perceived satisfaction – probably supports the process of setting a direction for everyday life in accordance with the expectations.

Individual ways of becoming an adult are not easy tasks nowadays, especially in the conditions that are changeable, socially and economically unstable. That is why it is important that young adults build their capital by investing in themselves. In this context, education seems to be not only an important individual resource and an element of the educational capital of this generational group, but also an element of their life project. Time and developmental tasks regulate the attitude of young people in the place where they are at the very moment. Young Poles belong to a group that appreciates the role of close people in their lives. Their presence often contributes to the hedonistic attitude of young people towards the world and their own place in it. The presence of close people allows one to feel joy and see the meaning of life, so the need for contact with them is important to be satisfied. Moreover, it is a prerequisite for good social adaptation in individual phases of life, from childhood to late adulthood. In these periods of time, for various reasons and to varying degrees, an individual needs the presence of others. Experiencing acceptance and support is a kind of buffer which offers a sense of security in unpredictable situations. One such moment is the change of status from dependent (a trainee) to independent (after graduation), with all the consequences of this process. This change entails the risk of the aforementioned ambivalence, "being in between", remaining "on the border" of one's self-reliance. It is not just a matter of space and activity. It is also a matter of cross-border thinking – exploration in the cognitive sense. Therefore, it is important how young adults cope with the tasks of adulthood, what vision they have of the future and what determines this. What seems important in this context is the ability to plan the future, as well as compliance with the expectations and development of cognitive competences. These components allow one to better and more consciously take care of one's needs and the development of behavioral skills.

The need of young people to gain new experiences, as well as to read the world individually, encounters new sources of ambivalence and generates new sources of development and learning (Lewowicki, 2011, p. 31). Maybe that is why young people are such a susceptible matter. The changes in life and its conditions accompanying contemporary communities provoke (and even force) the need to reformulate and permanently define the developmental tasks to be carried out by the community of young people. Among the factors that generate such a need, both socio-cultural and economic factors can be found, as well as individual ones. The latter are related to personal needs, the preferred form of activity, the formulation of goals and plans related to the future.

Conclusion

Young adults' planning for the future develops adequately to the hierarchy of values which determine the way of thinking about themselves and their place in the world. Values also co-occur with the educational and socio-professional tasks they carry out. The project shows three important areas of self-fulfillment: personal life, education and taking up employment. Broadly understood lifelong education can be found useful in all of the above areas.

In the case of young adults graduating from university, it can be noted that planning for the future gains a dimension and a shape that is currently achievable. It is related to the closest achievable real goals and the strategy of their personal development available to young adults. When planning to achieve important goals, they monitor their achievements and confront them with current situations and their assessment. It is important for them to confront the reality of life and education with the participation in the future. They strive to define their own priorities and the direction they want to give to their own adulthood. In the case of the studied group, a plan for life is not only a plan for what the future holds, but – in particular – a perspective that is currently being implemented. The way young adults think and act at the level of their initial life projects sets the direction in which they are going and the beliefs which they have. Monitoring everyday experiences, trying to assess the time and place in which they are currently located, enhance the development of their self-awareness. Long-term plans and their more precise construction seem to be a secondary issue. It seems that the temporal perspective is rather more limited to the present time.

Education leading to being academically educated and raising status to a more autonomous level (Melosik, 2009) is an important criterion for students to determine the design of their own lives. In the hierarchy of values, it has a high position – the second place – right after a successful relationship and satisfaction in relationships with people. According to the respondents, obtaining education opens up many paths, it allows independent life to start. It is also important when it opens mentally and generates an increase in awareness. In the era of the changing labor market, getting a specific educational profile is only "part of the success". It happens that much more depends today on ingenuity, invention and human (pro)activity.

A clear focus on the present time is a result of everyday experiences in society, according to the principle that what happens "here and now" is worth enjoying. This is probably an increasingly frequently diagnosed feature of the modern generation, which mentally easily adapts to changes, implements them in life and functions well with them (Bauman, 2001). Symbolically, this may mean a special state of mind of the young generation, which certainly adapts more easily to change than the generation of their parents. The active need for self-fulfillment no longer requires so much attention and planning over a longer period of time. It is also probably not so strongly related to the place and physical attachment to space, as well as the attributes of the environment. It can be assumed that Bauman's category of "fluidity" in modern society reflects the need to remain open and ready for activity in those spaces of life which are currently important to an individual. However, this does not mean that the young do not want to be attentive. Focusing on the present allows one to control and plan a life. Such a tendency can be seen in various dimensions of young adults' functioning, also in the context of the described life plan. In this perspective, long-term planning does not apply. What counts is planning which can be modified on an ongoing basis. This does not take away the chance to experience satisfaction and well-being. An important skill is the readiness to experience change – to what life brings. One can get the impression that satisfaction with current events and a favorable assessment of time and place, as determinants of important moments in life, gives students a comfortable space to develop and continue working on the project of their own future. As the results of the research indicate, the process of education (and getting educated) of students seems to be one of such areas.

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The behavioral component of academic teachers' attitudes towards remote education – the intercultural context of education[1]

Abstract: The article is an attempt to identify the tendencies displayed by university teachers towards the adoption of e-learning solutions in the academic environment. The paper is divided into four main sections. Section one explains the theoretical assumptions behind remote education and the role of the university teacher, with behavioral component being considered the core element. Section two describes the research methodology and defines the original research tool used to measure the scale of concrete actions taken by university teachers in their embrace of e-learning. On the basis of the analysis of the results, the importance of further education of academic staff for the improvement of the quality of education was demonstrated, regardless of the place of residence or professed values. The concluding section sums up the findings and puts forward recommendations for higher-education institutions in the area of remote education in the academic environment.

Keywords: e-learning, remote education, e-learning, intercultural education, university teacher, component attitude

Introduction

Cultural diversity is inherent in modern societies. The multiplicity of cultures within a globalized world is becoming an everyone's natural environment today, also in the context of the educational environment (Welskop, 2013).

Looking at how universities are perceived today, regardless of their values

[1] The article was developed in cooperation with the Center for Innovation, Technical and Natural Knowledge Transfer of the University of Rzeszow at the E-learning Laboratory

compasses teaching activities that essentially rely on e-learning technologies (Borba, Askar, Engelbrecht, Gadanidis, Llinares and Aguilar, 2016).

E-learning embedded specifically in the academic context has been divided into three key models, which are: synchronous, asynchronous, and mixed learning (Pachisia, 2022).

Synchronous learning is one that occurs in different places at the same time, where participants meet on a specially designed platform on a scheduled date (Hrastinski, Keller and Carlsson, 2010). Currently, the software most frequently used for this purpose is Microsoft's Teams. Because it is a web-based system, the installation of additional tools is not required, and once uploaded, the content is available for users at any time (Raheem and Khan, 2020).

Asynchronous learning, meanwhile, occurs in different places at different times. The benefits include time flexibility for students and constant access to learning materials (Ong, Lai and Wang, 2004).

The mixed model is a combination of the two previous ones, that is synchronous and asynchronous (Moebs and Weibelzahl 2006).

As for academic universities in Poland, the so-called *hybrid education*, referred to in the literature as *blended learning*, is most often opted for, as it blends elements of traditional education with those of e-learning (Albiladi and Alshareef, 2019).

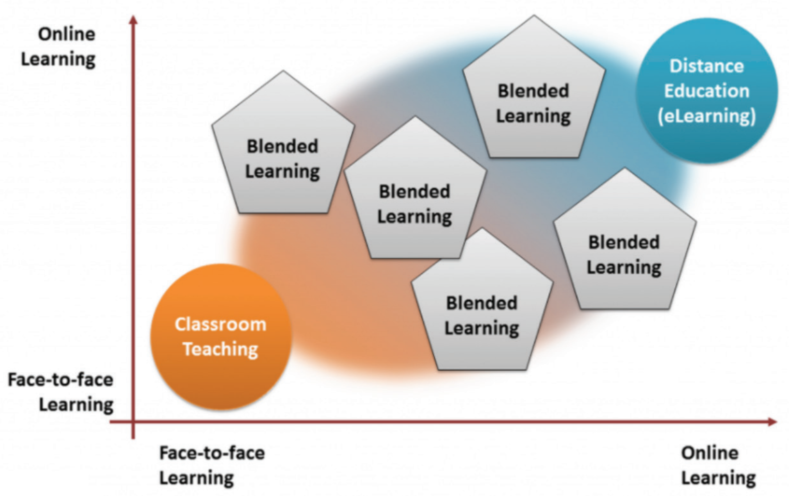

Figure 2. Graphical interpretation of the prevalence of traditional education, e-learning and blended learning (internet1).

or culture, a number of significant shortcomings in the course of the teaching process immediately arise (Szempruch, 2021). In many environments, a belief is also common that the university structure, as it is commonly known, is becoming outdated and changes should be made to reverse this process (Halim, Yusus and Yakob, 2021). The dysfunctions of university-teaching systems are a clear signal to seek and implement alternative approaches to education, with technological advancement over the years having exposed these deficiencies more than ever (Johnson, Jacovina, Russell and Soto, 2016).

A solution to the challenges faced by the academic community in Poland may lie in the use of information technology in curricula as an alternative form of education, known as remote education, distance learning or e-learning. This type of teaching is already used in most European countries at every level of education, from primary to higher (Alharbi and Drew, 2014).

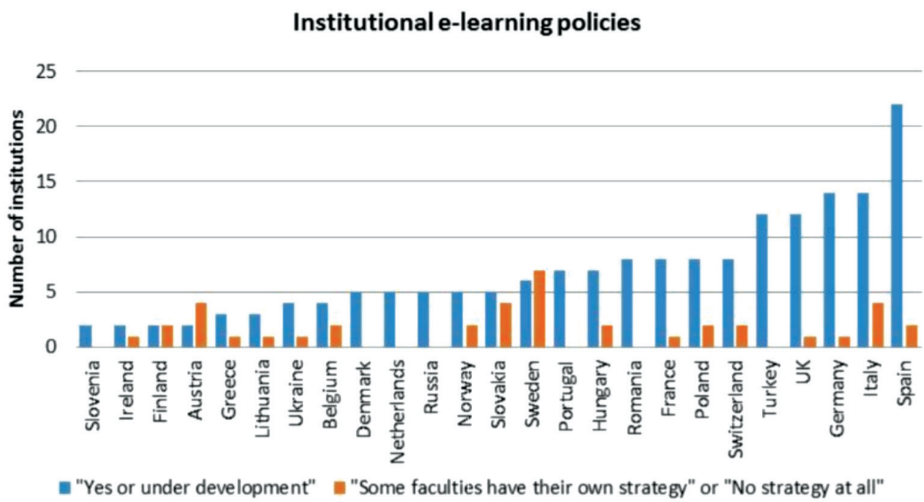

Figure 1. Comparison of European countries using e-learning (Gaebel, 2014, p. 23).

Regardless of the culture, language or place of residence, e-learning is a valuable supplement to the traditional form of academic education (Gutierrez-Esteban, Alonso-Diaz, Smyrnova-Trybulska, Capay, Ogrodzka-Mazur, Goncalves and Gajdzica, 2015).

When it comes to literature analysis, let it be briefly noted that e-learning is commonly defined as the intentional use of ICT in teaching and learning (Najdu, 2003). In more general terms therefore, remote education en-

To supplement our deliberations on the essence of e-learning in the educational process at university level, a theoretical study was conducted exploring the role of the university teacher in this particular context.

Intercultural role of the university teacher in e-learning

The role played by teachers in traditional education has been studied so extensively that pretty much anyone could name at least a few tasks a teacher nowadays is expected to perform (Allo, 2020). Regardless of the local culture or values, teachers should have a solid pedagogical background, substantive preparation, and the awareness of their full responsibility for every didactic activity they choose to embark on (Guerrero, 2010).

The teacher should be a culture critic who changes and modifies culture. The teacher's task is to prepare all students, regardless of their origin and values, for functioning and interacting in social reality. It is important to reject the awareness of the dominance of the culture of the majority over minority social groups (Nikitorowicz, 2009).

Moreover, a teacher should be the so-called cultural intermediary, who is distinguished by: interactivity in the educational process consisting in a calm, devoid of violent emotions reacting to the attitudes of others, the ability to cooperate, negotiate, jointly solve problems, empathy and the ability to behave appropriately in new situations (Zawadzka, 2004).

The 2020 pandemic has greatly accelerated the embrace of e-learning technologies, a fact which triggered significant changes in the role of the university teacher as well (Mishra, Gupta and Shree, 2010). The conventional learning system that had existed for many years turned into an online learning system to maintain the learning process (Kurnawatti and Noviani, 2021). This global crisis caused by the pandemic has brought education in all countries into the digital world. Due to the socio-cultural changes caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, many schools have started the educational process using the Zoom mobile video program.

In recent months, one has had a chance to witness how the lecturer's mode of work is not set in stone but rather needs to adapt smoothly to the circumstances (including those concerning education itself). The students who have less ability to self-regulate or study autonomously struggle with the absence of a teacher providing in-person support (Rashid and Yadav, 2020). University teachers can no longer rely solely on the transfer of ready-made information, but they must also teach students to process it to form on its basis a cohesive whole (in line with the cognitive theory) and to selectively draw that information which corresponds to their own conceptual system (Komalasari, Fitriasari and Anggraini, 2021).

Active learning is explored from a constructivist perspective in which students adopt an analytic approach to questioning and problem solving (Scott, 2011).

Therefore, one should think of a university teacher more as a guide who applies in their work a truth-seeking learning model. The role of teachers becomes more challenging and, thus, the heavy burden of teachers requires such skills along with duty and responsibility (Huda, Jasmi, Mustari and Basiron, 2015). As such, teachers should act as "mediators" who implicitly adopt for their students a certain learning strategy, certain ways of solving problems, and a certain approach to the independent discovery of knowledge. A teacher is the link of judgment and motivation with a student (Urhahne, 2015).

Among the many approaches recommended for university teachers in the online environment, several authors point out the following: establishing and managing connections within the group while providing constructive feedback; keeping the motivation running high among the users of e-learning platforms; organizing the work of the entire team rather than individuals; sharing experiences and promoting their exchange between participants (Rakic, Tasic. Marjanovic, Softic, Lüftenegger and Turcin, 2020). In addition, teachers should keep in mind that students nowadays are a product of the information society – they have an innate grasp of e-learning tools which they use on an everyday basis (Mahoney and Hall, 2017).

Having said that, the teacher's role remains very important, not to say crucial, in the remote environment as well. The problem arises when teachers, relying on their extensive educational experience in the traditional form, intend to translate it directly into e-learning. The transfer of teaching methods and resources without proper preparation (such as through the implementation of refresher training) has a significant impact on the quality of the teaching process as a whole (Ogrodzka-Mazur, Szafrańska, Malach and Chmura, 2017). Hence, the main task for teachers is to constantly update their skills both in terms of the function of information transfer and of shaping appropriate attitudes along the way. Open learning enthusiasts believe that every individual should have access to high-quality educational or bibliographic sources, and the barriers preventing this access should be eliminated.

Summarizing the deliberations on the role of university teachers in e-learning, five key areas of activity can be distinguished:

- teaching process implementation,
- contact with students,
- academic advancement,
- obtaining source materials,
- teaching process management.

These five elements constitute a practical basis for pursuing research into the self-declared behaviors of university teachers in relation to the online form of education.

Behavioral component of university teachers' attitudes in the context of e-learning

In many life situations, including professional work, human attitudes are both manifested and shaped. In the educational environment, the correct course of educational activities is essential and the attitudes of understanding and tolerance are necessary, leading to a dialogue based on mutual respect (Nikitorowicz, 2009). The initial concept of attitudes, developed by scholars in the 1920s and 1930s, viewed them as evaluations, ranging from positive to negative, that efficiently encapsulate prior life experiences and direct thinking and action (Howe and Krosnick, 2016). Against the backdrop of the conducted literature analysis, let us point out that attitude is "a relatively permanent structure (or a disposition for such structure to emerge) of cognitive, affective and behavioral processes in which a specific approach to a given object is expressed" (Santillán, 2012). On the basis of that definition, three main components of attitude seem to stand out, namely: the cognitive, affective, and behavioral. In this study the last one is going to be examined (Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018).

The literature analysis shows that an attitude is an action plan geared towards a specific attitude object (Olson and Zanna, 1993). Such a plan may contain merely general indications for the course of action or may consist of clearly defined and outlined conditions under which a given action is to be carried out. This component is therefore a teacher's specific tendency to act towards the attitude object (Estrada, Batanero and Lancaster, 2011).

To elaborate on this further, one may want to cite the definition suggested by S.J. Becker, who defines attitude as an intention to act towards a specific attitude object (Becker, 1984).

Looking at all these terms, the following definition was developed for the purpose of this study: *the behavioral component of an attitude defines the* *behavioral tendency (understood as either taking or avoiding specific actions) among university teachers with regard to the use of e-learning technologies in the educational process.*

As part of the assumptions, several relevant scales were indicated. The first scholar to have truly delved into the scientific ins and outs of the behavioral component was E. Bogardus, who designed what is now known as the Bogardus social distance scale (Wark and Galliher, 2007). It allows determining a behavioral tendency, i.e. a measure of either approaching or avoiding a specific attitude object. Particular focus in Bogard's research was on measuring attitudes towards ethnic groups and consisted in presenting respondents with seven statements to which they were then asked to assign a score from 1 to 7 to denote the extent to which they would accept each group (Bogardus, 1925).

Knowing the particularity of the research, these scales could be a springboard for developing our own research tools the assumptions of which have been detailed below, in the methodological section.

Methodology of research

The research period spanned from October 2018 to March 2020 as a part of the Poland's National Center for Research and Development project *A Single Integrated Program of the University of Rzeszow – the path to high quality education.*

The goal was the theoretical and practical preparation of university teachers for conducting classes with the use of e-learning methods and techniques. A separate training program was developed on the basis of the current needs to boost teachers' didactic and computer skills, and concerned the use of e-learning tools by the University of Rzeszów teachers.

A total of 429 university teachers from four departments: of Social Sciences, Humanities, Medical Sciences and Natural Sciences, were pre-selected to participate. However, to make the study more reliable, the study group was narrowed down via importance sampling to 320 respondents (80 faculty members per department).

As a result of the random selection, the following stratified distribution of respondents was obtained, broken down by the employment unit and gender (Table 1).

Table 1. List of the respondents by unit/college as a result of stratified selection

Unit	Female	Male	Total
College of Social Sciences	48	32	80
College of Humanities	59	21	80
College of Life Sciences	57	23	80
College of Medical Sciences	45	35	80
Total	209	111	320

On the basis of the data, it can be noticed that the group of women surveyed is almost twice as large as the group of men, which is fully in line with the distribution of academic teachers at the University of Rzeszów.

The breakdown of respondents by age and gender is equally important (Table 2).

Table 2. Age and gender breakdown of the respondents

Age	Female	Male	Total
Up to 35 years (early adulthood)	35	20	55
36–55 years (middle adulthood)	148	73	221
55 years and above (late adulthood)	26	18	44
Total	209	111	320

The selection of respondents by age was determined on the basis of the developmental stages of an adult, proposed, among others, by R. Havighurst, D.L. Levinson and E.H. Erikson.

The respondents aged 36–55 (middle adulthood) constituted the largest research group. The smallest number of respondents, only 44, were over 55 years old (late adulthood), and there were 55 in the youngest group, not exceeding 35 years of age.

The main research method was chosen as the Student's t-test for dependent samples, which can be used to calculate the so-called significance coefficient p indicating statistical significance between the initial test and final test results. The study also used standard deviation, indicating how far the results are dispersed from the mean. The lower the value, the more consistent the results are within the specified range. An important statistical apparatus used in the authors' own research was also the coefficient of variation, which can be used to determine the dispersion of the results of the answers in the group of respondents. In addition, the study used the median, understood as the middle number in the ordered non-decreasing sample.

The research intended to determine behavioral tendencies (a behavioral component of the attitude) of university teachers towards e-learning. The research process was carried out at the first and last meeting with the respondents. This procedure was aimed at defining the academics' initial action plan towards e-learning.

The main objective of the research was to determine the relationship between the behavioral component of the attitude of university teachers towards e-learning and the implementation of relevant distance-learning training.

The behavioral component of university teachers' attitudes was examined using a tool in the form of a questionnaire *The Scale of University Teachers' Behavior Tendencies towards E-learning*. The questionnaire was split into five categories corresponding to academics' tasks in terms of e-learning (as explained in the theoretical section), each consisting of five statements to define the measure of either approaching or avoiding a specific aspect of academic e-learning.

The tested ranges concerned, respectively:

– teaching process (implementation or avoidance of teaching via e-learning technologies),
– communication (contact with students through e-learning technologies or traditional contact),
– academic advancement (scientific work supported by e-learning technologies or only traditional form of career advancement),
– obtaining source materials (transfer of knowledge via e-learning technologies or in traditional paper form),
– learning process management (using an e-learning platform to teach or avoiding it).

The selected categories correspond to both the training attended by university teachers and to the responsibilities expected from them in the context of e-learning.

Research results

The results were analyzed against the scope of university teachers' activities in relation to the novel form of education which is e-learning. Using the reported disparities of responses (in the initial and final measurement), the change in behavior tendencies (behavioral component) was calculated.

The formula denoting the change in behavior tendencies is expressed as follows:

$$C_c = F_m - I_m$$

Change in behavioral component value

C_c – change in component level value, F_m – final measurement, I_m – initial measurement

For each area of activity, five values were assigned to determine the measure of taking or avoiding concrete actions. On the scale of 1 to 5, "1" meant *complete rejection of e-learning*, "3" – *flexible as to the use of e-learning*, while "5" – *full commitment to the use of e-learning*. The results, taking into account the mean, the standard deviation, the mode and Pearson's correlation coefficient, are shown in Table 1.

Table 3. Overview of results

Area of using e-learning technologies	**initial measurement**				**final measurement**				**CBT**	**P**
	Mean	**SD**	**Mode**	**CV**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mode**	**CV**		
Teaching process	2.19	1.00	2	46%	**3,00**	1.31	2	44%	0.81	0.08
Teacher-student communication	**2.84**	1.02	3	36%	**3,45**	1.21	3	35%	0.61	0.01
Academic advancement	**2.51**	1.09	3	43%	**3,01**	0.87	3	29%	0.51	-0.05
Obtaining source materials	**2.67**	1.11	3	42%	**3,43**	1.19	3	35%	0.76	0.01
Learning process management	**1.95**	1.15	1	59%	**2,33**	1.15	1	49%	0.38	0.04

abbreviations: SD – standard deviation, CBT – change in behavior tendencies, P – Pearson's correlation coefficient, CV – coefficient of variation

Analyzing the mean results, it can be seen that before the training (initial measurement), university teachers leaned more towards the traditional mode (within the range of 1.95–2.84 points). After the 30-hour training course, however, the same teachers reported increased commitment to using the novel form of learning (2.33–3.45 points). It is noteworthy that, for learning process management, the lowest increase was recorded in the context of taking action, which is likely due to the fear of facing a new, challenging situation in the teaching environment which entails an additional burden of responsibility.

All this is reflected in the mode values, which, in the case of the indicated range, stood at "1" (meaning *complete avoidance of taking action*).

The standard deviations in the preliminary and final test were moderately dispersed and oscillated within 1 point. The obtained Pearson's coefficient indicated very poor correlations between the initial and final indicator, which means a high impact of training on the occurrence of changes in e-learning tendencies. In the case of the initial test, one can see that the coefficient of variation ranged between 36–59%, and in the final measurement it ranged from 29–49%. This means that as a result of the training, its value decreased, which confirms that the respondents' indications are less dispersed.

In the next part of this analysis, the five aforementioned areas of activity are going to be broken down into individual fields related to university teachers' tasks.

Field 1 concerns teaching classes with the use of e-learning technologies. Among the options available to teachers were the following statements:

- I will completely avoid the use of e-learning in the teaching process (1),
- I will conduct a small part of the classes in the e-learning mode (2),
- I will synthesize e-learning and traditional education (3),
- I will conduct a small part of classes in the traditional mode (4),
- I will carry out all teaching activities in the e-learning mode (5).

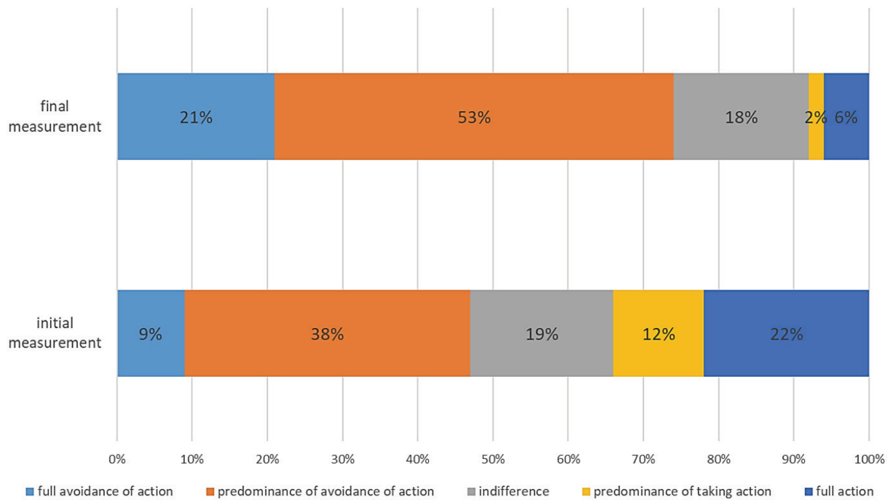

Figure 3. Breakdown of behavioral tendencies for teaching classes via e-learning technologies

As per the initial indicator, every fifth respondent showed a tendency to fully avoid taking action towards embracing e-learning technologies, while more than half reported only a limited use of this novel form of conducting classes. Reasons for this widespread scepticism can be sought in the lack of knowledge about e-learning, prejudice, and fear of finding oneself in a new, challenging situation as a teacher. Only 8% of the respondents indicated either a predominant or full implementation of classes via e-learning, which may be due to these teachers already having certain experience with such tools. The final measurement revealed a clear increase in the share of respondents willing to teach classes via e-learning (over 30%), while one in four said they had already tried this novel form in practice. The change in the intention to proceed with e-learning may be owed to the increase in relevant knowledge and the change in the emotions displayed towards this new mode.

Field 2 concerns communication with students via e-learning technologies, and the available responses were the following:

- I will only communicate with students in the traditional way (1),
- I will communicate with students via e-learning only when necessary (2),
- I will communicate with students both online and in real life (3),
- Most of my communication with students will be via e-learning technologies (4),
- I will communicate with students mainly through tools such as email, chat or forum (5).

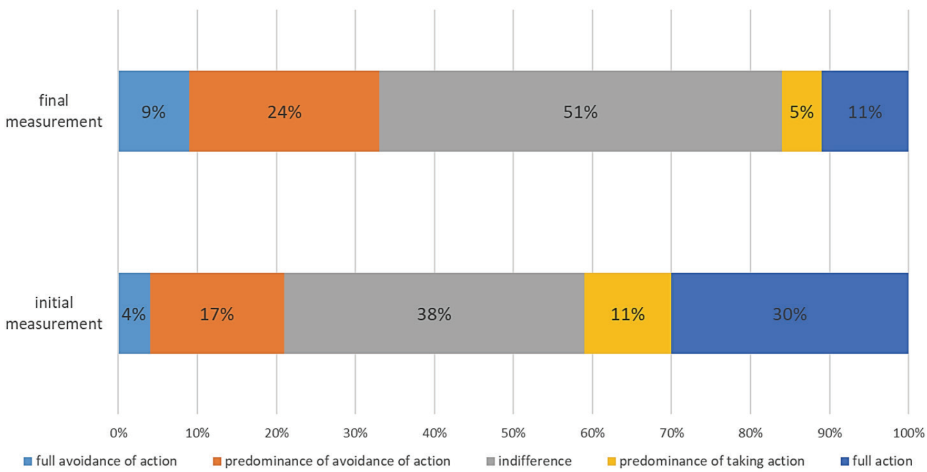

Figure 4. Breakdown of behavioral tendencies for communication with students via e-learning technologies

Analyzing the initial measurement for this field showed significantly lower values of the tendency to avoid action (full or partial) compared with the previous item. A possible reason for this is that the use of email to pass teaching materials to students, and in some cases also communicating via chat, was already fairly common. More than half of the respondents indicated the full synthesis of e-learning and traditional forms of contact, while 16% stated either full or predominant use of instant messaging in contact with students, which is a proof of teachers' extensive experience in this aspect.

Regardless, the final gauge managed to show a significant increase in the number of respondents mobilized to keep in touch with students via e-learning technologies. Instant-messaging applications, chats and forums playing the key role in communication with students was true for every fourth respondent who takes action in this respect, with only 4% intending to stick to traditional forms of teacher-student contact. This might be because of the increase in knowledge in this area (prompted by the training) and the display of mainly positive emotions to the phenomenon as such.

Field 3 is academic advancement via e-learning technologies, with the following statements:

- I will only use the traditional forms of accessing source materials for my academic advancement (e.g. articles in books) (1),
- I will use electronic databases with articles (2) from time to time,
- I will use electronic and traditional scientific studies (3),
- I will use online sources much more often (4),
- I will advance my career mainly through e-learning technologies (scientific collaboration in the cloud, databases) (5).

Comparing initial and final indicators, significant disparities are observed for academic advancement through e-learning technologies.

In the initial measurement, nearly 40% of the respondents assumed an action plan partially (11%) or completely (28%) excluding the use of e-learning, and only every fifth respondent intended to pursue their career through e-learning. Reasons for this include the lack of a clear agenda and possibly also the lack of knowledge of professional databases such as POL-index or CEJSH which allow access to many scientific studies. Almost half of the respondents hinted at the hybrid use of e-learning technologies, which may result from their already having some experience with it.

The measures performed at the end of the training showed a high change in behavior tendencies compared to the initial feedback. An almost two-fold decrease (from 39 to 24%) was reported for avoiding using online resources to advance career, which could be closely related with an increase in knowledge as a result of active participation in the training. This increase reflects the increase in the number of respondents (by 6%) planning to use professional databases with articles or studies for collaborating on research projects (in the cloud).

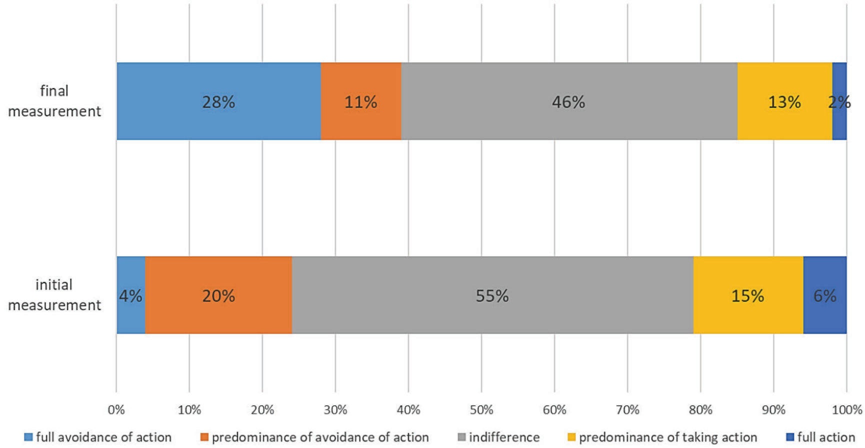

Figure 5. Breakdown of behavioral trends for academic advancement via e-learning technologies

Field 4 concerns accessing source materials via e-learning technologies, and the statements were:

– I will obtain source materials only in the traditional way (e.g. books) (1),
– I will obtain source materials in electronic form from time to time (2),
– I will use both traditional and electronic forms to access educational content (3),
– I will occasionally obtain source materials in the traditional way (4),
– I will obtain educational content only through e-learning technologies (e.g. educational websites) (5).

Analyzing the initial measurement, one can see that over 40% of the respondents claim either full or partial avoidance of action in the context of using e-learning technologies to access educational content. Once again, reasons for this scepticism should be sought in the lack of knowledge about the possibilities of educational websites and prejudices resulting from the stereotypes of only low-value source materials being available online. Only 12% of the respondents claimed full use of source materials obtained via the

Internet, which may result from their previous experience with this type of files.

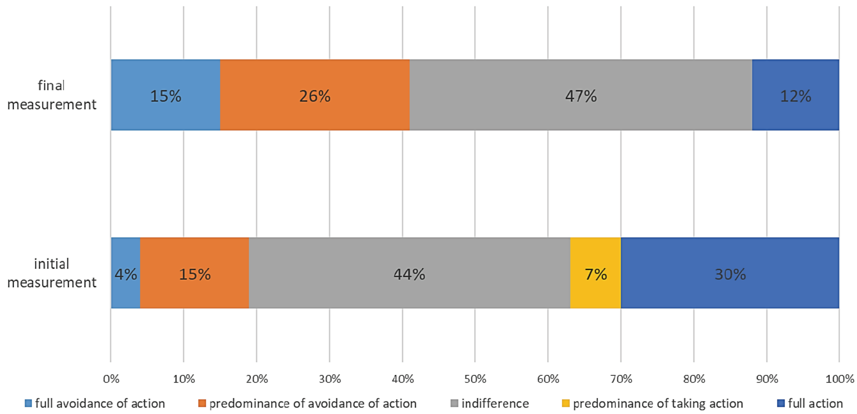

Figure 6. Breakdown of behavioral tendencies for obtaining teaching materials via e-learning technologies

The final measurement indicates a shift in the action plan towards e-learning. After the training, the number of initially sceptical respondents decreased two-fold, with every third respondent now using e-learning tools either fully or mainly in the context of accessing educational content. The reason behind this change was the increased amount of knowledge and the display of positive emotions.

The conducted analysis clearly indicates that, as a result of the training, the respondents' action plan in the context of obtaining educational content via e-learning technologies has shifted towards the manifestation of action.

Last but not least, Field 5 looks at learning process management through e-learning technologies. Here, the available responses were:

- I will manage the learning process only in the traditional way (e.g. paper attendance lists) (1),
- I will record the results of students' work using e-learning technologies from time to time (2),
- I will use both traditional and electronic forms to manage the learning process (3),
- I will manage student data in the traditional way only to a small extent (4),
- I will manage the learning process only through e-learning technologies (5).

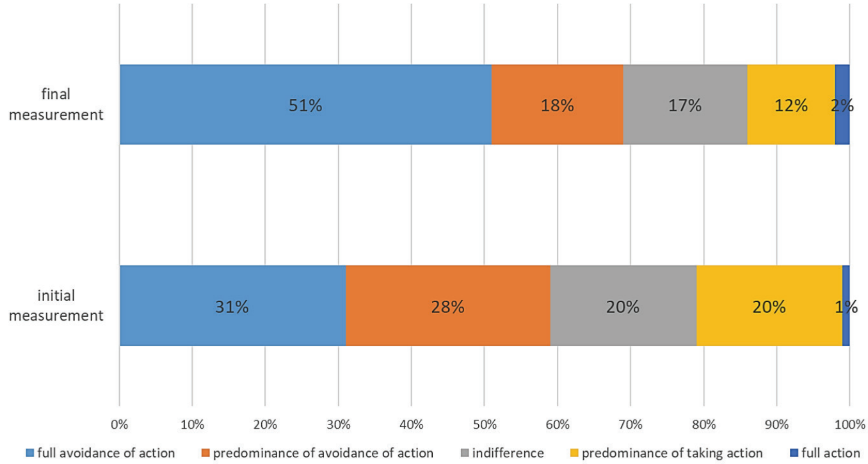

Figure 7. Breakdown of behavioral tendencies for learning process management via e-learning technologies

The initial gauge revealed a strong skew towards a traditionally managed implementation of the learning process among the academic staff. This is likely due to the lack of competence in the area of navigating e-learning platforms such as WBTServer or Moodle which enable the transfer of management online. In fact, as few as 2% of the respondents considered adopting a fully remote style of management, which may be related to their previous experience with using such tools.

Meanwhile, the final measurement indicated a scenario (not observed at the stage of analyzing the previous fields) in which the training did not bring about significant changes towards action. Almost 6 out of 10 respondents failed to show any intention to manage the learning process through e-learning technologies. In this case in particular, the likely cause could be the fear of facing a new, challenging situation for them as teachers, which comes with an additional burden of responsibility. Yet, a two-fold percentage increase was reported in the number of respondents willing to move their learning process management online, which may have to do with the potential raising of their skills in this area.

Conclusions and recommendations

Summing up the analysis of the conducted research into the action plan of university teachers towards e-learning, it should be stated that teachers' attitudes have changed significantly thanks to the training. On the basis of the analysis, it has been determined that, in the initial measurement, teachers would display behavior tendencies suggesting predominantly avoidance of action (2.43 points), but the same value shifted towards the combined mode after the refresher training (3.04 points). This means that the difference in value represented by the scale containing values from 1 to 5 points stood at 0.61 points. Another key outcome of the analysis is that participation in the training triggered (for some respondents) a change in the action plan towards taking action.

It has been also showed that the task of universities is to establish distance-learning centers that will offer technical and substantive support to university teachers in the area of remote education. Such centers should provide conditions for conducting classes via e-learning technologies and hold periodic trainings so that academic staff stay up-to-date with the novel forms of education that emerge. Having analyzed the results, it can be confirmed that participation in training brings a tangible effect in the form of university teachers' willingness to take concrete actions.

Meanwhile, university teachers should ensure constant self-improvement. It is in lecturers' best interest to update their knowledge using various e-learning tools, as being aware of the importance of lifelong learning in a rapidly evolving society is something that cannot be done without. University teachers should also use their extensive experience gained over the years in traditional education and possibly pour some of that wisdom over to remote education. In an information and technology driven society such as ours, this is in fact the only viable attitude that can warrant smooth communication between teachers and students and help avoid digital exclusion, a problem particularly pressing for those whose long-proven teaching methods are no longer relevant, yet are still practiced by some of the faculty members.

It is worth noting the limitation of the obtained research results, stemming from the fact that the analysis was determined on the basis of the respondents' opinions. A key complement would be to carry out the research on the remaining components that make up a full understanding of human attitudes. The cognitive component, which is identified by knowledge (about e-learning), and the emotional component, defined on the basis of emotions in relation to an innovative form of education, would constitute a valuable supplement of the research carried out.

The communication skills of teachers in intercultural education are also an important aspect. Closed attitudes characterized by negative emotions lead to the emergence and dissemination of undesirable social behaviour. On the other hand, open attitudes are the starting point for effective behaviour, intercultural interaction and collaboration (Welskop, 2013).

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Self-assessment of psychosocial competencies of academic teachers from technical university

Abstract: This article aims to present our own research, diagnosing the level of psychosocial competencies of academic teachers at technical university – the competencies which are particularly important in the mediatised world. The research was done among 141 academic teachers of the Silesian University of Technology with the use of a diagnostic survey in 2019–2021. An expanded statistical analysis allowed the interpretation and assessment of 13 variables describing the investigated competencies.

Keywords: psychosocial competencies, academic teacher, technical university, multiculturalism, information civilisation

Introduction

The dynamically changing reality results in the *"occurrence of new areas of activity and new rules of the economic and educational order. The teacher has to face entirely new challenges of the information civilization and globally understood education and take up the work of penetrating new competencies in the changing reality"* (Gnitecki, 2005, p. 132). In this transforming world, the teacher's psychosocial competees are gaining particular importance. For this reason, their running assessment is crucial as such a diagnosis should be the basis of the training programmes for academic teachers.

Psychosocial competencies

There are numerous definitions of the term "competencies", but they are most frequently understood as "having knowledge and experience in a discipline allowing proper performance of obligations and making the right decisions".[1] They can be understood as the ability to react to complex requirements in the area of adequate performance of various tasks, combining practical skills, knowledge, motivation, ethical values, attitudes, emotions and more, taking into account the social component and behaviour, which all combined serve to achieve effective action (New Polish Dictionary, 2002, p. 343).

Those competencies are high when the teacher has an operative interdisciplinary, integrated subject-matter and methodical knowledge concerning the planning and completing of professional tasks, can critically assess their actions and correct them on a running basis, has the skill of perceiving and understanding social situations and the ability to independently use the possessed skills taking into account their internalised value system (Pituła, 2008, pp. 104–105).

Academic teacher's competencies and multiculturality

The contemporary reality is fluid, non-transparent, multicultural. *"International and intercultural relations between people are more and more common as we observe the phenomenon of dynamic mixing of groups of people of different national, cultural, ethnic and denominational origin, which occurs in urban areas in particular"* (Brotto et al., 2014, p. 14; Badowska, 2018, p. 191). The cultural pluralism and multiculturality are becoming the social standard (Misiejuk, 2016, p. 24). Universities express their openness to the world by offering education, programmes, projects and scholarships to foreign students. This, however, requires equipping the academic staff with, for instance, intercultural competencies, i.e. knowledge of the spiritual and financial situation of Others, the skill of establishing relationships with Others and the sense of identity in a multicultural world (Lewowicki, 2011, p. 34).

Therefore, the academic teacher faces numerous tasks and "the multitude, fragmentation, variability and complexity of organisational forms in social life affect the changes in how career development is perceived and how it leads to overcoming the tension between the experiences of the past and the prospects for the future" (A. Cybal-Michalska, 2017, p. 32), implying a different view on psychosocial competencies, a high level of which – similarly to

[1] Nowy słownik języka polskiego (*New Polish Dictionary*), (2002). Kompetencje (*Competencies*), Polish Scientific Publishers PWN, Warsaw, p. 343.

specialised competencies – determines the quality of professional functioning of the teacher in the multicultural reality (Smółka, 2016).

Methodological concept of the own research

The research was done among 141 academic teachers of the Silesian University of Technology in 2019–2021 – the men accounted for 44.7% of the study group (n=63) and women for 55.3% (n=78).

The method of a diagnostic survey and an purposefully prepared questionnaire were used. The empirical material was partially collected with the paper version of the tool and (due to the COVID-19 pandemic) with its electronic version.

The research was aimed to assess the psychosocial competencies of academic teachers of a technical university and the main research problem was formulated as the following question:

What is the level of psychosocial competencies of academic teachers according to the respondents?

Its operationalisation allowed the formulation of detailed problems:

- What is the relationship between the respondents' gender and the level of their adaptation skills?
- What is the relationship between the level of teamwork skills and the respondents' gender?
- To what degree does the level of assertiveness correlate with the respondents' motivation towards their professional activity?
- How do the examined teachers assess their communication competencies and the level of relations with others at university?
- To what degree does the level of the teachers' emotional management skills correlate with the declared skill of conflict solving?
- What is the relationship between the work planning skill declared by the respondents and the pursuit of professional goals?
- What is the relationship between the declared level of the ability to deal with professional failures and the respondents' gender?
- To what extent does the level of the respondents' psychosocial competencies correlate with the achieved level of the skill of setting and achieving professional goals?

The following hypothesis was formulated: *the level of academic teachers' psychosocial competencies is varied and correlates positively with the achieved level of the skill of setting and achieving professional goals.*

The obtained results were subjected to statistical analysis, descriptive statistics, analysis of differences between groups by means of the Mann–Whitney *U* test and analysis of correlation by means of Spearman's rank correlation coefficient.

The own research

The analysis of the research material showed 13 selected psychosocial competencies for which detailed descriptive statistical analysis was conducted in the context of the respondents' gender and the selected variables.

The analysis of the obtained results showed that the distribution of every variable in the female and male groups deviated from the normal distribution. Therefore, the Mann–Whitney *U* test was applied to the answers to the research questions 1–3 and 7 as an alternative to Student's *t*-test for independent groups applied when the assumption of normal distribution of the variable compared in both groups is not fulfilled. The research questions 3, 5–6 and 9 were subjected to correlation analysis by means of calculating the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient.

The first analysed variable was the level in adaptive skills of university teachers, which was correlated with the respondents' gender to determine the relationship between variables using Mann-Whitney *U* tests. The analysis showed no differences between women and men: $W = 2607.50$; $p = 0.526$; $rbs = 0.06$[2]. This means that no relationship between the gender and the level of adaptation skills, which were at a similar level in both groups (values of median and mean for both groups), was found. The circumstances forcing adaptation are usually faced by young teachers as well as people changing faculties or universities. It is those situations that can also show conservative attitudes in the area of teaching or can directly point out professional uncertainty. This fact is partially confirmed by researchers into this issue who indicate that novice teachers tend to use a gradual approach and manifest a less adaptive and more prescriptive way of teaching (for example: Chizhik and Chizhik, 2018, pp. 67–85). Moreover, from the point of view of the representativeness of the gender and level of adaptation to professional duties and work environment at university, it has been observed "that sex may, but does not have to, affect academic work" (Kośnik and Węglerska, 2021, p. 205) and

[2] Rank-biserial coefficient of correlation (*rbs*) was calculated as a measure of the effect size for the Mann–Whitney *U* test.

adaptation to such specific conditions as the position of a lecturer at university of technology. When explaining this absence of relation, one should pay attention to the activities at universities aimed to counteract gender stereotypes in science, carried out in the recent years.

As regards the variable "gender", its relation to the level of teamwork skill was examined. This skill is claimed to be difficult to write down and even more difficult to develop. Driskell et al. underscore the significance of teamwork understood as a process where team members cooperate with each other to achieve the set goals and complete the given tasks. Teamwork refers to the skill through which the commitment of a team translates into the results of its work (Driskell et al., 2018). Sex-mixed teams usually take up diverse activity; nevertheless, Ivanova-Stenzel and Kübler claim that it is men who make greater effort when paired with women. In turn, women achieve better results in homogenous teams and when they compete with male teams. The worst results are achieved in mixed teams (Ivanova-Stenzel and Kübler, 2005, p. 3). Therefore, it was found reasonable to determine the relationship between the level of the teamwork skills and the gender of the respondents. A detailed statistical analysis showed no differences between women and men: $W = 2179.50$; $p = 0.240$; $rbs = -0.11$. This means that no relationship between the gender and the level of teamwork skills, which were at a similar level in both groups (values of median and mean for both groups), was found.

In addition to the performance of teamwork-based tasks, professional work requires motivation and assertiveness, regardless of gender. When determining to what degree and extent the level of assertiveness correlates with the motivation of the respondents towards their professional activity, no differences between women and men were found: $W = 2553.50$; $p = 0.687$; $rbs = 0.04$. This means that no relationship between the gender and the level of assertiveness, which was at a similar level in both groups (values of median and mean for both groups), was found. Therefore, a relationship between the level of assertiveness and the level of motivation to professional activity was tested for the entire group, not divided into female and male subgroups. The analysis of correlation showed no link between the level of assertiveness and the level of motivation to professional activity: $\rho = 0.12$; $p = 0.144$.

Another area under assessment involved communication competencies and the level of relations with others. The analysis of descriptive statistics showed that both women and men declared a similar level of communication skills (for women: $M = 7.21$; $SD = 1.52$; for men: $M = 6.98$; $SD =$

1.48). Moreover, the in-depth statistical analysis showed absence of statistically significant differences between those groups. $W = 2241.50$; $p = 0.361$; $rbs = -0.09$. The mean results obtained in both groups show that they assess the communication skills as above average. In order to assess the investigated variables precisely, an additional analysis of descriptive statistics was carried out, which showed that women and men declared a very similar level of relations with others at university (for women: $M = 7.31$; $SD = 1.70$; for men: $M = 6.95$; $SD = 1.85$) and absence of statistically significant differences between those groups: $W = 2182.00$; $p = 0.248$; $rbs = -0.11$. The mean results obtained in both groups indicate that the level of relations with others at the university was graded as above average.

The results proved that there were no differences between women and men in terms of those skills (for emotional management skills: $W = 2432.50$; $p = 0.919$; $rbs = -0.01$; for conflict resolution: $W = 2326.00$; $p = 0.579$; $rbs = -0.05$). Therefore, a link between those variables was tested for the entire group, not divided into female and male subgroups. The applied correlation showed that there is a relation between emotional management skills and conflict solving skills: $\rho = 0.37$; $p < 0.001$. A higher level of emotional management skills correlated with a higher level of conflict resolution skills.

The self-assessment also covered the skill of work planning and achievement of professional goals, regarded as the key in the process of recruitment of graduates (Raitskaya and Tichonova, 2019).

The obtained results, however, indicate no differences between women and men in terms of those skills – for the skill of work planning: $W = 2339.00$; $p = 0.712$; $rbs = -0.04$; for achievement of professional goals: $W = 2349.00$; $p = 0.743$; $rbs = -0.03$. Therefore, a link between those variables was tested for the entire group, not divided into female and male subgroups. The analysis of correlation showed a link between the level of the skills of work planning and the level of achievement of professional goals: $\rho = 0.56$; $p < 0.001$. A higher level of the skills of work planning correlated with a higher level of achieving professional goals.

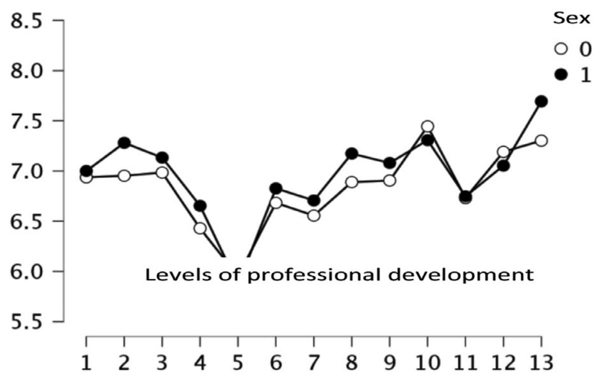
The self-assessment of the psychosocial competencies of academic teachers would not be exhaustive if it failed to refer to the skill of dealing with professional failure. Therefore, the Mann–Whitney U test was used to compare the female and male groups in terms of the skill of dealing with professional failure. The analysis of the results show no differences between women and men: $W = 2449.00$; $p = 0.975$; $rbs = -0.01$. This means that no relationship between the gender and the level of the skill of dealing with professional failures, which was at a similar level in both groups (values of median and mean for both groups), was found.

When investigating the competencies of academic teachers, it seemed worthwhile to relate them to the self-assessment of the declared level of professional development. Referring to the described context, the obtained results have been shown in Figure 1.

The global results indicate that the highest level of professional development was declared by the respondents in relation to the skills of teamwork and making independent decisions and the lowest level of professional development in the area of assertiveness.

The last assessed area covered issues related to the achievement of professional goals. According to the normative approach, signalled by Malik et al., the organisational involvement of academic teachers is significant, which means the acceptance of the goals and values of their university, readiness to make effort for its benefits and maintain the affiliation to it. Combining the above factors with the psychosocial competencies leads to the emergence of the "complete", qualified teacher, who will have – apart from their expert knowledge – many other skills affecting their professional effectiveness and satisfaction (Malik et.al., 2010, p. 19).

Figure 1. Levels of professional development of the examined teachers – the analysis of results of women and men



Legend: The following variables were mapped on the horizontal axis: §1 – Level of motivation to professional activity; 2 – Level of relations with other individuals at university; 3 – Assessment of the level of communication skills (verbal and nonverbal); 4 – Skill of personal branding at the university; 5 – Level of assertiveness; 6 – Level of emotional management skills; 7 – Level of skills of conflict resolution; 8 – Level of skill of setting and achieving professional goals; 9 – Level of skill of professional work planning; 10 – Level of skill of making independent decisions; 11 – Level of skill of dealing with failures; 12 – Level of skills of adaptation to a new environment; 13 – Level of teamwork skills.

On the basis of the obtained results, it can be said there are no significant differences between women and men in terms of the level of communication competencies and the level of setting and achieving professional goals – for the former variable: $W = 2241.50$; $p = 0.361$; $rbs = -0.09$; for the latter variable: $W = 2349.00$; $p = 0.743$; $rbs = -0.03$. Therefore, the relation between those variables was tested for the entire group. The analysis of correlation showed a link between the level of psychosocial competencies and the level of the skill of setting and achieving professional goals: $\rho = 0.28$; $p < 0.001$. A higher level of psychosocial competencies was correlated with a higher level of the skills of setting and achieving professional goals.

Summary

The research results show that gender does not differentiate the levels of psychosocial competencies as specified in the assessment. Moreover, they are even convergent in some areas.

Therefore, the exploration was expanded with an analysis without division into genders, which allowed to determine some differences in the self-assessment of psychosocial competencies of academic teachers. The first indicators showed that a markedly higher level of emotional management skills correlated with a higher level of conflict solving skills. Therefore, it seems worthwhile to include those issues in the process of professional training offered to academic teachers at universities (Lutovac, 2017). It was also found that the teachers with a higher level of work planning demonstrated a higher self-assessment in achievement of professional goals. Therefore, these issues should also find their place in professional training programmes for academic teachers (Aithal and Kumar, 2016, p. 701),

While verifying the formulated hypothesis, it must be said that the level of psychosocial competencies of academic teachers at technical university *is diversified by their self-assessment as a higher level of psychosocial competencies was correlated with a higher level of the skill of setting and achieving professional goals ($\rho = 0.28$; $p < 0.001$), which are the cornerstone of the development of professional career in that environment.*

The psychosocial competencies of academic teachers at technical universities play a special role as the science created by them is directed first and foremost to human beings. For this reason, a dynamically changing university needs a teacher with high interpersonal and communication competencies, who is creative and open to new experiences and who is a specialist in the and uses modern technologies in the teaching process. There is a need for a teacher with broad mind, not for one with a narrow specialisation following the traditional teaching methods (Kucharska-Konieczna, 2015, p. 239).

Therefore, the investigation and reflection into the process of the professional development should be constant elements in the strategic goals of a particular university.

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RESEARCH REPORTS

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(In)visible learners or school as a space for negotiating integration? Challenges of working with migrant children through the lens of teachers

Abstract: Poland has been becoming a migrant country over the past years, experiencing recently increased visibility of migrant children at schools. At the same time, the issue of their support and integration remains on the margin of educational policy and depends on the activity of local authorities and, above all, of school head-teachers and teachers. Drawing on the qualitative study carried out in 2020 within the project CHILD-UP Children Hybrid Integration: Learning Dialogue as a way of Upgrading Policies of Participation (Horizon 2020) in schools in Kraków and South-East Poland (where one of the centres for foreigners is located), this article comprises a discussion on the extent to which Polish schools are ready to accept migrant (including refugee) children, to enhance their agency and support integration processes. Therefore, it raises a question whether schools are able to effectively support migrant children linguistically as well as help them enter into peer groups in the course of their educational activities.

Keywords: migrant children, educational system, agency, teachers

Introduction

Alhough the presence of migrant children in Polish schools is not a new phenomenon, its dynamics has changed significantly over the years. For the last several years there has been a systematic influx of the children of labour migrants, resulting from a change in individual migration patterns towards family arrivals. Moreover, migrant children are dispersed throughout the country. However, even a small number of migrant children in a homogenous class changes the structure of the class, triggering new phenomena and new school processes. In educational policy, the notion of "intercultural education" has shifted the focus towards changing the learning environment so it could better respond to the needs of students and increase their participation in the learning process. Such a process is reflected to some extent in the general policies within which new programmes, measures, and tools can be offered, but the adjustment of school itself happens through the everyday work of teachers; this forms the main issue to be addressed in this article. Our focus is on challenges faced by Polish teachers in their everyday work with migrant (included refugee) children and the strategies they have developed to cope with them.

In particular, our intention was to examine whether these strategies reinforce the "othering" of migrant children or lead to their integration. Integration at school is defined here as more than a concept of passive assimilation or simple adaptation to the existing socio-cultural context (Ager and Strang, 2008) but rather children's active participation in negotiating their identity in the sense of combining culture of their country of origin with the culture of the host society. Specifically, our focus is on the question of whether the daily task of teaching is seen solely as having to cope with the challenges of teaching migrant children – thus problematizing such children – or whether it also leads to the empowerment of migrant children and enhances their sense of agency (Baraldi and Iervese, 2014). The latter can change the culture of school in the way Ainscow (2006) defines it: from a concern for the well-being of the general public and a separate concern for children with 'special educational needs,' to a concern for the preparation of the school to accommodate pupils with diverse needs, thus creating a 'school for all.'

The article is based on the qualitative part of the H2020 project *Child-Up: Children Hybrid Integration Learning Dialogue as a Way of Upgrading Policies of Participation*[1] (2018–2022). Through the interviews with the teachers, personal experiences were explored of working with migrant children, their daily routine in the classroom, the strategies they adopted to support migrant children, and how they recognised (or not) the children's agency by strengthening their ability to cope with everyday challenges. Moreover, some questions were asked about the school as an institution and its integration framework, cooperation with parents and peer relations in the classroom. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the research was conducted remotely, over the phone or using web-based applications. 18 semi-structured interviews

[1] The research leading to these results received funding from Horizon 2020Programme within the framework of Grant Agreement No. 822400.

were conducted, eight of them with teachers in the schools in South-East (SE) Poland attended by refugee children, and ten in Kraków schools, where children of economic migrants predominate. The analysis of the interviews was based on analytical grids and open coding, which were used to create a categorisation scheme in the thematic analysis (Wengraf, 2001).

Migrant children, teachers, and schools – framing the issue

Before considering how Polish teachers perceive migrant children, it is necessary to place this issue in the broader social context. Following Mikołaj Pawlak (2013), the notion of the so-called refugee field can be applied here, in which the educational system, with its complex legal and institutional context, different actors and connections to other public and nonpublic institutions, influences the situation of migrant children and, more broadly, their integration into the Polish society. It is in this field that the processes occur shaping an intercultural school that is either open or closed to the "other child" (Januszewska, 2017; Januszewska and Markowska-Manista, 2017; Kosciółek, 2020). Teachers are an important element within this field: fundamental actors of change, they strengthen migrant children and work towards building their agency (Bulandra et al., 2019). What seems equally important is the teaching environment. Kościółek (2020) emphasises that system's premise is inclusiveness, which leads to the so-called 'one path' (Bąbka and Nowicka, 2017) or 'integration' model (Todorovska-Sokolovska, 2010). It was only in 2017 that Polish law introduced the possibility of establishing the so-called "welcome classes" designed for migrant children, in which they would stay for a certain period to receive intensive language instruction.

The openness of the Polish educational system to "otherness" and intercultural dialogue has been also examined by intercultural educationalists (Januszewska, Markowska-Manista, 2017, Nikitorowicz, 2018), intercultural psychologists (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, 1998) or intercultural sociologists and anthropologists (Nowicka and Pawlak, 2013). The picture emerging from these studies presents the Polish educational system in a rather negative light, highlighting that "a foreign student is still 'being recognized' rather than 'recognized'" (Herudzińska, 2018, p. 206; NIK report, 2020). Among the most frequently identified challenges, teachers point to the language barrier and the organisation of additional Polish language classes, the lack of the competences required for teaching migrant children, the psychological problems exhibited by foreign students, intercultural differences or the legal obstacles that prevent or delay support from being obtained (Herudzińska, 2018). Classroom relationships are also essential. In this context teachers often point to communication problems, conflicts relating to cultural differences or the lack of acceptance of migrant children within the peer group. Other studies (Bulandra et al., 2019) show that the educational system only supports children's agency to a limited extent. Among the biggest obstacles to the process of integrating migrant children are symbolic violence and activities that could be called assimilationist rather than integrative. In schools, there is a tendency to stereotype migrant children and even to "exoticize" them, to highlight single, clearly problematic cases. This is especially true in the case of refugee children – due to, for example, a different religion, or a cultural context regarded as distant. At the same time, some children successfully become "invisible" at school by using mechanisms to veil their immigrant status since they are white, come from countries culturally close to Poland, and can understand cultural differences.

It is important that the majority of the existing research focuses on teachers working with refugee children, especially those from Chechnya; therefore, the work and challenges concerning that category of children who are particularly visible (Januszewska, 2017). Experiences in working with those children are often generalised to other categories of migrant children and form the basis for the development of our recommendations. Much less studied in the literature is the specific nature of work with the children of economic migrants coming from countries such as Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia, who in recent years are increasingly visible in Polish schools.

Daily work challenges and coping strategies

One of the recurrent themes – in our study as well as in other studies cited in the previous section – is the impact of the lack of proficiency in the language of instruction on the inclusion of migrant children in the classroom. Almost all of the teachers emphasized that being unable to speak the language of instruction at the school affects migrant children's participation in the class, their performance at school, their self-esteem, and feeling of being left out. Yet, the difficulties caused by an inadequate level of proficiency in Polish were of varying degrees, being most profoundly experienced by two categories of migrants: children whose mother tongue does not belong to Slavic languages and therefore lacks similarities with Polish languages and older learners (5–8 grade) who were not offered a proper language training before starting their school in Poland. The language barrier was especially problematic for teachers of subjects requiring specific terms (such as biology or physics), requiring linguistic skills (such as the interpretation of a poem) or those responsible for the preparation for the 8th-grade exam. Recognizing the negative consequences of low degree of language proficiency, teachers considered teaching the language of instruction in the second language as essential. Although this measure is highly evaluated, teachers also mentioned their individualized strategies such as communicating in migrant children languages (mostly in the case of refugee children, i.e. in Russian) or in English (mostly in the case of migrant children).

Another commonly identified challenge concerns cultural and religious differences. Teachers of refugee children often referred to differences in value of education which is not of high importance for their parents. Consequently, parents are neither interested in providing high-quality educational opportunities for their children nor in developing their educational aspirations and interests. There was also a strong sense among teachers of children from cultures based on a clear division of gender roles embedded in patriarchal relations of power that the cultural and religious constraints have stronger impact on girls' educational paths. They are expected to express greater involvement in home duties and care work and become a wife and a mother. There are also many challenges for children from distinct cultures to participate in classes such as "Biology", "Family Life Education" 1 or PE during the Ramadan:

> *They asked me: "Family Life Education" – What is this subject about?" I explained to them: It is a subject about family, similar to biology. They participated in few classes. Probably told their parents at home what topics were discussed during lessons. Their parents did not let them go there again. At that time they had biology about a female body (...) The teacher said: "This is a woman's body. That's what you look like.". "But you're not ashamed that you show us such things, that you watch such things?" – they asked. She said: "It's a shame if you don't have knowledge. If you don't study and learn". The parents were outraged. They did not want their children to participate in biology classes. We explained them that those topics are obligatory in the syllabus.* (Female teacher, South-East Poland)

The example above illustrates the tensions between the cultural expectations of parents and the teacher, and the school's expectation that the curriculum is followed. It also raises the question concerning the acceptance of differences. For some, encouraging migrant students to attend classes which are not in accordance with their culture or religion is contradictory to inclusive education and indicates a lack of cultural awareness. For others, it may be a way of dealing with parents' lack of knowledge about the educational system and the curriculum. It is also a question of implementing formally empowered authority (the argument of implementation of the core curriculum) or jointly finding solutions that recognize cultural differences and respect certain values.

To better recognize migrant children's needs, some schools/teachers decided to adjust educational programmes to migrant children's knowledge, adapt textbook and prepare extra materials, alter the grading system to formative assessment to recognize not only the evaluation of children's cognitive skills but also their engagement in classes. Although all children can benefit from these changes, they are mostly offered to migrant children from linguistically and culturally distinct countries, making the needs of children from neighbouring countries neither acknowledged nor recognized:

> *We have adopted this principle that we appreciate the efforts [in learning]. (...) A little boy from Tajikistan was motivated by this. He had bad notes at the beginning but later had a final annual certificate with honours. When I read it on stage, I cried and he did! I was so proud of him!* (Female teacher, South-East Poland)

Moreover, teachers referred to a need to find interactive participatory methods to activate pupils. Of high importance was also the issue of the accessibility of classes by taking into account the religious and cultural holidays which prevent them from participation in lessons. During this time, as one teacher admits, "*Classes are simply suspended, they have their holidays and they celebrate*".

Recognition of agency?

The literature on the agency of migrant children (Thompson et al., 2019) reflects a dichotomy present in popular discourse: children from migrant backgrounds are seen either as victims (deprived of self-determination, forced to migrate) or as criminals (unlawful agents, most often about unaccompanied migrants). This approach emphasises either the vulnerability of migrant children or the challenge of child migration for the host country by extending the school environment. Such an approach may lead to the complexity of migrant children's agency being overlooked, and in particular, the nuanced and diverse expressions of subjectivity, and the multiplicity of experiences young migrants find themselves in. Therefore, in the following analysis, we go beyond this binary model, drawing attention to those situations that were not necessarily interpreted as expressions of children's agency by our interlocutors, but which demonstrate how the Polish school constructs students' subjectivity.

The collected material illustrates three distinct contexts in which children's subjectivity and decision-making become the direct or indirect subject of teachers' reflections. The first context unfolds when teachers perceive children's agency as important e.g. in the construction of new forms of communication, something that is crucial for the development and maintenance of peer relationships. This area was the least frequently mentioned during the interviews and usually applies to migrant children from neighbouring countries. One example was given by a teacher of English who talked about her students in this way, noting that children, on their initiative, had installed and used apps to communicate with a student who does not speak Polish:

> *Our kids have launched all these different translators and applications. They launched the translators and applications because they were then able to talk on the phone and explained that they were talking to her. They looked after her very well.* (Female teacher, Kraków).

In this context, the teachers also mention extra-curricular activities, willingly initiated by migrant students, making friends or participating in daily school activities. What distinguishes this context from others is the emphasis on the bottom-up, unforced initiative of the migrant students and non-migrant students. This is also the case in the following example, which demonstrates a migrant boy's initiative in making friends with other boys by talking about the war in Ukraine:

> *I have a boy in the fifth grade, and (...) I forget that he is in the class, he has integrated with the children so well. He immediately won the sympathy of the boys, because he talked a lot about the war. Everything was about shooting, all the drawings were about war, because it was the time of the aggression in Crimea. (...) This influenced the sympathy of the boys, who accepted him with all his military ideas.* (Female teacher, Kraków).

The second context refers to the situation in which the teachers emphasize the competence, skills, and abilities of migrant children, indirectly indicating their agency in shaping their educational path. The interviewees point to the high level of peer and social integration, the cooperation between the children, and the involvement of migrant students in school activities:

> *They* [a girl and a boy attending the 2nd-grade class the respondent teaches – authors] *spend time more with Polish children, here at school. M. has a friend ... S. gets involved in the boys' games and is very popular* (Female teacher, Kraków).

However, there are many references to migrant students having to be persuaded by a teacher to, e.g. take part in a game or a school festival. Then the migrant pupil is portrayed as "active," "involved," friendly, and open. This is especially evident when working with refugee children whose cultural "otherness" is further emphasized. The following quote illustrates this:

> *We had some preparation for the teachers' day and we danced a Belgian dance. One girl refused to shake a boy's hand. I started talking to her, I showed her videos that in other dances you can touch each other and nobody gets hurt. I told her: "Here, the boys won't hurt you either. Just put your hand closer to his hand." And she tried. The dance turned out very nice* (Female teacher, South-East Poland).

Agency is thus seen here as conforming to the teacher's expectations, accepting the teacher's vision of the student's role. The opposite situation rarely occurs – in the situation when it is the migrant student who takes the initiative, and their idea is recognised by the teacher. It can be assumed that this is a conditional recognition of agency – if migrant students fit into the roles provided by the school system, their agency will be recognised. The greater the refusal to participate (and at the same time the pressure to take part) is based on gender, cultural, or religious differences, the more problematic such situations become.

The last context refers to peer group conflicts. The teachers most often refer to the initial difficulties that all students experience when they welcome students with a migrant background into their class. In this context, anger, frustration, aggression, and mutual misunderstanding are mentioned. This is illustrated by the statement of one teacher working primarily with refugee children:

> *For our Polish children, in the beginning, the lack of information* [about the foreign children] *resulted in a certain distancing. They* [refugee children] *in the beginning reacted aggressively to the type of trick, even though it was nothing like that, but they felt bad, insecure, and so they reacted accordingly. However, with time our children learned to treat*

> *them normally. (...) The fact that their culture was brought closer to them made the children accept this situation* (Female teacher, South-East Poland).

A simple expression of anger or unwillingness to participate in certain school activities is hardly ever interpreted as an expression of the child's agency in conscious refusing to participate in the activity. This is particularly evident in narratives referring to refugee children, children from a distant cultural context, or those with very poor Polish language skills. The example below that is related to a migrant student illustrates this way of perceiving a child's agency. Her means of communication – refusal, anger, or jokes – are not perceived by the teacher as an expression of subjectivity, but rather as an expression of character and difficulty resulting from the lack of language skills.

> *I would rather say that this is about her character, our girl* [from a Sub Saharan African country] *is very stubborn, and she can argue with me and sometimes she has to be brought down to earth, so that she doesn't argue with the teacher (...). She is a maturing girl, I said that this is not the way we talk, that it's not polite to take offence at the teacher like that (...). She gets upset. I suspect that it results from the language barrier. The Ukrainians do not have a barrier to the same extent* (Female teacher, Kraków).

While recognizing children's agency as a key aspect in the shaping of integration policies at the school level, it is worth noting that the three contexts of children's agency discussed above illustrate the experiences of different categories of migrant children; children with a good knowledge of Polish and those just learning the basics of the language; boys and girls; and younger and older children. Teachers' understanding of child agency suggests that empowering children is not a priority in Polish schools. School still rather promotes a sense of 'conforming' to the rules. It can be seen that this applies to all students, but in the case of migrant children it may be further reinforced by the belief that following the rules will make it easier for them to integrate into their new environment – although it would be more correct to call these activities assimilationist (cf. Favell, 2008).

Discussion and conclusions

When migrant children become learners, schools need to adapt their policies and teaching models. Our study illustrates two types of approaches: addressing linguistic and cultural diversity to fill in the gaps in children's knowledge and skills and the whole-child approach. Both approaches are embedded in a framework of national regulations. Yet, the former is developed to a great extent as the top-level strategy that aims at enabling children to take part in school activities up to a point where the learning support provided by school does not require changing the system (e.g. relations between school and parents) and does not have to be addressed. The whole-child approach is mostly a result of individual approaches developed by teachers who have noted the challenges of migrant children, in particular from distinct cultures and religions, and developed their own initiatives/strategies to better integrate children in the educational system. In this context, workshops and training on cultural diversity for teachers are pivotal. They give a possibility to exchange knowledge, discuss challenges and learn about new methods which can be applied during classes. Our study has therefore shown that adopting school and educational programmes rely not only on governance framework and legislation, but also on individual agency of teachers and schools.

The interviews with teachers reveal that migrant pupils' agency, their involvement in school life and their ability to make autonomous decisions are relatively rarely directly reflected upon. Teachers are more likely to talk about children's different behaviours and the degree of how strongly they are 'integrated' into the school environment, but less likely to analyze various school situations through the lens of agency. Most interviewees rather pointed to the roles performed in school relationships, highlighting the better or worse "adjustment" of pupils to educational requirements, the expected level of involvement and participation in peer relationships. Yet, our study contributes to the understanding of children's agency by exploring various contexts in which migrant children's agency might be further developed. Their approach seems to be "one-way", they evaluate – often very positively – to what extent migrant children can find their way in the system, but there is little reflection on the extent to which the school could change because of their presence. The children agency is valued and recognised especially when it fills in the gaps in the support provided by schools or if it is expressed in accordance to teacher's definition of agency, leaving no space for the forms of agency that are more difficult to accept.

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Living up to the intercultural education in a monocultural school. The case of Poland[1]

Abstract: Since Poland joined the EU in 2004, intercultural education has become one of the fundamental goals of the Polish educational system. Many Polish educators believed that it was only through intercultural education that they would be able to teach students necessary skills which would support them in the transition to becoming truly multicultural and cosmopolitan. In other words, intercultural education was perceived as a must for post-socialist CEE countries in order to catch up with Western Europe. Our argument is that intercultural education has been created, developed and implemented in the specific context of Western, multicultural societies. However, our sstandpoint is far from negating its importance and role in education in the 21st century. On the basis of a critical reflection on the Eurocentric approach within educational studies, the problem is outlined of teaching intercultural education "by dry run" in the context of Polish schools – i.e. teaching about global dependencies without a direct link with or presence of cultural "Others", who are usually known only through the media and literary canon. It is indicated that this form of education often fails to serve its goal as it is frequently implemented in a one-sided way: by Polish educators, in monocultural schools, as narrations about Others rather than their presentations through the lens of their experiences, stories or methodologies and so considering the voices from outside thecontext of Central and Eastern European countries.

Keywords: intercultural education, Poland, monocultural school, education about "Others", Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), 'leveraged pedagogy'

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Introduction

Transformations taking place in the contemporary world have turned globalisation into a phenomenon most people are aware of, one that is present in nearly all aspects of daily life, and gives space for intercultural education (Lewowicki, 2021). This education aims to sensitize individuals and society to the situation of Others and to their contexts (Ogrodzka-Mazur, 2001). Since Poland joined the EU in 2004, intercultural education has become one of the goals of the Polish educational system. Many Polish teachers and educators believed that that it was only through intercultural education that they could teach students necessary skills that would support them in the transition to becoming truly multicultural and cosmopolitan. Intercultural education was perceived as a must in order to catch up with Western Europe.

Located in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), Poland is one of the so called new EU member states that have been undergoing continuous post-socialist transition in order to fit into the West. One of the predicaments is creating a new national identity that would transpose the dominant discourse, according to which the West is ‘civic’, ‘liberal, and ‘good’, while the East ‘ethnic’, ‘populist’ and ‘bad’ (Zubrzycki, 2001, p. 629). Intercultural education was believed to be the key to achieve this change, as “[it] views cultures as dynamic and evolving, warning against seeing culture as static and deterministic” (Sikorskaya, 2017, p. 9).

Intercultural education was developed as a tool of ideological change in EU countries and as an element of strategies designed by the Council of Europe and the European Union oriented towards integration and mutual understanding of diverse groups of EU residents and migrants (Pukin, 2019). In this article, intercultural education is addressed as a challenge for a monocultural post-socialist society (Nikitorowicz et al., 2001). The ability to implement intercultural education is one of the tests that CEE countries have to pass in order to move towards Western Europe. Our argument is that intercultural education has been created, developed and implemented in the Western context of multicultural societies (Forgahni-Arani et al., 2013). On the basis of a critical reflection on the Eurocentric approach within educational studies, the problem is outlined of teaching intercultural education “by dry run” in the context of Polish schools – i.e. teaching about global dependencies without a direct link with or presence of cultural “Others”, who are usually known only through the media and literary canon. Due attention is drawn to the failure to use this pedagogical tool as it is frequently implemented in a one-sided way: by Polish teachers and educators, in monocultural schools, as narrations about Others rather than presentations of them (with them) and their research, approaches, voices, theories, methodologies, or practices from outside the context of Central and Eastern European countries.

The article starts with an introduction to the context of implementing and developing intercultural education in Poland as an EU member state, and showing the complicated nature of intercultural education on the level of its definition (part of the global educational strategy), implementation of the theory and educational practices as well as its politicization. Then, the borderland nature of Poland is discussed, which, on the one hand, longs for what is Western and liberal, while on the other hand, clings to traditional, nation-centric categories of looking at and thinking about the closer and more distant world. In order to understand this contradictory nature, the practice is presented of implementing intercultural education in monocultural schools[2], as well as the challenges and dilemmas it causes.

The complicated nature of intercultural education

Global education, of which intercultural education is a part, is an unambiguous term. Jerzy Nikitorowicz explains global education as a new philosophical trend based on liberal perspectives and arising from globalisation processes in various areas of human functioning. He perceives it as education aiming to develop global citizenship, awareness of global problems and ways of solving them, to popularize achievements in science and global culture and to uproot xenophobia and prejudice (Nikitorowicz, 2009, p. 251). Hence, its definition as holistic and universal in the space of people's global and local functioning. Nikitorowicz also argues that "global education is sometimes treated as multicultural education which, through its fight with monoculturalism, introduced cultural pluralism to schools to compensate for educational deficiencies of children and adolescents from minority groups" (2009, p. 257). This important statement reveals its heterogenous nature, encompassing both majority and minority groups, including groups with refugee and migration background.

[2] The term monocultural school refers to the little diversity (compared to Western EU countries) of Polish schools in terms of nationality, ethnicity and culture (this concerns both students and the teaching staff).

The implementation of global education topics on various levels of education, in different countries and in culturally and nationally diverse school and preschool environments, is carried out in a similar – non-homogenous and multidimensional – way. Practice of monocultural schools shows how many difficulties it poses. It is so because the content of global education and its assumptions can be (and often are) interpreted through the lens of one correct civilizational, cultural and world-view context (including religion). Moreover, its content is transmitted as knowledge "about others", usually in a non-participative way, and so without the participation of individuals representing a particular country, culture or community. It would then be reasonable to carry out some research diagnosing teachers' needs (and not only theirs) and ways in which this type of education is implemented in Polish schools as "dry-run" education.

The implementation of intercultural (and wider: global) education in Poland, strictly connected with the presence of Poland in the EU, is an embodiment of ideological postulates of education for sustainable development the aim of which is to transform the learning process and to educate conscious "global citizens" with the competences (e.g. global awareness) to actively participate in the "global civic society". The basis for this message lies in *The 2002* Maastricht *Global Education Declaration*, which is a peculiar global tool for the creation of European education policy remaining in the trend of globalization. It argues that the educational process "is not neutral in terms of world view, is not objective, unbiased or politically unengaged" (Jasikowska, 2011, p. 97).

The agreement on supporting the development of global education in Poland signed on 26th May 2011 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Education and Grupa Zagranica, officially acknowledged the importance of this type of education, including it in the curriculum of general education. Signed by several crucial (in terms of implementing global education) institutions in Poland, the agreement included an important element: a declaration relating to the introduction and application of the definition of global education.

The dialogue referring to the implementation of the postulates of global education in Poland (the abovementioned document being its result) was held within social consultations made possible through the cooperation between 30 different institutions and lasted several months. Among the participants of this process were representatives of the teaching staff, methodology counsellors and consultants, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, education authorities, universities and NGOs. It was bottom-up work oriented towards creating a certain conceptual framework that could facilitate global educational activities (coherent with Poland's international involvement in developmental aid) in Polish schools in cooperation with non-governmental organisations.

Longing to the West

It was the 1st May 2004 when Poland joined the European Union. In a referendum that had been organised a year earlier the vast majority of Polish citizens (77%) voted in favour of this. EU membership meant not only a symbolic break from the USSR umbrella of influence, but also raised high hopes for a better and more prosperous life. Since then, the next years have been marked with a permanent longing to catch up with the West(ern Europe). Even nowadays, with sweeping authoritarianism of the conservative right-wing Prawo i Sprawiedliwość [Law and Justice] party that had managed to win the hearts and minds of Polish electors, the references to the West are still making headlines of political speeches. In fact, Jarosław Kaczyński, the leader of this party, kept repeating that "Poles deserve a similar standard of living as in the West" (PolskieRadio24.pl, 2019), and they are "rightfully convinced that they deserve a similar standard of living as in the West" (PAP, 2021).

These two examples refer only to the economic dimension, yet the reference is clear and indicates the willingness to catch up. While culturally Poland is currently engaged in strengthening its national identity that is coined around the triad: ethnicity, Polishness and Catholic religion, back at the beginning of the 21st century, catching up culturally and socially with the West had also been considered crucial. Only then could Poles be considered truly European. This narrative became the core of what Napiórkowski (2019) labelled as soft-patriotism. It had been about embracing European norms and values, looking optimistically towards the future, cosmopolitism and openness, and blatant longing to be recognised by the "European Other" (Napiórkowski, 2019, p. 45). By entering the European Community Poland had chosen to embrace a new type of national identity – one that is based on common citizenship rather than ethnicity or tradition (Goździak and Márton, 2018), and is open and inclusive to others. Moreover, this way it could maybe move closer to the core of the EU from the semi-peripheral position that is has been occupying (Starnawski, 2015).

Longing for recognition by the "European Other" indicates the difficult position of Poland within the EU. While being formally within the EU, it still belongs to the Eastern part of Europe. As Spencer and Wollman argue (2002, p. 45), the division into the East and the West has never been purely geographical, but rather served as containers that could have been filled in with different content. In fact, Central and Eastern Europe was believed to be in a permanent state of transition for the last century (Szakolczai, 1996). However, after the collapse of the USSR, this transition acquired a new meaning – Central and Eastern Europe became an object of Western pedagogy and claimed to be in a state of permanent post-communism with the ultimate goal of catching up and becoming a part of the West (Kulpa, 2014).

The causes of this situation are very complex. Among crucial ones are: "difficult knowledge" and difficult collective memory referring to the partitions, two world wars, displacement, migration and refugeeism, and finally communism and socialism. Decades of destroying the cultural and ethnic diversity or treating it as folklore reinforced the antagonism and resentment between the majority and minorities as well as between minorities. Building on the opposition "us – them", "in-group – out-group" and the fear of strangers, based on their stereotypical images repeatedly recreated in the media (Kofta and Narkiewicz-Jodko, 2014), have led to the demonization of foreigners (Pasamonik, 2017) and deepened further opposition to the division between the Global North and the Global South. This has laid down an uneasy ground for intercultural education in Poland. However, it is not the only problem. The other is the monocultural character of Polish schools.

Monocultural school

Against the background of other EU countries Poland stands out as having very few members of national and ethnic minorities. Migrants and refugees make up only a few per cent of the 38 million population. Apart from migrants from the East (Ukraine, Belarus), other groups are barely visible in the public sphere, even though migrants and refugees have been relatively highly exposed in the media for political reasons, with the effect of reinforcing barriers, prejudice and fear of strangers (Pasamonik, 2017). All these elements make up a contradictive image of social and educational context in which the assumptions of global education are implemented. On the one hand, one deals with the implementation of the postulate of schools open for all, providing knowledge about diversity, multiculturalism and EU values. On the other hand, one can see conservative, nationalistic education in monocultural schools, based not on the potential of similarities and diversity, but on highlighting differences and antagonisms. This trend is visible in core curricula (undergoing constant reforms) that change open schools into oppressive, traditional schools. In this kind of schools, there is no space or safe possibility to conduct lessons on diversity, or non-discriminatory education, which is so crucial for shaping students' and adults' global competences.

In 2008, the Year of Intercultural Dialogue was introduced by the Council of Europe. The foundation of the intercultural dialogue were intercultural competences that one had to acquire in the formal and non-formal educational framework (Pukin, 2019). Global education has been perceived as one of the ways of entering the European melting pot. As soon as Poland joined the EU, global education became part of the school curriculum (Dąbrowa and Markowska-Manista, 2010). It was an enormous challenge for the educational system not only because there was hardly any content available in the curricula that taught young Poles how to act as Polish nationals, rather than how to be European, but also due to the fact that openness and recognition of various minorities were relatively new phenomena in Poland (Walat, 2006, pp. 183–184). Other cultures were endorsed, and met with the interest of students and teachers.

Since most of schools lacked capacity to deliver classes in global education, this role was taken by NGOs which delivered educational workshops and activities in classrooms. Textbooks and brochures summarising essential knowledge about other cultures were prepared and published for teachers. Intercultural or International Days were organised at schools with students presenting more or less distant cultures and countries. Gradually, trainings in global education for teachers started to be implemented and a team of regional coordinators of global education was created. The coordinators were working for social change based on shaping social and civic competences in school education. Projects were initiated that aimed to raise teachers' competences in implementing global education during school lessons as well as to support students in implementing their own projects related to global problems (e.g. within global education week). These initiatives followed the premise that in the context of global education, the responsibility of schools is to raise learners' awareness of global interdependencies and so make students aware of the fact that with their attitudes, daily choices or absence of reactions, every person has impact on Others and their situation.

Teaching intercultural education 'by dry run'

While a lot of attention has been dedicated in global education to embracing other cultures and learning about them, Polish school has witnessed one significant challenge: lack of contact with multiculturalism or other cultures. The whole process of introducing global education has been done 'by dry run' – without any real exposure to other cultures, especially from outside Central and Eastern Europe (Górak-Sosnowska, 2016). The students who presented other countries during Intercultural or International Days at schools had never been to these countries, nor had they been living in another country for a longer period of time. The Internet might provide them with exposure to the outside world and people who live abroad, but this does not substitute developing intercultural competences (Wach, 2013). The teachers who supported them, or taught about other cultures, had similarly limited experiences.

Numerous questions arise here about the sources of contemporary teachers' knowledge about cultural diversity, their possibilities of accessing reliable information and the most recent research or international literary fiction, and about the ways in which they verify the information. Róg (2015) indicates that Polish teachers who work in bilingual kindergartens lack relevant knowledge about the native and target culture to address culturally-marked situations. Moreover, intercultural education is absent from many available kindergarten teacher training courses offered by Polish HEIs. While this might be the dominant picture, some positive examples of teachers able to increase the intercultural competences of their students exist as well (e.g. Szczurek-Boruta, 2013; Suchocka, 2016).

Only the NGO sector had wider experiences, as it could build on expertise of travellers, volunteers, social workers who worked in other countries, or Poles (in rare cases, foreigners like in the case of the Foundation for Somalia) who had been working with the emerging migrant communities in Poland. Still, they were able to fill in only a small piece of the intercultural educational offer. The EU-funded programmes created a window of opportunity for schools and school teachers to collaborate in cross-cultural, international projects. However, many of these projects were focused on cultural facts approach (tales, food, flora, fauna of other countries), while school exchanges (e.g. via e-Twinning) were perceived primarily as a tool to learn a foreign language, rather than build intercultural awareness (Sowa, 2014,

p. 118). Moreover, foreign exchange programmes are still a rare opportunity for most students, and they are not focused on intercultural competences based on contact hypothesis, interaction and participation, but rather on factual knowledge (Sobkowiak, 2014).

The lack of cultural Others in the society and in school and the traditional style of teaching at Polish schools impacted the way global education content was delivered. It was more oriented to delivering knowledge about other cultures, making students familiar with cultural difference, rather than learning to live together (Kitlińska-Król, 2013, p. 284). The same applies to language textbooks, which also provide a declarative view of other cultures rather than engaging students in an intercultural dialogue and raising their cultural awareness (Sowa, 2014). According to Sobkowiak (2014), in secondary schools foreign languages are taught in a traditional way, via course books, teacher lectures and reading or listening materials in a particular foreign language. Importantly, knowledge "from the world" is still very rarely provided by representatives of particular countries, cultures or communities.

The monocultural nature of Polish schools does not only refer to students, but reflects the cultural monolith of teachers and staff working there. Apart from cultural assistants and foreign language teachers, foreigners are hard to find in this important professional group. Thus, the "dry run" implementation of global education is dealt with here, particularly in the case of intercultural content and without real representatives of an exemplary group, who could illuminate and explain the context related to, for example, the process of refugeeism, migration or slavery. If the goal of global education is to develop students' critical competences and so ontological skills and epistemological assumptions of various viewpoints (Andreotti, 2011), discovering their sociocultural sources and possible consequences in local and global dimensions, let us reflect: to what degree is global education taught in monocultural schools global (Mincer, 2013) and to what extent does it go beyond the local and national discourse?

Conclusions

Fernando Reimers (2009) writes about a "global competency", defining it as the knowledge and skills which people need to understand the contemporary world and to integrate different fields, which will allow them to understand global events and create opportunities to solve them. Global competency also encompasses attitudes and a moral disposition which enable peaceful, respectful and productive interactions with people from different geographical areas.

As signalled in the introduction, the skill of implementing intercultural education in schools and using its potential in the education of generations is one of the tests revealing the stage we (as a society) are at on our path from the local to the global opening to social and cultural diversity. "Dry-run" teaching of intercultural education, characteristic of this part of CEE, in the context of Polish monocultural schools and in the context of ongoing global changes (including the increasing migration movement), reveals a number of challenges and dilemmas. They particularly affect Polish students, who face knowledge at school which very often does not sensitize and does not match the reality. They are provided with knowledge which does not explain differences in education around the world, or protection and violation of human rights, or global dependencies – the knowledge which very rarely shows similarities between cultures and societies.

Moreover, intercultural education has become an unwanted, sensitive, or even conflicting element that goes against the newly designed curriculum which ought to cultivate traditional values in Polish children. Lewowicki (2017, p. 26) indicates that it is much harder to practice intercultural education in Poland nowadays due to the national-Christian ideology that dominates the mainstream discourse and sweeps into education. In an educational space that is *par excellence* exclusive and set to teach one dominant worldview, there is no place for other viewpoints, not to mention minorities and their rights.

The premises for intercultural education at mainstream monocultural Polish schools are as sparse as never after having joined the EU. Not only intercultural competences of teachers have not significantly increased in many cases, but also the atmosphere around intercultural education is getting more and more tense, while the (mis)use of migrants and refugees in political discourse puts an additional burden on introducing such topics in classroom. At the same time the capacities of individual teachers, schools, and educators to deliver a meaningful intercultural education have grown stronger. It was caused by several factors. One was the possibility to develop intercultural education through participation in student and school exchanges with the support of various programmes, often organized by the EU. Another one was necessity – Polish students who remigrated to Poland with their parents after having lived abroad, and migrant or refugee students who came to the class (Markowska-Manista, 2016). Often without proper institutional support, teachers had to manage on their own how to efficiently acculturate these students into the classroom and create an inclusive environment. Moreover, the misuse of migrants and refugees in national politics proved to be a double-edge sword. Next to provoking many Poles against Others, it has also raised awareness of global issues and the importance of intercultural education. It has made intercultural education needed even more than before.

At the same time it seems that the future of intercultural education in Poland is still a political issue, just as it was at the start with Polish access to the EU. It has always been linked to the experiences of Western European countries. So while earlier it was a predicament of joining the West, now it is perceived as a "Trojan horse" that is implementing the values and norms contradictory to the authentic Polish ones. While the link to politics worked well for the development of intercultural education before 2012, it now does the opposite. A way out could be unlinking intercultural education from the Western multicultural framework, and making it a necessary subject on its own. In fact, Polish education has enough experiences with borderland and regional education which build up to the intercultural education experience. Perhaps this way intercultural education could be practiced not by dry run, but via the experience of a multidimensional (geographic, political, post-dependent, and finally concerning humanitarian and humanistic values) borderland.

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Should *grit* be our educational goal? The relationship between *grit* and the mental well-being of youth in North-Eastern Poland

Abstract: The article presents the relationship between the grit factor and the mental well-being of young people recruited from high school students in Podlaskie Voivodeship (n = 275). The study was conducted using the Short Grit Scale (SGS) by A.L. Duckworth, the Psychological Well-Being Scales (PWBS) by C. Ryff and the Cantril's Ladder of Life Scale. The obtained results indicate significant positive relationships of grit with the current assessment of the quality of life and mental well-being in each of the six dimensions measured with C. Ryff's PWBS tool (autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life, and self-acceptance). Since grit is a construct showing positive relationships with well-being and quality of life and a modifiable one – it can be shaped at an early stage of development – it should be considered as an important element when drawing future educational plans.

Keywords: grit, mental well-being, education, youth, borderline

Introduction

Everyone's ultimate goal is happiness and satisfaction with life. This is pursued through education and activity in the professional and private spheres. It is essential to be aware that education is a means to happiness and well-being. When planning educational activities, particular emphasis should therefore be placed on those aspects that increase children and young people's chances of happiness in their present and future lives. If one describes the main aims of education in this way, one should look particularly closely at all those factors that can support children and young people's sense of happiness and psychological well-being.

In recent years, several studies have emerged indicating the associations of grit and perseverance of effort with psychological well-being. Grit is a construct consisting of two aspects: *perseverance of effort* (PE) and *consistency* of *interest* (CI). This construct was introduced and popularised in the field of educational research by A.L. Duckworth (Duckworth et al., 2007). The grit factor, defined as persistence and passion in achieving long-term goals (Duckworth, 2016), is a significant predictor of many aspects of psychological well-being, such as satisfaction with life, a sense of harmony, lower risk of depression or less frequent feelings of anxiety (Vainio and Daukantaitė, 2016; Datu et al., 2018; Musumari et al., 2018; Disabato, Goodman and Kashdan, 2019). Exploring further reports confirming significant associations of grit with psychological well-being among people from different cultures, our goal was to see if the studies of learners from North-Eastern Poland would establish similar relationships. This region is an interesting place for research exploration due to its location at the confluence of borders, the high cultural, social, and religious diversity of its inhabitants, the quite widespread presence of national and ethnic minorities, and the historical influences of different cultures on the current identity of the region.

Psychological well-being and functioning in the school environment

The primary developmental task of the school-age child, as conceptualised by Robert Havighurst (1972), is an adaptation to a new environment and the development of basic skills, i.e. reading, writing, learning, establishing peer relationships, shaping independence and attitudes towards institutions and social groups (Przetacznik-Gierowska, 1996). School, at least potentially, also has the task of preparing a person for a profession through education adapted to developmental regularities. Entering this social space, which is new for the child, should be stimulating but is also connected with a crisis due to the individual, personal nature of adaptation processes. Researchers into adaptation processes emphasize the importance of factors such as the requirements set by school (Nurmi, 2012), the child's developmental level in terms of skills necessary for education, the level of social and emotional development, and the level of motivation to learn and self-confidence (Filipiak, 2005; Kielar-Turska, 2011; Franicka and Liberska, 2015).

Despite numerous attempts to operationalize the category, the concept of psychological well-being is not clear-cut, either in its definition or in the factors that construct it. The two main philosophical currents specifying the essence of well-being, i.e. the hedonistic and eudaimonic, differ in showing the basis of its formation. The hedonistic view emphasises that the source of a positive mental state, manifested by a high level of satisfaction with life, is the predominance of positive feelings over negative ones and the occurrence of a so-called generalized sense of happiness (Kossakowska and Zadworna, 2019). The eudaimonic understanding of psychological well-being locates the source of high quality of life in the sense of agency, autonomy, development, self-fulfilment and involvement (Ilska and Kołodziej-Zaleska, 2018).

The sense of well-being felt by the child in the school environment is conditioned, on the one hand, by reinforcements from teachers regarding academic progress and, on the other hand, by the sense of acceptance coming from the peer group (Liberska, 2014). A feedback loop can be observed here, according to which a sense of well-being stimulates the development of the child's activity towards satisfactory functioning as a student and member of the peer group, directly resulting in positive self-esteem. This corresponds to the Eriksonian dilemma of the developmental period at the early school stage, i.e. diligence *vs* feelings of inferiority, which, in the case of success, leads to the child's gaining competence and a boost to self-esteem. School should be a place where the young person discovers and consolidates their own potential and derives satisfaction from their activity (Sadowska, 2021). The educational reality, however, can be very different. A frequent dilemma for students is whether they should unreflectively accept the framework of 'normality' into which the educational system forces them or whether they should develop in harmony with themselves, which increases their chances of achieving psychological well-being. This is a contradiction of sorts since a high level of psychological well-being is essential for functioning well in the school environment and therefore conducive to achieving the 'good student' status so desirable from the point of view of the educational system.

Grit and psychological well-being

Research reports confirming the associations of grit with various indicators of well-being and mental health have appeared in the world literature for several years. Jiang and his team (2020) conducted a large-scale study on a group of almost three thousand Chinese students in adolescence, showing a positive association of grit with life satisfaction and positive affect and a negative one with negative affect. Datu (Datu et al., 2018) in a study of Filipino high school students, found a positive correlation between grit with the presence of a sense of life and a negative correlation with indicators of depression. In a series of studies conducted in subsequent years by Datu and colleagues (Datu et al., 2021), it was shown that: among Japanese students, one aspect of grit – perseverance of effort – was positively correlated with socio-psychological well-being, termed psychological *flourishing*; perseverance of effort was positively correlated with life satisfaction in a group of Filipino and Polish students; and among Filipino workers in various sectors, perseverance of effort and adaptability to situations were significant predictors of psychological flourishing. Weisskirch (2019), while studying American learners, found an association of two aspects of grit – perseverance of effort and consistency of interest – with levels of self-esteem and happiness (positive correlation) and their negative correlation with symptoms of depression. Similar results were found in a group of Swedish students, where grit correlated positively with psychological well-being, a sense of harmony in life and life satisfaction (Vainio and Daukantaitė, 2016). Research conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic also points to grit as a potential protective factor in difficult and stressful situations for young people, through its importance in counteracting apathy or maintaining physical activity and consequently reducing levels of depression (Kolemba, 2021; Totosy de Zepetnek et al., 2021; Liu et al., 2022).

The study

Previous research on the grit factor indicates that it is significantly related to psychological well-being. This study aimed to empirically verify the associations of grit with adolescent well-being in eudaimonic terms, in a situation where factors that are a potential threat to adolescents' positive psycho-physical well-being are exacerbated, because some researchers consider psychological well-being as a vital indicator of adaptability to various critical events (Ryff, 2014, 2017). This was the situation during the period of remote education and social isolation enforced by the epidemic situation during the first wave of Covid-19. Statistical analyses were performed using the IBM SPSS Statistics 26 package.

Procedure and participants

The survey covered 275 secondary school students from Bielsk Podlaski and Białystok (163 women and 112 men). The survey implementation coincided with the first wave of restrictions caused by the Covid-19 virus in 2020. The students ranged in age from 16 to 19.

The survey was implemented electronically using the google forms tool. A link to the survey with instructions was provided to students via the platforms used in remote education: Librus and MS Teams.

Measures

The study used the Ryff *Psychological Well-Being Scales* – Polish adaptation (Karaś and Cieciuch, 2017), the Cantril's Ladder of Life Scale and the Duckworth Short Grit Scale (SGS) – Polish adaptation Wyszyńska et al. (2017).

The Psychological Wellbeing Scales (PWBS) measures six dimensions of psychological well-being: self-acceptance, autonomy, environmental mastery, positive relations with others, purpose in life and personal growth. The version used in the study contains 18 items to which the respondent responds on a six-point scale where 1 means 'strongly disagree' and 6 means 'strongly agree'.

The Short Grit Scale (SGS), in its Polish adaptation (Wyszyńska et al., 2017), is used to measure the grit factor and consists of eight statements to which the respondent responds on a five-point scale, where 1 means 'doesn't apply to me at all' and 5 means' fully applies to me'. The short grit scale allows for the calculation of an overall grit value, as well as the importance of the two factors comprising this construct: perseverance of effort (PE) and consistency of interest (CI). In the Polish adaptation, the two-dimensional structure of grit was confirmed, as well as the scale's satisfactory reliability and external validity.

Cantril's Ladder of Life Scale is a simple tool for assessing the quality of life (Levin and Currie, 2014). The respondent considers their life at present and marks a response on a scale from 0 – 10, where 10 represents the best life possible, and 0 represents the worst life the respondent can imagine. Responses of 6 or more are assumed to indicate satisfaction with life, while ratings of less than 6 are attributed to those who are dissatisfied with their lives.

Results

The results confirm the positive association of grit with the current assessment of quality of life and psychological well-being in each of its six dimensions measured by C. Ryff's PWBS tool. Ryff (self-acceptance, autonomy, environmental mastery, positive relations with others, purpose in life and personal growth). Table 1 presents the results with two aspects of grit: consistency of interest and perseverance of effort.

Table 1. Grit and psychological well-being (N=275)

	Psychological well-being	Autonomy	*Environmental mastery*	*Personal growth*	*Positive relations with others*	*Purpose* in *life*	Self-acceptance	Satisfaction with current life
Grit	**.40****	.23**	**.36****	.20**	.20**	.13*	**.38****	.23**
Grit – consistency of interest	.31**	.11	.28**	.12*	.22**	.11	**.32****	.12*
Grit – perseverance of effort	**.34****	.27**	**.31****	.21**	.10	.11	**.30****	.26**

** Correlation is significant at the level 0.01 (two-sided). *Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 (two-sided)

In the group of surveyed students, general psychological well-being as defined by C. Ryff showed a positive correlation with both total grit ($r = 0.40$; $p < 0.01$) and both aspects of grit ($r = 0.31$; $p < 0.01$ for consistency of interest and $r = 0.34$; $p < 0.01$ for perseverance of effort). Each of the six dimensions of well-being showed positive relationships with grit (autonomy ($r = 0.23$; $p < 0.01$), environmental mastery ($r = 0.36$; $p < 0.01$), personal growth ($r = 0.20$; $p < 0.01$), positive relations with others ($r = 0.20$; $p < 0.01$), purpose in life ($r = 0.13$; $p < 0.05$) self-acceptance ($r = 0.38$; $p < 0.01$) and level of satisfaction with one's current life ($r = 0.23$; $p < 0.01$). Consistency of interests correlated significantly with: environmental mastery ($r = 0.28$; $p < 0.01$), personal growth ($r = 0.12$; $p < 0.05$), positive relations with others ($r = 0.22$; $p < 0.01$), self-acceptance ($r = 0.32$; $p < 0.01$) and with satisfaction with one's current life ($r = 0.12$; $p < 0.05$). The aspect of perseverance of effort showed a significant correlation with: autonomy ($r = 0.27$; $p < 0.01$), environmental mastery ($r = 0.31$; $p < 0.01$), personal growth ($r = 0.21$; $p < 0.01$), self-acceptance ($r = 0.30$; $p < 0.01$) and with the level of satisfaction with one's current life ($r = 0.26$; $p < 0.01$).

Table 2 shows the relationship between grit and both aspects of grit with individual dimensions of psychological well-being by gender.

Table 2 Grit and psychological well-being in a group of women (N=163) and men (N=112)

		Psychological well-being	Autonomy	*Environmental mastery*	*Personal growth*	*Positive relations with others*	*Purpose* in *life*	Self-acceptance	Satisfaction with current life
Grit	Females	**.37****	.22**	**.35****	.13	.19*	.15	**.33****	.20**
	Males	**.45****	.24*	**.37****	**.33****	.24*	.15	**.45****	.25**
Grit – consistency of interest	Females	.29**	.07	.32**	.10	.20**	.06	**.32****	.17*
	Males	**.34****	.17	.21*	.17	.25**	.20*	**.31****	.06
Grit – perseverance of effort	Females	**.32****	**.32****	.24**	.10	.09	.20*	.21**	.16*
	Males	**.37****	.20*	**.38****	.35**	.12	.03	**.40****	**.35****

** Correlation is significant at the level 0.01 (two-sided). *Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 (two-sided)

Positive associations between the level of total grit and overall psychological well-being were found in both the groups of women ($r = 0.37$; $p < 0.01$) and men ($r = 0.45$; $p < 0.01$). Similarly, the associations of well-being with the consistency of interest ($r = 0.29$; $p < 0.01$ – for women and $r = 0.34$; $p < 0.01$ – for men), and perseverance of effort ($r = 0.32$; $p < 0.01$ – for women and $r = 0.37$; $p < 0.01$ – or men). Significant associations were also found between grit and: autonomy ($r = 0.22$; $p < 0.01$), environmental mastery ($r = 0.35$; $p < 0.01$), positive relations with others ($r = 0.19$; $p < 0.05$) self-acceptance ($r = 0.33$; $p < 0.01$) and satisfaction with one's current life ($r = 0.20$; $p < 0.01$) in the female group and autonomy ($r = 0.24$; $p < 0.01$), environmental mastery ($r = 0.37$; $p < 0.01$), personal growth ($r = 0.33$; $p < 0.01$), positive relations with others ($r = 0.24$; $p < 0.05$), self-acceptance ($r = 0.45$; $p < 0.01$) and level of satisfaction with one's current life ($r = 0.25$; $p < 0.01$) in the male group. In the area of consistency of interest, significant relationships were found with: environmental mastery ($r = 0.32$; $p < 0.01$), positive relations with others ($r = 0.20$; $p < 0.01$) self-acceptance ($r = 0.32$; $p < 0.01$) and level of satisfaction with one's current life ($r = 0.17$; $p < 0.05$) in the women's group and environmental mastery ($r = 0.21$; $p < 0.05$), positive relations with others ($r = 0.25$; $p < 0.01$), purpose in life ($r = 0.20$; $p < 0.05$) and self-acceptance ($r = 0.31$; $p < 0.01$) in the men's group. The aspect of perseverance of effort was significantly correlated with: autonomy ($r = 0.32$; $p < 0.01$), environmental mastery ($r = 0.24$; $p < 0.01$), purpose in life ($r = 0.20$;

$p < 0.05$), self-acceptance ($r = 0.21$; $p < 0.01$) and satisfaction with one's current life ($r = 0.16$; $p < 0.05$) in the women's group and autonomy ($r = 0.20$; $p < 0.05$), environmental mastery ($r = 0.38$; $p < 0.01$), personal growth ($r = 0.35$; $p < 0.01$), self-acceptance ($r = 0.40$; $p < 0.01$) and level of satisfaction with one's current life ($r = 0.35$; $p < 0.01$) in the men's group.

Discussion

The research results, obtained from a group of students recruited from secondary schools in the Podlaskie Voivodeship, clearly confirm the strong relations of grit with many aspects of well-being. Both grit and its facets – consistency of interest and perseverance of effort – correlate positively with psychological well-being and evaluation of current life. Of the six aspects of well-being measured by the PWBS scale by C. Ryff, grit is most strongly related to mastery over one's environment and self-acceptance. These results are fully supported by how high levels of grit translate into coping with life's challenges, effectiveness in achieving long-term goals and the ability to overcome difficulties. Individuals characterised by high levels of grit, due to not giving up in the face of challenges and setbacks and the ability to sustain a commitment to the action taken, experience more situations that can be characterized in terms of success. Environmental mastery is recognised by Ryff (1989) as a key to an individual's development of a sense of competence and agency and coping with challenges posed by the environment, and self-acceptance – an aspect linked to optimal functioning – with a realistic but also positive attitude towards oneself. More frequent experience of situations that can be interpreted in terms of success or coping with a task should have (and as the data indicate, does have) a direct impact on the sense of competence and positive self-perception. Regarding gender differences, it is noteworthy that for one aspect of well-being, personal growth, the relation with grit – in practice, the relation with the perseverance of effort (PE) – was found to be significant only in the male group. As the aspect of personal growth is related to the feeling that the challenges undertaken lead to an increase in competence and improvement of one's skills, this result may have been influenced by the respondents' reported relatively high commitment to physical activity and the pursuit of training goals, particularly concerning young men. In addition, higher levels of grit are associated among both young women and men with general well-being, autonomy, environmental mastery, self-acceptance, positive relations with others, and evaluation of the quality of one's current life.

Conclusions

The title of the article poses the question whether grit should be an educational goal. If we include among the purposes of education the support of each student on the path to happiness, development and maintaining a high level of psychological well-being, then undoubtedly, the grit construct is worth attention. High levels of grit, as the research shows, can act as a protective factor against depression and emotional disorders (Weisskirch, 2019; Liu et al., 2022). The associations of grit with psychological well-being, level of self-esteem or sense of harmony and satisfaction with life, are indisputable and are confirmed by reports from studies conducted around the world and among different cultures (Vainio and Daukantaitė, 2016; Jiang et al., 2020; Datu et al., 2021). Notably, the grit factor is a malleable construct (Duckworth, 2016), and this means that we can shape it from the early stages of education and effectively develop it in students so that it becomes a resource to support them in their educational, private and, in the future, professional spaces. Knowing these facts, the grit factor is undoubtedly worth effort at every stage of education.

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GLOBAL CHALLENGES OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

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Global challenges of education for sustainable development

Abstract: The awareness of the society that it is responsible for what the nature looks like, as well as for developing human relations, results in the popularization of the idea of sustainable development. The aim of thos study is to present an analysis of the literature on the subject focused on the description of the reality and possible directions of changes in education, considering it as global challenges in three aspects of sustainable development: the economic, ecological and social. The greatest challenge today is to create a multidimensional view of a constantly deepening social and environmental crisis. The change that should be made in education should concern the processes that are aimed at combining the three aspects and at balancing their importance. The essence of education for sustainable development was shown in shaping the values, empathy and awareness that are needed to act for society, as well as the environment and the economy on a global scale.

Keywords: intercultural education, sustainable development, society, environment, economy, global challenges

Introduction

It remains in the interests of man and the environment, that many radical changes in human behavior should be introduced. The most important challenges facing the modern world include: reducing consumption, combating poverty and hunger, promoting a healthy lifestyle, reducing the constantly growing number of the population, and reducing environmental pollution. This is why the UNESCO countries have adopted education for sustainable development as an action plan for people, planet and welfare (*Sustainable* *development*, n.a) in order to meet their own needs and not to deprive them of the possibility of meeting them by future generations, as well as to maintain the natural, economic and social balance. As observed by Wals and Kieft (2010, p. 18), the role of education is not only to enable social change, but also to deepen the ability to assess different global and intergenerational problems.

Sustainable development

In 1987, the report *Our Common Future*, otherwise known as the Brundtland report, defined the concept of *sustainable development* understood as *sustainable stable development* for the first time. In Poland, however, the adopted definition of sustainable development meant a development that satisfies the needs of the present generations, without undermining the possibility of satisfying the needs of the next generations (Kafel, 2007, p. 15). Currently, there are around 300 definitions of sustainable development. According to Kafel (*ibid.*, p. 15), the first Polish definition was created by ecological movements and was the following: *sustainable development, also called eco-development (...) is where people predict the limitations related to the finiteness of the planet and the rhythm of nature independent of humans (...). It is a strategy for achieving a dignified life within what is physically and biologically possible. It guarantees that the basic needs of the present and future generations are met, while maintaining the durability of the natural environment and the natural diversity of both species and ecosystems.*

The definition adopted in 1992 and still in force today comes from the Second United Nations Conference: *Environment and Development*, and says that: *sustainable development is a strategy of ecological, social, technical and technological and organizational transformations, the aim of which is to achieve a rational and sustainable level of social prosperity, allowing it to be passed on to future generations without fear of the risk of destruction of natural resources and ecosystems* (UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, 1993). Sustainable development is currently a factor co-shaping the next stage of civilizational development. Following Hull (2008, p. 27), its goals should be developed so that their implementation would lead to the balancing of economic and social processes, taking into account the possibilities of the natural environment. Batorczak (2013, p. 35) sees sustainable development as an idea whose main task is not to repair the damage caused by excessive exploitation of the environment, but to educate how to manage the resources of nature. Kostecka (2009, p. 101) observes that this concept refers to environmental awareness treated equally to the infrastructure necessary for further socio-economic development. In 2015, the 2030 Agenda that describes seventeen sustainable development goals was adopted. The countries of the Global South and Global North have made a decision to commit to these goals and promote prosperity while respecting the planet (UNESCO, 2017, p. 6).

Education for sustainable development

Batorczak (2013, p. 22) remarks that a necessary condition for the implementation of sustainable development is education, because society is the object and subject of building this process (Prandecki, 2011, p. 180). A change of human nature should take place and a redefinition of most of human views in order to adapt them to new requirements. The aim of such education is to educate a person who, while being a conscious citizen of the world, not only fights for order and peace on the Earth but is also a responsible consumer of goods (Konieczny, 2020, p. 55).

According to Kostecka (2009, p. 102), the global tasks of education for sustainable development should include:

- promotion and improvement of the quality of teaching, which is aimed at acquiring knowledge and skills necessary for action,
- shaping social awareness, implementing the principles of sustainable development in everyday life,
- creating new education based on stimulating motivation and value development,
- conducting lifelong learning.

Adopting the above principles means striving for a new development of education, departing from its narrow understanding associated with the intellect, and adopting a new developmental paradigm based on combining the issues searched for and found in economic, social and environmental education. Their implementation should be based on the transfer and shaping of values such as good, empathy, honesty, love (Borys, 2010, p. 59). Thus, according to Prandecki (2011, p. 192), education for sustainable development should shape the development of thinking and direct teaching in such a way as to teach how to think and not what to think. It influences the development of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes. It is a transformative and holistic learning throughout life integrating content, requiring a shift from teaching to learning (UNESCO, 2017, p. 7). When creating curricula, it would be worth considering three aspects of sustainable development, which show the three theoretical layers – the components of human development striving for a balance between society and the environment.

The economic aspect of education for sustainable development

Introducing the idea of sustainable development requires adopting a model of human behavior in the economic theory in line with its ethics. The anthropological concept of *human homo oeconomicus* was adopted in mainstream economics. Kiełczewski (2011, p. 215) remarks that the idea behind this idea was to formulate a reference point for management in which the decision-maker is a human being, that is, an individual. Another goal was to distinguish such features of an individual as an economic entity that would be universal, indisputable and part of human nature. In this idea, as Kiełczewski writes (*ibid*. p. 217), all individual features should be rejected to create a uniform system of individuals. The adoption of such a human theory allowed for the creation of economic laws that are objective and universal in nature. This theory, however, groups both supporters and opponents. The undoubted advantage is the fact that the assumptions of the economic theory of politics are useful for explaining simple decisions (Prandecki, 2011, p. 184) and for searching for theorems that are simple and verifiable (Kiełczewski, 2011, p. 217). One of the disadvantages was selfishness in its purest form, which is not considered immoral but which still gains the approval of society (Rogall, 2010, p. 185).

Prandecki (2011, p. 184) rightly observes that the rejection of short-term economic rationality could be the reason to create a new vision of man that would include a comprehensive explanation of human behavior. As if acting in this genre, H. Rogall (2010, p. 189) proposes to adopt the concept of *homo cooperativus* in the economy of sustainable development, where the ability to cooperate and the potential of idealism need to be taken into account. What is more, D. Kiełczewski (2011, p. 213) points to *homo sustinens* as a new model of man. As these visions are much similar to each other, and – additionally – their features complement each other, for the sake of this paper it was resolved to give up the division resulting from the names of individual authors and an assumption was made that what should be indicated first of all is what the direction of change ought to be, disregarding the issues of nomenclature adopted by individual authors. Therefore, it is recognized that everyone is naturally 'equipped' with an elementary sense of justice and can adapt to the requirements of moral behavior. Following Rogall (2010, p. 190), as people are capable of empathy and love, they also understand the need to achieve long-term goals, and see their dependence on the consent and help of others.

Education for sustainable development should place emphasis on changing the theoretical approach to human beings. As stressed by H. Rogall (2010, pp. 192–193), the new approach allows for shaping a specific type of person; ready to cooperate and to take responsibility for others. The condition for creating a new unit is to take into account the following elements:

- consideration of unequal preconditions (abilities, education, property relations, etc.),
- behavior, which is determined by various factors: economic, socio-cultural, psychological, and/or idealistic goals,
- character traits, which are varied, e.g. self-interest, self-sacrifice, compassion, cooperation, etc.,
- ability, readiness to cooperate and responsibility,
- lack of resistance to manipulation and cruelty.

Rogall (2010, p. 194) observes that adopting the above-mentioned elements has some kind of consequences. If one assumes that the preconditions are unequal, one should strive to provide equal opportunities and ensure minimum social, ecological and economic standards. The human is a being who shows various, often contradictory features, e.g. empathy, often paired with selfishness, is susceptible to the influence of socio-economic factors and does not fully use the potential for communal and idealistic actions. One cannot resign from codifying moral norms only because the human is capable of doing both good and evil. Establishing them can help maintain peace and life in harmony with the environment, preserving one's goods for future generations.

The social aspect of education for sustainable development

Adopting an appropriate human theory allows for a change in social behavior and the implementation of the concept of sustainable development. As K. Prandecki (2011, pp. 185–192) rightly points out, the society can be an object and also a subject of sustainable development: this is because it is not only able to change people and their way of relating to the environment, but also makes the successful implementation of these principles in life dependent on it. The new aims of sustainable development include: eradication of poverty and hunger; growth of human health and welfare; gender equality; sustainable cities and communities; responsible consumption; peace and justice (the so-called Global Goals). A sustainable society focuses on two areas: the consequences of human activity and consumption. Following Hull (2008, p. 28), the activities of society have been detached from the environment, which results in an increase in the population, greater demand for renewable and non-renewable land resources. Drastic disproportions have arisen between people, generating numerous divisions and conflicts. According to Nagórny (2011, p. 143), the biggest social problem is the constant consumption caused by shortening of the life of products, fast development of technological progress, and unstoppable greed to buy goods. The society as an entity includes the family, local society, non-governmental organizations, enterprises and refers to their role on the Earth. Its main foundation is the human entity; it presents a human being as responsible, aware, having the appropriate knowledge to create social, economic and environmental conditions for their own development and for other people.

Referring to the previously presented theories of *homo oeconomicus*, it should be emphasized that such an attitude leads to an increase in global consumption (resource consumption is greater than production). Action is only taken when financial benefits are achieved, detachment of a human being from natural cycles takes place and putting the human above the natural environment occurs. This attitude leads to a catastrophe and the collapse of civilization.

As indicated above, the theoretical vision of the human being should be changed and the adoption of *homo cooperativus* as a new goal of educating society should be maintained. A tendency to change is the key to achieving sustainable development; the greatest threat is the noticeable lack of interest in the desire to change and the growing reluctance to participate in social communities (Putnam, 2008, p. 468). The first stage of change that should occur is a change of attitude, embracing both a sense of responsibility for the world and the belief that the world can be changed. It is also necessary to combat the belief that the expected threats will not occur. What Prandecki (2011, p. 188) recognizes as important is to abandon selfish thinking in favor of the community. Sustainable social development leads to the development of society as a whole. Its main goal is the balance and cooperation of societies in accordance with the ecosystem and its dependencies. The activities of society take into account ecological ethics, the quality of life, as well as care for the future of generations. However, the society should take into account the cultural identity of individuals and provide the opportunity for the development of culture and tradition (Jutvik and Liepina, 2005, p. 8).

The ecological aspect of education for sustainable development

At the beginning of his very interesting book, Berdo (2006, p. 1) remarks that the human being is dependent on the environment because it is nature that provides the livelihoods. Later on, Berdo (ibid, p. 80) develops this approach and adds an observation that the basic assumption of the environmental aspect should be the adoption of the principle that people can draw from the environment more than it can give them. Hull (2008, p. 29) assists him in a way writing that both nature and the human world are a dynamic, constantly evolving whole, its creative element being the human and the structures they create. The current consumer society presents a position where self-interest is more important than the common interest. Such an attitude is the cause of many drastic climate changes and the degradation of the ecosystem, as evidenced in the research presented by Rokicka and Woźniak (2016, pp. 211–212):

- poor quality air is the cause of 10 percent of deaths worldwide,
- 24 billion people around the world do not have access to clean water,
- the fish stocks in the seas are used unsustainably,
- the most endangered water and land areas are not under protection,
- evident land loss can be observed,
- there is an excessive use of nitrogen fertilizers,
- carbon dioxide emissions are still very high.

As observed by Żber-Dzikowska (2013, p. 102), the principal function of education is to shape human ecological awareness and change the functioning of a consumer into a citizen of the world who uses ecological solutions that require the use of locally available raw materials. Naturally, following Berdo (*ibid.*, p. 78), their introduction is technically simple and can be introduced independently. Environmental education supports the human's cognitive contact with the outside world, their development of perception, observation, sensitivity to the problems of the natural environment and human life. These are the fundamental issues in education, as Więckowski (1993, pp. 153–154) sees them. Sustainable development focuses on ensuring the abundance of natural resources, where their management does not exhaust them and does not lead to degradation of the natural environment (Berdo, 2006, p. 17).

Conclusions

Following Tyburski (2011, p. 12), sustainable development is a kind of social and economic progress that integrates political, economic and social activities, while maintaining the balance of nature and the processes taking place in it. Its overarching goal is to meet the needs of contemporary and future generations. One of global challenges to education for sustainable development is focused on the development of knowledge, values and skills that develop a sense of awareness, in this way stimulating individual and group activities that have local and global impact. These challenges are defined by Batorczak (2013, p. 25) as follows: they improve the quality of life now and ensure the prosperity of the next generations. However, it is important to understand that education for sustainable development is primarily related to ethics, i.e. a life in which one cares for the natural environment while rejecting the attitude of consumption and sharing what one has in excess. Such activities should take place naturally (Gerwin, 2008, p. 4).

Following Szempruch (2012, p. 9), the fundamental change that should take place is the new vision of school as a place where critical analysis of reality, learning for life, alternative, creative thinking, and a critical distance to reality take place, which – according to Ciążela (2005, p. 181) – requires starting from an elementary sense of solidarity, community and responsibility. This is why the principal challenge of modern education is to keep up with the advancement of technology and globalization. Societies all over the world struggle with the overflow of information that is not always true. Understanding the complexity of this world is a principal challenge of global education for sustainable development. It emphasizes the vision of a human whose own benefits will not be more important than the common interest. It is a departure from *homo oeconomicus* in favor of *homo cooperativus*, which makes it possible for the development of responsible human beings, aware of the undisputable fact that it is them who work for nature.

Berdo (2006, p. 20) emphasizes a common truth when he writes that it is a human who lives for the Earth, not the Earth for human beings, and that their dependence on the environment has not decreased. Human actions affect not only the country where one lives, but also other citizens of the world. Prandecki (2011, p. 185) adds that it is also important to underline the necessity to introduce changes in the functioning of education of a human being, and the fact that the evident human reluctance to be positively educated should be overcome. Education should be oriented towards declining the attitude of consumerism, where most actions are taken either when there is an opportunity to achieve benefits or when they are conditioned by the price. The human should not strive to satisfy their selfish needs, which are always related to the demand for raw materials and products. Thus, following Reimers (2017, p. 40), the global challenges of education for sustainable development mostly consist in striving to shape some specific attitude in students – and this is the attitude to understand their position towards the wider world they live in.

One more time it should be emphasized that the basis of economy and society is the environment. Neither aspect is possible without the proper functioning of species and natural processes. The ecological aspect of sustainable development places emphasis on people's moral development and their responsibility for the entire ecosystem as well as the relations taking place within it. This is the basis of the functioning of life on the Earth and every element in it is important. It is a common truth that the limits of the Earth's capabilities have already been exceeded and that the existing ecosystem needs rebuilding. In order to rebuild it, one may take the way of which Berdo (2006, p. 80) writes when he proposes a necessary change of the direction of development so as to meet a sustainable one – the one where life will be balanced in economic, ecological and social aspects. As a result of the activities that openly address these issues in a holistic and multidimensional manner, one will be allowed to to obtain not only the right amount of information, but also the ability to construct knowledge and evaluate it, which, according to Szadzińska (2017, p. 22), will result in action based on respecting ecological and social rights. Appropriately targeted educational activities make it possible to correct the current direction of development, affecting both locally and globally the existing tendencies.

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Integration, race and "doing good" – some critical reflections

Abstract: This article discusses reflections on doing research with and about migrant children, focusing on addressing "race" and racialization processes as well as integrationist implications of "doing good" among both school professionals and researchers. The motivation is to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how to research integration while also promoting a child-centred approach and taking children's own understandings and opinions into account. Written at the threshold of the phase of analysing data from fieldwork with children, which is one of the main analytical tasks in the MiCREATE project, this article is a summary of some focus points and concepts that turned out to be of importance during the ongoing epistemic reflexivity process in the research project. Taking a point of departure in general methodological reflections on a structuralist-constructivist approach and on constant epistemic reflexivity, three approaches that could be useful in reflections and analyses are suggested: reflections on the concept of integration, on race and diversity, and on researcher positioning within a research project both while studying practices of "doing good" and aiming at "doing good" in itself as well.

Keywords: migrant children, integration, race and diversity, MiCREATE project

Researching integration in the MiCREATE project

Integration is a central concept in the MiCREATE project. Already in the Horizon 2020 call under the Work Programme 2018–2020: "Europe in a changing world – Inclusive, innovative and reflective societies" the title and motivation of the specific call (MIGRATION-05–2018–2020) was:

> *Mapping and overcoming integration challenges for migrant children. Specific Challenge: At a time where the integration of refugee and mi-*

> *grant children into host societies is most pressing, education systems face multiple challenges due to growing cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity and to socio-economic inequalities.* (Horizon 2020 Work Programme, 2017)

Furthermore, the call text stated that the focus of the successful project should be "integration in schools of pupils (ISCED 0–3) from existing migration cohorts, children of refugees and asylum seekers, and unaccompanied minors, including those residing in hotspots and reception centres" (ibid.) and should "assess issues related to gender, identity, achievement, well-being, home-school links and discrimination among others" (ibid.). Stating that the aim of projects called for was researching "strategies to promote resilience, avoid segregation and to enhance children's skills and well-being" (ibid.) indicates what can be seen as the meaning or content of the concept of integration. Hence, these concepts may indicate that an integrated child is resilient, does not experience segregation in any significant ways, and has the same level of skills and well-being as other children. This focus on equality also emerges from the aim of identifying "Best practices supporting equal life-chances" (ibid.) as a suggested part of the project.

What is more, the H2020 call accentuates the Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child as a starting point for the research, including the principle granting "the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child" (Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).

In the MiCREATE project, financed by this part of the H2020 programme, it is therefore not surprising that a main focus is to promote integration during a child-centred approach to research. In the project description, which formed part of the application, it is stated:

> *The overall objective of the project is to stimulate the inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children by adopting a childcentred approach to their integration at the educational and policy level. Stemming from the need to revisit the integration policies on the one hand and consistent with the specific focus of the call on the other hand, the research project aims at comprehensive examination of contemporary integration processes of migrant children in order to empower them.* (Proposal, 2018, Abstract)

On this basis, it is announced that the project will firstly describe the existing situation by identifying the existing measures for integration of migrant children, secondly will analyze "social impacts of these integration programmes through case studies" (ibid.) and, finally, it will develop new integration measures regarding education and schools. The theoretical underpinnings of these overall research aims are described in terms of defining the integration concept as well as broader understandings of its implications, outlining a theoretical framework for research in the MiCREATE project. Here, three aspects should be emphasized.

The first is the definition of the concept of integration as such. The project description states that "integration means 'the process by which people who are relatively new to a country (i.e. whose roots do not reach deeper than two or three generations) become part of society' (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003)" (Proposal, 2018, p. 6), and furthermore emphasizes its legal, political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dimensions as well as measurable factors such as employment and income rates.

Secondly, the research field is outlined focusing on social science approaches and relational dimensions of integration. Inspired by Papadopoulos (2011), integration is seen as a "process involving relational, institutional and discursive aspects, which affect dynamics between diverse social agents" (Proposal, p. 7). Following this, it is emphasized that the relational dimensions of integration, to some extent stemming from policy interactions, may be studied at the micro-level: "it is through micro-level practices and institutional regulations that different discursive constructions of the 'integrated migrant' are actualized" (ibid.).

Thirdly, the project description announces that the project, following Scholten (2011), aims at moving beyond 'models thinking' of either assimilationism or multiculturalism to a structuralist-constructivist approach.

According to Scholten, such a perspective, inspired by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), "gives way to a much more empirical and dynamic approach to immigrant integration" (2011, p. 31) which "is not so much meant to deconstruct immigrant integration policies as mere discourse but rather, to develop better understanding of how and why specific discourses emerge and change over time." (2011, p. 32). The empirical approach means studying how research and policymaking are constructed in actual social relations and practices, and also "how these structured fields influence the way actors socially construct the world around them, for instance, how they define social problems like immigrant integration, or how they conceptualise the research-policy nexus." (Scholten, 2011, p. 32). Hence, this approach means that both the research-policy nexus and the problem framing should be studied empirically, defining "both as 'relational', being products of actual social practices and relations" (Scholten, 2011, pp. 32–33).

For the MiCREATE project, this means that both the "problem" of integration and the aim of the project as doing research with a political impact (the research-policy nexus) should be addressed as produced by and in social practices and relations including relations of power and racialization processes.

Summing up, the MiCREATE project does research on migrant children's integration according to the funders' call for research on integration regarding equal life chances, involving indicators such as skills and well-being – in other words, it is a project aiming at contributing to 'closing the gap' of unequal possibilities between migrant children and local children. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is taken as a starting point, emphasizing children's right and capacity to express their own views. Hence, the MiCREATE project researches integration in education at both practice and policy levels using a child-centred perspective in all possible aspects.

The used theoretical framework, as announced in the project description, focuses on integration as a process of becoming part of a new society regarding both relational, institutional and discursive aspects, thus studied at both a micro level and at a policy level. Applying a structuralist-constructivist approach means that both the research-policy nexus and the framing of the "problem" of integration will be studied empirically as relational products of actual social practices and relations. In this case, the integration processes are studied mainly in the educational system.

In the following part, three analytical and reflexive approaches to researching integration in education will be discussed, taking the Danish context as the point of departure. First, however, the concept of epistemic reflexivity will be presented as a research approach informing these three analytical focus points.

The notion of epistemic reflexivity (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Wacquant, 2011) offers a more detailed explanation of how to conduct a structuralist-constructivist approach in practice in a multi-faceted research project such as MiCREATE. To distinguish between categories observed in the studied field of practice ("folk categories") and analytic categories, used in constructing the object, is thus of utmost importance. Following "the imperative of epistemic reflexivity" (Wacquant, 2011, p. 81) means that during the whole research process, in its all stages, it is crucial that the researchers are aware of the concepts and theoretical prerequisites informing their work in all types of tasks in the research process:

> *It targets the totality of the most routine research operations, from the selection of the site and the recruitment of informants to the choice of questions to pose or to avoid, as well as the engagement of theoretic schema, methodological tools and display techniques, at the moment when they are implemented.* (Wacquant, 2011, p. 89)

Thus, epistemic reflexivity means that the researcher must be conscious and reflexive on how the research object is constructed during all stages of the research process, which is in line with the structuralist-constructivist approach.

In a project studying integration at an educational level and, as much as possible, applying a child-centred approach, this is important when encountering agents in the practice field: both teachers and children. How to listen to and represent their points of views while simultaneously holding on to the consciousness of the construction of the research object? According to Wacquant, the "anthropologist or sociologist who relies on fieldwork must double the dose of reflexivity" (2011, p. 89). This may become even more important to the extent that researchers have the same aim as the professional research participants (teachers, school principals, etc.), that is to promote integration, learning, well-being, etc. of migrant children. In such a case, as in the MiCREATE project, the imperative of epistemic reflexivity reminds one that collecting descriptions of good practices and approaches observed in school practice is not sufficient if the aim is to produce a significant research contribution, and secondly, a meaningful contribution to the practice field as well. In other words, a double focus on "critique" in a Foucauldian sense is necessary:

> *A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest.* (Foucault, 2013, p. 154)

Hence, not only should research in the migration field contribute to developing better practices in a simple "critique" of the existing models; it should also study the assumptions and ideas that both existing and new practices rest on. Both the overall integration practices studied as the research object and the researchers' own attempts to contribute to making a difference in the integration and education field should be exposed to critical reflections.

Research integration? Write against it!

One concept that came to mind in a disturbing way during the research process was the concept of integration itself. Whether and how is it possible to do research on integration, bearing in mind the structuralist-constructivist approach and the imperative of epistemic reflexivity? In his paper *Writing Against Integration* (2019), a Danish anthropologist Mikkel Rytter discusses exactly this question, and while his discussion, he illuminates the Danish context specifically as its suggestions may also be of relevance for research in other national contexts. Referring to Brubaker's distinction between 'categories of practice' and 'categories of analysis' (Brubaker, 2012) Rytter notes:

> *Ideally, there should be a vast difference between emic categories used in popular discourse and etic concepts used in academic analysis. However, the concept of integration often seems to be used more or less uncritically on both levels. This conflation means not only that academic analysis risks losing its critical potential, but also that the analysis itself tends to become an active element in the stigmatisation of vulnerable ethnic and religious minorities.* (Rytter, 2019, p. 678)

Rytter argues that an uncritical use of the integration concept in research can "re-enforce and even widen the asymmetrical power structures that it was intended to describe" (Rytter, 2019, pp. 678–679) because, in a context such as Denmark, integration as an emic concept has certain implications, apart from the obvious meaning of newcomers becoming part of the new society. If not aware of these implications, research will risk confirming them and thus their paradoxical and non-inclusive consequences. To be more precise, Rytter, drawing on ethnographic studies, explains how the dominant social image in Denmark is characterized by three scenarios: 'welfare reciprocity', 'host and guests', and 'the Danes as an indigenous people'. These scenarios, which can be traced in laws and other policy documents, public discourse, etc., altogether point to an asymmetrical power relationship between majorities and minorities making integration a demand for newcomers but at the same time an unobtainable one. Hence, migrants in Denmark (and even their children and grandchildren) will always be seen as guests neither living up to the demands of welfare reciprocity nor being part of the 'original' ethnic Danish people.

Therefore, in the Danish context, integration as a concept and a process becomes paradoxical: both desirable and impossible. This means than when working with a research project on integration, the concept of integration is an inevitable topic in the epistemic reflexivity process. Rytter suggests three points of attention in this work. Firstly, one must ask critical questions to the concept of integration and its inscription in power relations, not only in public and political ("emic") discourse, but also in academic writings. Secondly, it is important to problematise the problematisation related to the integration concept, including for instance social imaginaries as the three scenarios characterizing the Danish context. And finally, Rytter argues that "we should attempt to develop a new language in order to enable a more inclusive analysis" (Rytter, 2019, p. 690). This means avoiding the integration concept in academic writings in favour of developing other more precise concepts, but it also means including "a plurality of conflicting voices and positions within the analysis" (ibid.) – thus not only focusing on immigrants and their so-called integration processes, but also on majority citizens, political and media discourses, etc. Then, when researching processes during which migrant children become part of communities in a new country, deploying epistemic reflexivity means constant and recurring reflections on the distinction between analytical categories and practice categories, among those the ideas of state, nation, etc. reflected in the most practical integration initiatives at the micro level.

Race and racialization

A second analytical point of attention in migration research is racialization. Epistemic reflexivity during the research process must include recurring reflections on racialization at all levels: including methodological reflections on researcher positioning and choice of methods, concepts and theories used at analytical level, and an attentiveness towards how such a phenomenon is talked about, and importantly not talked about, in the educational practice studied through fieldwork.

Racialization may basically be understood as "a process that ascribes physical and cultural differences to individuals and groups" (Barot and Bird, 2011, p. 601) or as "the act of giving a racial character to someone or something: the process of categorizing, marginalizing, or regarding according to race" (Merriam-Webster, 2021), race meaning "any one of the groups that humans are often divided into based on physical traits regarded as common among people of shared ancestry" (Merriam-Webster, 2021).

As the scenario 'Danes as an indigenous people' mentioned above as a part of the Danish self-understanding (as an imagined family with common kinship) indicates, racialization is an influential factor in the Danish context. Rytter (2019) notes that "integration talk is highly racialized" (p. 685), as "The Danish emic concept of integration has a racial bias since it offers a legitimate vocabulary to speak of 'others' in ways in which reified notions of culture, ethnicity, religion and race merge." (Rytter, 2019, p. 685).

One illustration of this is the official Danish state term 'non-Western' used in statistics on both immigrants and their descendants. This term, used by Statistics Denmark and other Danish authorities, covers all countries except EU and associated countries plus Canada, USA, Australia, and New Zealand (Elmeskov, 2019). Since 'non-Western' countries are often associated with people with physical traits such as darker skin or hair than 'Western' countries such as Denmark, a correlation between this category and racialization processes is obvious. While on the one hand race and racialization processes are not often talked about in Danish policy and discourse (Jensen, Weibel and Vitus, 2017), on the other hand – a growing number of academic studies describe and discuss racialization processes in Danish education (for instance: Jaffe-Walter, 2019; Khawaja, 2015; Lagermann, 2013; Tørslev, Nørredam and Vitus, 2016; Vertelyte, 2019). Thus, reflecting on racialization processes should be a part of the ongoing epistemic reflexivity in a research project on integration.

In an introductory phase of the MiCREATE project, an analysis of the political and media discourses in Denmark showed some tendencies of racialization characterizing the context to which newcomers arrive (Hobel et al., 2019). It is important to pursue this focus further in the subsequent research phases of fieldwork in schools, analyses of interview data, and development of practice recommendations and tools. Regarding fieldwork, a special attention should be placed on researcher positioning (Khawaja and Mørck, 2009). Researchers must reflect on their own positioning not only theoretically but also relating to their own experiences and social categories of difference such as class, age, gender, and not the least, racial physical traits. Such aspects must be actively reflected upon regarding both researcher positioning, the research process, and its subjects: "Studying the other, with the aim of transcending processes of marginalisation and othering, requires reflection on the ways in which one is always implicated in the processes of othering, whether by overcoming or reproducing them." (Khawaja and Mørck, 2009, pp. 41–42). Moreover, the awareness of a tendency to understand whiteness as an unmarked or neutral category in research, hence white researchers taking a specific position, is important (Andreassen and Myong, 2017).

Doing good and the desire of happiness

As the third analytical focus in a process of epistemic reflexivity, a critical approach to intentions of 'doing good' is suggested. As already mentioned, a central aim of the MiCREATE project is to 'narrow the gap' between migrant children and local children regarding well-being, learning, etc. In other words, the aim is to contribute to 'doing good'. Simultaneously, the studied school practice has the same aim: to do good in the sense of offering students the best possible conditions for education. This raises the question: Which kinds of reflections are relevant in the research process of fieldwork, analysis and development of practice recommendations regarding migrant children becoming part of a new society? The ambiguities of the integration concept and the unsettled matter of racialization processes in education point to further reflections on this topic.

Scrutinizing good intentions in universalistic welfare work characterizing the institutions of the Danish welfare state, including public schools, Padovan-Özdemir and Øland (2020) suggest a postcolonial welfare analytics which takes the Nordic exceptionalism and denial regarding racism and colonialism into consideration. They point to a certain tendency towards management by colour-blindness among professionals involved in education of refugee children. This means that racialized children such as refugees arriving to Danish schools should be contained and dispersed into the normality of Danish schools, meaning that the newcomers should adapt to Danish norms and not be too visible. An ongoing debate on dispersion and desegregation of migrants in Danish schools, focusing on percentages of "bilingual children" ("not too many") (Jacobsen, 2017), illustrates this tendency.

However, such practices not only point to processes of racialization also immanent in the emic Danish integration concept, but also "seem to work effectively by denial of their relations to the post-colonial ordering of global economy, ideology, and cultural production" (Padovan-Özdemir and Øland, 2020, p. 13), promoted by a (neo-)liberal and progressive language of doing good and majoritarian benevolence and intervention (ibid.).

In other words, as also Rytter (2019) warns in the context of research on integration: an uncritical approach to doing good may result in the opposite effect, hence confirming discriminating and racializing structures that a project on promoting inclusion of migrant children is intended to oppose. Yet, how may this be done practically, when the purpose of the project is to "do good"? Ahmed (2007) provides a relevant reminder to be attentive to the "institutional desire for good practice" (Ahmed, 2007, p. 164) in diversity work:

> *This desire takes the form of an expectation that publicly funded research on race, diversity and equality should be useful, and should provide techniques for achieving equality and challenging institutional racism. In actual terms, this involves a desire to hear 'happy stories of diversity' rather than unhappy stories of racism. We write a report about how good practice and anti-racist tool kits are being used as technologies of concealment, displacing racism from public view. Anti-racism even becomes a new form of organizational pride. The response to our final report: too much focus on racism, we need more evidence of good practice. The response to your work is symptomatic of what you critique. They don't even notice the irony. You have been funded to 'show' their commitment to diversity and are expected to return their investment by giving evidence of its worth.* (Ahmed, 2007, p. 164)

Ahmed adds, importantly, that such a desire for happy stories of diversity is also found in academic work. Hence, in a research project on integration of migrant children, researchers must be attentive to desires for good practices and not go uncritically into the work of both identifying and developing good practices, which is part of the project. When encountering the desire for good practices among both funders and professionals it is crucial to stick to epistemic reflexivity – thus not mirroring the categories of practice, but instead arming oneself with analytical categories and tools such as the ones introduced in this article. With Ahmed's concept of "happy stories of diversity" in a racialized context of ambiguous integration policies, researchers are reminded to be suspicious when experiencing affects of happiness and curious when experiencing discomfort.

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Paradoxical manners of understanding anti--discrimination education. Content analysis of hip-hop music lyrics from the album "Hip-Hop racism stop! #1"[1]

Abstract: The aim of the study presented in this article was to verify the presence of the assumptions of anti-discrimination education in the lyrics of songs featured on the album "Hip-Hop racism stop! #1", a project launched as part of a Polish campaign called "Music Against Racism". The study involved using the content analysis method in an interpretative paradigm according to the contextual theory of meaning. The main conclusion is that the use of songs as a form of educational support can be a valuable element in the anti-discrimination education, but it is crucial to call for "negotiating with young people the content of existing culture", which may provoke discussion with students about the ways in which words are used to form a specific image of the world. Another important conclusion is the "paradox of violence" referring to a tendency to appeal for the rejection of violence, while at the same time using violence-provoking words.

Keywords: anti-discrimination education, hip-hop, lyrics, racism

Introduction

The article presents the results of research conducted using the content analysis method in an interpretative paradigm. The subject of the analysis was the lyrics of songs featured on the album "Hip-Hop racism stop! #1" (Various Artists, 2002). The purpose of the study was to verify the presence of the assumptions of anti-discrimination education in the lyrics. The key research question concerned the possibility of using song lyrics in the

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[1] In this article, the English version of the album „Hip-Hop rasizm stop! # title is used.

anti-discrimination education, understood by the Polish Anti-Discrimination Education Association as education which “strengthens groups and individuals experiencing discrimination and exclusion through inclusion and empowerment” (Branka et al., 2011). Although the album was released in 2002, it is important to analyse the lyrics due to the fact that it is an example of a specific attempt at implementing the assumptions of anti-discrimination education in youth culture. In the conclusions, significant threats are emphasized that may emerge when trying to implement hip-hop culture projects into educational courses. These issues should be taken into account in the process of designing future activities in the field of anti-discrimination education. In addition, it is recognised that hip-hop projects are popular with teenagers (Domański et al., 2020; Mazur et al., 2020), so attempts are made to create curricula including hip-hop songs now and in the future. It is therefore worth considering the potential benefits and threats of running projects of this type by analysing an already existing one according to the assumptions of anti-discrimination education.

Theoretical background

Diversity, equality, social solidarity – the dawn of anti-discrimination education

Modern Western society is characterised by heterogeneity, complexity, and variability (Nowicka and Łodziński, 2001). Intensifying diversity in the sphere of language, religion or tradition, as well as customs, is a challenge for education. It is evident that representatives of minority groups in various contexts are still exposed to discrimination, defined by UNESCO as “any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on colour, sex, language, political or other opinion, race, religion, social or national origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education” (UNESCO, 1960; Müller, 2021). Developing an attitude of acceptance OF otherness is emphasised, among other things, in the aims and objectives of anti-discrimination education, which is defined by the Polish Anti-Discrimination Education Association as “conscious action of increasing knowledge and skills, as well as influencing attitudes to counteract discrimination and bias-motivated violence, and to promote equality and diversity” (Branka et al., 2011).

Music in education

Music can be described as a phenomenon which "has a fundamentally social life" (Field, 1984). Not only because music accompanies many tasks undertaken in everyday life, but also because it asks the listeners for "something more", aiming to introduce them to the world of values (Herndon and McLeod, 1982; Golka, 1996; Jabłońska, 2014; Mateos Casado et al., 2015; Garrido and González, 2018: p. 134; Kaca, 2014). Research reveals an important role of music education in the context of the development of diverse competences (Lesser, 2014; McClough and Heinfeldt, 2013; Paquette and Rieg, 2008). There are arguments for using lyrics as value transmitters (Chao-Fernández et al., 2020; Levy and Byrd, 2011). The cultural role of hip-hop music has been developing in Poland since the mid-1990s. It is a bottom-up art culture (Miszczyński, 2014; Rabiański, 2015).

Research material

The Polish project "Music Against Racism" (*Muzyka przeciwko rasizmowi*) is a social initiative, modelled on the British "Rock Against Racism" (Goodyer, 2003) campaign created by T. Robinson (Pankowski, 2003, p. 179). It was initiated in Poland in 1997. It involves the promotion of tolerance, multiculturalism, and the elimination of racist and chauvinistic behaviours (Pankowski, 2003, p. 179). The project was a response to the music of extreme nationalist music groups popular in the late 1990s (Pankowski, 2003, p. 183). As part of the 2002 campaign, two hip-hop music albums were released: Hip-Hop racism stop! #1 and #2. Due to the extensive range of research material, the research project discussed in the article examined lyrics only from the first released album.

Methods

The method used in the study was text analysis in the interpretive paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). The concept that inspired the research is the contextual theory of meaning (Frith, 2011). The main assumption of the project was to capture the function of particular words in a statement, as well as entire sentences or paragraphs, which are the means of communicating significant problems, depending on the manner of interpretation of the context. To accomplish this goal, the following analysis steps were taken: listening to the songs on the "Hip-Hop racism stop #1" album several times; transcription of the lyrics; creation of a code tree with the key elements of anti-discrimination education: **discrimination, violence, prejudices, stereotypes, promoting equality and diversity;** preparation of notes on the "global meaning" present in each song (Piekot, 2006); encoding texts with descriptive and holistic codes to capture the general themes of particular songs (Saldaña, 2021); creation of notes for specific portions of text and generation of a new code; analysis and formulation of conclusions.

The content analysis included 18 out of 20 song lyrics from the album. The remaining two are instrumental compositions.

Results

Discrimination

There are three roles distinguished depending on the given activity in the process of discrimination: the victim, the perpetrator, and the witness (Branka et al., 2011). On the basis of the analysis, the performers usually identify with the role of the **victim**, and they frequently refer to their own, often traumatic experiences. These experiences are used as the basis for giving advice to the listeners. The artists recommend ignoring negative comments and adopting the attitude of winners, not victims, to survive the attack: "Blow – dodge – smile is the correct pattern"[2] [2]. The song authors direct words of support to people who have experienced discrimination. They promote the "carpe diem" attitude, enjoying life, despite the adversities. What seems to be important in the texts are values such as good and truth, enabling people to live their lives on their own terms: "Separate good from evil, lies from the truth, listen to words, and choose what you think is best" [8].

The **perpetrators** are presented as people guided by bias. There is hypocrisy in their "slogans", as they are in fact guided by prejudices: "Why do you swear to love your neighbour as yourself? When you see him, you spit in his face, you do not trust, you do not help" [12].

There were also suggestions addressed to "enemy" rappers, who use hate speech: "Relax for a moment. So many words were spoken and not even a gram of sense" [4]. The artists recommend ignoring the opinions that come with evaluating their accomplishments. They do not give any advice to **witnesses** of discrimination.

2 The numbers in square brackets refer to the songs from the album's track list.

Stereotypes

The lyrics contain examples of situations in which the song authors fell victim to stereotypes. Wealth and poverty become a frequent reason for stereotypes: "I heard that my wallet is not slim, but swollen" [1]. The content of the analysed lyrics shows disagreement in the face of the stereotypical image of rappers basking in luxury, intoxicated with expensive drugs. The artists encourage their audience to resist hate speech. They suggest not to follow stereotypes: "Confused by appearances, you're gonna make mistakes" [2].

However, even the artists themselves seem to be unable to avoid stereotyping. An example of a stereotype they follow is one based on the premise that the aspirations of contemporary young people are very low. The artists denounce the "empty doll" [7] lifestyle, which can be described as a way of living with the acceptance of a very poor quality of life. One might wonder whether the song authors using the category do not fall into the trap of stereotyping themselves.

Violence

Violence means "actions or words that are intended to hurt people" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021c). The artists suggest that music helps to overcome anger, because it enables people not to react to "evil with evil". They argue that a person who uses violence paradoxically loses themselves: "You'd better slow down like a car on a bridge. Because you might go too far and people will despise you" [3]. There are multiple examples of violent behaviours mentioned in the lyrics: "Every object in my hands, just like a bomb, falls to the ground" [3]. It describes situations of violence that seem to be justified by weakness of character. Violence seems to be perpetrated by everyone, even by those who try to behave in a non-violent manner: "Although I try very hard, I usually fail. (…) I'm on a roll again, hundreds of insults right in your face" [3].

Violence is often caused and justified by stress or by the economic situation: "No words, no new ideas. Stagnation. No change, mind occupied by excessive stress" [18]. What seems to be important in the process of anger rising is helplessness in the face of unfavourable circumstances of life. The rappers expressly declare their condemnation of physical violence: "Saying it is just a pretext. I don't get it. I wouldn't call it bravery. I call the superiority of reason over bodily force victory" [16].

A careful analysis of the lyrics, however, made it possible to notice a paradox: in a few cases, the phrases which encourage rejection of physical violence are accompanied by phrases promoting psychological violence: "There will be sharp words, like Tyson's blows, from hardened steel. For all to be afraid of me" [14], as well as verbal violence: "Obscenities fly like splinters fly from wood. They get stuck like nails, like a rapid-fire mortar" [3].

The "paradox of violence" is calling for the cessation of its use, at the same time using language that encourages violent behaviours. It seems that it is very difficult to break the impasse of appealing for the rejection of violence, while simultaneously using violence-provoking words. The listener may get the impression that violence is irremovable from social discourse (Deditius, 2014).

Promoting equality and diversity

Promoting equality and diversity is a crucial task of anti-discrimination education (Branka et al., 2011). The concept of equality can be understood as the right of different groups of people to receive the same treatment (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021b). The concept of diversity is defined as the fact of many different types of things or people being included in something – a range of different things or people (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021a).

The authors of the lyrics point to the diversity of the world more often than to equality. Showing examples of diversity, they refer, among other things, to personality traits, the occupation, and financial position: "One person likes boogie, while the other likes peace and quiet. One has merit, the other one is tried for debts. I put together these lines and rhymes, while someone lays out goods onto shelves at the store. One has cash, the other one lives from hand to mouth" [5]. Diversity also denotes differences in perceiving reality: "Not everyone thinks about being what their parents would like them to be. Some dream about a colourful future, others want it to be only in black and white" [12].

It is important to emphasise the possibility of "cooperation despite differences", which is evident, for example, in projects involving joint recording of songs. The hip-hop culture in which it is possible to promote collaboration can also be considered as one that integrates people with different characteristics: "Hip-hop does not divide us so much as connect us" [9].

Discussion

According to N. Karvelis (2018), hip-hop lyrics and culture can be taught in a manner that augments education, particularly in areas related to race, gender, and class in society (Stovall, 2006). Similar interpretations are presented by E. Petchauer (2017), who says that hip-hop has become relevant to the field of education because of its implications for understanding language, learning, identity or the curriculum. I. Pulido (2009) presents the results of interviews with Mexican and Puerto Rican youth from Chicago. Her research shows how they use hip-hop music, in particular as an interpretive lens, to negotiate and challenge their racialisation in schools and society. In our opinion, hip-hop projects in anti-discrimination and intercultural education can be transmitters of the principles of anti-discrimination education, but some dangers can be seen that should be taken into account when designing educational activities.

Firstly, it is important to examine the **content of the lyrics** carefully before using them in the educational course. In the texts analysed here, lines on discrimination based on colour and ethnicity constitute a marginal part of the discussion and the lyrics refer, more broadly, to various types of exclusion. However, the term "racism" or any other similar terms related to it do not appear at all. It is worth noting the intention noticeable in the majority of the analysed lyrics, which is the prevention of hate speech. It is important to distinguish two categories of hate speech. The first one is based "on the grounds of legally protected characteristics" such as gender, age, disability, race, religion, nationality, political beliefs, etc. (Nijakowski, 2008). The second one – hate speech based on other grounds – means speaking to or about someone in a disrespectful and often aggressive manner. In song lyrics, performers are more likely to refer to the second type. Therefore, it can be assumed that the artists' intention is to combat social and other divisions. They warn listeners of making declarations of tolerance while practising exclusionary behaviours.

Secondly, before incorporating hip-hop into an educational project, it is worth reflecting on the **way of expression** present in the texts. It is surprising that anti-violence statements are often expressed, paradoxically, in the language of violence. This kind of message is reinforced by the use of military metaphors, "ordering" listeners to adopt an attitude of fight. Expressions such as *failure, blows, assault* may indicate that the world is perceived as a space in which (despite the declared support for diversity) not everyone may be able to find their own place. The reality resembles a battlefield where the victory of one person means the defeat of the other.

Another problem is posed by obscenities in the lyrics. For many educators, the presence of vulgar language is a disqualifying element in the process of education. This type of language may not always be correct and worthy of replicating, but it is authentic, often close to the reality in which adolescents function. Hence the use of the analysed excerpts from the lyrics during class may be effective because of the lack of "intrusive didactics". On the other hand, in the analysed texts, vulgar language appears directly in reference to the "Other", ingrained in social divisions.

Netcoh (2013) claims that diverse racial discourses can be made the point of direct and critical inquiries in the classroom to maximise its democratic potential. The possibility of using lyrics containing vulgar language depends on characteristics such as the age of the students, the openness of both the teacher and the students, and the level of reflective and critical thinking skills of the students and the teacher.

Conclusions

Trying to understand the content of the songs from the album with students may be a good point of departure for reflection on some key values in education, such as acceptance, respect or recognition of human dignity. The use of these works as a form of educational support can be a valuable element in both curricular and extracurricular anti-discrimination education, although a considerable part of them do not seem to be the best educational tools due to the risks mentioned above. The role of a teacher, perceived as a transformative intellectual (Giroux, 1988), is to encourage young people to interpret the lyrics in detail. In this regard, it is crucial to call for "negotiating with young people the content of the existing culture", as proposed by Z. Melosik (2014, pp. 90–91). It may provoke discussion about the ways in which words are used to form a specific image of the world. Openness may help to discuss logically incoherent, paradoxical or simply ethically questionable messages with the students. Taking into account the popularity of this genre among young people, it is important to identify works that raise important educational issues, shaping positive attitudes towards "others". This becomes particularly relevant with regard to the growing popularity of songs promoting xenophobic attitudes towards, for example, refugees (Żuk and Żuk, 2021).

The songs that young people listen to are texts of culture and as such can be the subject of pedagogical consideration.

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Track list:

1 – Ascetoholix – Ile? [How Much?]
2 – Credo – Szyderczy Uśmiech [Mocking Smile]
3 – Owal/emcedwa – Różnie [Differently]
4 – Neon – Mów Mi Jeszcze [Tell Me More]
5 – Lajner – Świat Jeden [One World]
6 – Gorzki – Solo [Solo]
7 – Acer – Metodyka [Methodology]
8 – Acer – Daremne Sugestie [Futile Suggestions]
9 – Dho – Międzymiastowa [Intercity]

10 – Wwd – Projekt W.W.D. [Designed by W.W.D.]
11 – Sza-V Feat. Kali – To w sercach żyje [It Lives in the Hearts]
12 – DJ. Teraz Polska – Sprawy Takie [Such Things]
13 – Tzw – Teraz Zapomniałeś Wszystko [Now You've Forgotten Everything]
14 – Kapli – Czego Może Chcieć [What Can He Want]
15 – Lista Chorych – Monotonia [Monotony]
16 – G.I.M. Eldzw – Po Zawodach [All Over]
17 – Viza – Sens Nie W Gotowce [Sense Not in Cash]
18 – Asp – To Nie Rap Popisów [It's Not a Rap Show]

FORUM OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATORS

Marijanca Ajša Vižintin

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Our immigrants and emigrants: there are people with their life stories behind the numbers[1]

Abstract: The article encourages comparative perspectives on people who emigrate and immigrate. It draws attention to the knowledge of the history of migrations: most European countries faced emigration in the early 20th century, while in the beginning of the 21st century, they witness immigration that exceeds emigration. The most common reason for immigration in Slovenia is employment. Work permits are issued to people who come to work here, because they are needed. Yet, it is people who come, not workforce, and these people have families. Consequently, the second most common reason for immigration is family reunification. When discussing immigration, we underrate the role of bilateral agreements, yet they pave the way for greater economic migration between the signatories. Knowing the migrations of past and present, including official statistical data and the emigration-immigration perspective, it is extremely important to understand that there are people behind these numbers. The article comprises a recommendation to publish texts that include not only numbers, but also people with their life stories, immigrants and emigrants in the same publication. To develop intercultural education, it is essential that migrations and diversity are a part of the curriculum and teaching materials.

Keywords: immigration, emigration, Slovenia, statistical data, life stories

1 The study is an outcome of the projects »Socialna, gospodarska in kulturna zgodovina slovenskega izseljenstva [Social, economic and cultural history of Slovenian emigration] 1945–2015« (J5–8246), »Omilitev posledic bega možganov in krepitev mehanizma kroženja možganov« [Mitigating the consequences of brain drain and strengthening the mechanism of brain circulation] (V5–1928), and research programme »Narodna in kulturna identiteta slovenskega izseljenstva v kontekstu raziskovanja migracij [National and Cultural Identity of Slovenian Emigration in the Context of Migration Studies] (P5–0070), finaced by Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, Republic of Slovenia, and ARRS, Slovenian Research Agency.

Introduction

Migrations are not particular to the 21st century – they have been a constant throughout the human history. If one studies the history of most European countries in the last century, one will find that it is strongly marked by economic and forced migrations (Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2007; Castles and Miller, 2009; Scheffer, 2011). In addition to both World Wars, in which most European countries were involved, the 20th century was also marked by a number of local wars and their consequences, e.g. the Balkan Wars, Spanish Civil War at its beginning and the war in the disintegrating Yugoslavia at its end. Every new war means new refugees. In the beginning of the 21st century people seeking refuge from violence, slaughter, persecution come to Europe mostly from Syria and Eritrea, still from Afghanistan, and some new countries created after the collapse of the Soviet Union, once again from Turkey, etc. (Sedmak et al., 2015; Žagar, Kogovšek Šalamon and Lukšič Hacin, 2018). There is always a war raging somewhere from which people flee to save their life, to work and provide for their families, to send their children to school. There are always people who migrate to another country to find a job, to earn higher salary, to make a career. Although the economic and forced migrations are a historic constant, in the 21st century they still surprise: people still debate inclusion, encounter prejudice and increasing intolerance.

Official statistical data about modern migration in Europe testify that many European countries are both, countries of origin and countries of destination in the early 21st century, and Slovenia is one of them. Migrants are emigrants in their country of origin and immigrants in their countries of destination. This emigrant-immigrant perspective is exceptionally important to understand that there are people with their life stories behind the numbers. It is important to be aware of emigration and immigration in the past and present, to recognize the official migration policies (Lukšič Hacin, 2016; Solano and Huddleston, 2020) and to know the official statistical data to be able to fight prejudice and misinformation, e.g. the “news” that only highly skilled emigrate and the low-skilled immigrate. It is important to know how complex migration phenomena are, so it can be understood from where and why people come today as economic migrants or as asylum seekers. It is important that migrations and their history, as well as modern situation and diversity, are a part of curricula and teaching materials. In this way, teachers can present migrations and coexistence in a multicultural society (Vižintin, 2016, 2018). Teachers "should be able to educate pupils from different family, cultural and linguistic settings" (Cabanová, 2019, p. 132), since they have significant impact on inclusion and are crucial in the development of intercultural education (Layne, Trémion and Dervin, 2015; Portera and Grant, 2017).

Developing intercultural education: the power and powerlessness of teachers, the role of universities

Studies from different countries show that curricula and teaching materials are Eurocentric and nationalist, and do not reflect the actual diversity of the society. Curricula and teaching materials usually only present the achievements of the majority population, while the (acknowledged) minorities and immigrant communities are invisible (Allemann-Ghionda, 2011; Šabec, 2016).

Primary and secondary schools' teachers should be familiar with the principles of integration, inclusion, intercultural education and should have at least basic understanding of the history of emigration and immigration in their own country. During their university study, students (future teachers) should be confronted with the complexity of identity that could also be hyphenated or mixed (Sedmak, 2018) and of culture, since:

> *cultures are not "given by nature", they are not static, they are internally heterogeneous (not homogenous) and have been forever in flux. They are not absolute. Cultures are processes which change and come into contact with each other. It follows from this that cultural difference is relative; it is a process and an interaction. This is also how we must think of culture: as a dynamic, constant process of interaction* (Lukšič Hacin, 2016, p. 89).

All teachers should gain this knowledge in the course of their studies. To be taught in schools, migration topics must be included in the curriculum and teaching materials, otherwise only the teachers who themselves have developed intercultural competence and strive to develop intercultural education will include them. Likewise, teachers need theoretical and practical knowledge on adjusted testing and grading (Ermenc, Štefanc and Mažgon, 2020). They should be acquainted with the details on how to, in their schools, organise intensive language courses and structure the years-long process of integration, and with what is the role of an individual in all that.

> *Apropriate intercultural training should be introduced for future professionals and teachers who are expected to work in the field of migrant*

> *children's education as well as for teachers already working in schools. In this respect, as already mentioned, several national projects were launched to organise training for schools and teachers who expressed interest* (Dežan and Sedmak, 2020, p. 564).

Instead of numerous projects that last a couple of years, some solutions are needed that are systemic, long-term and set in legislation (on state and local level, in every school). Universities should train future teachers how to teach in multilingual, multicultural and multi-religious classes: "The education and further training programs for teachers, school counsellors and psychologists are most in need of change, as, until now, they have marginalised the issues of culturally diverse children" (Błeszyńska, 2017, p. 165). The teachers are needed who are aware that every single person is responsible for inclusion. Inclusion of migrant children should not be left only to the devices of individual active teachers with developed intercultural competence that search for information by themselves. Science has an important role in that process, too, as it is not merely a silent bystander and chronicler of the situation. With its research, findings and publications, it influences the development and transfer of knowledge in the society. According to Micheline Rey-von Allmen (2011, p. 38), it should contribute to "an objective and scientific description of the dynamic and changing reality."

Bilateral agreements as catalysts of economic migrations

Large numbers of economic migrants are often a consequence of signed bilateral agreements and mutual benefits: on the one side the need for workforce, on the other, the offer. This is an essential and often overlooked fact that explains many large migration currents from a country and into it. Let me explain this with the case of Yugoslavia, of which Slovenia was a part until its independence in 1991, and Germany. In the second half of the 20th century, Germany signed bilateral agreements with many European countries, and mass economic immigration into Germany followed:

> *Immigration was, however, not only a deliberate move by west German employers and business, but one implemented by state on an active and persistent basis, at all times on the illusory grounds of a requirement for a "rotating" supply of unqualified workers, mainly for the building, mining and processing industries and in the catering trade. The first recruitment agreement with Italy was concluded in December 1955. Agreements with Greece (1960), Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco*

(1963), Portugal, Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) followed in quick succession (Leggewie, 2017, p. 242).

The agreement with Yugoslavia entered into force in 1969. Yugoslavia signed bilateral agreements on employment and protection of workers as well: with France (1950), Luxemburg, Belgium (1965), Netherlands (1956), Czechoslovakia (1957), Hungary, Bulgaria (1958), Great Britain (1959), Poland (1959), Italy (1961), Switzerland (1964), Austria (1966), Sweden (1979), Germany (1969), East Germany (1975), Norway (1976), Denmark (1979) etc. (Svetek, 1985, p. 21–31). These bilateral agreements not only legalised economic migration, but also encouraged it. Slovenia inherited the majority of Yugoslavia's agreements and contracts. Additionally, it has signed new bilateral agreements that encourage economic migration flows into Slovenia: the employment agreement with Bosnia-Herzegovina was signed in 2012 and entered into force in 2013; in 2018, an agreement was signed with Serbia and entered into force in 2019, but migration was largely curtailed by the Covid-19 epidemic.

Who comes to work to our countries depends not just on the people, but also on the work permits issued (for those coming from the countries not members of the EU/EAA), the work conditions offered, housing policy, (tax) breaks, etc. If people are invited from other countries to come and work, because they are needed, they must be also provided with a decent standard of living and integration support. People arrive, not workforce, as Max Frisch stated back in 1965. Family members miss each other and want to live together, so the second most frequent reason for migration is family reunification. For example, 68% of foreign citizens moved to Slovenia in 2019 because of work, 25% for family reunification (Razpotnik, 2020).

A country of immigration and emigration

In the beginning of the 20th century, Slovenia was a country of emigration (Trebše Štolfa and Klemenčič, 2001; Kalc, Milharčič Hladnik and Žitnik Serafin, 2020). In the beginning of the 21st century, it is a country of emigration and immigration, with the immigration being higher. The same takes place in Germany (or Sweden), which are mostly known as countries of immigration. Germany is exposed as a country of emigration and immigration in the German emigration center: "In the past 300 years, Germany was always both – and often an immigration and emigration country at the same time.

Today, approximately 100 000 Germans emigrate every year," (Eick, 2017, p. 6) – mostly to Switzerland, Scandinavia, Austria, to the United States and Australia.

In the period 2010–2017 Slovenia had similar numbers of emigrants and immigrants every year, in 2017 for example 17 555 people emigrated while 18 808 arrived. Even more surprising are the data on the similarities between emigrants' and immigrants' education: more than 50% of people, older than 15 years, had secondary education, and just under a quarter completed tertiary education, and a little more than a quarter completed primary education (Razpotnik, 2018). In 2018 and 2019 the situation changed and the numbers came close to those before the financial crisis (2008, 2009). In 2019 there were almost twice as many immigrants as there were emigrants: 31 319 people moved to Slovenia and 15 106 persons left it; in 2019, 160 of the immigrants had a doctor's degree and 130 among the emigrants. Slovenian economic migrants chose most often Austria and Germany to go to work to, while most economic immigrants come to Slovenia from the countries of the former Yugoslavia, half of them from Bosnia-Herzegovina (Razpotnik, 2020).

Knowing the history of immigration and emigration, as well as official statistical data are important arguments in the battle against prejudice towards migrants. In Slovenia, efforts are made to share information during a 5-year national programme "Le z drugimi smo [Only (with) others we are]", that is financed by the European Social Fund and the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, so it is free for educators. The project aims to train educators in the field of inclusion of migrant children, the development of intercultural dialogue and respectful communication, zero tolerance to violence, intercultural relationships. Between 2016 and 2020, 8 600 educators participated in one of the five 16-hour seminars offered. These seminars enable one direct contact with educators in kindergartens, primary and secondary schools. During the seminars, it turns out that the majority of educators do not know the data. Likewise, they know very little about Slovenians and their organisations around the world; the findings that themes linked to Slovenian emigrationare hardly present in the Slovenian curriculum and teaching materials confirm this fact (Milharčič Hladnik et al., 2019).

Life stories of immigrants and emigrants in the same publication?

When it comes to economic migrations, the role of bilateral agreements is underrated, although they pave the path for the greater numbers of moves between the two signatory countries. The data on the numbers of emigrants and immigrants, as well as their education levels, are also not known enough. Thus, because there are people behind these numbers, people should be present alongside the numbers with their life stories, including both men and women (Lukšič Hacin and Mlekuž, 2019).

> *Just as in the last few decades the research of subjective experiences of migration processes based on narration, testimonies, correspondences and other personal material has become one of the key conceptual and methodological directions in the research of female migration and women migrants conducted at various institutions* (Milharčič Hladnik, 2018, p. 82).

Most often, collections of life stories only present one perspective, either of emigrants or immigrants. My suggestion is that emigrant and immigrant life stories should be collected and published in one publication. For example, in the same book (or an online collection) ten life stories of economic migrants (and/or their children) to Slovenia between 2000 and 2020, and ten life stories of economic migrants (and/or their children) from Slovenia could be listed. Would that help to overcome the prejudices? Would it be understood that these people are all economic migrants?

Would it contribute to overcoming prejudice against refugees in Slovenia if the same book included life stories of Slovenian refugees from both world wars, life stories of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo after the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991, and stories of Syrian refugees today? Would it be clear that these people are all refugees?

Would it help the inclusion of immigrant children (either the children of economic migrants or refugees) if teachers in schools created similar collections with their students about their emigrant relatives or friends, and the new neighbours and classmates in the local environment? We can try.

Conclusion

Migrants are people on the move. Their moves and lives are influenced by social and economic situation in the country of origin and the country of destination, the migrant policies, personal decisions. This article encourages a comparative perspective on people who immigrate or emigrate. Knowing history matters, because most European countries were the countries of emigration a hundred years ago, while today they are countries of emigration and immigration. Migrations are also numbers, so the selected cases of Slovenia present the importance of knowing statistical data, and how they can help us fight prejudice: the most common reasons for moving are employment and family reunification. The role of bilateral agreements is highlighted, as they not only legalise migrations, but also encourage them, for example, most immigrants to Slovenia come from Bosnia-Herzegovina, with whom Slovenia has an agreement since 2012.

Migration processes, the history of emigration and immigration, contemporary immigration and diversity of society should be a part of the curriculum and teaching materials. In this case all teachers could include that knowledge into their lessons, and thus contribute to overcoming prejudice against newcomers, their inclusion and the development of intercultural education. The collections of life stories usually only present one perspective, either of emigrants or immigrants. This article recommends merging and presenting both aspects. In collections of life stories, migrations get a human face.

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The religiosity of young Poles and the development of the Internet against the background of American experiences

Abstract: The article concerns selected problems in the development of the Internet in terms of its impact on the religious attitudes of young Poles. On the base of the research on the use of the Internet and the development of religiosity, their situation is presented in the context of the situation of American teenagers. Americans are one of the largest media markets and have strong and traditional Christian communities. Therefore, certain trends in religious attitudes could have appeared earlier and outlined more strongly there than in other parts of the world. Which of them are reflected in the Polish situation? How is the Internet used by young users in the United States and Poland? Is there anything specific to the Polish situation in shaping religious attitudes via the Internet? The final results of the comparative analysis undertaken are to lead to conclusions showing the characteristics of the Internet that enable it to influence the shaping of the world-view and to forecast directions in which these changes may go. Research on the Internet's influence on religiosity has a short history, but dynamic changes in both religiosity and technology call for the opening of new research spaces.

Keywords: changes in religiosity, Internet, youth, Poland

Introduction

Marshall McLuhan wrote several decades ago about the possibilities of new technologies in the sphere of influencing changes in human life. He believed that they would be more and more a part of ourselves. This "lengthening" of a human being results from "new propositions introduced into our lives through (...) each new technical means" (McLuhan, 1964, p. 7). Continuing the thought of McLuhan, John Culkin in the 1960s noted that the human first starts to create technology and then technology begins to transform the human. It shapes our understanding of values, the world and humanity. So we are dealing with psychological and social implications of technological development (Culkin, 1967).

The intensity of saturation of the closest human environment with technology is so high that it must affect every aspect of life. Initially, it sparked enthusiasm resulting from the discovery of completely new possibilities for human development of knowledge (Turkle, 1984). With time, the dangers of technological development began to be noticed, not only because of its negative impact on children and adolescents, but also because of its "humanistic expansionism." Neil Postman in the 1980s warned against the difficulties that new technologies can generate. He criticised television, which dominated the electronic media of that time (Postman, 1985, 1992). He did this especially in the context of upbringing and education. He believed that in many ways technology threatened human development, especially that of children and adolescents. It is not only a set of algorithms or procedures, but also shaping qualitatively completely new relations (Postman, 1996). In the place of human emotions, emotions are simulated by appropriate algorithms. Sherry Turkle notes that thanks to the so-called social robotics and affective information science, a completely new class of devices appeared, which were not so much supposed to perform specific tasks for humans, but to accompany them (Turkle, 1995, 2011). The ties that were created, which were often referred to as "para-social" ones, more and more easily win the competition with what has so far been considered the domain of typically human behaviour (today you can miss not only another human being, but also a smartphone or a digital dog-like toy – AIBO). According to David L. Levy, a loving relationship with a robot will become normal, being much more attractive for a person, making their life more colourful and safe. The robot will not betray or break a given word (Levy, 2007). Yet, this trend can also be considered a way to escape from responsibility and moral convenience (Turkle, 2011). There are growing concerns that interactions with devices and software will negatively affect communication with people. This may have a number of consequences related to the development of social competences and the sense of personal dignity (Fukuyama, 2018).

It is not surprising that with such an intense saturation of the human environment with technology, it must have an impact on the religiosity of young people, especially young people for whom new technologies are an important part of their lives. This is especially true of the internet and social media. The research on their influence on religiosity is in the early stage. An additional difficulty is the dynamics of changes in digital media, which can undergo significant transformations in a short time (enough to mention how quickly Facebook significantly reduced its share in the MySpace market).

Comparative research in pedagogy has undergone methodological crises of various kinds. This often took place because such research dealt with phenomena that stood on the periphery of processes related to education (Bray, Adamson and Mason, 2007; Manzon, 2018). Comparativists focus their attention on different cultures and countries. They see educational research in a broader social context (Milošević and Maksimović, 2020). Education-related phenomena are often closely linked to social change (Goodson and Lindblad, 2011; Kelly, 2016). In this context, comparison becomes an appropriate method of illustrating easily overlooked aspects in home systems. This provides an opportunity to learn from the experiences of others.

The research on the impact of the Internet on young users has long been overshadowed by similar research on television. Since the beginning of the 21st century, and especially after the emergence of social media, research priorities have shifted as the time spent online has started to equal the time spent in front of television screens. The research on the impact of the Internet on young users has been growing. It mainly concerns social life and interpersonal relationships in the broadest sense (Bargh and McKenna, 2004; Comstock and Scharrer, 2007; Garr, 2011; Castells, 2012).

Over time, the global perspective in research gave way to a range of specific issues. Issues related to religious life have emerged, particularly regarding the level of practice or acceptance of moral principles based on spiritual messages (Szewczyk, 2008; Ammerman, 2013; Campbell, 2018, Bull, 2018). Nevertheless, Downey's (2014) and McClere's (2017) studies can be considered groundbreaking. They focus exclusively on the impact of the Internet on religiosity by distinguishing an exciting category of people who do not admit to any religion, the so-called nones.

The research on the influence of the Internet on religiosity, which was undertaken quite recently, mainly revealed the weakening of traditional religious attitudes by this network. A lot of space is devoted to the so-called nones, people who do not show any religious affiliation, although they may consider themselves religious. This is spirituality without religiosity (Mercadante, 2014). Allen Downey believes their numbers started to increase with the explosion in the growth of the Internet network. His research shows that this is not the only factor, but of great importance (2014). Paul McClure has shown that the Internet influences beliefs and patterns, but not religious behaviour. Due to pluralism and multiple world-views, the Internet encourages the construction of different, new, individual world-view concepts and the rejection of truth claims of any religious tradition. The Internet reduces loyalty to a religious institution, but does not have to reduce the level of religious practice. It can, however, open the way to “combined spirituality” (McClure, 2017).

To what extent can new technologies influence changes in religiosity, especially in the young generation? Is it a global or local process? Is the Internet a tool for secularisation? The comparative analysis proposed in this paper concerns two geographically distant countries. Poland is considered a traditionally Catholic country. The religiosity of Poles has been shaped by the history and images of a “Pole the Catholic” or a “Bulwark of Christianity”. At the same time, the young generation lives in a global village created by digital media. In many aspects of its life, it resembles more teenagers from Western Europe and the United States than it adheres to the ideals of their parents. The phenomena related to the technological pressure on spirituality in the American market are much more glaring due to its size. It can be assumed that certain processes, if they take place somewhere, will be best visible where the saturation with new technologies is high. At the same time, in the United States, there is a strong segment of Christian Churches with a number of denominations and the mega-church phenomenon being characteristic of this country. Since Polish youth use new technologies in a very similar way as their American peers, perhaps their religious attitudes will undergo similar transformations.

New trends in religious attitudes of young US residents

A trend which has been clearly dealt with for two decades and which was marked even in the early 1990s is an increase in the number of people without religious affiliation. In the 1970s and 1980s, it remained relatively constant. However, a clear change was noticed in the 1990s (Schwadel, 2010). In the three decades since the beginning of the 1990s, the number of people without religious affiliation has doubled, and according to the PewResearch Centre’s forecasts, at the beginning of this decade it is expected to be one in four Americans (PewResearch Centre, 2019). The number of people in early adulthood is rapidly increasing in this group. Among the so-called younger millennials, the percentage of people who do not admit to any religion is as high as 36%. Young women are slightly outnumbered by men. White residents and university students predominate. Young people whose families have lived in the USA for generations more often deprive themselves of religious affiliation than those who have just arrived or are second-generation US citizens. The lack of religious affiliation does not mean a complete rejection of supernatural reality. Some declare faith in God, heaven and hell or prayer (PewResearch Centre, 2015). The family seems to be primarily responsible for this state of affairs, where the intergenerational transmission of faith has been abandoned. The family ceased to be a religious environment and many families ceased to show any religious preferences.

However, Downey mentions two other reasons for the decline in religious affiliation apart from this apparently obvious cause. Although he believes that the lack of religious education in the family is responsible for 25% of cases of a decline in religious affiliation, an increase in the number of people with higher education is responsible for 5% of cases. On the other hand, 20% of the resignation from religious affiliation was attributed by Downey to the increase in the intensity of the Internet use (Downey, 2014).

When one looks at when the flight of religious Americans towards the nones began, it can be noticed that the beginning of this phenomenon coincided with the availability of websites. Computer interfaces then became more friendly and encouraging to interaction. First, the network began to attract with its possibilities, aesthetics and communicative usefulness. The 1990s was an uncritical approach to the Internet, which was supposed to be a way to build a knowledge society. A similar change, which further strengthened the position of the Internet, took place in 2007 with the first iPhone.

Parents in the 1980s and 1990s often expressed concern that their children were overusing TV. Today, these children have their own children and model their children's screen habits. Technological innovations, symbolised by the first iPhone, have dominated modern tablets and smartphones, making it possible to effectively catch children's attention at the screens (Bull, 2018).

The group of people looking for spirituality in non-institutional sources is growing. This is called spirituality of seeking. Faith ceases to be inherited, but becomes a personal achievement. It is built on the basis of one's own experiences and is eclectic in nature (Wuthnow, 2003). One can also look for various kinds of substitutes for the traditional faith. Faith in science and technology becomes such an attractive substitute. One can talk about faith here, because scientists only predict certain models or put forward hypotheses, the confirmation of which is often missing for a very long time. For many, however, this becomes scientific orthodoxy. The Large Hadron Collider (Orr, 2021) becomes the symbol of these “divine” learning opportunities for many people. The crisis of traditional religious narratives also shows that there is no vacuum when it comes to spirituality. Humanity tries to find some fragmentary narration or construct a kind of religious meta-narration. However, the human being lacks philosophical and theological skills. Zygmunt Bauman, even though he considered himself an agnostic, believed that a sense of religious meaning and a reference to transcendence would be extremely refreshing for the present day (Bauman, 2012).

This, however, requires commitment. Religiousness is, after all, practices, organisation and interactions (Beckford, 2006). The Internet allows you to be lazy and justifies it. American parents in the first stage of the intensive development of this network were full of enthusiasm for it, because they did not have to worry about what their children were doing on the street. They stayed at home in front of the computers. Today, in the era of wireless Internet, which is most often used, it is difficult to make an electronic nanny. However, the incentive to reduce social activity and replace it with online activity is even more timely. Spending time online simply gives people more satisfaction than living in the real world. The life of an avatar on the Second Life internet platform, popular at the beginning of the 21st century, was much more attractive and rewarding than living in the real world. In their initial assumptions, social media were supposed to reflect relations that actually exist between people (e.g. between students at Harvard University, where Marc Zuckerberg, the creator of Facebook, studied). However, they quickly “noticed” completely new possibilities, and instead of reflecting relationships, they began to model them. The testimony of Francis Haugen, a former Facebook employee, submitted to a special committee of the US Congress in the fall of 2021, shed a totally new light on this. What united the representatives of both American parties was the corporation’s approach to children. Haugen cited examples of how Facebook knowingly profits from products that harm children. She stated that the catalogue of rules by which social media content is moderated was unclear and changed frequently. Instead of focusing on what users publish on the Internet, one should pay attention to the algorithms that make these and not other entries visible (Levine, 2021).

People who spend a lot of time on the Internet somehow inherit the ways of thinking found in the Internet. The narrative related to traditional religions is definitely not dominant there. Thanks to the appropriate algorithms, people often obtain negative information or even fake news. In the Internet, one usually receives more information than is needed and one is able to process. This excess does not increase the level of reflective and critical thinking skills. It certainly does not develop what has traditionally been termed "wisdom." This rather pertains to quick and reflex reactions and becomes a communication standard (how quickly you can lead to an outpouring of hatred on a web portal). The Internet can make its users intellectually numb (Garr, 2011). Most users fail to perceive that they are being treated as an object. It is not a relationship-based community whose only reward is the presence that is offered to itself. Users pay for online presence by disclosing their e-mails, contact details, information about shopping or lifestyle (Fitzpatrick, 2010). It is not a good place for a religious community whose members should give each other selfless acceptance. More than ever in the past, young Internet users receive information from various sources. Parents only have relative control over this. The so-called surfing the web means jumping from context to context quickly and can entail misinterpretation.

Intensive use of the Internet leads to the creation of a specific relationship between man and technology. It can replace authorities, including religious ones. Technology intensifies individualism and increases communication distances between people. There is no room for interactions that create a real religious bond and community.

For many US church leaders, however, technology has become an effective tool for building religious organisations rather than communities. First it was the television, today there is the Internet, the more so as it easily attracts young people. Throughout the first decade of the 21st century, American religious communities existed online through e-mail addresses and websites. In the second decade, an intense expansion in social media began. In the few years to 2010, the Facebook presence of Christian congregations reached 41% (Thumma, 2010). Many church leaders are fascinated by the possibilities of new technologies. They also want to use them as an educational tool. The vast majority, however, use the Internet to promote the message and persuade people to convert. However, as research on religiosity, especially among young Americans, shows, such activities on the Internet do not increase religious attitudes. On the contrary, the increase in the time spent on the Internet is accompanied by a decline in the religiosity of young Americans. The extent to which the use of the Internet is responsible for this is not yet fully known. However, the first studies on the subject seem to confirm that the link is obvious. Will the United States soon become a post-Christian country? One can hear voices of anxiety today. Emeritus Catholic Archbishop of Philadelphia Charles Chaput, a native American from the Potawatomi tribe, writes that a Christian today feels like a stranger in a foreign land in the United States (Chaput, 2017). On the other hand, another American religious leader, Rod Dreher, believes that Christians in the USA should be prepared to survive in small enclaves, because they will find themselves (or already find themselves) in the position of Christians after the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 and during the Migration Period in Europe (Dreher, 2017).

Religious attitudes of Polish youth and the use of the Internet at the beginning of the 21st century

The religiosity of Poles is often regarded as proverbial. However, what was characteristic and often incomprehensible for researchers from the West was that it concerned all social groups, including teenagers. In 1988, over 70% of young people participated in Sunday services (Mariański, 2019). The situation began to change after the fall of communism in 1989. The processes of secularisation and individualisation began to have an increasing impact on religious attitudes. Although it was not a sudden process, its direction was clearly marked and the speed of change was increasing. Religiousness was privatised and faith in the sphere of dogmatics and moral science was experienced selectively. Secularisation particularly affected institutional relations and this trend has never been reversed (Marody and Mandes, 2007). Since the beginning of the 21st century, the process has significantly accelerated. There were moments of spiritual awakening at that time, such as after the death of John Paul II in 2005. In 2013, only 14% of young people accepted fully Catholic sexual ethics (Mariański, 2015). There was also a drop of several dozen percent in the religious practices of young people compared to the 1990s. A significant collapse occurred in the second decade of the 21st century after various scandals in the Catholic Church. In a study conducted in 2021, nearly 60% of adolescents said that their faith had weakened significantly in the last two years. However, almost the same number of people considered themselves believers. 73% of young Poles expressed distrust towards Catholic hierarchs, but almost the same number trusted Pope Francis (Zawadka, 2021).

There have also been significant changes in the religious affiliation of young Poles. The number of declared members of the Catholic Church has decreased since the fall of communism by almost 11% in 2017. They did not join other religious denominations, but there was a group of young people who did not admit to any religion (8.7%). The changes intensified after 2005. It is very likely that they will continue. In the group of young people formally identified as Catholics, many describe themselves as indecisive, indifferent or even non-believers (Mariański, 2019).

To what extent did the development of the Internet contribute to these changes in the religious attitudes of Polish youth? The official beginning of the Internet operation in Poland is considered to be August 1991. Then a researcher at the University of Warsaw was to send an e-mail to his colleague from the University of Copenhagen. However, it was not until December this year that the Americans removed all restrictions resulting from the Cold War sanctions. The digital curtain was lifted almost two and a half years after the fall of communism in Poland. Initially, the network was of interest mainly to research centres. However, it quite quickly adopted the same direction and dynamics of development as in other parts of the world.

The rise of social media and mobile Internet significantly increased the level of involvement of Polish teenagers in the network. Since 2014, the Scientific and Academic Computer Network – National Research Institute (NASK) has been conducting regular research on the way the young use the Internet. According to a 2020 study, 92% of Polish teenagers use the web via smartphones. The amount of time spent on the Internet is also increasing. The same research shows an average of 4 hours and 50 minutes a day. Yet, 11.5% of teenagers spend 8 hours or more there. The average age of digital initiation is 6 years and 8 months. Usually, the amount of time spent online is much higher than parents believe (NASK, 2020). The recruitment-affiliative nature of participation in the network prevails. On the one hand, Polish teenagers look for entertainment on the Internet (e.g. movies or games), and on the other, they treat the web as a tool of belonging to a group (NASK, 2019).

Can the Internet have an impact on the religious life of Polish teenagers? The teenagers themselves confirm that it has. Every fifth respondent in the NASK study answers that it is a positive effect. Still, almost the same percentage say the opposite. The largest group (55%) has no opinion (NASK, 2019). The Internet is treated as a source of religious knowledge. This is what every third Polish teenager declares. On the other hand, the specificity of the network makes the acquired knowledge relative. Everyone decides about their direction of research. Therefore, it is difficult to talk about systematic knowledge in the academic sense (Górny, 2007). Despite this, every fourth teenager declares that thanks to the Internet they have enriched their religious knowledge (NASK, 2019). The Internet is also becoming a place of religious persecution. This has affected 4–6% of teenagers in the last few years. The research from 2020 revealed such cases in relation to 4.3% of young Internet users (NASK, 2021).

Undoubtedly, the Internet can influence the religiosity of young Poles. This seems to be one of the many factors that are decisively and systematically changing religious attitudes today. As noted by the well-known researcher of the religiosity of Polish youth, Janusz Mariański, "in the conditions of the intensifying processes of deinstitutionalisation and individualisation in society, there is a spontaneous, bottom-up pressure exerted on the Church to leave to individuals the decision to define the meaning of religiosity in life and the ways of experiencing it" (Mariański, 2011, p. 74).

In Polish society, there is a process of transition from moral absolutism towards relativism and selective morality, the first inspiration of which does not have to be religious. For many, it becomes obvious that moral systems can also be created and justified beyond Catholicism. Religious premises have not disappeared, but are no longer the sole material that builds up the system of ethics. This is largely the result of the fall of authority and reluctance to accept their arguments (Mariański, 2015). The past thirty years have shown that the process of secularisation is progressing, although not as fast as in other countries of Western Europe and North America. The religious practice of young people, especially religious instruction at school, is becoming a less mass phenomenon. The phenomenon of distrust towards the church hierarchy does not have to continue, but it will largely depend on the actions of the Church. On the other hand, a certain type of religiosity, which has been dominant so far, may be marginalised. If there is a far-reaching individualisation of religious choices, the Internet will probably become a leading force here, even pushing aside the intergenerational message. Despite these negative tendencies, in the August 2021 survey, 87.4% of Poles declared themselves to be religious and deeply religious. Even among the youngest surveyed group (18–24 years old), this percentage was 71%. However, when it comes to fulfilling religious practices, a very significant decrease is already dealt with (from 69% in 1992 to 23% in 2021). There is therefore a significant discrepancy between declarations and practice (CBOS, 2021).

The process of secularisation of the young generation is therefore more about turning away from the institution of the Church and not about an immediate break with transcendence. A significant amount of time spent by young Poles on using the Internet may have a significant impact on worldview changes – not only as regards departing from faith, but also as regards the changes in living and articulating it. The Internet today puts a young person in the situation in which St. Paul was on the Greek Areopagus (Acts 17, pp. 16–35) – only with the difference that the Apostle brought his offer there, while the modern young generation often treats this situation as a kind of "spiritual supermarket" where you can find something that you currently want.

Conclusion

The young generation is undoubtedly under pressure from digital tools. They represent for them both a technological and a worldview attraction. The American experience shows how this process is intensifying. Young Polish Internet users are also a growing and more active group. Although many religious communities try to make their presence felt online, this fades in comparison to other offers. It seems vital to understand how the Internet can influence the departure of young people from the Church and the growth of a group of people who do not identify with any religion. Although there is a lot of information and detailed reports on the Internet use by the young, this kind of research is still lacking in Poland. The Internet undoubtedly has a number of features that make it an effective tool for influencing the worldview, especially of young people who have little life experience. The most important are the following:

- stimulation of individualism;
- promotion of uncomplicated ideological solutions, devoid of deeper justifications and contexts;
- algorithms (especially in social media) stimulating interactions;
- relative independence from parents and guardians;
- mobility (network interactions take teenagers longer than any other activity).

In confrontation with traditional religious communities, the Internet has a power that no medium in the history of human development has had before. The persuasive nature of Internet messages supported by tools attractive to young users must also bring results in the area of their religiosity. What is taking place with the religious attitudes of young Poles in many respects reflects the situation in the United States. First of all, there are more and more people who reject any religious affiliation. The percentage of young people engaging in religious practices is falling. These changes, however, take place much slowlier and it is possible to periodically slow the trend significantly or even to reverse it.

Polish and American youth at the same time entered the period of intensive use of new technologies. In the USA, it was simply related to its development, in Poland, with the fall of communism and the fall of the Iron Curtain, also in the digital sphere. The aforementioned features of the Internet can lead to the following trends in religious attitudes among young people:

- change of traditional religious attitudes (e.g. in the sphere of rites and customs related to church holidays);
- decreased loyalty to the religious community;
- promotion of combined spirituality;
- building a syncretic religious world-view;
- diversionary religious knowledge;
- development of non-religious sources of truth.

The Internet puts pressure on young people not only in the sphere of religiosity. This also applies to moral, political and economic issues. The sphere of religiosity, however, is so intimate that so far it has not been imagined that it can be influenced in the same way as by views on politics or economics. However, digital tools are so attractive to young users that they become the easiest way to change religious attitudes. It seems that traditional Polish religiosity still has extra-network "reserves" of tools for the intergenerational transfer of religious attitudes. However, they are under increasing pressure from technology. For many young people, the Church seems distant and the smartphone is always at hand.

There may be practical reasons for this. It is essential to prepare a reasonable offer for people who neither identify with the Church nor are particularly hostile towards it. These Polish "nones" will be a group which is likely to grow shortly, and the Internet may become (and probably already is) the leading cause of this phenomenon.

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Gender revolution in Austria and Poland? Changes in egalitarian attitudes and behaviour in the perspective of the theoretical insights by Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegård

Abstract: The paper presents an empirical test of the theory of gender revolution by Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegård in Poland and Austria. The two countries were chosen because they both are examples of conservative welfare states and intend to enlarge the involvement of men in childcare. The authors conducted a trend analysis to investigate the specific stage of gender revolution the two countries can presently be situated in. The statistical analysis was based on the data from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) at three different points in time: 1994, 2002 and 2012. The analyses revealed that the level of egalitarian attitudes in Austria is more prominent than in Poland. In both countries, women tend to be more egalitarian than men. The growth of egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles is increasing over time, but only in Poland. However, in Austria an increase in egalitarianism in domestic and care work can be observed over time.

Keywords: gender revolution, Poland, Austria, sharing duties, International Social Survey Program

Introduction

In their paper, Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegård (2015) claim that the second demographic transition (SDT) was replaced by a gender revolution, which describes the gender revolution in two phases. In the first phase, females (especially well-educated ones) increased their participation in the labour market, but they still remained responsible for domestic and care work. In the second phase, the pooling of resources instead of specialization is regarded as an advantage. At present, males as well as females support an egalitarian division of labour and males' participation in domestic work and care is increasing. These changes have an impact: males and females with egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles are more likely to cohabite than marry and they are more likely to raise a child or children together while having more stable partnerships.

Theories and empirical studies suggest that the pace and intensity of change associated with the gender revolution might vary in cultural, religious, political and economic contexts between countries (Goldscheider et al., 2015; DeRose et al., 2019) – but bigger differences are expected within countries (Van der Lippe et al., 2011) and over time (Kitterød and Rønsen, 2013). In the article, our aim was to analyse whether and at which point in time gender revolution had taken place in two countries, Poland and Austria, which both intend to enlarge the involvement of men in childcare. The data was used from International Social Survey Program (ISSP) for Poland and Austria to conduct a comparison between the countries and across three different periods.

Theoretical insights and their respective implications

The theory by Goldscheider et al. can be understood as a response to demographic changes occurring since 2000, which were inexplicable by concepts such as the SDT approach (Van De Kaa, 1987; Lesthaeghe, 2010). Many of the trends outlined in STD regarding marriage and family are understood as temporary and characteristic of the first part of gender revolution. Initially, little changed in male role behaviour, females took on a "second shift" of duties that followed the paid work outside home (Hochschild and Machung, 2012). Changes in gender roles remained incomplete and stalled (Sullivan et al., 2014). Initially one-sided role changes on behalf of the women co-occurred with the development of postponed marriage and family formation, rising divorce and falling birth rates.

On the theoretical basis of the gender revolution theory, the two phases have to be considered simultaneously to classify and understand current developments and changes. The emerging trend at the beginning of the 21st century towards active, engaged fatherhood (Oechsle et al., 2012) that developed parallelly with growing involvement of fathers in everyday childcare tasks and more egalitarian attitudes (see for Austria: Höllinger, 2019; Berghammer and Schmidt, 2019), has – according to the gender revolution concept – the potential to reverse the trends towards higher birth rates and/or greater stability of family relationships. However, such an insight only applies if the gender revolution takes place in the public sphere of paid work as well as in the private sphere of the family. Changes in the role of men have been subject to many studies on fatherhood (Sullivan et al., 2014; Schoppe-Sullivan and Fagan, 2020). Yet, the conclusion that egalitarian role arrangements contribute to the strengthening of the family by ultimately increasing fertility and reducing the risk of divorce is still debated controversially, although there are some studies that support such a theoretical insight (Goldscheider et al., 2013).

Hypotheses

The model of gender revolution assumes that egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles have risen over time. Women had shared these attitudes earlier, before they were overtaken by men. With reference to such a specific characteristic of the model of gender revolution, the first hypotheses of our analysis are:

H1: Egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles have increased in both countries over time.

H2: whereby women shared these egalitarian attitudes earlier than men (H1b).

Further, a more egalitarian division of labour in domestic and care work as well as an egalitarian participation in labour force characterize the second stage of gender revolution. In addition, the model of gender revolution assumes a stronger correlation between attitudes and behaviour. Therefore, it can be expected that:

H3: The division of labour in domestic and care work as well as the participation in labour force have become more egalitarian in both countries over time.

H4: The correlation between egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles and egalitarian behaviour regarding household, care and labour force has increased in both countries over time.

Data and methods

Sample

The data are taken from the module *"Families and Changing Gender Roles"* of International Social Survey Programme (ISSP). The module was conducted in 1988, 1994, 2002 and 2012. Poland has participated since 1994, therefore our analysis concentrates on these three yearly episodes 1994, 2002 and 2012. Only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years were selected for the analysis. The lower limit of 28 years was selected in order to provide for the possibility of education in tertiary sector already being completed and so that all included people can have the possibility to participate in the labour market. The upper limit was chosen because labour market participation reduces considerably in this age group.

Table 1. Sample size by year and country

Year	Austria	Poland	Total
1994	468	831	1.299
2002	980	648	1.628
2012	583	522	1.105
Total	2.031	2.001	4.032

Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54.
Notes: calculation done by authors

The included cases of the age-restricted samples differ by year and country, but with at least 400 cases they are sufficient for each time point within each country (see Table 1).

Variables

Attitudes toward egalitarian gender roles are measured by four items in ISSP. The items verify the agreement or disagreement to statements about the division of labour between gender on a five-point Likert-scale. The items build one factor (single value of 1st factor=2.108, single value of 2nd factor=0.881), Cronbach´s alpha with a value of 0.698 is satisfactory.

The ISSP contains four items that measure the participation in domestic and care work. The items correspond to different activities in domestic and care work. The respondents should report whether the woman, the man, both or a third person carries out the above specified activity. The four items are considered to build a formative scale. The items were recoded (1=both or other person, 0.15=usually woman /man, 0.00=always woman/man) and an index was computed with values from 0 to 1.

It was however possible to measure egalitarian participation in the labour force at an approximate level, because regarding the data sets of 1994 and 2002 the measurement of work hours of the respective partners was not available. On the basis of this information, an index was calculated with the values 1, 0.50 and 0. The level of 1.0 implies that both partners work to the same extent (both full-time, both part-time, both out of labour force). The coding 0.50 was used if one partner works full-time and the other part-time or if one partner works part-time and the other is out of the labour force. A value of 0 implies, that one partner is working full-time and the other is not participating in the labour force.

Within the age category, three age groups were distinguished.

Table 2. Variables of analysis

Variables	Scale	Mean or in %	Stddev	N
Attitude towards egalitarian gender roles	1=strongly to 5=strongly agree disagree	3.19	0.86	3.989
Egalitarian participation in domestic and care work	0=in none of four activities 1=in all four activities	0.32	0.23	3.019
Egalitarian participation in the labour force	0=no to 1=yes	0.52	0.46	4.032
Gender	1= Women, 0= Men	49.9% 50.1%	–	4.032
Employment	1= both partners work to the same extent 0.50 = one partner works full-time and the other part-time 0 = only one partner works full-time	44.8% 14.1% 41.1%	–	4.032

Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range between 28 to 54 years.
Notes: Calculation done by authors. Definition of variable is provided in the text

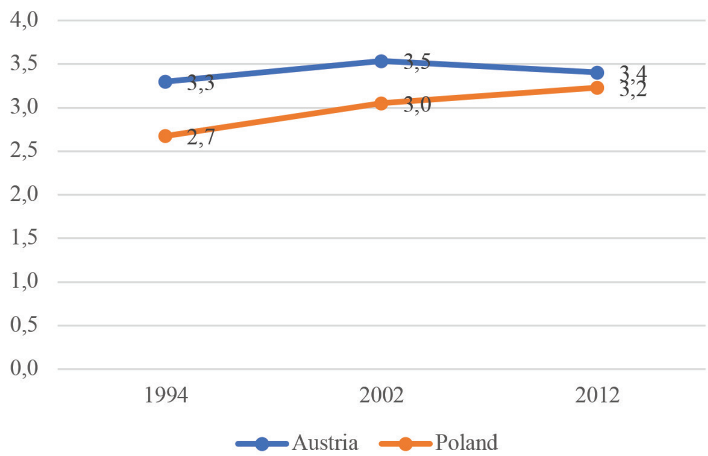
Data analysis

The analysis is performed using the Student's T-test for average comparisons between the two groups and Anova analysis for comparisons between the three groups. In addition, the post-hoc tests for intergroup comparisons of Tukey or T3 Dunnet were conducted. The significance of differences between the correlation coefficients was also tested in the analysis. The calculations were performed in the statistical packages of PS IMAGO v.7 and Statistica v. 13.3.

Results

The variance analysis indicated that egalitarian attitudes in both countries change over time. In 1994, at the start of the analysis, Austria exhibits higher values than Poland. In Austria, the time factor explains the 1.2% differentiation of the levels of attitudes. However, the level of egalitarianism in 2002 differs significantly in statistical terms from the level in 1994 and 2012, whereas there is no difference between 1994 and 2022. In Poland, the attitudes started at a lower level in 1994, but increased continuously over time. The differences between attitudes in each year are statistically significant. In the case of Poland, the importance of the time factor is more noticeable and explains the 9.6% differentiation of attitudes. The first hypothesis in the section on the increase in egalitarian attitudes in both countries was not confirmed in the research – egalitarian attitudes intensify only in the case of Poland (see Figure 1).

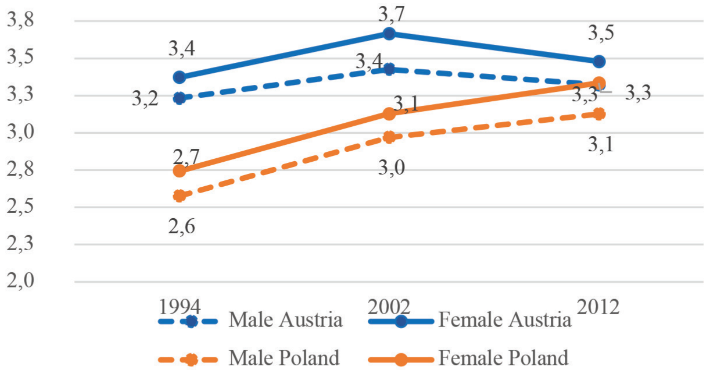
Figure 1. Attitudes toward egalitarian gender roles by country and year



Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years.
Notes: Calculation done by authors. Austria $F(2,2000)=12.183$ $p<0.001$ $h^2=0.012$; T3 Dunnett: 1994–2002 $p<0.001$; 1994–2012 $p=0.141$, 2002–2012 $p=0.012$; Poland $F(2,1982)=105.157$ $p<0.001$ $h^2=0.096$; T3 Dunnett: 1994–2002 $p<0.001$; 1994–2012 $p<0.001$, 2002–2012 $p<0.001$.

The second hypothesis was confirmed. In both countries, women demonstrate a higher level of egalitarian attitudes than men[1] (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Attitudes towards egalitarian gender roles by gender and year

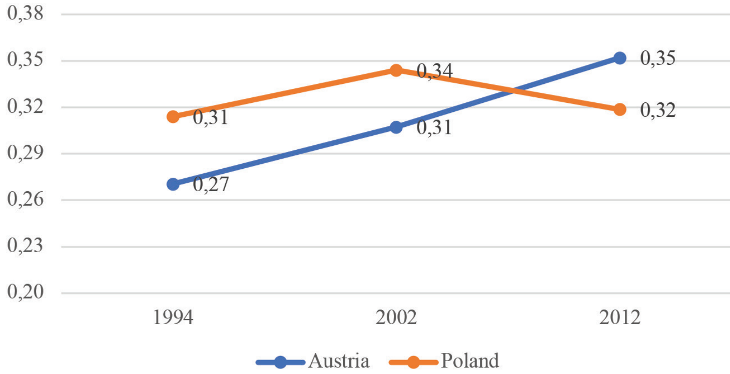


Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years. Notes: Calculation done by authors. Austria: 1994 – no statistically significant differences; 2002 – t=-4.263, df= 965; p<0.001, d=-0.274; 2012 – t=-2.308, df=557, p=0.021, d=-0.193); Poland: 1994 – t=-4.263, df=965, p<0.001, d=-0.245; 2002 – t=-2.893, df=636.2, p=0.004, d=-0.228; 2012 – t=-3.562, df=495.0, p<0.000, d=-0.313).

The variance analysis shows that the division of domestic and care work in Austria changes over time, while in Poland it remains consistent. In Austria, the 1.6% differentiation in the division of domestic and care work is explained by the time factor. The post-hoc analyses indicate that all the changes between the consecutive years of the surveys related to the increased egalitarianism in the division of domestic and care work are statistically significant. Such analysis indicates a trend towards increased egalitarianism in the division of domestic and care work in the specific country. Thus, for Austria, hypothesis H3 is confirmed, as explained in this section. In Poland, partnership in domestic and care work has not changed significantly over time, as indicated by the statistical analysis (see Figure 3).

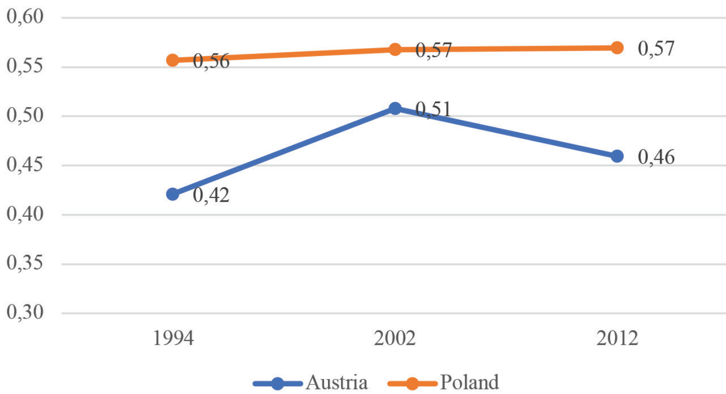
[1] Two-factor Anova revealed no effect of gender-time interaction.

Figure 3. Egalitarian division of work in household and child care



Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years.
Notes: calculation done by authors.
Austria $F(2,1413)=11.406$ $p<0.001$ $h^2=0.016$, T3 Dunnett: 1994–2002 $p=0.040$; 1994–2012 $p<0.001$, 2002–2012 $p=0.08$; Poland $F(2,1600)=2.973$ $p=0.051$.

Figure 4. Egalitarian participation in labour force

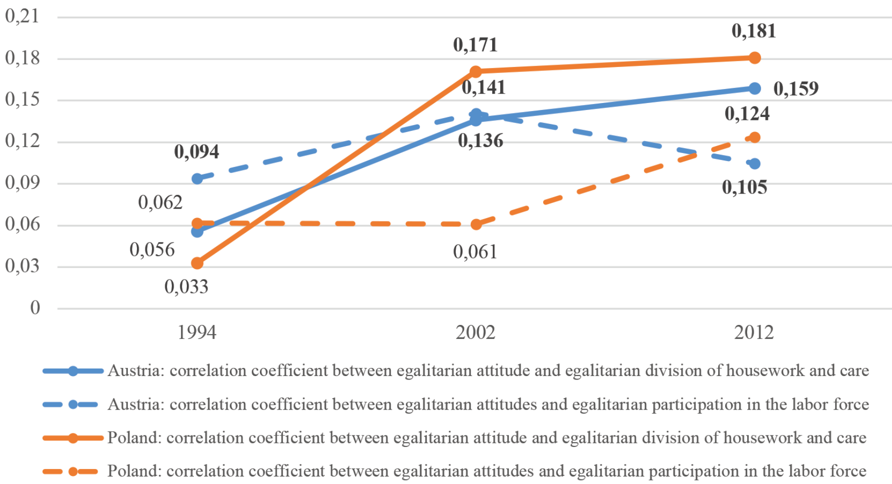


Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years. Notes: Calculation done by authors. Austria $F(2,2028)=6.329$ $p=0.002$ $h^2=0.006$, Tukey: 1994–2002 $p=0.002$; 1994–2012 $p=0.358$, 2002–2012 $p=0.097$; Poland $F(2,1998)=0.152$ $p=0.859$ $h^2=0.000$.

The analyses reveal a different pattern for egalitarian participation in labour force. The variance analysis indicates that the participation in labour force in Austria changes over time, while in Poland it remains at consistent level. In Austria, the 0.6% differentiation of participation in labour force can be explained by the time factor, with a statistically significant change occurring solely between 1994 and 2002. In Poland, the egalitarian participation in the labour market remains stable. The participation in labour force in both countries did not become more egalitarian over time, therefore hypothesis H3 was not confirmed in this respect (see Figure 4).

In both countries, Austria and Poland, a link between egalitarian attitudes and partnership in domestic and care work appears over time. Since 2002, Austria has shown a correlation between egalitarian attitudes and the egalitarian division of domestic and care work. Such a relationship demonstrates the same consistency over time and the common variance is around 2%. In Poland, the correlation between egalitarian attitudes and partnerships in domestic and care work appeared to start only in the second survey. Slightly higher correlation coefficients in Poland than in Austria were observed, but the differences between Poland and Austria are statistically insignificant (2002 p=0.540; 2012 p=0.754) (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. The correlation between egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles and egalitarian behaviour in household, care and labour force



Source: ISSP1994, 2002, 2012, weighted data, only people in the age range of 28 to 54 years. Notes: Calculation done by authors. Statistically significant correlations are bolded. *Egalitarian behaviour in household, care* – Austria:1994 p=0.291, 2002 p<0.001, 2012 p=0.002; Poland: 1994 p=0.398, 2002 p<0.001, 2012 p<0.001. Significance of differ-

ences between Pearson's r correlation coefficients – Austria: 1994–2002 p=0.291; 2002–2012 p=0.764; 1994–2012 p=0.156; Poland: 1994–2002 p=0.017; 2002–2012 p=0.877; 1994–2012 p=0.019.
Egalitarian behaviour in labour force – Austria:1994 p=0.043, 2002 p<0.001, 2012 p=0.012; Poland: 1994 p=0.075, 2002 p=0.125, 2012 p=0.005. Significance of differences between Pearson's r correlation coefficients – Austria: 1994–2002 p=0.400; 2002–2012 p=0.489; 1994–2012 p=0.859; Poland: 1994–2002 p=0.984; 2002–2012 p=0.314; 1994–2012 p=0.266.

The co-existence of egalitarian attitudes and egalitarian participation in labour force appeared in Austria earlier than in Poland. In Austria, such statistically weak association has been stable since 1994 and can explain the 0.9%, 2.0% and 1.1% variability in subsequent years. In Poland, the correlation between egalitarian attitudes and egalitarian participation in labour force was determined only in 2012 and explains the 1.5% variability. The correlation coefficient value does not differ significantly in terms of statistics from the value recorded in 2012 in Austria (2012 p=0.752). In both countries, the differences between the correlation coefficients obtained in subsequent years between egalitarian attitudes and egalitarian participation in labour force are statistically insignificant (see Figure 5).

Discussion

The variance analysis for the first hypothesis indicates that the time factor differentiates egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles in Poland and Austria. The level of egalitarianism amongst Poles is growing both amongst women and men, but gender differences persist. Women demonstrate a greater egalitarianism of attitudes than men. The increase in egalitarian attitudes in Poland is confirmed by the results of the research which indicate that the proportion of men's participation in domestic work is increasing, with partners increasingly sharing chores (CBOS, 2018).

The results of the empirical tests show that there is a difference between both countries: the Austrian society demonstrates a higher level of egalitarianism of attitudes toward gender roles than the Polish society. Similar to Poland, figures for women indicate higher values of egalitarian attitudes conforming H2. However, egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles did not continuously increase in Austria. One reason for these findings might be that the change towards egalitarian attitudes occurred earlier in Austria and has already reached some kind of maximum level. Studies reveal a significant change in egalitarian attitudes in the 1980s (Bundeskanzleramt, 1980). This change can be rooted in the social-democratic government of Bruno Kreisky (Fischer, 1994), which decided on and implemented a series of equality measurements. A further reason might be a different composition of the population. The percentage of immigrants, especially from Turkey, in the analysed cohorts has increased and immigrants more frequently have traditional attitudes towards gender roles (Beham-Rabanser et al., 2019).

The H2 variance analysis indicates that in Poland, over time, partnership in domestic and care work and participation in labour force is at a similar level. In Austria, on the other hand, egalitarianism increased in the division of domestic and care work, which was not the case for the participation in labour force. Nonetheless, the pattern of women´s labour market participation changed in Austria during this period. The employment rate of women increased (e.g. from 62% in 1995 to 71% in 2015), whereby the part-time rate for women rose more sharply in the same period (e.g. from 27% to 47%) (Fritsch et al., 2019, p. 342). The patterns of men did not change and men were mainly full time employed. The changes in labour participation have different effects on the index of egalitarian participation in the labour force. The overall increase in labour force participation leads to an increase in the index as the category 0 (only men are full time employed) decreases. At the same time, the coding 0.5 (male are employed full time) increases, weakening the general trend and resulting in no significant change of the index. Again, the earlier mentioned different composition of the cohorts should be taken into account because female immigrants have lower participation rate in labour market (Vogtenhuber et al., 2016).

Finally, the low correlations between behaviour and attitudes contradicts H3. They can be explained by the low-cost-hypothesis (LCH), which postulates that the effect of an attitude on attitude-conforming behaviour decreases with rising costs. LCH assumes a strong correlation between attitudes and behaviour in low-cost situation, whereas in high-cost situation the correlation vanishes (Best and Kroneberg, 2012). The decision about the division of labour in a household seems to be a high-cost-situation and therefore the observed correlations are low.

Summary and conclusion

These research results indicate that egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles increase over time, but a *clear* increase is observed only in the case of Poland in the period under consideration. The studies confirm that in both countries egalitarian attitudes are more intense in the case of women than men.

The studies do not indicate increased egalitarian division of domestic and care work or participation in the work force in both countries.

In total, the patterns of both countries do not support the theoretical concept of Goldscheider et al. (2015). This does not imply that his concept is wrong, but rather results from the limitations of the analyses carried out, e.g. a short observation period and operationalization, which was to some extent arbitrary. Nonetheless, our study refers to some important context factors that can explain the different pace and intensity of change. These factors are demographic composition and costs. A changing demographic composition, e.g. due to immigration, can change a trend, it may accelerate or lower an existing trend. The organization of the division of labour in the household is a high-cost situation. Therefore, it is understandable that cost considerations influence the decision. As long as men earn more in the labour market and institutional child care is not sufficiently existing or not affordable, it is evident that partnership attitudes can only be translated into behaviour to a limited extent.

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REVIEWING ARTICLES

Andrzej Radziewicz-Winnicki

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Ewa Ogrodzka-Mazur, Alina Szczurek-Boruta, Barbara Grabowska and Anna Szafrańska eds: *O tożsamości, kondycji i powinnościach pedagogiki – tradycja i współczesność. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Tadeuszowi Lewowickiemu z okazji 80. urodzin* [*On the identity, condition and duties of pedagogy – tradition and the present day. A commemorative book dedicated to Professor Tadeusz Lewowicki on his 80th birthday*] Toruń 2022, Adam Marszałek Publishing House, pp. 639 ISBN 978-83-8180-631-2

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In the course of all communication activities (during transmission), not one, but many social imaginaria (e.g. individual, group, genus, genre, general, specific ones) come into being. Many subjective experiences, in turn, entail various mechanisms of institutionalization and legitimation of the resulting imageries. This is in fact social objectification, which makes the symbolic universum not only relatively stable, but even able to subordinate individuals to its laws. Getting to know the phenomenon of social imaginaria is possible not only "from the inside", from the position of individuals domesticated within them, but also "from the outside", in the form of images created mostly by ordinary people. However, it should be emphasized – according to Jolanta Kędzior, Beata Krawiec and Anna Mitręga – that the process of perceiving the reality and assigning meanings to various objects, even though it has an innovative and creative potential, does not occur entirely spontaneously and by chance. The language system shapes thinking in a "standardized" way for a given community, because in the process of socialization a person internalizes the language and cognitive patterns characteristic of their reference group (Kędzior, Krawiec and Mitręga, 2017, p. 5). The process of creating and exemplifying the reality is obviously entangled in the sociocultural and historical context of various types of knowledge about the world, ideas about it, many different worldviews. All of them can be viewed as in some sense relative. In this respect, there is no ontologically objective world that could constitute a pattern or a criterion, for example, of the reality of other worlds. Moreover, the constructed imaginaria are relative to each other, which means that none of them is distinguished in any way, especially in the axiological sense.

The assessment of the truthfulness of a particular imaginarium from the angle of another imaginarium is always marked by some centrism (a paradigm, an ideal type) authorized only with the provision that the assessment relates to values observed and implemented in this particular world. The cognitive perspective applied by the researcher indicates the variety and multiplicity of human experiences that make up people's peculiar biographies, as well as the fact of the existence of many different realities with the same value of existence (Kędzior, Krawiec and Mitręga, 2017, p. 5).

A public task of an educator, sociologist or psychologist – like of any liberal educator in general – is to constantly translate personal difficulties into the language of general issues and to make particular individuals aware how important these issues are in their lives. Especially the work of educationalists (and, as they are teachers, also their way of life) should be characterized by this kind of socio-pedagogical imagination. Thus, such imagination – as in the interpretation of the members of the Authors' Team of the reviewed publication – means the ability to perceive social causes of existential crises. According to the authors of this book, it is obligatory to shape the readers' imagination of an educational and psychosocial nature as one of those competences that are necessary for conscious full participation in civil society, as well as their faith in creative actions that counteract depression, trauma, marginalization and exclusion.

Ironically, I am writing this review article during the tragic attack on Ukraine by its mighty neighbour from the East. The whole community of researchers turn with concern, hope and compassion to the people of science in independent Ukraine, whose representatives are so much present in this volume. It can be seen with horror and regret how scientific relations of the representatives of pedagogy in both countries – so successfully restored in just the last thirty years – are now exposed to the direct influence of changing histories, mainly top-down and egocentric, completely incomprehensible political decisions. The institutional cooperation of Professor Tadeusz Lewowicki with Ukraine has already had its own history and involves successful implementation of many past and current undertakings. He received an honorary doctorate from the main educational institution of this country in the presence of numerous members of his own Research School, among people who currently play important roles of experts at the National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine.

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I approached the review of this book with great enthusiasm and delight, but with some anxiety as well. Will I be able to take into account all or only some features of the interesting scientific work of Professor Tadeusz Lewowicki in a limited space of just a few pages of this opinion in the face of the rich contents of the eminent author, but also its assessments contained in the texts of other excellent authors? I would like to draw the readers' attention once again to the image of Professor Tadeusz Lewowicki's personality as an academic teacher of unique fame. Quoting Professor's curriculum vitae would be inaccurate, in my opinion. The vast majority of academic teachers in our community, as well as representatives of related social sciences, know the career paths and functions performed by Professor, who obtained international, permanent and real citizenship in the world of science and culture a long time ago.

This article is my modest contribution (by articulating this review and returning to other studies outlined in the past – Radziewicz-Winnicki, 2019, pp. 51–72) to expressing the utmost appreciation of the author of many works, dissertations and articles, and deep respect for the personality of Professor Tadeusz Lewowicki and his most privileged forms of public participation, confirming his world-widely recognized identity as a scholar. The volume prepared for Professor is unique, it is a study which already during the Master's lifetime refers to the theoretical outline of grateful social memory displayed in the ethos shown by Professor.

The interest in the phenomenon of memory in social sciences comes from the circle of Emile Durkheim and is associated with Maurice Halbwachs. His classic works on the social framework of memory attracted the attention of representatives of various disciplines – historians, social anthropologists and sociologists. Thanks to them, a lot is known both about the role that social memory plays in the life of the community and about the mechanisms of its formation and functioning. As Barbara Szacka authoritatively stated years ago, social needs are of crucial importance in the process of shaping social memory based on historical knowledge. She also emphasized the needs fulfilled in society by memory of the past and its specific role or roles that fulfil certain expectations or aspirations. One of them invariably is the transfer of values and behaviour patterns / actions of the much needed unique personalities (Szacka, 2000, pp. 52–54).

Referring to the portrait of the Jubilarian to whom this volume is dedicated, it should be clearly mentioned that he presents a principled and always extremely critical attitude towards the widespread incompetence of many academic teachers. He clearly and in a generally justified manner opposes superficial and traditionally narrowed views, which are spread so frequently today. The Jubilarian deserves gratitude and universal respect not only because of his extensive knowledge and scientific work, but also because he – in the course of his many years of teaching and research – has spread an atmosphere of kindness and faith in the human being. He also shows interest in new – as it was stated in a conservative country – social problems, which (as a clever observer and researcher) he notices and poses as scientific issues.

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Due to the numerous scientific-cognitive values of the volume and the social and practical implications of the issues undertaken and developed by the members of the Authors' Team, the intention to prepare such a collective work for publication – against the background of the social time[1] of Professor Tadeusz Lewowicki, which means of our whole generation – is treated by me as justified, accurate and very useful for many reasons, which I tried to present in the first part of this review article.

A detailed outline and character of the book is presented in a very illustrative way in The Contents. As a result of editorial work, an authorial, apt and accurate selection of materials for printing was made. Efforts were also

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1 The basic peculiarity of social time is the fact that it is simultaneously assigned to two different systems: culture and social system. The concept of social time was shaped in opposition to the quantitative astronomical (clock) time as a specific set of relations between particular events. It is directly and closely related to the phenomenon of movement and change, in which the relationships of lasting, passing, consequences or simultaneity are particularly important. It does not contain a logical system of consecutive dependencies. It externalizes the approval or disapproval of norms, patterns and values that create a specific imperative constituting the premises for the liberation of a specific mobility.

made to carry out (within particular parts of the volume) a specific identification through the key problems of fundamental importance outlined in the text. The entire book gives credibility to its scientific status in the nature of theoretical reflections for implementation in public practice. In expert literature, they are referred to as active research. Its aim is to formulate practical conclusions and recommendations for selected social institutions. It becomes motivational, causative and inspiring due to the growingly intense exposition by researchers of the phenomena of a socialization shift (from intentional impact to more influential elements of the postmodern world on learners' development: peer groups, pop culture or self-socialization). Therefore, it is worth making a confrontation of the existing approaches to the role of environmental education, which has been signalled for years also in contemporary educational science.

However, what should be constantly kept in mind is the simple fact that the social memory, which usually accompanies all jubilee editions, is never free from disputes and possibly controversial assessments, because researchers usually control the future, unfortunately for them, with a modern / up-to-date interpretation. Moreover, it remains constantly developed and supplemented on an *ad hoc* basis and very often with a hasty ideological definition that generalizes the present day.

The structure of the table of contents seems to be logical and transparent by all means, and it implies the social roles of academic memory. One of them, which the editors of the volume sought, was the transfer of values and patterns of the expected and desired behaviour, which, stored in the treasury of social memory, relate to the role of education in the sphere of life and to the awareness of a commonly shared space. It is that space which creates the identity of our community, enabling the continuity of the social being's existence. It also makes one aware of the lack of any boundary between history (as a scientific discipline) and the broadly understood memory analyzed by other humanistic disciplines.

The following structure of the jubilee book was applied:

- Introduction
- Congratulation letters and addresses
- Tadeusz Lewowicki's scientific work and activity – new senses and interpretations
- The identity and obligations of pedagogy
- Intercultural pedagogy – current experiences, problems and prospects
- Bibliography

- Bibliography of Tadeusz Lewowicki's works
- Supplement

A total of 40 studies by outstanding scientific personalities from Poland and Ukraine, as well as many academic teachers from both these countries, have been assigned to each of the above mentioned parts.

After a general explanation of the concept of this book, my final evaluation (based on my own perception) of the study in question can be presented. The Polish socio-pedagogical and philosophical literature is enriched with a new view on the processes of crystallizing innovative proposals, or on the solutions used so far in the sphere of educational axiology, according to the paradigms adopted by Professor Tadeusz Lewowicki and other members of the Authors' Team. Individual dissertations, essays and ideas, comprised in particular chapters of the book, are dialogues of individual representatives of social thought appearing in the rich literature on this subject matter.

As the basis of his reliable and original analyses, for years – the Jubilarian himself seems to have taken the tautological (usually assessed in this way today) statement by Stefan Wołoszyn, who emphasized, among other things, that general pedagogy, being in fact a philosophy of education, originated from the conviction that currently there was not any knowledge or scientific views without any philosophical element shining through them. The sheer vitality and importance of philosophical problems existing in the structure of a particular scientific discipline proves the recognized "citizenship" of a given science, at the same time legitimizing its vocation to overwhelming theoretical-cognitive as well as practical-social implications (Wołoszyn, 1993, p. 89). The multi-threaded work assessed here by me can successfully compete with other important studies, not only those noble ones with jubilee and occasional intentions. The personal syntheses of the Jubilarian deserve special focus for many reasons, yet – first of all, they are a convincing testimony to the unceasing presence of Polish pedagogy in several sub-disciplines of social sciences and above all in philosophy [2].

The Professor's diligence, conscientiousness and knowledge – judged even only after reading this book – is extensive and simply extraordinary. In the so-

[2] There are, in the opinion of the Jubilarian, different natures and periods of interest in philosophy as a science, ranging from the metaphysics of education according to the Aristotelian formula and its paradigms in pedagogy, visualization, but also some doctrines from the past and in the contemporary world. The author conducts this individualized discourse within the ontology of education in compliance with a definitely original paradigm.

called “subtext”, the insightful reader can decipher the goal and programme of tasks for contemporary educators, as well as the duties assigned to them. Thus, the author has written a lot, both in the past and at present, on varied but essential topics that give credibility to the positions of contemporary educational science. Various issues are undertaken, including: obliging an individual to conduct useful (often voluntary) work, providing services as a superior moral postulate, social solidarity, the cult of education as a lever of progress and civilizational advancement, requirements of relativism for the not necessarily dichotomous distinction between the sphere of spiritual or religious experiences and the area of scientific research and philosophical-intellectual investigations. The author’s cognitive optimism is basically aimed at future scientific achievements, but at the same time the scholar suggests to the reader the benefits of getting acquainted (while wandering around some unattainable plans, ideas and experiments in the contemporary world) with “spiritual existential anxiety” or the role of “educating the conscience” – the issues that are constantly in the realm of complement-type responses. Moreover, possible and potential solutions in the sphere of education – signalled in this work[3] in a clear or hidden way – are based on two philosophical refuges (pillars), i.e. axiology and anthropology. Due to Professor’s insightful and long-practiced analyses, their goal is also to formulate practical conclusions and recommendations for social institutions, implementing the global social and educational policy. The studies of other members of the Authors’ Team have the same value. After the book is published, it will also play an important role in the practice of university teaching, not only in the literature on social sciences. I unequivocally confirm that the reviewed study is undoubtedly a phenomenon among significant undertakings of contemporary educational science. Many people who read this text will find in it a number of impulses – in the field of ontology, metaphysics, anthropology or axiology, philosophy of education – useful for finding analogies in the care and protection as well as socialization and educational activities in the contemporary “post-industrial” society.

The real satisfaction of the reviewer is destroyed by limitations – at least of my own competences. The study does not omit interdisciplinary and specialized analyses of many topics undertaken not only by pedagogy, but also by history and philosophy of education, the phenomenological concept of knowledge, theology, sociology of national culture or anthropology. All this

[3] The book is certainly, for many authors, a result of many years of study and research. In my opinion, it can be noted that cognitive meticulousness has not always been and will be a source of satisfaction, and in many moments it has become or will become a source of difficulties and problems in the case of authors from Ukraine.

makes the analysis of the authors' creative thoughts and the presentation of extensive literature on the subject a serious obstacle for a reviewer, who usually represents one or two scientific communities, and in this situation is often limited to presenting general final conclusions, analyzed in great detail by the author exploring a given issue, which is often not an object of the reviewer's interest.

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The idea of presenting such a study is considered by me as extremely apt, particularly useful, with very high scientific and didactic values, and above all, very interesting. It will probably gain universal acceptance and publicity, which is the basis for awarding a specific and deserved form of satisfaction and approval to the authors.

What seems of particular importance is that the book fills a certain gap in the relevant Polish scientific literature. Let me say that apart from pedagogy, the book introduces numerous values and cognitive areas, also into sociology, psychology, social work, and health education. In my opinion, it fulfils all the expectations of the readers, both intellectual and practical ones. The whole creates a specific imaginarium of social interactions in education in the light of the achievements of Professor Tadeusz Lewowicki.

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Łukasz Kwadrans

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The contemporary educational situation of the Roma and the possibilities of changing it. Book review article: Maria Manuela Mendes, Olga Magano and Stefánia Toma eds:[1] *Social and economic vulnerability of Roma People. Key factors for the success and continuity of schooling levels* Cham, Switzerland: Springer, pp. 253 ISBN 978-3-030-52587-3, ISBN 978-3-030-52588-0 (eBook)

Introduction

The Roma still constitute one of the most numerous ethnic group in Europe with estimated six-twelve million people in total and two thirds living in Central and Eastern Europe. The Roma, being the citizens of EU member states, should be granted unrestricted access to the mainstream educational opportunities. The whole Europe, on the other hand, needs to enhance the knowledge about Romanis to get to know better the Roma community. However, due to the gravity of their living conditions, Romani issues concern not only Central Europe but the whole European continent (Kwadrans, 2011, p. 7).

Roma education (Romani education, Romani ethnic group education, etc.) relates mainly to the educational initiatives of the host countries. The activities that comply with the official educational system applicable in a particular country include schooling and education of Romanis, educational activity of Non-Governmental Organizations, other educational institutions, Romanis and their minority associations. The programmes also comprise all

[1] The author of the review article was one of the book's publishing reviewers.

the initiatives familiarizing the mainstream population with the facts related to the Romani lifestyle and situation. The above understanding of „Roma education" fully reflects the concept of intercultural education and it cannot be restricted solely to the educational programme carried out but Romanis themselves for their own ethnic group. Educational practice is related mainly to schools, subject-object activities in the educational system. The adult environment, excluded from school influence, is being analyzed less frequently and mainly in relation to continuing education. In the case of Romanis, further education is very important and poses a formidable challenge (Kwadrans 2011, p. 43). The authors of the study are mainly interested in the elements that jointly create broad (internally diverse) models of educational activities and educational policy towards the Romani ethnic group also referred to as schooling (pedagogy, education) of Romanis. The Roma in Europe are not a homogenous and united group. Romanis are surely a heterogeneous ethnic group. The division into subgroups influences the Roma's comprehension of the surrounding environment.

According to UNESCO (2009), inclusive school and education involves a process that seeks to respond to the diversity of needs and potentialities of each and every one of the students through increased participation in learning processes and in the life of the educational community. This is highlighted in the texts that constitute the first part, Education Policies, Inclusion and Exclusion, and which portray such diverse realities as in the UK, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Russia and Hungary.

The editors, already in the book's introduction, try to justify such a juxtaposition of texts. The authors rather try to portray the plurality of historical trajectories, national and local policies and distinct modes of coexistence and interaction in relation to the non-Roma. They present a heterogeneity of lifestyles, trajectories of life and representations in society, very much dependent on gender, position in their life cycle, and on how they are received and accepted within the majority society, as well as on the possession of educational, social, economic and symbolic capital. This endeavor to dehomogenize and not essentialize the Roma is evident in the literature and analysis of extremely divergent national realities, just as those portrayed here: the Finnish, British, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, Hungarian, Slovak and Russian. The different authors employ distinct theoretical and methodological approaches, however, with qualitative methods being dominant. The diversity of approaches should be noted in particular, with some texts being more theoretical, theoretical-empirical or empirical, using various scales and layers of analysis – neighborhood, camp, region, country, international and transnational spheres (Mendes, Magano and Toma, 2021, pp. 6–7).

There is still a great deal of persistent inequality in the various European countries in terms of access to schooling and success in education of Roma individuals and families. Despite the effects of some social and educational policies, the majority of Roma continue to have low levels of education and high rates of school failure, dropout and illiteracy and low rates of higher education graduates compared to non-Roma. It is important for the authors to understand the factors of success and school continuity, even of social mobility, but also the reasons that account for the high rates of school dropout and failure.

General reflection

The reviewed book is certainly a valuable collection of texts touching on various areas of social functioning of Roma communities in Europe. Many current proposals or references can be found here to the contemporary socio-political situation and problems that are becoming pressing for the united Europe. A weakness, however, is the absence of the comparative potential – there are no comparisons, the study is only a collection of texts on close issues that constitute a description of selected problem areas, including the phenomenon of marginalization of selected Roma communities in exemplary countries.

The authors/editors are well prepared and qualified to take on this project. I am familiar with their previous joint publications on Roma, project reports, thematic speeches from conferences, as well as individual publications. They have significant achievements in the field of Roma issues. This manuscript makes an original contribution to this field as well. The added value is the international character of the publication and its interdisciplinary dimension – though with thematic convergence (Roma). The study provides information on various activities and local policies directed to Roma communities in several European countries. The texts comprise different methodological approaches, but the problems concerning the situation of the Roma converge. The authors refer to individual scientific studies, projects and activities. Therefore, it was probably impossible to make deeper comparisons. Yet, the texts resulting from team research would hypothetically be more interesting. I have not found any aspects and fragments that should be shortened or deleted. I would rather suggest expanding some of these studies, texts and reports. There are some important views or works on the topic that the authors/editors have failed to consider. As I wrote earlier, a comparative approach would be more interesting, especially due to the still small number of such publications on the publishing market. When thinking about possible addresees of this book, I immediately thought that the book can serve as a valuable source of information to the theoreticians dealing with multi – and intercultural education, students of social sciences, and also practitioners, such as Roma teaching assistants, support teachers, educationalists, social workers, Romani activists, organizations engaged in the educational activities for Roma community, designers of government programmes striving to ameliorate the life situation of the Romanis. Actually, the work can be adopted as a text in more than an occasional course. It could be treated as an interesting source of good practices, action research, projects aimed at the Roma community. It would be interesting to design a team for studies of a comparative nature. The book has a lot of value due to the presentation of the local Roma situations in several parts of Europe.

In this study, the different authors in they texts demonstrate, on the one hand, the continuous reproduction of social inequalities in relation to the Roma and, on the other hand, the occurring processes of change that reveal the challenges experienced by the Roma in relation to school and their facing changes both within and outside school.

Notes on the subject, chapter content, manuscript form, sources, etc.

What will be addressed in the next part of my review in more detail are the content and form of the presented manuscript. My first doubt concerned the accuracy of the original title of the book. I wondered to what extent the authors formulated it correctly. It seems that the current title more accurately reflects the content of the collective monograph. In the table of contents, it is immediately noticeable that the editors have assigned specific chapters to their authors. In the body of the book such information is already at the beginning of each chapter.

Throughout the book, the authors freely use ethnonyms of the Roma ethnic group. In international documents, as well as in the name of the institutions, the official name has been adopted, although it is known that the Roma are a diverse community, especially in individual countries. I think, however, that it would be at least more justified to use a uniform name in the table of contents and its parts. Obviously, it is possible to clarify these issues in a footnote and this was done, for example, with regard to the name 'Ciganos'. The Portuguese term is maintained, as it is still recognized and used by the Portuguese Ciganos themselves. In the international context, the term can be understood as Portuguese Roma or Romani people (p. 20, 136).

One can notice consistency in the construction of the table of contents, chapter numbering, layout and division of the book into three parts. The content of the introduction includes the rationale for taking up the topic, the discussed content of the book, the selection of texts and research. The authors explained the different methodological approaches and the variety of texts and the lack of comparisons. Each text begins with an abstract and keywords, as well as a footnote and a brief note about the author and their affiliation. The book avoids formal errors and is fairly and neatly prepared in its form, making it a publication with consistent content and form.

The book is structured into three parts. The first part, subtitled *Education Policies, Inclusion and Exclusion*, includes six chapters on the research developed in five countries: Russia, Romania, the UK, Slovakia and Portugal. This part returns to the issues of difficulties, problems, barriers and discrimination and many other factors that were identified as influencing factors of the low educational attainment and success of the Roma in different geographical, social, economic and political contexts.

Carol Rogers' chapter presents a critical reflection on the educational experience of Roma children in the UK, from the perspective of whether they have inclusive learning opportunities or not, and whether, as in other areas of their lives, they face situations of exclusion and disadvantage. The chapter authored by Manuela Mendes and Olga Magano presents in detail the policy context of the education of Portuguese Roma (Ciganos) combined with the findings of ethnographic fieldwork and interviews with representatives of Roma communities. Through the article by Zsuzsa Plainer, the reader gains access to an understanding of the connectedness of school and employment and the thoughts and values that are attached to this by the Roma themselves. The chapter by Pavel Kubanik highlights the importance of the community, showing how life in the Roma community and school activities are not independent from each other but are linked through child agency despite the inflexible and hierarchy-dependent character of school. A distinctive argument is presented in Jekateryna Dunajeva's article, though from a historical point of view, as the reader is taken back to the early Soviet Union period when policies harshly intervened in identity politics in different domains of life, including education. Using country-level statistics, Attila Z. Papp and Eszter Neumann propose a typology of resilient and irresilient schools and then compare the performance indicators of the learners in the two school types.

The second part of the book, which focuses essentially on *Obstacles and Key Factors for the Continuity of Education*, involves four chapters seeking to discern different factors that could contribute to increase the number and quality of school paths of Roma children and youth.

Marko Stenroos and Jenni Helakorpi present the results of the research in which they gave voice to multiple actors involved in the education of Roma children in Finland. They highlight the need not only to focus on the Roma as individuals or as a group in the educational system, but also to shift the scrutiny to the structures of the educational system. The chapter written by Stefánia Toma examines the outside school context in order to detect broader societal factors that in well-defined contexts might contribute to the improvement of the school participation of Roma children. Magano and Mendes return with another account of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of Portuguese policies aimed at the integration of Ciganos, summarizing the factors that define the educational trajectories of Cigano youth. These trajectories are not only intertwined with public policies and intervention, but are also associated with the (re)configuration of identity construction processes. The last chapter in this part focuses on a specific case study located in Portugal. Lurdes Nicolau presents the outcomes of the research developed in the Portuguese North-Eastern region of Trás-os-Montes, which – regardless of the Cigano population's progress in terms of schooling – remains insufficient and far from complying with mandatory schooling, similar to that observed in the rest of the country.

The third part of the book, *Education Strategies: Success and social mobility vs. Reproduction of Inequalities*, focuses on the identification of innovative educational strategies that could boost school success and social mobility and/or, conversely, could contribute to the continued reproduction of social inequalities. Andria Timmer and Máté Erős's chapter starts this part, bringing new arguments and views from a multidisciplinary angle of alternative ways to empower Roma children and improve educational attainment. Inspirationally combining ethnographic and philosophical approaches, the two authors present a new model of organizing education for Roma children that was implemented in Hungary. Lazar and Baciu used qualitative methodology in their investigation on the effects of social capital among Roma students. The chapter by la Rosa and Andreau argues strongly for the need to fill the gaps in research on the Roma's participation in higher education. The last chapter, written by Judit Durst and Ábel Bereményi, comes as an immediate response to the needs formulated in the previous chapter, as they convey strong arguments, this time also empirical, based on the findings of long-term ethnographic fieldwork, for the importance of investigating and trying to understand the upward social and educational mobility of Roma youth.

Conclusions

The book is needed in the context of analyzing the problem. The authors do not always include adequate proposals and do not indicate how the analysis of social phenomena should be translated into practice, specific solutions, and the methodology of work. The summary is often too laconic – an elaboration would probably be to the benefit of the texts.

The authors are familiar with the issues and efficiently navigate the conceptual nomenclature. While such a difficult issue should be approached with appreciation, the introduction to it in some texts and their structure raise some methodological concerns. The works do not always indicate the purpose, the task, which the reader can guess and look for in the content of the text. Sometimes the research problem or problems are not formulated (obviously, when the text is not of a research nature, but constitutes rather an overview – still, it should indicate certain social facts and problems). The texts in some passages leave some space for desired improvements regarding stylistic form. One can find evaluative formulas in the texts, as well as too obvious and sometimes outdated ones.

For a discerning reader, the way the texts were selected is immediately striking. They were probably prepared beforehand as reports on research conducted by the authors. The editors collected the texts and attempted to give a coherent form to a collective work on Roma issues. In this regard, another attempt should be undertaken to make identical contents truly coherent, sometimes only because of the Roma issue.

In my opinion, the addition of an index of terms to the publication was valuable. Similarly, I find the inclusion of a list of authors with biographical notes. I also wonder if the title itself should not include a more prominent European context, since the works and research are from that region of the world.

I personally recommend the publication to the reader interested in the contemporary situation of Roma communities, their problems, as well as in possible proposals for solutions and good practices.

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