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Socio-cultural
and political conditions
for the development
and functioning
of the contemporary man

scientific editor:
Justyna Siemionow

35th anniversary
of the Polish Educational
Research Association

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Introduction

We hope you will enjoy the present, already fourteenth volume of the annual *Ars Educandi*, examining topics focusing on socio-cultural and political determinants behind the development and functioning of contemporary people. This year's 35th anniversary of the Polish Pedagogical Society, as discussed in the text by Professor Joanna Rutkowiak from Józef Rusiecki Olsztyn University College, fits this topical line very well. The Polish Pedagogical Society substantially contributes to the development of pedagogy as a diverse scientific discipline, which, comprising many subdisciplines drawing from other sciences, including psychology, sociology, philosophy, and political science, tries to solve problems of contemporary people taking interdisciplinary perspective on an ongoing basis. The Society has clearly determined statutory objectives, which are the foundations behind its huge achievements and indicate the direction for further actions – a direction connected with a much greater than previously activity consisting in the introduction of pedagogical thought facilitating the change of education understood as a social movement and a social project to the general public.

Today's reality is marked by a high level of changes and their unprecedented dynamics in virtually all spheres of human life. What is equally interesting, the use of the term "reality" in singular seems to be not entirely correct at present. At very early stages of their development, people become active participants in not only real, but also virtual reality. Our education, exploration of the world and meeting people largely take place with the help of the so-called new technologies. The internet, not long ago available only to the very few in Poland, and requiring appropriate financial resources, has suddenly become ubiquitous. Along with new opportunities, new threats have appeared. The virtual space has taken possession of contemporary people. It is there that they establish relationships with others, look for support and the sense of community, sense of closeness. Is this the right direction? Does it foster a positive functioning of human beings and build their mental well-being? Does it therefore become necessary to mobilise all actions to "drag" today's people back to the real reality, where interpersonal communication and direct contact with others allow one to experience their emotions, and thus correctly interpret and understand one's own emotional states?

It is worth noticing that researchers keep looking for effective solutions and develop new projects and programmes, attempting to combine the virtual and the real world so that it creates a safe environment for people to live at all stages of their

development. For many years now we have been living not only in Poland, but also in the European Union, and are its integral part, drawing on the cultural, social, and economic wealth of other UE member states. Similar actions apply to the world of theory and practice. Pedagogy is a science with a very rich theoretical background, but also an equally strong practical drive, and a diverse array of methodological tools helping us to discover and understand the social reality.

The articles published in this volume of *Ars Educandi* refer to all the above-mentioned issues. The annual contains texts from the area of pedagogy and, more broadly, social sciences, which at the same time do not fence themselves off from other disciplines. To understand the world that surrounds us and the phenomena taking place within it, we need to adopt an interdisciplinary perspective.

The current achievements of pedagogy would not be possible without the activity of certain persons who, sadly, are no longer with us. Professor Teresa Bauman, a long-standing head of the Unit of Didactics, Institute of Pedagogy, University of Gdansk, is one of them. However, complex and difficult as it is today, the world of science does offer a chance for researchers to remain present in their publications, projects, and thoughts of the subsequent generations of students and scholars. Hence, we have an opportunity to use the scientific achievements of Professor Teresa Bauman, as presented by Katarzyna Wajszczyk.

This volume offers texts containing culture-related, philosophical and pedagogical analyses of the contemporaneity, which however do not remain in opposition to historical references. The annual is opened up by the already mentioned essay by Joanna Rutkowiak concerning the 35th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish Pedagogical Society taking place in 2016. The subsequent text by Piotr Zamojski presents some very interesting and inspiring reflections on the theory and its references to the surrounding world in the context of broadly understood education. Jolanta Dyrda's paper leaves the readers in the area of education, albeit one particularly devoted to children with special educational needs. The author's critical attitude makes it possible for her to notice many new opportunities of work with such charges. Agnieszka Sojka transfers the readers to the area in which questions are posed concerning the gist of sociocultural animation and reflections related to it, directing attention to the huge significance of the staff teaching future animators. In turn, Sława Grzechnik focuses on styles of communication implemented by teachers in verbal interactions with their pupils, i.e. interpersonal communication in gender perspective. The next text, authored by Piotr Prósinowski and Piotr Krzywdziński, discusses the closeness of the real world to the virtual one and their close relationship in the context of enculturation and educational potential of video games. Agnieszka Budnik's text *Prawa osób z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną w świetle europejskiego i polskiego ustawodawstwa* [Rights of People with Intellectual Disability in the Light of European and Polish Law] presents issues related to the functioning of this group of people from the legal point of view, while indicating how to create and organise effective forms of assistance to people with decreased intellectual capacity.

The author of the subsequent paper, Przemysław Szczygieł, transfers the readers to the times of Francisco Franco's dictatorship, presenting issues related to the Spanish (Castilian) educational policy in relation to Catalonia of the time. This section of the periodical is closed by Tomasz Nowicki's text *Zoo jako projekt socjalizacyjny* [The Zoo as a Socialisation Project]. Using metaphorical approach, the author presents a trip to the zoo as a historical journey to the very source of the manner of cognition he indicates, as well as questions concerning the meaning given to representation of animals. According to the author, just like a panopticon, the tradition of existence of zoological gardens and the discourse developed around them teaches that the production of objectivity, i.e. normativity, is a process of the construction of conditions of human look as a knowledge-power relation.

The content of this volume is supplemented with reports concerning two selected scientific events that took place at the Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Gdansk, during the first half of 2017, and a review of the book *Więcej niż teatr. Sztuka zaangażowana i angażująca wychowawczo – Romany Miller inspiracje dla współczesnej pedagogiki* [More Than Theatre. Pedagogically Engaged and Engaging Art – Romana Miller's Inspirations for Contemporary Pedagogy] (Gdańsk 2017). The said publication is a collective work devoted to the achievements of Professor Romana Miller connected with Gdansk pedagogical environment, with particular focus on her theory of theatre education.

The first presented scientific event is the symposium *Education: What for and Why?*, which took place on 12–13 June 2017, and was organized in cooperation with dr. Tony F. Carusi (Massey University, New Zealand). The symposium was designed as an attempt at a revitalization of the network SCAPE (Studies of Conflict, Culture & the Political in Education). Another scientific event discussed is the three-day series of lectures by Professor Gert Biesta based on his publication *Beautiful Risk of Education*, held on 1–3 March 2017.

We are providing you with this year's volume of *Ars Educandi* hoping that it will inspire you to reflect on today's world, its resources, deficits, and, above all, the contemporary people, who never cease to astound theoreticians or practitioners, motivating them to create new scientific projects.

Justyna Siemionow

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

Joanna Rutkowiak

Józef Rusiecki Olsztyn University College

A scholarly society in difficult times. An essay for the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the Polish Educational Research Association

Trying to socialise education,
we have failed to socialise ourselves.

I devote this text to a reflection on selected actions and directions of changes taking place in the period in question within the Polish Educational Research Association (PERA; Polskie Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne) as well as a sketch of proposals that might guide the Association's activity in future. It is not an objective narration, but a peer statement given from the point of view of a participant of events, feeling co-responsible for their content and course. It is to initiate a discussion on prospects for the Association's further development.

The Polish Educational Research Association was founded in the spring of 1981. However, while mentioning the date, we must also remember about earlier actions such as Ewaryst Estkowski's establishment of the Polish Educational Research Association in Poznan in 1848, i.e. during the difficult times of the partitions.

The recalled signal concerns the fitting of the contemporary PERA into the concrete tradition of Europe, where scholarly societies have been founded since the 15th century: initially in Italy, and subsequently in other countries. Poland was not delayed in this scope – in 1489, Sodalitas Litteraria Vistulana was founded here; but it was the organization of the Warsaw Association of Friends of Learning (Towarzystwo Warszawskie Przyjaciół Nauk) in 1800, which rooted institutions of this kind in the Polish intellectual culture, and that was the breakthrough moment for the promotion of the scholarly movement. From then on, general, specialist and field societies were developed, pursuing their activities either in favourable conditions (marked by an atmosphere conducive for research, free-thinking and responsibility for research promotion), or in the situation of limitations, when they had to persistently fight for their very survival (Bartosik 2013).

Today, according to estimates dating to 2002, Poland has about 280 general, regional, specialist, professional scientific, and scientific and technological societies, with a total of about 340,000 members. This means that the Polish Educational Research Association is embedded in a family of like-minded organisations, which

strengthens the energy resources of the entire environment and facilitates the mutual sharing of experience, which is especially important in difficult times.

Statutes of the present day Polish scholarly societies (and I studied the documents ranging from the statute of the Polish Philosophical Association, and ending with the statute of the Polish Scientific Association of Combustion Engines), present their goals, and apply to two avenues of action:

- practice and promotion of research through their members' participation in the development of the relevant scholarly disciplines;
- promotion of research results, intellectual reflection, dissemination of knowledge in the spirit of responsibility, and popularisation of cognitive achievements among both their members and the broader public.

The recently modified statute of PERA, which provides that: "The aim of the Association is to participate in the development and promotion of pedagogical sciences both in Poland and internationally" (Chapter II §10 It. 1 of the Statute of the Polish Educational Research Association of 11 May 2016 with amendments of 6 June 2017) has the same structure.

I intend to base my reflections concerning the 35-year long activity of PERA on the implementation of both these statutory aims of the Association, highlighting the complications involved.

Going back to the title of this work, we may say that 1981, i.e. the year in which the Association was established, was both a difficult and an easy time for its then-activists. What made their work easier resulted from the experience of the "Solidarity" felt as a community endeavour fostering empowerment attitudes, the experience of a realistic sense of agency, and – in the organisational aspect – the extension and maturation of a mass-scale social organization, effectively demanding an improvement of the quality of human life, including the level of education. The above made people feel very strongly motivated to become involved in public issues, and in the daily life resulted in enthusiasm, cooperation, trust, friendship, optimism, energy, and hope both in the individual and social dimensions, while in the case of pedagogues – also in a vision of the improvement of the condition of education and strengthening its pro-developmental potentials.

Difficulties of the times included the necessity to overcome the political system and act in the conditions of the absence of clear perspectives and funds, the unstable situation, the appearance of unexpected hazards including the hardest one – that of martial law, having to cope with the harsh daily reality, and the awareness of the huge scope and novelty of the work ahead.

I have to confess that it was not during the most turbulent days, but only later that I appreciated how people who were at the time trying to establish PERA, including Professors Bogdan Suchodolski, Wincenty Okoń, Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, and Zbigniew Kwieciński, managed to overcome the difficulties, and use the glimpse and the narrow in let of freedom between the signing of the August Agreements in 1980 and the introduction of martial law in December 1981 to actually carry out this extremely important undertaking.

The preliminary programme of PERA was announced to the public in the form of a publication in the *Głos Nauczycielski* magazine ([Teachers' Voice]; 1981, No. 46) under the title *Uchwały w sprawach dla narodu najważniejszych* [Resolutions in Matters Most Important to the People]. It stressed the significance of education for the entire scope of social life that required reconstruction and repair, specified tasks resulting from developmental negligence committed in relation to youth, and appealed to everyone with a feeling for the future and goodness of Poland to participate in educational work. It was a message of a huge social importance.

The foundation of the Association in March 1981 was indeed no mean feat! It was followed by intensive basic works, i.e. the establishment of regional branches, which organised scientific meetings, seminars, and conferences, and planned and carried out research and publication projects in a pro-democratic atmosphere, in cooperation with the local teacher environments. In a nutshell, the 1980s were a busy period of the start-up of the Association's activity, pursued in spite of many difficulties. It was possible to overcome them owing to the serious voluntary involvement of PERA members.

Continuing to discuss difficult times, I am now moving to 1989, which witnessed the political breakthrough. We entered the new reality in the conditions of a rapid social change – both desiring it, and unprepared for it, as we did not have a clear or a relatively uniform vision of the future, or the appropriate power of execution, and were burdened with the past both in the material and mental sphere, which applied to both pedagogues and the ones who were to become their “charges” (Kwieciński 1990).

Research by Jadwiga Koralewicz and Marek Ziółkowski covering the end of the 1980s and the subsequent period showed that the mentality of Poles at the time, which was described in terms of individualism/collectivism, empowerment/subordination, and productivity/receptiveness, included deeply engrained consequences of the previous political system (Koralewicz, Ziółkowski 2003). For pedagogues, the above signalled the huge scale of the tasks ahead of the new education, but also – indirectly – the source of the question to what extent we ourselves were ready to undertake the necessary work.

The awareness of the situation of the time was reflected in the formula and motto of PERA's First Convention (1993), during which the identity of pedagogy was discussed. Rather than obtaining a uniform point of view on the issue, it was about turning towards reflective working through the issue of the senses, problems, and methodology of the scholarly discipline we pursued, as well as our self-knowledge as people of the discipline.

As far as the political system was concerned, we entered the macrostructure of parliamentary democracy, and declared activity for the benefit of the democratization of education, which required an internalisation of the appropriate principles. At a certain point of time, these were insightfully sketched and collected to make a description of a model democrat by Maria Ossowska (Ossowska 1992), and were later complemented by Barbara Skarga in her lecture on citizenship given at the University of Białystok (Kraków 2007).

However, what was the relationship between these models and us – were we democrats, and what was our attitude to citizenship? These issues that had to be faced also constituted some of the difficulties the Association had to deal with at the time.

In a paper given by the Head of PERA during its first convention, entitled *Mimikra czy sternik? Dramat pedagogiki w sytuacji przesilenia formacyjnego* [Mimicry or Helmsman? The Drama of Pedagogy in the Situation of a Formative Turning Point], the problem was defined clearly – the question was whether education is an element of adjustment to the current qualities, or whether it is an emancipatory factor (Kwieciński 1993). It was all, in fact, about a debate on education as a debate on social change, as Lech Witkowski insightfully pointed out (Witkowski 2010).

During the first convention, a serious reflection and discussion were initiated on the issues that were continued to be researched, albeit with changeable intensity, in the 1990s. The discussions both reflected and stimulated thematic publications of the time – let us mention for example selected texts published under self-speaking titles such as *Pytanie o pedagogikę* [The Question of Pedagogy] by Andrea Folkierska (Folkierska 1990) or *Ukryte założenia trzech krytyk. Przyczynek do samowiedzy pedagogii przejścia i pogranicza* [Concealed Assumptions of Three Critiques. A Contribution to Self-Knowledge of the Pedagogy of Passage and Borderline] by Robert Kwaśnica (Kwaśnica 1990).

In subsequent years, reflection on pedagogical self-knowledge markedly diminished – perhaps because the stimulating circumstances were less sharp. We worked in the times that were no longer that difficult – they facilitated both the practicing of research and reflection on educational issues: access to tools such as lectures and international contacts was improving, conditions allowed for familiarisation with and interpretative identification of the formerly “absent” discourses as well as publishing activity, we used freedom of association, and we organized scientific conferences and triannual national-scale pedagogical conventions.

The entire movement resulted in research and many great publications, but also questions concerning the social circulation of pedagogical thought and the quality of people as implementers of change. However, it did not include a large share of topics concerning the level of academic pedagogues as “interpreters” of the socio-educational change, which would be necessary and important in the light of Bauman differentiating them from “legislators” (Bauman 1987).

We returned to a self-analytical direction towards the end of the 1990s. The 5th Convention of Delegates of PERA, which was held in 1996, almost marked a decade of political transformations and was devoted to the topic of “The Achievements of Polish Pedagogy after 1989”, becoming an opportunity to exchange thoughts in this scope. It was considered that the achievements were considerable – even impressive (as described by Tadeusz Lewowicki), which was supported with convincing data. They were marked by passing from “[...] partial images of knowledge to the picture filled with various educational theories, concepts and practices – with diverse assumptions, ideological and social concepts, and models of execution” (Lewowicki 1997: 11–13). It was then that the outlines of the multiplicity of topics, methods, and

languages of pedagogy, which over time transformed into trends of various pedagogies, could be seen (Jaworska-Witkowska, Kwieciński 2011).

The good quality of the research carried out at the time and later, as well as of numerous publications, is a measure of the degree to which PERA carries out its statutory tasks in the area of the Association's participation in the development of scientific pedagogical knowledge. I put it in this way, although it is impossible to identify and separate the Association's activities in this scope from the activities of other institutions such as academic structures, the Committee of Pedagogical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and the administration of higher education institutions, which are likewise directed towards the stimulation of scientific dynamics. Despite this limitation, I am adopting an assumption of a positive role of the activity of the Association for the scientific activity of the pedagogical environment.

The positive, although at times also critical assessment of pedagogues' scholarly achievements during the more than thirty years long period, is accompanied by regularly returning questions as to the functioning of the achievements in the real social circulation.

Expressing his concern about the quality of the pedagogical academic environment as a carrier and promoter of the achievements, Kwieciński formed the following significant questions as early as in 1996: "All Polish pathologies are reflected in our environment, which, after all, is academic, as in a mirror. Who, then, is to educate our society? Who is to educate its educators?" and he put forward a postulate of reliable research penetrating the ethos of academic pedagogical institutions all over Poland, taking it as an opportunity to additionally irrigate the professional self-awareness of pedagogues and their awareness of mutual relations (Kwieciński 1997: 8–9).

Differentiation of the condition of pedagogical thought, measured by the scholarly achievements from the quality of its social circulation, directed attention to the appearance, between the theoretically exposed identification of "nationalisation" and "socialisation" of pedagogy (Kwieciński 1996) that was of key importance in the breakthrough time, of a new phenomenon of its "privatization".

In its original use, this word was not tantamount to a multi-staff employment of pedagogues in the rapidly developing non-state schools, but to the mental direction of the people of education, who were building their positions, elevating their own good (their private, "home" good, which was also executed in public institutions) above the educational common good. At some point, the social sense of the thus-understood privacy was discussed by Hannah Arendt, who wrote that "The privation of privacy lies in the absence of others; as far as they are concerned, private man does not appear, and therefore it is as though he did not exist. Whatever he does remains without significance and consequence to others, and what matters to him is without interest to other people" (Arendt 1998: 58). What was of particular importance in our case, was the low concentration, as if even it was absent, of people's interest in the communal dimension of the educational problems they talked about.

What was stressed in answer to the question of whether the nationalisation of pedagogy originating from the gone-by system had changed to its "socialisation" was

the significance of the development of the multiplicity of varieties and languages of thinking of education considered to be a symptom of denationalisation – along with it, the new phenomenon of “privatization” as a current style and manner of practicing pedagogy was signalled. It manifested itself in the treatment of research as fragmentary explications of individual positions; voices on the pedagogical scene were atomised, displaying the speakers’ attachment to their own standpoints regardless of the entirety of the educational issue in its macroscale, and their minimized effort to listen to others, and to relate to them through insight guided by the intention to cooperate in the socio-educational reality and its comprehensive emancipatory transformation (Rutkowiak 1997: 20–21).

It was during conferences at that time that a specific manner of communication was developed consisting in talking about issues somehow “next to each other”, when each speaker presented their own fragmented theses, sometimes not even fully related to the topic of a given conference, and there was no time – and perhaps also internal motivation – for discussion. This was tantamount to a “research individualism” (Cierzniwska 2011: 353) that was inconsistent with the principle of the balance between talking and listening marking democratic relations, and did not foster the concentration of efforts and directing pedagogy towards the building of education understood as a “movement and social undertaking”, as Kwieciński described democratic and humanistic education in pioneering terms (Kwieciński 1982).

It was then that during a meeting of the Association, I heard the phrase “between us – private entrepreneurs” treated as a joke, but one verbalising the ego-centring behaviours and developing relations with the fellow participants of events as separatist relations, which facilitates the reduction of reflection on the educational whole as a common good.

The behaviours of the participants of the scientific meetings organised by the Association at the time can be commented on through the lenses of the practice of negative freedom understood as an absence of limitations. Possibly, the disappearance of the former system-induced barriers to the discussion of certain topics and the manners of practicing research grounding it in the positivist paradigm considered to be the model to be followed caused an eruption of the mood of liberty and provided grounds for the formation of a polyphony, which however failed to organize itself into a paradigmatic reflective whole to the degree that would promote the development of socialized education built for the common good. Regardless of the reason behind that situation, the lack of such awareness was a weak side of our endeavours of the time.

The situation can also be theoretically grounded in a higher generality field with a reference to the conceptual map of paradigms (orthodoxy, heterodoxy, and heterogeneity) drawn by Rolland G. Paulston and presented by Kwieciński during PERA’s First Convention, and subsequently cognitively explored in analyses of the condition of Polish pedagogy (Hejnicka-Bezwińska 1997, 2011).

However we interpret the moods that at the time we probably identified poorly, it should be stressed that the delight in the individual significance of every educator’s discoveries or para-discoveries, made as if out of one’s own cognitive need, was

not accompanied by a clear combination of efforts of socialized pedagogues guided by their care for the building of education as a significant undertaking with a public/communal value.

In this place, I shall refer to the idea of the responsibility of researchers, which has been elaborated theoretically, and grounded institutionally, as manifested in its inclusion in the statutes of some Polish scholarly societies. It seems that at some point the question of PERA's responsibility for education weakened or utterly disappeared from our attention, although its more decisive public coverage would be particularly important when fundamental educational transformations were carried out, including the preparation and implementation of the educational system reform (1999), creation of new curricula, introduction of methods of external, standardized assessment as an actual tool of school selections, changing principles of teacher education and professional development, reform of the higher education, rooting younger children in educational institutions, and quality of learning outcomes, which today are described as an educational calamity when viewed as indicators of the mental condition of society.

Recent issues concern the accelerated "school revolutions" to be introduced as of 2017, as announced on the internet, that are to include changes to the school system structure, history curriculum, concepts of vocational education (with the transformation of "vocational schools" into "industry schools"), principles of school head selection and work of class tutors, and the weakening of the role of local governments in the management of education (<https://men.gov.pl>).

After the first spontaneous and somehow "innocent" wave of privatization of pedagogy marking the beginnings of the 1990s, which focused on endeavours to secure individual positions, and which probably reflected the psychosocial properties of behaviours of people practicing isolationism faced with a rapid democratization of life, a much more advanced second wave came.

I personally perceive it as an already supra-individual (because instrumentalised by the system) reduction of the activity of educators' to self-serving behaviours directed at the development of their own careers with the help of methods modelled on the market system that are harmonized with the mechanisms of that system. I am talking about the institutionally grounded privatisation on a larger scale, made legitimate by the appropriate arrangement of procedures, with pressure on success understood as a sort of profit, and substantially grounded in the neoliberal cultural change.

Descriptions of mechanisms aimed at the shaping of the appropriate human attitudes and behaviours can be found in strategic documents (sometimes projects) concerning the directions of development and reform of higher education in the scientific area and the management of higher education, as well as in the tactical project of bureaucratizing didactics (encased in numerous documents) with a dehumanization of our work and depriving it of individual responsibility, which was to be "controlled" via the introduction of detailed control as a tool of supervision. For example, the main document determining the quality of education describes it as consistence with standards and usefulness for the clients (Hornowska 2003).

What is more important, the bureaucratization of school education, probably most intense at the higher education level, is accompanied by the naturalisation and interiorisation of the market order by a considerable share of researchers themselves, who become passionate about becoming fluent in the operation of procedures, which is often accompanied by their weakening involvement in the gist of their practiced research area. They seem to accept the change of their position of scholars into the position of the “community of the audited”, deprived of trust (Kruszelnicki 2011: 179), although – at the same time – the bitter tone of the daily statements of the people of science indicates that the replacement of the academic with the business style of university management causes deep dissatisfaction. The whole situation reflects the academicians’ internal conflict of identity.

More broadly speaking, let us say that the direction of the current changes facilitates the changing of the movement and circulation of lively research and didactic reflection, traditionally rooted in schools of higher education and permeated with creative efforts and high valuing of autotelic knowledge as well as the interactive/humanistic activities of educational subjects – university people representing various disciplines and levels and their students, shaped as people-citizens, into increasingly formalized, algorithmized and standardised activities that are quantified in a way facilitating a statistical comparative processing enabling positioning (which is a marketing term) by setting together people’s actions and clerical formulas, and promoting the competitive attitudes of educational staff. This is also related to changes within academic institutions and their orientation towards a “scientific and educational product” (Cierzniwska 2011: 353) of traditionally factory provenance (Czerepaniak-Walczak 2013). This is tantamount to directing academicians’ efforts to learning regulatory principles, and, in the scholarly sphere, to practicing promotion-related research aimed at the building of their own successes, which I shall still call privatisation. Let me just once again stress that this is, however, a privatisation that is different than the one from the first wave, as it concerns not so much research interests and results considered by the particular researchers significant enough to be presented and exposed before others, as promoting one’s own interests as a tool of winning a place in the competitive system of efficient researchers as people of the market game of the dominating system.

Here, the system of higher education itself, being a framework institution for their actions, is treated as a service provider directed at the “production of knowledge” (Kwiek 2015a: 35), being – in fact – fuel for the competitive global economic development and factory production of diplomas of university graduates constituting a human capital of the efficient, broadly understood production work.

Going further this way, directed by what is referred to as “reform endeavours”, it was proposed that universities be divided into scientific ones – “flagships” – and didactic ones – preparing students for the standard work of office workers and politically managing the social time of young people. It is a concept which is contradictory to the Humboldtian idea of the university, which combines the practicing of science and didactics, fastening together various branches of knowledge, and building cognitive relations between professors and students, since it is about a unilateral

elevation of the pragmatic functions of education with separation from the function of social enlightenment and improvement of the general public's life not limited to efficiency and financial/productive effectiveness. The appropriate classification of academicians is to be based on research results acquired as a part of formalised, strongly competitive, international systems of grants, points, and ranks, with the immanently inscribed competition based on the privatized orientation of subjects trying to win a better position in the race.

In this situation, the question of *academicians' self-knowledge* becomes intriguing, which applies to both the "didactised" and the "true" researchers guided towards the production of knowledge at the top international level. This is about the conscious awareness of the former of the fact of the degrading of their academic-didactic activity resulting from the real, organizational and financial separation of it from the practicing of science, which will decrease the current level of university education, and, consequently, diminish the mental condition of the society, as well as about the orientation of the latter universities, who provide their energy and competitive talents to the contemporary corporative global economy, with the terror of economic development, acting in the name of controversial "progress", which – indirectly – is tantamount to the co-participation of academicians in the generation of drastic social disparities, currently considered to be the greatest problem of contemporaneity (Piketty 2015). The problem has been rapidly worsening, taking the form of overlapping civilizational, political, economic, and institutional crises as manifested by the recent dramatic migration movement. They call for the application of sustainable global solutions, but – as of today – such solutions cannot be created even by the best "producers of knowledge". Are we, therefore, on the right track? Or are we making self-destructive movements?

Reflection on the meta-level of the scholarly race coloured with the privatisation and market tones uncovers the current quality of the certainly not new questions of social responsibility and ethical conduct of the people of science. Are they the topic of a self-reflection of scholars in the difficult current times – albeit they are difficult in a different way than precious? Do scholarly societies initiate and keep up discussion on the contemporary standing of science and the self-knowledge of scholars? Is their voice heard in the public sphere and is it food for thought? And how does the activity of the Polish Educational Research Association present itself in this scope?

Having presented the question of changes taking place in the system of higher education, I am now returning to the issue of the grounding of the phenomenon of the second wave of privatization of pedagogy in a specific sociocultural context.

This context is the contemporary state of the neoliberalisation of all disciplines of life developing on the global scale, also affecting the practice and application of science. Described from a variety of sides in literature, referred to as financial capitalism, the condition is above all tantamount to a radical marketization of institutions, actions, thoughts and human values, directed at the maximization of real and possible profits and involving consequences such as drastic inequalities of distribution resulting in social disparities, with an unbalanced surplus/shortage of all goods, also in the area of education.

Pedagogues reacted to these inequalities, and, to be more precise, to one of their aspects, i.e. an insufficient access to and low schooling of the Polish society in the past decades, with mass-employment in the rapidly developing non-state run schools of higher education. The above resulted in the weakening of research activity, in particular in “soft” disciplines, including pedagogy, which was examined, documented, and interpreted by way of an application of the theory of institutionalisation, deinstitutionalization, and re-institutionalisation of the research mission of Polish universities (Kwiek 2015b).

Pedagogues often rationalize their directing of activity towards the organisational/didactic side, with the weakening of the scholarly work (to be more precise, its concentration in the hands of a part of the environment), with the putting of the noble idea of making education available, which is traditionally inscribed in their ethos, at the forefront. The past romantic appeals, strengthened with current research results documenting educational inequalities and their negative consequences for the development of individuals and societies (Potulicka 2012a, 2012b), were considered the justification behind the intensified didactization of the activity of pedagogues. Pondering, more broadly, on the pedagogues’ helplessness or negligence, the justification or blame in the times of need (I am talking about both social and individual, private needs), Tadeusz Pilch put forward a convincing hypothesis that the presence of the attitude of withdrawal and opportunism developed on the part of science and scholars the sense of helplessness in relation to the social reality, which marked the intellectual environment of pedagogy for many years and which “[...] causes allergic reactions to appeals for its presence in public life” (Pilch 2004: 67).

Discussing further the phenomenon of the privatisation of pedagogy, let us stress that it involves *subcutaneous, ambiguous pressures* that cannot be interpreted easily, and that result in pulsating tensions and hesitations as to whether education and pedagogues as its people are really entangled in a neoliberal pitfall, and whether the pitfall applies to the Polish educational situation or is just a harmless manifestation of global progress and a developmental norm of contemporaneity.

This is the context of the state of affairs in the situation when the reality moved from the external plan, which was related to a clash of intentions and research desires of active pedagogues in a difficult system and life conditions, to an internal plan concerning the mental attitude to the current cultural reality in which education is entangled and which causes its paradoxes (Potulicka, Rutkowiak 2012; Boryczko 2015).

Pondering on the possibility of an intellectual grasping of the situation, we may boil the issue down to *the collision of ethos and interest*, which puts us at the crossroads between the focusing of scholarly work on questions related to the pro-developmental education which continues to be understood and practiced, in spite of the conditions of the reality, as a “movement and social undertaking”, or the use of imitative, apparent behaviours (Dudzikowa, Knasiecka-Falbierska 2013) directed at one’s own interests, with cynicism at the background. Oskar Szwabowski described the issue radically, pointing out that it facilitates the use of ambiguous games: “In neoliberal management, the academic body becomes either a subjected, tamed, trained body which must no longer be idle and which must become entirely

flexible, mobile, and competitive, or a tactical body undertaking acts of resistance, sabotage, deceptions, and breaking the rules of the game” (Szwabowski 2014: 216).

Bringing the issue of the collision of ethos and interest into the discussion contains a certain number of simplifications related to the identification of the possible tones of the meaning of the relation between these phenomena – such as the idea of “ethical interest”; but nevertheless it can be useful as a treatment facilitating the practicing of environmental self-reflection, involving the change from the acceptance of and subordination to external instrumental pressures and impacts, when we decide that it is no longer possible to avoid the demands of the situation, to the intellectual elaboration of the problematics, directed at the activation of the possible resistance and opposition activity practiced despite the conditions and times that are difficult, considering their current quality.

However, sole discussion of the question is not sufficient, because what counts is real human behaviours, and these are related to the state of the people’s self-knowledge and understanding of the cultural quality of the times in which they act; today, we are dealing with the times that are duplicitous and thus hard to be deciphered. On the one hand, they are good for us as they expose, offer, or actually impose a profusion of offers, including educational ones, and on the other hand, they camouflage the negative sides to this availability.

Problems with the conscious being in the neoliberal system result from the failure to identify, also by some academicians, the quality of the system (a political doctrine, worldview, macroeconomic theory, ideology) from the ideas and practices of liberalism. Misunderstandings in the terminological area, which are not limited solely to these two concepts, have distinct consequences, and, as Andrzej Walicki put it, have as much as “ [...] a deforming effect on public awareness, and even on the shape of the political system we create” (Walicki 2013: IX).

Difficulties with the deciphering of the contemporary domination of neoliberalism and conditions for the conscious understanding of its unique liveliness were recently insightfully discussed by Colin Crouch. He believes that what stands in the heart of the riddle is the discrepancy between the actually existing neoliberalism and its sterile ideological version. This actuality consists in the domination of mighty corporations in public life, while the ideological version of neoliberalism is built by the political conflict between the state and the market (Crouch 2011: 83). This issue seems to be controversial when pedagogues exchange their thoughts, as some of them see the state as the power enabling a potential improvement of the condition of education carried out through the limitation of privatisation, while others evaluate the state as a system destructive to education. The issue is expressively presented in Bogusław Śliwerski’s works (2015).

I take the possibility of yet another interpretation of the issue from my inspiration with Andrzej Leder’s book on dreamt revolutions. The two revolutions, which the author subjected to historical-psychoanalytical Lacanian analysis, concern the consequences of the annihilation of Jews as Polish towns people during the Second World War and the annihilation of the Polish landed gentry after 1945. These events that have been significant for the development of the identity of Poles, were enforced

on us from the outside, and carried out by alien forces with an unconscious, passive, as if deep in sleep, unintentional participation of the “objects of revolution” they concerned. We should remember that the society of the time was poorly educated and its mentality still displayed the remains of the feudal economy based on the work of slaves that was practiced in Poland until the mid-nineteenth century in the form resembling a prolonged Middle Ages (Sowa 2011; *Raport “Polska 2050”* [Report ‘Poland 2050’] 2011). Leder carried out historical logic exercises in this scope, and I suggest that an analogy be used and that the introduction of a neoliberal cultural change to Poland be treated as one more dreamt revolution that we have experienced.

The third revolution, just like the two previous ones: the one related to townspeople and the one involving the landed gentry and peasants, came from outside in the circumstances of the shock of the political and economic transformation of the end of the 1980s. Since we have not yet worked it through intellectually, it has not led to the acquisition of a clear-cut, specific identity (here, we are interested in the identity of pedagogues and the question to what extent they have cognitively consumed the educational/neoliberal changes), due to which, as Leder explains, the contemporary members of society, lacking the adequate identity, “[...] passively experience emancipation, since it is absent in their thoughts [...], [and] avoid entering the public life as self-aware political subjects” (Leder 2014: 8). I am of the opinion that the moderate participation of pedagogues in today’s public life can be explained in much the same way.

Going back to the experience of our functioning in the Polish Educational Research Association, let us say that we performed a leap towards the awakening (using Leder’s language) in the form of a movement that was organised, externalised, communal, and clear from the point of view of its identity, probably only once during the last 35 year – during the 6th Convention of PERA in Lublin in 2007. First, during a discussion of the Programme Committee, the topic of the event was chosen as “Education – morality – the public sphere”. And although we failed to introduce the word “ethicality” instead of “morality” to the title of the Convention, which would be consistent with the initial intention, we did manage to discuss the problem of the rooting and quality of the actual functioning of education in the public sphere as a state departing both from declarations and the needs of the public.

However, the formulation of the mobilisation slogan itself was not sufficient, since it was necessary to design working solutions. PERA members from the Gdansk Branch of the Association provided a particularly significant contribution to this work. I remember a meeting during which we decided that it was necessary to call burning issues related to education and ethics by their name in an organised way during the Convention. We worked in no time, and it was still during the meeting that we reported the “hot” problems we identified, and small working groups formed around them spontaneously. During just a couple of days, they elaborated the issues, and the entire document was drawn up by Astrid Męczkowska-Christiansen and Piotr Zamojski.

It was entitled *Stanowisko uczestników VI Ogólnopolskiego Zjazdu Pedagogicznego Polskiego Towarzystwa Pedagogicznego w sprawie stanu i perspektyw rozwoju edukacji w Polsce* [The Position of the 6th National Convention of the Polish Edu-

cational Research Association Concerning the State and Prospects for the Development of Education in Poland] and concerned:

- appropriation of education by short-term political interests;
- threats to the acquisition of intellectual and civic competences posed by the contents and form of school education;
- consequences of educational reforms (1999) that are contrasting with their initial assumptions;
- reproduction of social inequalities by school;
- increase in educational selective mechanisms generating the myth of the universality of Poles' education;
- breaking down of ethical responsibility of teachers as a result of the bureaucratisation of management;
- disappearance of public debate on education.

I have quoted the headings of the document to turn attention to the language that was developed at the time – the language of a comprehensive approach and factual justification of the subject, exposing its current communal significance and full of care for the improvement of the quality of education. It was marked by a substantial clarity of reporting issues, without the camouflage of slogans or ultra-specialist vocabulary, which made the contents clear and accessible to everyone working in the area of education – from teachers and academic lecturers to educational decision-makers, since they were aimed at a public presentation of the document with the hope for a response from the public. In an unmasking way, it pointed out the gist of the relation between the state of education and the quality of social life as well as the absence of coherence of the relations towards systemic assumptions of democracy. Therefore, it was a document identifying issues of basic importance for education as an indispensable public undertaking – one that is actually not implemented.

The swiftness of the work that was carried out and the excellent cooperation of people reflected the tension accompanying the topics in question, and the people's strong internal motivation as well as readiness to discuss them in the public arena.

The document was adopted by the majority of participants as the position of the Convention, since 68% of them voted in favour in a secret ballot. However, this meant that nearly one third of the participants did not approve of the basic theses about the poor condition of education and the need for improvement despite the fact that they were reported in a matter-of-fact way and with moderate criticism. The result, which is still puzzling, was a specific indicator of the state of the "pedagogical spirit" of the academic environment of educators. Later, Ewa Rodziewicz asked some questions important for the issue, reporting that "[...] 32% of the participants of the 6th Convention rejected? refrained from voting?, neglected the fact of taking a position?, did not support the position of the Convention. This situation provides food for thought and breeds further questions as to what pedagogical orientations, concealed and open thinking programmes, and positions of pedagogues re' the condition of present day pedagogy, the state of education, and the direction of discourse activated as a part of PERA in Poland/Gdansk really are?" (Rodziewicz 2008: 56). These questions remain open.

Attempts at the publication of the convention document in the mass media, undertaken by Dariusz Kubinowski – Head of the Organisational Committee – proved to be futile; no publication or feedback followed, although the text is available in the volume of convention materials (Rutkowiak, Kubinowski, Nowak 2007: 19–24).

On the one hand, the entire issue can be interpreted negatively as an expression of marginalisation on the public arena of the voice on the condition of education expressed by members of a scholarly society, as well as a limitation of the social importance of education itself. But PERA's failure can also be considered a result of its non-politicisation (let us differentiate here between politicisation from a political character) tantamount to the absence of ideological addiction that might be supported by the publication of the convention document. Was the non-effectiveness of the attempt to introduce educational questions to the public sphere testimony to the pathology of the space itself or did it result from the Association's independence or insufficient involvement of its members?

The recalled convention events dating to 2007 evoke the topic of the critical practice of pedagogy. Pedagogues publish many important critical texts, and there are thematic conferences – and PERA members participate in these undertakings, too. This activity may undermine the thesis on the neoliberal (culture and identification-related) sleep of pedagogues, but it may also be tantamount to the expression of the movement of thoughts, but one applying to fragmentary issues or issues formulated in a hermetic language of professionals, which results in the fact that educational topics do not permeate to the broader public. This causes the “absence of pedagogy”, “[...] its marginal place at universities and its weak, dumb position in the public space” (Kopciewicz 2012: 36). This condition was well described in an opinion I heard behind the scenes of the conference: “Critical pedagogy is well and kicking, but it is dead”.

The opinion referred to the gap between the contents of substantial analyses, indicating educational shortcomings, and the low quality of educational practice, which means that the warnings are not translated into actions, or, perhaps, they are improperly formulated, which in turn results from the shortage of our caring and clear interest in the educational whole or is tantamount to such a bureaucratic-systemic entrenchment of the practice that it is difficult to find a discursive access to it. This is related to the para-technical guiding of teachers and pushing away of professional pedagogues from participation in the conceptual work of educational bodies, and is manifested in the severing of the formerly vivid working contacts between teachers, pupils' parents, and academicians.

Due to the current instrumental treatment of teachers as untrusted technicians of education, who are not always aware of their own position and situation in which they work, they search for instructions rather than educational reflection, thus favouring contacts with pragmatic interpreters of the current regulations and distributors of methodological cribs rather than contacts with general thinkers operating the language of “useless abstraction” – a negative label referring to academic pedagogues.

At the same time, however, teachers are deeply dissatisfied with their current professional status, and their condition can be described as dramatic, as the solu-

tions they are forced to adopt clash with principles of their professional ethos, which is still alive among them (Klus-Stańska 2006; Rutkowiak 2012). If this is really so, we can hope that there still is a spark of the potential of our mutual contacts that used to be so fruitful.

I am closing this topic with a conclusion that the low vitality of critical pedagogy results from its closure; it is partially a linguistic closure, but also closure related to the merits, when we focus on fragmentary issues without perceiving relations with the social whole in which we live, or ones in which critics are simultaneously an unnamed object of criticism, which is not convincing to the recipients. I shall illustrate the above with an example concerning the lowering of the level of education in mass universities, where the same people perform didactic work that should be performed by several individuals, not always providing top quality education, while being authors of critical texts concerning negative aspects of the Polish educational boom. Such practices weaken the force of practicing criticism.

A convincing argument concerning the above issue was put forward by Witkowski, who not only supported the practice of critical pedagogy, but also formulated a meaningful thesis: "If pedagogy is serious (i.e. if it is pedagogy *tout court*) – then it is critical" (Witkowski 2012: 19) and treated the criticism as a meta-theoretical postulate, which means that pedagogy must not only unmask, but should also alarm – tantamount to a diagnosis that it is no longer possible to take a mask off, as we are dealing with a fundamental threat (Witkowski 2012: 26).

Is the Polish Educational Research Association a forum for the naming of the basic, alarmist educational threats, or does it focus solely on an occasional and fragmentary presentation of issues of medium importance? It is worth asking ourselves these questions in the jubilee year.

The presented review of selected works and events gives grounds to believe that as members of the Polish Educational Research Association we have no arguments to summarise 35 years of our activity in a solely positive way. Along with many achievements concerning mostly participation in the development of the pedagogical sciences, which is consistent with some statutory tasks of the Association, the time also brought certain shortages, which can be related to the second part of the tasks concerning the promotion of knowledge on education and presenting its problems and interests to authorities and the public with a view to the development of education reflecting our times and human needs.

This is not about the elementary promotion of knowledge on education, but, more broadly, about the life of the knowledge in people's minds, i.e. about its social circulation supported with the Association's active care for the social and civic educational awareness of teachers, parents, pupils, educational decision-makers, politicians, and people of the media, who in their majority function at the moment at the level of opinions which are commonplace, intuitive, narrowly empirical, sensational, amateur, accidental, imitative, guided by their own interests, politicised, and display no orientation in the genesis, senses, importance, and seriousness of the planned and the used educational solutions (Dobrołowicz 2013).

Actions designed and executed on the basis of such resources bring about social damage resulting from a non-recognition of the complexity of phenomena, their context, the absence of analyses of the state of education, and avoidance of the activation of the prospective social imagination as a route to the creation of social educational imaginaria. In contrast to the above, we should hope that the publicization of knowledge on education may contribute to the intensification of reflection, a rationalisation of intentions and the performed actions, deepening of thought, and the limitation of damages by opening up opportunities for balanced ideas with a marked expression of criticism towards “showy” projects, which, despite providing firework-like effects, fail to change anything for the better.

What role can academic pedagogues with PERA people play as propagators – educational translators? Avoiding “enlightening” simplifications, let us say that this can be the role of the initiators of constant reflection, discussions and public thematic debates that – in spite of difficulties – can be carried out, as was demonstrated for example by Zamojski’s work at the University of Gdańsk in 2009 and 2010 (Zamojski 2010, 2011).

The current state of things calls for our permanent reflection on the quality and grounding of the educational whole as well as its prospects for the future, but also reflection on the activity of the Association itself. However, the Association, as one of its members put it “[...] seems to have come to a standstill”. This is because the already well-worn solutions are repeated and old ideas are reproduced – mainly the ones dating to the pioneering times, when what was most important was the posing of the new problems of the democratization of education, and we could maintain a consistency between the form and contents of our actions. Today, the content of issues that need to be undertaken changes, which stems from the aggravation of crises, threats to democracy and the resulting educational complications, while the forms of our work remain almost virtually unchanged. If novelties are introduced, they are to do with organisational and technical solutions rather than merits, thus not reaching the gist of the matters Witkowski called “fundamental threats”. The sources of hot problems of today’s education are not innocent, as they are tense, conflict-based social, political, economic, and cultural states of our rapidly thickening reality. Failure to see them as the foundation for the grounding of education, only moderate the combination of the educational question with the great issues of our times, and an atomization of the undertaken topics is at the root of the question of the quality of education being underestimated as significant for the social whole. This results in the self-marginalisation of pedagogues, understood as their own placement of both themselves and the pedagogical issues they examine on the sidelines, rather than in the main streams of life that are to do with education, whether or not we pay any attention to them.

I shall illustrate the hypothesis of self-marginalisation with an example. A part of it is the topic of PERA’s forthcoming subsequent National Pedagogical Convention in Białystok, contained in the slogan “Towards valuable life. Ideas – concepts – practices”, and developed in the titles of ten convention sections that were made available

online (9zjazd.ptp.uwb.edu.pl). They were expressed in language that was bombastic, postulational, noble, lofty, referring to the great being – language that was far from the realities of today’s difficult, even sizzling reality. This brings about an association with the following fragment of Stanisław Wyspiański’s *Wesele* [The Wedding]:

tak by się nam serce śmiało do
ogromnych, wielkich rzeczy, a
tu pospolitość skrzeczy...

so would our hearts delight
in those grand, wonderful things,
but here commonplaceness stings...

(During the interwar period, the last line was changed by journalists to read: *Buthere the reality stings* and the phrase became popular in this form).

I recently found images of our reality, to be treated here as examples as well, in a volume of Marcin Kącki’s reportages, reaching for the deep contexts of the issues he tackled. In several thematic cross-sections, the author penetrated the contemporary Białystok (where the forthcoming pedagogical convention is to take place). He presented the city after a rapid cultural and ethical change, on the debris of which its new identity has been developed after the Second World War (Kącki 2015); to me, the description was symbolic and I asked myself a question: to what extent does he step beyond locality and describe the state of the country? Leaving out the detailed content of the reportages, I shall devote my attention to the differences between the language of two texts – a PERA document prepared for the scientific convention on the one hand, and the journalistic, documented, linguistic characterization of the site of the convention – its past and present, events and moods, names of interviewees, dates, institutions, references to materials, letters, and memorabilia. Kącki’s book shows Białystok as:

- a place which either does not have signs of remembrance, or has a memory which lives, but is fast asleep, i.e. which does not have such history as is lectured in schools and discussed between teachers and pupils;
- a melting pot of many cultures with traces of cultural resources (some of them are – literally – buried deeply), but with scant awareness of the entirety of the heritage;
- a place of a still living legacy of the past in relations between various ethnic, national, and religious groups which used to live here in relative harmony, and later – for many years – experienced the tension and dramas described in terrifying reports and “hellish recollections” (Kącki 2015: 36);
- a place of understated fates, looped biographies, with the permanent presence of trauma, with tragic recollections of the holocaust, dating not only to post-war but also contemporary times;
- a place of “bitter conflicts” (Kącki 2015: 36) and sharp disputes concerning monuments, the patrons of the university, theatre, music that won popular-

- ity locally, people, signs, words, symbols, and opportunities for foreigners;
- the birthplace of Ludwik Zamenhof, whose idea of peace between people, contained in the Esperanto language, “[...] was in 1977 engraved in a golden plaque and placed in the Voyager space probe, with greetings to alien civilisations. The probe has already left the Solar System, is twenty billion kilometres from Białystok and continues to go further...” (Kącki 2015: 281), but Zamenhof was not considered worthy enough to become the patron of the local university;
 - the location of the Medical University in which pioneering research on *in vitro* was carried out;
 - the location of the only university unit examining miracles in Poland (Unit for Research and Documentation of Miraculous Phenomena) (Kącki 2015: 269).

The collection of issues constituting the main thematic threads of the volume of reportages in question leads to the following questions: to what extent do these local reports come close to reflecting the quality of today’s Polish reality, in particular its inconsistency, and, if we give a positive answer to this question, how can and should we practice work for the benefit of pro-developmental and pro-social education in the conditions of such a reality?

Participants of Kącki’s journalistic narrations often use the language (or talk about the language) of intolerance, aversion, and ambivalence between hatred and human helpfulness dating back to pre-war times, but also experienced today. At present, this is often the language of prejudice, indignation, aggression, hostility, xenophobia, conflicts, polarisation, and suspicions dividing people from different groups diversified in terms of ideology, ethos, status, and institutional affiliation. Sometimes it takes the form of full, emotional statements, and sometimes bits of narration or a refusal to talk to the journalist, keeping silent about the events in the atmosphere of fears and alertness.

There were two reasons why I became interested in these diverse texts and their different languages. One of them is connected with the already signalled feeling that the tone of Kącki’s text reflects something more than reports on problems related to a concrete place – as a location of the convention, since – at least to some degree – it shows moods to be found in the country as a whole whose painful historical, political, and cultural past becomes current again for many reasons, and continues to bother people in various places of the social scene. This breeds tension, mutual accusations, communication difficulties, and an impossibility to conduct a sustainable discussion and to create constructive communal projects and developmental solutions, also covering education.

If the thesis that was put forward is acceptable, then the given issue reflecting the present state as particularly difficult should be taken into account in the topics to be discussed during the Convention. Nevertheless, the topic of the Convention is acquiescent and its programme project seems to be taken from another world of life.

The second reason why I became interested in the texts in question results from the difference in languages used to talk about the issues discussed. The pre-convention language to be found in relevant documents is correct, stand-

ard, lofty, aesthetic (we do not know yet what the language of the convention will be like), while the language of the daily reality is tense, conspicuous, expressive, radical, and often brutal. The use of language marked by tones very distant from the current very heated and arch-difficult problems of the actual current reality in the PERA's pre-convention documentation creates certain new "absent discourses" in the sense that what is discussed is not the most difficult things for our education at present, while what is omitted and avoided is the "present discourses" discussing the "pedagogy of shame", "pedagogy of pride", "the only truth", educational "historical politics", "new patriotism", and "Poland for Poles", which expresses educational contents and projects that are clearly directed in terms of the merits, but also people's radically different receptions – from deep concern to impudent enthusiasm.

This state calls for reflection and responsible discussions including the developed arguments and counterarguments, or – in a nutshell – the performance of the already mentioned cultural working through. Omitting the most heated topics of the difficult situation, we create the second variant of "absent discourses". In the past, it was created for us by the isolating system, as a part of which we had to acquire the unavailable knowledge, while today we create such knowledge ourselves, without posing to ourselves and to the public sphere the pressing, particularly topical educational issues, which are replaced by a thematic silence covered by a linguistic form – one sounding correctly, but is it at all significant?

How can we, people of the Polish Educational Research Association, find ourselves in this situation?

I believe that we should look for an answer in turning towards the neglected statutory commitments concerning the promotion, and, to be more precise, the publicization of pedagogical knowledge by introducing to public fora education-related topics as socio-ethical issues with the verification of the commonplace simplifications, indicating the context, significance for the future, broadly understood developmental importance and the seriousness of education, as well as its executional complications.

How should it be done? This requires a sound reflection on the further direction of the work and development of the Polish Educational Research Association, or perhaps even – broader – reflection on the prospects for the activity of scholarly societies in today's difficult times.

In order to relationally connect programme thinking with the current realities (and therefore not to create the new "absent discourse"), we need to have a closer look at the crisis we have been experiencing. Let us assume that the crisis consisting in the "[...] disturbance of the relation between the horizon of expectation and the space of experience" (Ricoeur 1990: 53) is not at the same time a collapse or a difficulty thoroughly ruining the reality, but a breakthrough leading to a new quality in the emergence of which language plays a special role (Mendel, Szkudlarek 2013).

Guided by the above assumption, I propose the intensified complementation of the current scientific direction of the

work pursued by the Association with the second line of its statutory commitments concerning the promotion – understood as publicization – of knowledge on education with a view to the execution of the cultural and opinion-creating function of the Association through the development of educational literacy.

I understand the development of educational literacy as linguistic work carried out in the form of watching the language of education, fostering the semantic sensitivity of educational subjects, searching for and creating language suitable for the contents of the presented pedagogical problems, having insight into the senses of what is discussed, raising the alarm in situations of linguistic abuses, sensitizing both ourselves and those around us to the consequences of the change of meanings, and – most broadly speaking – the sociolinguistic creation of reality, including the educational one.

The importance of the changing of senses in the area of education can be seen on the basis of a current example from research performed by Łukasz Stankiewicz, who demonstrated how various interpretations of the student figure in documents concerning the reform of the school system are the basis for the construction and justification of entirely different models of education on the higher level (Stankiewicz 2012: 246–247). This issue fits the area of the no longer new, but recently sharpened question of the political manipulation of language (Bihr 2008).

To show the postulate of undertaking linguistic-educational work aimed at the promotion of literacy, I shall use three examples related to the dynamics of the current use of language and its consequences. The word “multiculturalism”, which for a long time gave hope for the understanding of the appropriate aspect of the complexity of reality, has recently become insufficient to embrace the problems in their whole range of complexity – therefore, the linguistic efforts must be taken as if anew.

The phrase “to work through the past” is used by authors of sociohistorical and sometimes also pedagogical texts, but is it clear what it actually means and what does the “working through” that might really facilitate the awakening of awareness of event participants involve?

The third example, this time constructive, concerns the phrase “the ignorant schoolmaster” introduced by Jacques Rancière. It is not tantamount to the teacher’s lack of knowledge, but their adoption of untrue assumptions on the equal levels of intelligence (understood as cognitive capabilities) of their pupils. This hypothesis is subject to verification – one that is not rooted in the classical procedure of positivist methodology, but treats it as a basis of pedagogical work aimed at making the assumptions true (Rancière 1991).

For me, Rancière’s book and the phrase “ignorant schoolmaster” was a refreshing reading, facilitating attempts at the giving of another sense to my cooperation with the mass students with whom I work. I noticed that the adoption of the appropriate, counter-actual thesis gave me a chance to weaken the indignation at their poor preparation to study and to strengthen my motivation to work with young people marked by very diverse levels, which facilitates the achievement of progress in pedagogical work, although sometimes different than the one I used to imagine.

I propose that the suggested linguistic works perceived as our contribution to the intensification of PERA's cultural and opinion-forming effects be located in three areas:

- the lexical one;
- reflection on “empty signifiers” (according to Laclau);
- the valuation of phrases with an empty meaning that are significant for the creation of a vision of the desirable world (according to Szkudlarek).

Works in the lexical area would concern our contribution to the extension of civic educational lexical resources aimed at the improvement of thinking and public speaking about education and the prevention of semantic disorientation in this area; what it boils down to is increasing the level of pedagogical culture of the society. What can be used for the purpose is the reconstruction of substantial resources of substantial meanings in the area of education, the identification of diverse educational standpoints with the deepening of their justification, and the reflective civilizing of projects and statements by stressing the significance of conscious reflection on what we speak about and what responsibility for speech is. Therefore, this is not about lessons of “legitimate meanings”, but about providing access to linguistic tools enabling better communication leading to a substantially constructive consideration and responsible design of educational solutions and making it accessible, as well as the practice of a factual critique concerning the generated results.

A similar idea from another field, authored by Radosław Markowski, was recently signalled in the press. Publishing his texts under an attention-catching title *Sprostowania* [Corrigenda], the author intends to present a series of materials constituting political assistance for responsible citizens who “[...] are interested in public affairs, check what things actually are in reality, and read so as not to succumb to arrogance and despise of reason”. The series will present to the readers the basic socio-civic vocabulary, including such notions as: 1) democracy, 2) rule of law and constitutionalism, 3) capitalism of the 21st century and models from the welfare state, 4) the question of the EU/Poland. The presentation aims at helping people better understand contents concerning social life, to comment on them, discuss them, think efficiently, and to communicate in order to plan and execute common actions (Markowski 2016: 19).

The pedagogical linguistic work in the area of reflection on “empty signifiers” proposed further as a possible direction for PERA, would concern imaginings: naming them, and filling them with meanings. Owing to the senses filling these areas, we could build the educational imaginarium in such a way as to see the educational question in new linguistic lights and consequently deepen our reflection on the area we have been practicing, which becomes complicated in the conditions in which many pedagogies function.

On the sidelines, I shall signal that the latest 16th Convention of the Polish Sociological Association (*Polskie Towarzystwo Socjologiczne*; September 2017) was held under the title “Solidarity in the times of mistrust”. Solidarity, here being an “empty signifier” broadly commented upon in literature, is an example of how an element of this type can be useful for socio-scientific reflection.

The third area of works proposed to be undertaken by the Association concerns contents as a valuation of terms that have no agreed upon mean-

ings. For fear of the ideologisation of various issues, we are mistrustful towards valuation, but a subtle inspiration for the issue was recently provided by Szkudlarek in his report on research into the discursive construction of the subject (Szkudlarek *et al.* 2012). Referring to the pedagogy of culture and exposing individuals as “shapable” subjects, the author discussed the issue of the valuation of what is not, but potentially can be, filled with values. Perceiving the issue as paradoxical (Szkudlarek *et al.* 2012: 13–16), as it involves empty/not empty, the author simultaneously discussed it and protected it with the classical justification on the validity of values, which “[...] reflect the vision of the world that does not, but should, exist”. Such a “figure” creates the deontic system of duties – which continues to be close to pedagogues – which in a sense is close to “empty signifiers” as phenomena located “[...] beyond the sphere of identity and beyond the sphere of experience” (Szkudlarek *et al.* 2012: 17). It is a system which seems not to be significant at the moment, but which is simultaneously significant, being possible and even, from the point of view of duties, “desirable”; thinking about such a world has always been a domain of pedagogues.

Summing up my presentation on the activity of the Polish Educational Research Association on the 35th anniversary of its activity, I shall once again stress the important contribution of the Association’s members to the entire reflective movement concerning the problematics of education and its transformations related to the transformation of the political system and contemporary changes of culture. In his recent presentation of “pedagogy with the past” focusing on the positive sides, Kwieciński presented our scientific achievements, taking into account the contribution of the PERA environment. At the same time, the author pointed out that despite the Association’s attempts at the construction of desirable relations between pedagogy and the public sphere, “[...] No environment or institutions have been developed in Poland that would shape a strategic, systemic, paradigmatic vision of the development of education [...]” (Kwieciński 2011: 24).

In answer to the questions posed in this text, i.e. “What shall we do next? What direction should we take?”, I opt for the linguistic direction creating opportunities for the development of educational literacy as the basic work for the building of the communal foundation of a strategic vision of pro-developmental education as good for both people and the times – which are always difficult.

This is because I do not associate the phrase “difficult times”, as featured in the title of this paper, with periods that are in particular unfavourable for the undertaken endeavours, but with a phenomenon that is always in place, and results from the complexity of the world and education, but also being a mobilizing factor for people. During the 35 years of the activity of our Association, the stimulating atmosphere could not always be found. Recently, aware of the large amount of work we carried out for the benefit of education, but also conscious of the quality of Polish education, which is deeply unsatisfying socially, we also feel disenchanting and in low spirits. To lift our mood, despite the difficult times, I shall quote a fragment of Cyprian Kamil Norwid’s work *Cywilizacja* [Civilisation]:

Co dzień woda w okręt ciecze,
 Nogą z łoża ani stąp;
 Co wieczora – o! Człowiecze,
 W górę rękaw! – i do pomp

Day by day water leaks into the ship,
 No way to put your leg down;
 Every evening – oh! Let it not drip,
 Put up your sleeve! – and pump.

The point is we have to reflectively construct the “pump” ourselves.

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Summary

A scholarly society in difficult times. An essay for the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the Polish Educational Research Association

The structure of the essay is created by the question about the execution of PERA's statutory goals in the context of other scholarly societies. The goals concern the performance and popularisation of scientific research as well as the promotion of scientific achievements. The review of 35 years of the Association's activity provided a conclusion that it recorded successes in the field of scientific research and publication of research results. At the same time, there has been no significant progress in the promotion of educational ideas and creation of the grounds for educational change understood as a movement and social undertaking. The author of the text sees PERA's perspectives in the development of educational literacy.

Keywords

research support, dissemination of knowledge, socialization

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Theory and the way we relate to the world. On the educational dimension of insight

Following the origin of the concept of theory, and the Greek word θεωρία, Heidegger observes: “[...] *theōrein* is *theanhoran*, to look attentively on the outward appearance wherein what presents becomes visible and, through such sight – seeing – to linger with it” (Heidegger 1977: 163)

What I aim to indicate with this paper is the educational dimension of theory. This, however, is possible not because every theory can be a subject matter of educational processes, or because it can influence the course of these processes, but because a theory of any kind entails a particular way of relating humans to the world.

Theory is a way one looks and sees, a way one is attentive to and beholds what there is, and, precisely as Heidegger claimed, through such an insight one relates to what is seen. This means, however, that using a theory, theorizing, working with theory, exploring it, assuming a theoretical standpoint... etc., all this, is more than just dealing with a particular corpus of texts, concepts and intellectual devices. What is often forgotten about *bios theōrētikos* is that – apart from the fact that it is a common attitude for humans – it also means shaping oneself and entering a particular relation with the world in accordance with the line of the insight. The “[...] outward look, the aspect, in which something shows itself, that outward appearance in which it offers itself” (Heidegger 1977: 163) while granting us with a part of the world, relates us to it in a particular way.

If education is all about establishing one's relation to the world (*cf.* Biesta 2010; Masschelein 2011; Vlieghe 2016), this is essentially the educational dimension of theory. In the following argument, I will make an attempt at describing three theoretical standpoints – two of which can be considered as the most influential for the social sciences in the 20th century – emphasizing their educational dimension in the meaning indicated above. I will conclude with some more general remarks on the educational dimension of theory – with regard to educational theory especially.

Technology – ruling and exploiting the world

Science, as early as Francis Bacon's time, has aimed at gaining knowledge, which gives humans power over nature. Aspiring to such a task, science should be able to grasp the causal relations governing the world of nature (its laws) resembling the relationship between the means and the goals of human actions. Hence, modern science is mostly concerned with producing a theory that would give people the power to act and rule over nature. Such a way of relating to the world is expressed just at the very beginning of the idea of modern science, i.e. in the third aphorism of *Novum Organum*: "Human knowledge and human power come to the same thing, because ignorance of cause frustrates effect. For Nature is conquered only by obedience; and that which in thought is a cause, is like a rule in practice" (Bacon 2000 [1620]: 33).

According to Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, thanks to the astonishing success of the scientific method (*cf.* the significance of Newcomen's/Watt's invention for industrialisation), the understanding of theory in late modernity was predominantly technological, and became the main way in which human beings addressed not only nature, but also each other:

Not only is domination paid for with the estrangement of human beings from the dominated object, but the relationships of human beings, including the relationship of individuals to themselves, have themselves been bewitched by the objectification of the mind (Horkheimer, Adorno 1973: 21).

This "objectification of the mind" means the domination of the technical way of addressing the world by humans; the domination of one form of thinking, one rationality, and hence the domination of a certain, coherent way of perceiving reality, and thinking and acting within that reality. In other words, the given shape of a theory assumes its proper vision of the subject, who is not just the theory's founder, but mostly its user, as theory becomes the matrix for its own cognitive, reflective and practical way of addressing the world. In this view the world is a resource to be used by humans. Within this standpoint using resources is understood in terms of the knowledgeable manipulation of the laws of nature for the sake of a particular goal. The crucial point here is that technology is not interested in the nature of such a goal, but purely in establishing effective means. The very aim of technology is to develop the knowledge revealing such means, not to reflect on the possible goals as worthy to be desired or not.

In other words, the regularities of nature found in the process of scientific research transform the world into a set of means used in the realisation of particular goals. It is a world seen through the eyes of a purely formal subject (Zamojski 2010) constructed by an instrumental reason which, minimizing all thinking to calcula-

tion (Horkheimer, Adorno 1973: 18–19; v. also Heidegger 1977), reduces all ethical issues into technical problems that are to be solved.

The formal subject, which is focused on the effective execution of given tasks, is therefore unable to question its own actions and their normative sense. The only questions which are worthy of being posed for instrumental reason concern the means of achieving goals, i.e. the procedures of effective actions.

This focus on the effectiveness of action and the inability of normative reflection about its (ethical) sense causes therefore the danger of a readiness to participate in evil. In this sense, according to Horkheimer and Adorno, one deals with the “mysterious willingness of the technologically educated masses to fall under the spell of any despotism” (Horkheimer, Adorno 1973: XVI). An efficient executor, devoid of normative reflection, is unable to define the goals of his or her actions, nor to pose questions whether the goals-tasks set upon her or him are right. The heteronomous formal subject thus disregards the contents of its actions which, from the perspective of the logic of effectiveness, become optional. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno point out that:

The technical process, to which the subject has been reified after the eradication of that process form consciousness, is as free from the ambiguous meanings of mythical thought as from meaning altogether, since reason itself [...] serves as a universal tool for the fabrication of all other tools, rigidly purpose-directed [...]. Reason's old ambition to be purely an instrument of purposes has finally been fulfilled (Horkheimer, Adorno 1973: 23).

This danger of being ready to participate in evil is additionally strengthened in the modern world of common specialization, in which the sense of all composed actions becomes increasingly cognitively intangible for subjects which deal with specialized, fragmentary actions. This means that our private responsibility as the executors of these tasks becomes increasingly vague. This is why, as pointed out by Hannah Arendt (2006), the formal subject, which focuses on effective task performance, may participate in genocide, dutifully performing banal daily chores. Therefore Auschwitz was found to be the radical expression of instrumental rationality as the thoughtlessness of a purely descriptive, non-normative, technical consciousness, devoted to the principles of effectivity, productivity and performativity – that is, consciousness focused on safeguarding the means to any kind of goals, being externally imposed as valid.

However, “a new categorical imperative” which arose from such consideration, and that simultaneously was supposed to stand for the one and only educational aim ever since (“[...] to arrange [...] thoughts and actions so that Auschwitz will not repeat itself, so that nothing similar will happen”) (Adorno 2004: 365) – was not tantamount to the abandoning of reason at all.

Critique – oppression and emancipation

This is because the properties of reason have not been exhausted in the search for the means to an end. A way of thinking about theory, aimed at overcoming instrumental rationality as the dominant form of reason, was developed thanks to the launching of reason's negative, critical power. Critical rationality as a movement of negation that never stops and is not transformed into any kind of positivity (Adorno 2004, e.g.: 3–10), brings to life a new vision of the subject as an alert, distrustful and suspicious critic of the surrounding reality. Critical theory equips humans with tools which enable them to identify the strategy of forces falsifying the consciousness of the vast social masses aiming at sustaining the facade of democracy and social injustice.

The proposition of critical reason – which later on was the foundation for the emergence of critical pedagogy – assumed that consequent questioning, an investigation aimed at unmasking the false appearance of things and de-naturalisation of the social *status quo*, will re-establish the ethical dimension of matters of concern, and will make us unable to be blindly subordinated to some external power and therefore reduced to an intelligent and creative tool (*cf.* Horkheimer 2004). Thanks to human's power of critique one should be able to pose normative questions which extensively go beyond narrow, instrumental rationality, and its desire for effectivity. Instead of simply asking about 'how to achieve this, or that goal efficiently?' the critical subject is questioning what is set out to be done by asking 'is that right?' / 'should this be done?'. This shift in attitude is supposed to reclaim the ethical sense of the human relation to the world, and in that way our critique is supposed to make us unable to participate in evil.

There are naturally different kinds of theorising about critical reason (even in the Frankfurt school itself) as there are different frameworks of critical pedagogy, but critique – as the move of critical consciousness towards seeing things as they are in their complexity, and political, ideological, and therefore ethical entanglement – is always linked with the hope for a just and un-reified society, for the liberation of the enslaved, for the empowerment of the marginalised (*cf.* Freire 2000; 2005; Mollenhauer 1968).

The apology of critique – which critical pedagogy in its diverse forms radically assumes – defines the power of critique through the symmetry of knowing, perceiving and doing. If one knows what the world is about, if one decodes and perceives the dangers of injustice, slavery, and any other kind of evil – one will do everything to emancipate / to empower / to change the oppressive order.

But what is the educational sense of such a theoretical standpoint? What is the way this theory relates us to the world? Who is 'us' in this standpoint? In what way does the critical paradigm shape its 'users'?

The critics of the critical pedagogy have argued that it operates within the instrumental rationality itself (*cf.* Ellsworth 1989; Gur-Zeev 1998). Critical pedagogy

has a very strict normative structure, which is imposed as the only legitimate one, and so it has the potential to reduce itself and become an orthodoxy, transforming the critical act into a repeatable scheme inducing predictable outcomes (*cf.* Maddock 1999).

Therefore, it can conceive of education in terms of the process of the production of *a priori* designed effects; a process that should be efficient in making critical citizens, in establishing strong democracy, empowering the poor... etc. In other words, critical pedagogy has the potential to be the expression of instrumental rationality which it tried to overcome in the first place (Masschelein 2004).

Jacques Rancière – while referring to the post-Bourdieu educational reforms in France – noticed that education driven by critical knowledge on social order defines pupils / students as enslaved, as in need of empowerment, in the need to be emancipated, and by constantly treating them like that, makes this enslavement their *conditio humana* (Rancière 2004). Hence, such critically based education delays their freedom and autonomy *ad infinitum* and reproduces the social order it claimed to transform (Rancière 1991).

What Peter Sloterdijk (1987) adds is that this unhappy consciousness of a slave who is being enlightened does not end with emancipation. Instead of this, it transforms into an enlightened false consciousness – and ends up with cynicism. Therefore there is no link between critical knowledge, the ability to decode and perceive the ethical dangers, and the human action itself. We can know of slavery, injustice, discrimination, racism, and all other kinds of evil, as well as we can be aware of our own entanglement in their apparatus, and still do nothing to change it.

What is most important here is that Sloterdijk argues that cynicism is not simply a potential of the human psyche. Rather, it is the effect of critique – critique which is radical, unrestrained, consequent, and irresistible. Sloterdijk argues that the more radical our critique becomes, the less hope it leaves – until it leaves no way out (Sloterdijk 1987, e.g.: 5–6). We have to stick to *the status quo*, because any changes seem to be impossible: there is no chance for a flat field in Bourdieu's view; there is no chance for powerless relations in Foucault's view etc.

In addition, there is something essentially anti-educational, i.e. destructive in the critical attitude. Bruno Latour (2004) observes:

Wars. So many wars. Wars outside and wars inside. Cultural wars, science wars, and wars against terrorism. Wars against poverty and wars against the poor. Wars against ignorance and wars out of ignorance. My question is simple: Should we be at war, too, we, the scholars, the intellectuals? Is it really our duty to add fresh ruins to fields of ruins? Is it really the task of the humanities to add deconstruction to destruction? More iconoclasm to iconoclasm? What has become of the critical spirit? Has it run out of steam? (Latour 2004: 225)

Emerging as the response to the ashes of the Holocaust, critical reason – when fulfilled – seems to be the enemy of the world. Within the critical rationality, the world is an oppressive force subjugating individuals. We ought to counter such an

oppression in order to emancipate, and not to just pass on this world to the new generation.¹ At least from the times of the previously mentioned Francis Bacon countering the world's oppression on humans means conquering the world itself, gaining control over it, over ourselves and our lives. In this way we are back into the mechanism of the dialectic of enlightenment – the critical theory which arose out of a response to the dangers of technology repeats its initial desire to conquer the world. The intentions behind it are different, and so are the intellectual devices at use and the aims to achieve. These are different theoretical standpoints, and to a certain extent different ways of relating to the world, but in both cases the subject is to expand on, and appropriate the world.

Responsibility – care and attention

The third way of theorising that I would like to analyse regarding the educational dimension of theory has emerged in the second half of the 20th century through the conceptualisation of responsibility – as conceived by Georg Picht and Hans Jonas.

The philosophy of responsibility they have independently created reflects explicitly on the quality of the relation between humans and the world, and in that sense seems to be essentially educational. This world is for both – Picht and Jonas – essentially weak. After Auschwitz and Hiroshima we cannot claim any longer that humans are subjugated and oppressed by the world, at least in general terms. On the contrary, they have now the power to destroy it. By virtue of technological development humans have so radically increased the power of their actions that – indeed – now it is they from whom the threat arises (Jonas 1984: 136–142; Picht 1998: 198–199).

The weak world needs our care. It is a good entrusted to us, a good for the existence of which we are responsible. This responsibility has an ontological character. Humanity is responsible, and therefore can behave in a responsible or irresponsible manner (Jonas 1984: 90–95). Such an ontologization of responsibility (Filek 1996) links with the supplementing of its formal (negative) reference – i.e. the responsibility of a doer (responsibility for done deeds) and related notions of causality and authorship, by a substantive (positive) reference of responsibility for what is to be done (Picht 1998: 193).

As Picht observes, humanity is responsible for everything that happens in the range of its power, in the domain of the possible (Picht 1998: 193–194, 198). Jonas (1984) adds that we are responsible for what is to be done in the affairs that matter (Jonas 1984: 92–93).

¹ Indeed, there seems to be an increasingly recognized significance for the Arendtian concept of education as an alternative for critical pedagogy; cf. Vlieghe 2016; Hodgson, Vlieghe, Zamojski 2017; Arendt 1968.

The “what for” lies outside me, but in the effective range of my power, in need of or threatened by it. It confronts this power of mine with its right-to-be [...]. The matter becomes mine because the power is mine and has a causative relation to just this matter. The dependent in its immanent right becomes commanding, the power in its transitive causality becomes committed, and committed in the double sense of being objectively responsible for what is thus entrusted to it, and affectively engaged (Jonas 1984: 92).

The calling of humanity is therefore taking responsibility. In order to cope with such a call one needs to sensitize oneself to good; good from the world that may be lost, that is endangered, weak, but simultaneously lies in the range of our power; good about which we can do something (Picht 1998: 202). The recognition of this good – as Picht and Jonas suggest – is always contextual, and requires to judge every time in a particular situation about what is necessary to preserve this good, to what the good calls upon us to do (Picht 1998: 194, 199; Jonas 1984: 93–98). A human being is not therefore focused on themselves, but has to make space in themselves for this matter, retreat, give way to. Picht (1998) expresses this by saying:

“service” requires that the bearers of responsibility forget themselves [...]. Responsibility implies the relinquishment of the self insofar as responsible people are absorbed by the task set before them, dedicating themselves to caring for those people and things entrusted to their keeping (Picht 1998: 200).

Responsibility assumes therefore an intimate relation with the world that induces actions made for the sake of the world – not against it, but because of the good it entails. This good needs our attention. We need to make room in ourselves in order to let it be, help it survive, preserve it, pass it on to the next generation. No external instance is necessary. No ideal future needs to be designed. We have to simply recognize the matter, the good that lies in the range of our power, a thing worth preserving that we can do something about. This standing back, withdrawal from the self, requires an effort. One needs to do a lot to stand back, and let it be.

What is needed to be done is to fall in love with the world, to become passionate about its particular dimension, a part, a subject matter. As quoted above from Picht “responsible people are absorbed by the things / other people entrusted to their keeping”. Responsibility is therefore linked with attention in two ways. Firstly, it is about being attentive to the good in the world that needs our care, and “demands” that care from those who can do anything for the sake of that good in the range of their powers. Secondly it is about being completely absorbed by that good and the task of its preservation, i.e. about studying and teaching – turning that good into a subject matter.

Concluding remarks

I have made an attempt to indicate the ways in which three distinct theoretical standpoints frame human relations with the world.

Technology views the world in terms of a resource. The laws of nature need to be discovered in order to be used for the purposes of humans. Thus the world is something to be appropriated, and not, for example, inhabited or cared for and passed on.

Critique perceives the world in terms of an unjust and oppressive structure that must be overcome in order to liberate oppressed humans. The world seems to be a blind force to be struggled with, a set of arbitrary conditions privileging some and marginalising others.

Both technology and critical theory – although ideologically in opposition – share a view of humans being at war with the world. The relation between these two sides is essentially a power relation, and it is conquest which is at its heart.

In the case of responsibility, the human-world relation assumes the weakness of the world and the limited power of humans. However, it is exactly within these limited powers that a human being is responsible for the existence of good inherent to the world itself. There are things worth being cared for and passed on to the next generations. We should be attentive to them, devote ourselves to them, be in love with the world.

The line of the exercise made within this paper has its own importance which I have tried to defend elsewhere (Zamojski 2014). Here, by such an exercise I intended to indicate the existence of an educational dimension of theory as such. This might be taken into consideration when attempts are made to re-invent educational theory.

What could be called theory's educational dimension does not concern the expected outcomes of an action informed by a particular theory, but instead of that, it is expressed in the way that a theory relates humans to the world. It is exactly the kind of such a relation that – regardless of the results of our actions (intended or not, expected or not) – is shaping ourselves and our world when we act in line or when we are inspired by a particular theory. Acting in line with a theory, we can end up with diverse results – also opposite to our intentions – but in any of such cases we are entering a particular relation with the world (with ourselves, other people, things and objects, meanings etc.). This could be regarded as particularly significant in the case of educational theories themselves, but it seems that still we do not take this circumstance into account enough.

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Summary

Theory and the Way We Relate to the World. On the Educational Dimension of Insight

This paper investigates the educational dimension of theory, that is, the way theory forms or catalyses human's relation to the world. This is analysed through the examples of three theoretical standpoints: technology, critique and the philosophy of responsibility. The first two have played their major part in contemporary thought, while the third seems to play a crucial role in currently emerging theories of education. However, the exercise presented in this paper does not aim at apprising one of these standpoints over the others. Rather, it indicates the educational work of theory beyond its application and function.

Keywords

educational dimension of theory, educational theory, technology, critique, the philosophy of responsibility, Jonas, Picht, Heidegger

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The personalistic-communitarian¹ dimension of sociocultural animation

An attempt at a comprehensive examination of the phenomenon of sociocultural animation reveals at least two realities. On the one hand, what is primarily disclosed is the practical applications of animation in various areas of social and cultural life, and, more recently, also in the broadly understood economy by way of the delivery of commercial projects.² On the other hand, there is a clearly visible trend of theoretical thinking about animation, searching for a suitable tool for it to tidy up the multiplicity of animation activities, and, as a follow-up, categorising them not only with a view to identifying conceptual tools, but above all in order to determine what we actually define as animation, as well as what can be considered animation solely in the intentions of an author of (often original) educational or cultural projects.

¹ An inspiration for the use of the term proposed in the title of this paper came from my discussion of sociocultural animation and its community dimension with dr hab. Aneta Gawkowska, an assistant professor at the Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw, as a part of the scientific seminars taking place on a cyclical basis at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences.

² What I have in mind are successful attempts at the application of sociocultural animation knowledge in the management of commercial projects as a part of an original programme called “The use of creative education and sociocultural animation in business. Internships for animators in creative industries” which was delivered at the Institute of Pedagogy, Jagiellonian University, between 2012 and 2016. The then-developed methodology of involvement code-named ANIMAGAME not only became popular among representatives of the world of business during cooperation with them, but also proved that theoretical knowledge in the area of the social sciences/humanities can be transferred to the economy. I am currently working on another publication describing both the projects and the methodology itself.

Three perspectives on educating animators and their competences

Reflections made by pedagogues, particularly in recent years, concerning the successes and failures of animation as a method used in the work of animators (sadly, sometimes only named as such), are often limited to academic discussions remaining in the sphere of “wishful thinking”, both in relation to sociocultural animation and the animators themselves. If anything, it is argued that animators are faced with excessively high expectations, due to which their role may be insufficiently detailed, and too excessive in terms of concrete competences; but it can also be said that their profile of preparation for the future performance of the job is not clear enough. Among other things, this results from the fact of the various perspectives of looking at the interpretation of animation – be it through the lenses of cultural anthropology, sociology or pedagogy. Research devoted to competences of the animator and the subsequent report prepared under the auspices of the Małopolski Instytut Kultury [Małopolski Institute of Culture; MIC] in Cracow,³ which was preceded by a discussion at Forum Kraków,⁴ clearly determined some of its models. The showing of animators from the perspective of the three areas mentioned above turns attention to their competences with due regard to these perspectives, which markedly diversify their roles. And hence we may talk about the profile of the education of animators of culture from the perspective of sociology, cultural studies and pedagogy, since the process of the education of animators takes place in the respective courses of study at many academic centres. Let us turn attention to the fact that as a part of the studies of sociology, animation is often practiced as an element of social work, providing normative knowledge. In the pedagogical approach, it can acquire educational value and from this perspective be understood as a goal of educational actions, a method or technique used in pedagogical work (an educational one in a narrower understanding), but it can also function as one of the principles of pedagogy.⁵ It is contained in the postulate of an unending “enlivening” of the processes of teaching and education. Animation of these processes is said to have an impact on their effectiveness. Finally, assuming the interpretation of cultural an-

³ As a part of the project “Animation/Education. Possibilities and limitations of animation and cultural education in Poland”, carried out in 2013 and 2014 by the MIC, a study was carried out during which three types of animators were identified: lovers of culture, rooted professionals, and metropolitan professionals.

⁴ Regular, two-day long meetings of the association Stowarzyszenie Forum Kraków operating by the MIC in Cracow, during which theoretical and practical problems of animation and cultural education are discussed and which are devoted to the organisation of such events as Nie-Kongres Animatorów Kultury [*Non-Congress of Animators of Culture*] (Warszawa 2014, Wrocław–Brzeg 2016).

⁵ The first two mentioned ones are discussed in relevant literature, while the third proposal results from the analysis and interpretation of my own research on animation – one of the subjects discussed in my separate monograph under preparation for print.

thropology, we also encounter the animation of the active culture – one experienced on a daily basis, literally immersed in daily routine. In the anthropological proposal, animation is presented as a tool of the applied cultural anthropology, “which, using various methods, reproduces memory and the past, searches for the understanding of phenomena of culture, [and] severs the division into high and low culture” (Krasowska 2013: 14). According to the staff educating animators at the Institute of Polish Culture, University of Warsaw, the anthropological perspective of animation sees cultural activity from the point of view of models and attitudes, social relations, tradition and the local environment. Hence, it is important for animators to become familiar with the historical and social specificity of the place in which the actions are carried out as well as the nature and expectations of the community they cooperate with.⁶ In the personalistic-communitarian approach put forward in this paper, all the three aforementioned approaches to animation are necessary for animation processes leading to social change to take place. How could such actions take place without norms, values, or references to the making of culture on a day-to-day basis?

In this article, I report the need for posing questions about the gist of sociocultural animation and for not only animators but also staff educating future animators and preparing them for playing a role in local communities to reflect on it. I also put forward my own original approach to one of the dimensions of animation, i.e. its personalistic-communitarian nature.

I am advancing an incontestable thesis that we continue to experience a shortage of phenomenological research on animation – hence it is easy to come across judgements pronouncing animation itself and its application as unsuccessful. As already mentioned in the first paragraphs of this article, academic discussions on sociocultural animation are full of voices pronouncing its failure to achieve an expected success, although, as we know, it settled into the Polish reality at least a quarter of a century ago, becoming as much as the advertising of various institutions. However, let us take into account the excessive use of the word “animation” in all sorts of projects in the area of culture or, more broadly speaking, the social activity taken by and directed at people. Therefore, an absence of there being concrete effects of animation, i. e. in the literal sense of the word, “enlivening”, should come as no surprise, since they require from animators a special disposition and a resulting attitude to the participants of animation activities. The effect might be the compelling of the “internal stir” included in the very word, which may be the basis for a permanent change in the personality of a given individual. What is meant here is the change of attitudes manifested in behaviours and concrete decisions and the subsequent actions undertaken for the benefit of the local community. A thought formulated in this way may open up the field for research into the effects of animation projects, since it seems necessary to undertake this research if we still want to

⁶ Cf. Zofia Dworakowska’s standpoint concerning the competences of animators of culture educated at the Institute of Polish Culture, University of Warsaw, <http://forumkrakow.info/wp-content/uploads/Kompetencje-animatora-IKP-UW.pdf>.

practice sociocultural animation and solve the problem of its efficiency – be it in the area of pedagogy or elsewhere. Of help here would be the phenomenological approach to research into the subject in question, which above all creates a possibility for a phenomenological description of sociocultural animation. Through the personalistic-communitarian dimension of animation proposed in the title of this paper, I have indicated the potential contained in the etymology of the notion itself and attempts at applying it in working with other people through values included in cultural goods. Thus, making a reference to the creators of this volume of *Ars Educandi*, we may on the one hand indicate the sociocultural conditions applying to both animators and the animated, but on the other hand – opportunities for overcoming certain limitations resulting from these determinants. Perceiving animation through its personalistic-communitarian nature, we have in mind the development and functioning of the individual not only as a person with their own unique set of features, including the abilities, so-called talents, elicited in the process of animation, but also as a member of a bigger group, in confrontation with which they notice their distinctiveness – both individual and common traits. Both the former and the latter constitute individuals' humanity at its fullest – humanity understood as the conscious updating of their possibilities, and – through them – stepping beyond all their limitations. Such humanity opens up to the individual, at the same time being discovered by them, during animation activities through the world of cultural values or broadly understood actions for the benefit of society that are aimed, inter alia, at the change of the quality of life of the particular groups. Let us stress that the latter calls for a particular sensitivity to the so-called Others/Aliens, consisting in a specific listening to their individual needs and discovering them together with them, or perhaps even based solely on a discreet accompanying of them in their discovery of their own authentic needs. Let us turn attention to the fact that they are set much deeper than at the level of the satisfaction of material needs. Most probably, they are also secondary in relation to the previously supplied/satisfied basic values/needs, including the vital ones related to the ordinary daily living activities as well as physical and mental health.

Therefore, it is not difficult to notice the emerging humanistic-social nature of the future graduates of animation, in particular those studying pedagogy or cultural studies, as well as an extensive, albeit not sufficiently deepened, scope of theoretical knowledge supplied to them during the process of education.⁷ It is precisely in the above that the already mentioned nature of the education of animators manifests itself, since what they are provided with in the case of pedagogical studies, apart from the in-depth knowledge of pedagogy, is the basics of psychology and sociology, as

⁷ I discussed problems related to the cataloguing of the competences of the animator and the perception of animation from the pedagogical point of view in my article prepared to express my standpoint concerning this issue at Forum Kraków operated by the MIC. In this sketch, I use threads discussed there, quoting some of them in their entirety, <http://forumkrakow.info/blog/2015/04/13/kompetencje-animatorow-kultury-stanowisko-forum-krakow>.

well as rudimentary knowledge concerning fields of art (the fine arts, music, theatre, literature, and film).

Just as important as the animator's knowledge and abilities in various fields are the masters whose apprentices future animators are. Therefore, it is worthwhile to reflect not only on the process of education and competences, but also on the very value of animator's work, thus arriving at the gist of sociocultural animation. When lecturing theoretical knowledge on sociocultural animation, and teaching animators its practical application as a part of a several years long process of academic education, maybe it would be worthwhile to ponder on the possibility of becoming an authentic animator – someone recognizing talents, and directing them wisely, an accompanying tutor in the process of the management of the already identified ones? Thus, the so-called animation competences indispensable in the animators' work will emerge in the area of the enlivening, inspiring the surrounding reality, determining the key dimension of professional attitudes of the animator, expressed in openness, reflectiveness, awareness of the spiritual improvement of people, and not only the improvement of the biological fitness of the body, as well as investing into the spiritual potential of the charges. Understood in the above way, animation may be a solution to manipulations or colonisations.

From an individual to community in animation activities

A look at sociocultural animation through the suggested personalistic-communitarian dimension corresponds to cultural anthropology, where animation is above all an expression of the search for the understanding of cultural phenomena, while, when perceived as an idea, it opposes the technocratic understanding of mass culture affecting the cultural personality and types of interpersonal bonds (Mencwel 2002: 20). This fits in at least two elements constituting the personalistic-communitarian core of its dimension, i.e. the individual and the community. Therefore, let us point out that Emmanuel Mounier – the creator of open personalism and the founder of the magazine "Esprit" connected with the animation trend in France – argued that the existence of people who are free and creative is irrevocably interconnected to make a network of social conditions. In communitarianism, the identity of individuals is a derivative of the traditions absorbed by them in the process of socialisation and as a part of the social functions they play. In the communitarian approach, individuals are parts of the communities that surround them, who fulfil themselves as persons. In contrast to liberalism, communitarianism puts pressure not so much on the individual's independence and rights, as on their relations and social duties, as well as the common values indispensable for society to survive. Who we are depends not only on us, is not entirely the question of individual choice, as liberals have it, but is determined by the multiplicity of our relations with other members of the community, "the horizon of common meanings". This joint space also determines the sense of the notions we use. It is impossible to understand

what justice, tolerance, and freedom are outside the context of meaning specific for every community. The protection of culture and collective identity is indispensable for the protection and development of the “self” grounded in collective practices. Identification of the citizens with the state and political community may take place only where “communal forms of life” are values, and their existence and condition have solely an instrumental importance and are not designed to satisfy the needs of individuals. According to communitarians, the community is a good necessary for individuals, and should thus be protected by the state. Communitarians see in the contemporary Western societies strong atomisation tendencies, civic apathy, withdrawal into privacy, and deep sociocultural stratifications. They also believe that to maintain the collective identity and strengthen social bonds, it is indispensable to bring back the spirit of democratic co-participation through the enlivening and development of the civic society and decentralization of state structures. In its gist, animation contains a community creating potential, while as a method or technique of effective action, it may strengthen interpersonal bonds and communication as a part of them, thus building strong communities – an issue this paper develops further on.

Although the thought quoted above seems to be utopian, the daily practice confirms the existence of concrete places, in which animation is understood as an idea, attitude, lifestyle, but also a method, which is practiced, and one may see the observable/empirical indicators of the changes taking places owing to it. The leitmotif of the animation understood and practiced in this way by historians and theoreticians of culture is the discovery of creative possibilities both in themselves and in others. Teaching sensitivity to the potential hidden in the other human being, empathy towards other people’s feelings and a special insight into the understanding of their minds, are the main abilities developed as a part of the specialisation of the “animation of culture” as understood by the applied anthropology. In one of the well-known French journals devoted to animation, the author of an article on the anthropological context of the animator’s work argued that the sources of the permanence and cohesion of animation should be sought in the day-to-day life of the citizens of local communities (Precas 1984: 117). The above was confirmed by the French animation researcher, Pierre Besnard, who demanded that it should not be limited solely to instrumental actions carried out during free time in the process of the promotion of culture (v. Besnard 1980).

In this place, we may refer to the concealed dispute in environments practicing animation, concerning, perhaps even subconsciously, its gist – namely the roots, the ontological status, and the paradigms of its understanding, and, in consequence, also practices, that are built up above them. This concerns mostly the indication of the educational horizon of animation, regardless of the word “sociocultural/cultural”, or “of culture” that is attached to it. Andrzej Mencwel shows the above in his text, discussing the goal of animation projects, but also adding that what he has in mind is education: “oriented towards individuation, subjectivity, and creation” (Mencwel 2002: 22). The author uses a phrase which is typical for pedagogy: “leading”. When

calling the intention accompanying the goal of the founding of the specialization course by the Department of Polish Culture, University of Warsaw, Mencwel connects the verbs “to enliven”, and “to lead” with the act of animation.

Trying to answer the question of what animation is for pedagogy, I look for its roots so as to be able to more efficiently move within its reach, or to find theoretical grounds for it. Mencwel mentions the following actions in the field of animation processes: the facilitation of creativity, the development of personality, and the creation of concrete bonds (Mencwel 2002: 25). We start the process of animation with a careful look at its participants and focusing attention on them so as to raise their interest in being active, thus involving them with either social or creative movement. Here, it is worth to refer to one of the many theoretical standpoints of French and Polish researchers indicating the aforementioned educational potential of animation. The already mentioned Besnard (1988: 341–376) talks about stimulating individuals to act, introducing them to the environment, and integrating them with the broader structures, which implies inclusion processes.

The “spirit” of personalism and communitarianism in sociocultural animation

Reflection on the “enlivening” potential of sociocultural animation takes on a deeper significance when we include it in the personalistic-communitarian dimension proposed herein.⁸ Taking a look at its ideological roots, one may clearly notice three classical threads on which it draws. The dimension I am describing has been inspired by the conservatism, liberalism, and socialism that emerged after the French Revolution. The personalism, which refers to them but also undertakes a critical discussion with them, followed by communitarianism, propose a vision of a person “immersed” in relations with others as a part of various communities. In this case, the supreme value is the variously understood, but assumedly existing, common good, which legitimizes animation activities. This dimension appears as a new, additional source of the empowerment of animation activities through the existence of an objective common good, owing to which the change taking place in a person or group as a result of the undertaken animation actions is not an effect of an external enforcement, but a reference to the participants’ internal needs in the course of the animation process. Thus, this is not about the enlivening of what has already died, but about energizing the existing, which is in lethargy, which sleeps.

⁸ The sociocultural dimension of animation proposed herein manifested itself during my research devoted to the use of the methodology of sociocultural animation in projects focusing on the activation of mentally disturbed persons, and attempts at making them more socially and vocationally active. I first described the personalistic-communitarian dimension of animation in my paper devoted to an already delivered project in the above scope. In this article, I use and deepen the analysis of the animation dimension proposed in the title of the work.

We thus touch upon the gist of humanity, as reaching to the inside we reveal what should be disclosed. This is achieved through the individual's internal openness to change, through a peculiar internal pressure – in contrast to the external one – as discussed by Bogdan Nawroczyński, which balances the necessary pressure and freedom in education (1987). Animation actions may facilitate a specific transformation of external pressure into an internalized system of orders, which becomes a driving force behind the development of individuals and groups. The simplest examples are animation actions in the amateur artistic movement, which often involve a significant effort, or even self-sacrifice, on the part of the participants, but are still performed with such a devotion that it is clear that they result from a balance between internal and external pressures.

When pondering on animation actions from the point of view of the above personalistic-communitarian perspective, we may conclude that communities develop themselves in the world of their own relations, but animation guarantees the building of broader structures, the expansion of relations (Gawkowska 2004b). We thus have in mind strong communities marked by firm rooting, identification of its members in a specific space, and the maximum of direct bonds or “associations” determined by a rational but fragmentary logic of the goal (Kurczewska 2004: 93). The question of the existence of a local community in today's times moves to the area of the search for sets of interrelated individuals with a common identity, living in a specific area, accepting the collection of norms and principles typical for a given community, having a direct contact with each other, cooperating for their common good, but also using contacts with the outside world. What helps in their finding is the thinking of local communities in terms Joanna Kurczewska showed in oppositions of time and space, inclusion and exclusion, community and association, and the local and the global (Kurczewska 2004: 90). Another problem which is so significant at present is the question of the role of sociocultural animation in supporting the process of the emergence of local communities, or, as relevant literature often has it, acting as a part of the already existing communities and transforming them into the so-called strong communities.

The phrase “to animate” means, among other things “to enliven”, which is metaphorically tantamount to “breathing life into”, and is related to community actions. Animation is directed to a group of people finding themselves in the situation of a cultural or educational social event. The community dimension of the animation activity lies in the integration of groups of participants of cultural events in events having a broad social reach, which also play an educational role consistent with the values expressed by the group. All actions always have a relational nature, are directed at the other, in relation to whom they are undertaken. Every act we perform has consequences for the life of the people that surround us, and sociocultural animation is closely connected with the local community, resulting in work with a small group, as well as individuals.

What therefore emerges as a result of the posing of the above questions is the problem of the building of a community through animation actions connected with

the idea of communitarianism. This proposal was reported by Aneta Gawkowska through the use of communitarian concepts for the description and analysis of local activating actions involving the use of actions from the area of culture in local communities (2004b).⁹ Special attention should be devoted to the axiological context of the creation of the community.

In the groups experiencing animation actions one can almost hear a question: how to make a group of people a community? – a community the existence of which assumes the equality of its members consisting in making sure everyone develops as much as they can, freedom understood as the making of choice with respect and acceptance for the other person's right to free choice, unconditional acceptance fostering internal transformation, mutual sharing, and reciprocity. In today's world, which is marked by fragmentation in practically every area of life, it is one of the most serious challenges to pedagogues – cultural animators – as well as an educational problem. Animation actions that assumedly are to “enliven” individuals and whole human groups are a special type of activity, which opens up possibilities for the building of communities between people.

Animation activates processes concerning the things happening now, establishing a positive vision of the future. The processes implied by animation, such as: discovery, the establishment of relations, and creation,¹⁰ can be found at the stage of the recognition of (previously often unnoticed) talents and their skilful management, and subsequently at the generation of relations based on common interests, but also a community of the experience shared during the animation actions in larger groups of people¹¹. The first of the processes – the discovery – consists in the creation of conditions fostering human development, with particular focus on the Other/Alien, and the recognition of hidden creative powers and cultural needs in persons subjected to animation processes. The second process in question – the generation of relations – is the sphere of interpersonal communication and values present in cultural goods, introduced to the animated persons during contact with works of art. The animation taking place in stages, which we are familiar with from relevant literature, taking on a new shape in the context of the personalistic-communitarian dimension of animation proposed in this paper. It brings out individual features, focusing in particular on the disclosed potential abilities of individuals, so as to subsequently combine them with community values. This process of anima-

⁹ For more information on communitarian theories, see A. Gawkowska, *Biorąc wspólnotę poważnie? Komunitarystyczne krytyki liberalizmu*, Warszawa 2004, Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN or its English version: *Taking Community Seriously? Communitarian Critiques of Liberalism*, Warszawa 2011, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

¹⁰ For example: Fundacja Sztuki Osób Niepełnosprawnych, Fundacja “Hamlet”, Stowarzyszenie Pomocy Socjalnej “Gaudium”, Fundacja im. Brata Alberta, Stowarzyszenie GRAAL for the development of children's personalities, and Fundacja MAXIMUM, in which animation projects have been delivered.

¹¹ A reference to the processes identified by H. Therry; H. Therry, *Animation, action sociale, action culturelle*, “Recherche Sociale” 1970, No. 32.

tion takes place in such a way as to highlight the uniqueness and indispensability of the individual features of every person for the making of a community out of a group of accidental people.

Summing up the above, it should be once again highlighted that I intended above all to open new research fields in the face of the emerging doubts as to the existence and functioning of sociocultural animation, both in the environment of theoreticians and practitioners searching for an answer to the question of what sociocultural animation is and how it should be practiced so as to discover its full potential contained not only in attractive forms of action, but also hidden in the meaning of the very notion, and use it comprehensively? By sketching the personalistic-communitarian dimension of animation as proposed in the title of this paper, I have turned attention to its gist, which, among other things, is contained in the fact that, working in the field of individual expectations, animation steps beyond them, disclosing its communal nature, to become, in effect, an instrument of social inclusion.

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Summary

The personalistic-communitarian dimension of in sociocultural animation

This article highlights the need to ask questions concerning the gist of sociocultural animation and to reflect on it not only by animators but also the staff educating future animators, and preparing people for playing the role in local communities. I also put forward my own approach to one of the dimensions of animation, i.e. its personalistic-communitarian nature. My line of thought fits the topic of this volume of *Ars Educandi*, as it discusses the conditions of development and functioning of human beings (in this case animators and the animated), and in particular its sociocultural determinants I am most interested in.

Keywords

sociocultural animation, cultural activity, skills and knowledge of animators, education of animators, individual, community

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The educational pressure of norms. Critical remarks on the sidelines of work with children with special educational needs

This text seeks to show the complex issue of special educational needs, both in the area of the used terminology and the forms and methods of the adjustment of the schools' educational demands of pupils with such needs. When viewed from this perspective, the dilemma of the organisation of formal educational frameworks facilitating or hampering education to such pupils seems to be of considerable significance. Contrasting the individualisation of the process of education with the normalisation of demands, we only apparently solve the problem of education for everyone, taking into account their capabilities and difficulties.

When in 1978, in the British Parliament, Mary Warnock presented a report of the commission working under her guidance for three years, probably none of the listeners expected that the phrase "special educational needs" used in the Report of the Committee Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People (Olechowska 2016: 24) would play such an important role in education in future. Politicians and educational activists were aware of the fact that education did not take into account the variety of needs and capabilities of a considerable number of pupils. Soon, we also witnessed an emergence of definitional and terminological controversies as well as questions or doubts as to the reasons behind the formulation of the particular categories of special needs displaying the different approaches of researchers and practitioners of education. The current discussion on the shape of education for pupils with documented disabilities shows how difficult it is to clearly understand the possibilities and forms of delivery of school education and adjustment of educational requirements to the needs of pupils with special educational needs.

The phrase "special educational needs" applies to such needs which require adjustment of the housing and didactic conditions of educational establishments to the individual developmental and cognitive capabilities of pupils. Therefore, the satisfaction of the special educational needs of the pupils consists in making it possible for them, despite their difficulties manifesting themselves in a variety of

ways, to use schools available to the general public, with simultaneous adjustment of the requirements concerning the pupils' capabilities (Chrzanowska 2015: 423). The expression "special educational needs" was an answer to the growing need of the individualisation of education, and therefore Warnock's report mainly presenting possibilities for a wide inclusion of disabled pupils to ordinary public schools only became a pretext to a broad discussion on other groups of pupils with special educational needs. From 7 to 10 June 1994, more than 300 participants of a conference in Salamanca, Spain, discussed the idea of education for everyone. Signed by representatives of 92 countries (including Poland), *The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action in Special Educational Needs* (hereinafter referred to as the Salamanca Statement) opened up prospects for education for everyone taking into account the capabilities and needs of pupils with special educational needs. The guiding principle of the Framework for Action is the recommendation of education covering all children regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, linguistic, and other conditions (Salamanca Statement).

In 1998, the Polish Ministry of National Education (MEN) issued a document called the Reform of the System of Education of Pupils with Special Educational Needs, which, with some delay, executed the previously signed Salamanca Statement. In place was the act of 7 September 1991 on the system of education (uniform text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2016, It. 1943) and regulations. At present, the most important document for the education of pupils with special educational needs is the currently valid regulation of the Minister of National Education of 30 April 2013 on the provision of psychological and pedagogical assistance in public kindergartens, schools, and establishments (*Dziennik Ustaw* of 2017, It. 1643).

The regulation specifies categories of pupils with special educational needs, i.e. pupils:

- with disabilities;
- with social maladjustment;
- at risk of social maladjustment;
- with special talents;
- with specific learning difficulties;
- with disturbed verbal communication;
- with chronic diseases;
- in crisis or traumatic situations;
- with educational failures;
- from underprivileged environments related to the pupil's and their family's life circumstances, manners of spending free time, and environmental contacts;
- with adaptation difficulties related to cultural differences or a change of the educational environment, including those connected with the previous schooling abroad.

All the above categories of pupils with special needs should be covered by psychological and pedagogical assistance at kindergartens, schools, and educational

establishments. Such an assistance may also be provided to the pupils' parents and teachers. In this area, it consists in supporting parents and teachers in solving behaviour-related and educational problems as well as developing their character-forming abilities to increase the effectiveness of psychological and pedagogical assistance extended to pupils.

In light of international documents and the regulations of the Minister of Education, the situation of pupils with special educational needs seems to be developing favourably, covering an extensive group of various difficulties and indicating ways and forms of the provision of therapeutic assistance.

However, in school practice, many irregularities can be noticed – mainly due to an ineffective system support (Chrzanowska 2015: 425). It results from the data contained in the System of Educational Information that there were 158, 748 disabled pupils in all categories of disability with documented special educational needs, which constitutes 2.68% of all children in educational establishments in Poland in the school year 2012/2013. Similar data were recorded in Great Britain, where the share amounted to 2.8%. It seems, however, on the basis of research conducted in the 1980s and 1990s that many children do not have documents confirming their special educational needs. Research indicated that the real share of such pupils amounted to 5–10% (Chrzanowska 2015: 431). Apart from disabled pupils, it is also worth paying attention to the specificity of other groups of pupils requiring support in school education; some of them have special educational needs covering several categories from the MEN regulation, while the difficulties of other children fit one of them, e.g. specific learning difficulties related to dyslexia. In the educational practice covering the organisation of assistance and the adjustment of education to the needs and capabilities of pupils, the above generates difficulties related to the financing of the support, in particular when it is necessary to organise assistance to children with several learning difficulties. The situation in this scope is most comprehensively illustrated by the research carried out in Poland as a part of the monitoring of the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights (The right to education of children with special educational needs) in 2010. The study covered 121 schools in 61 communes. Of these, 61 were primary schools, and 60 lower secondary schools. The study was focused on the problem of the execution of regulations concerning the education of pupils with special educational needs (Ciechanowska, Chmielewska, Czyż, Kołodziej after: Chrzanowska 2015). It resulted from the opinions of school heads that the highest share of pupils with special educational needs in the schools covered by the study were pupils with specific learning difficulties. Opinions confirming such difficulties, issued by psychological and pedagogical counselling centres, covered 14.3% of all pupils in the primary schools under study, and 15.2% in the lower secondary schools participating in the study. A similar share of pupils with dyslectic difficulties (pupils with specific learning difficulties) is indicated by researchers involved in long-term research into the issue, while relevant literature provides that this type of difficulties are experienced by 10–15% of pupils, including 4% of pupils with enhanced symptoms of difficulties (Bogdanowicz, Adryjanek

2004: 23). An interesting conclusion formed on the basis of the above research material was the form of assistance directed at schools to pupils with specific learning difficulties. The form of assistance extended most frequently was the lowering of educational demands in relation to such pupils. School heads blamed the absence of other forms of assistance, individualisation of teaching, or pedagogical therapy in the scope of work with pupils with specific learning difficulties, on organisational difficulties or the shortage of funds. The school heads paid particular attention to the organisational difficulties. These include: the necessity to organise additional transport to school for children living at a considerable distance away from the school, the absence of interest in additional classes on the part of the parents, low effectiveness of such classes, and the shortage of qualified specialists in the area of the specialist treatment of specific learning difficulties (Ciechanowska, Chmielewska, Czyż, Kołodziej after: Chrzanowska 2015: 437).

Another group of pupils with special educational needs is that of pupils with special talents. This is not a mutually exclusive category, as among the talented pupils there are also pupils with specific educational needs, disabled pupils – also including ones with intellectual disability – and pupils representing other groups of learners with difficulties. The task to develop the potential of these pupils in school education is not fulfilled, although it might seem that these pupils are a group with which teachers achieve educational successes. It is in relation to them that Sylvia Rimm used the phrase “Underachievement Syndrome” (Rimm 2009). According to the author, talented pupils are often also children who do not achieve school successes. Being focused on a type of cognitive abilities, the school prefers the abilities which make it possible for children to learn considerable amounts of knowledge, and in effect prepare talented pupils for school subject Olympiads or competitions. All other abilities: artistic, drama, sport, or social ones, are not as valued and are noticed only by teachers of artistic subjects which traditionally have a lower status in the school hierarchy. The achievement of educational successes by talented pupils is not made any easier by the notion of “a good pupil”, whom the school defines as one who acquires good grades in all subjects. Educational rivalry does not foster the development of the sense of success in pupils who are highly gifted in selected areas. In the school environment, there are not enough opportunities for success and too many situations in which one may experience a failure (Rimm 2009).

A separate issue in this area is the educational situation of disabled pupils with special talents, which is relatively rarely analysed in the literature devoted to talents. Talented pupils with various types of disability are individuals who may be successful despite their disabilities, such as the impairment of sight or hearing, orthopaedic defects, or intellectual learning difficulties. Talented pupils with a disability need education taking into account their talents, while at the same time taking into account the degree and type of their disability (Klinkosz 2004: 94). As a part of the previous special and separate manner of education of the disabled, the focus was on their disability and preparation for the possibly comprehensive ad-

aptation for independence rather than on their capabilities and talents. In the context of the above analyses of selected categories of pupils with special educational needs, an issue emerges concerning the functioning of school as an educational institution, its role, open and non-open procedures, and effects of its activity.

In open procedures, school is perceived as a form of organised action, focused on the achievement of goals and determination of the means allowing their achievement (Dyrda 2009).

The non-open rules ordering the functioning of pupils in educational institutions include norms ruling the determination of the pupils' position in the system. Relevant literature defines the notion of "norm" in a variety of ways, starting with the etymology of the word – initially meaning a square – "a device for laying a right angle in the construction industry"; a norm in this approach is tantamount to everything that is contained within its edges, with its content depending on the acceptance of one of the recognised manners of its understanding (Dyrda 2009):

- encountered in the majority of representatives of a given species;
- falling within the average value of a measurable feature;
- consistency with the rule, regularity.

The first understanding of the term norm highlights its biological nature, indicating the external and the internal consistence of the build, appearance and functions of the organs with those commonly found in a given population. Differences in this scope are most socially noticeable. The attitudes of discrimination, isolation, and even sentencing to death of the disabled recorded in antiquity and medieval times indicate the absence of the social acceptance of biological deviations in the course of history. Also the 19th century, with its scientific approach to the classification, description, and identification of developmental differences, organised segregation in terms of developmental disabilities, placing pupils who experienced them (albeit not denying them the right to education) in isolated establishments delivering separate forms of education in terms of methods and contents. From the practical point of view, the above was to protect the disabled from the open, "able-bodied" society, but also to protect the society against the awareness of the existence of various biological dissimilarities. It was only in the second half of the 20th century that social attitudes changed, which was caused by the humanization of life and purposeful actions of institutions (Obuchowska 2005).

The second area of the interpretation of norms indicates its understanding in the scope of measurable features, which in educational areas concerns mainly a reliance on measurements of intelligence and pointing to values contained within the intellectual norm. It was as early as in the second half of the 19th century that Francis Galton, using the Gaussian normal distribution curve, presented the area of human mental abilities, indicating with the help of a standard deviation the range considered the norm of intellectual capabilities. The psychometric method he initiated continues to be used for the determination of the level of intelligence even today. The tests functioning today are primarily criticised for (Gardner, Kornhaber, Wake 2001):

- the convergent nature of tasks, which means that the tested individual has to find an answer that has been fixed in advance and is used solely for the measurement of intelligence and capabilities;
- the norm-setting approach referring to a statistical reference; results of tests of intelligence are graded against results of the group, which constitutes a normalization sample;
- their quantitative nature, which is to stress their objectivity, with the result always expressed as a digit;
- standardisation based on the uniformity of tasks, procedures, and the manner of the evaluation of the intelligence level;
- the use of tables of norms taking into account the age of the tested individuals and cultural and verbal updates, but disregarding differences in their cultural and verbal status.

The meaning of the third area pertaining to the term norm is most broadly represented in education, at the same time providing an opportunity to abuse the principles, as well as rules and regulations drawn up on their basis. This is because the consistence with a rule assumes consistence with every rule determined in the area of school education, which thus becomes mandatory. Examples in this scope include school rules and regulations, assessment criteria, external tests, as well as the determination of who and in what scope a person is able to meet the thus-formulated expectations. In connection with the issue under discussion, i.e. with special educational needs we may pose a risky thesis that in the understanding of the norm determined in this way, this area simultaneously determines all those who are unable to fully meet the expectations as to the manner of participation in education determined by the school. Also Małgorzata Jacyno turned her attention to the above, arguing that “The new ‘deviations’ no longer have, which is easy to notice, the same power of exclusion from the educational process and are no longer life sentences, [...] but rather they are ‘a specific disability’, which does not determine the final grade and does not decide about one’s failure at school [...]” (Jacyno 2007: 162). Taking into account the above understanding of the term norm, we may identify the areas sanctioned by the institutionally understood school (Dyrda 2009: 634).

Among the areas of norms understood in this sense, particularly important are:

- biological norms – determining the minimum level of health, fitness, intelligence, and speech production;
- intellectual norms – determining one’s ability to use the required manners of thinking (logical, abstract, or rational), and to acquire the abilities to read, write, and count;
- social norms – determining the required level of communication abilities, behaviour, and personality requirements indispensable for the execution of social tasks; and
- norms of knowledge – determining the level of school knowledge required at each stage of education.

As a part of institutions, clear interpretative procedures are specified, constituting unchangeable rules defining correct or normal behaviours and detailing their desired effects (Dyrda 2009: 629). Norms as such also contain a certain aspect of the necessity to respect them, and a demand to comply with their requirements. Although most of them are neither open nor precise, compliance with them is universally considered a guarantee of the pupils' success at school. The critique of the normative approach of educational institutions implies a different direction of searching for organizational frameworks – ones facilitating the learning of children with special educational needs. This direction is the individualisation of teaching, which in pedagogy reaches back to the 20th century. The individualisation seems to be a process facilitating children's development, and enabling the adjustment of the school's educational impacts both with regard to the children's developmental potential and the difficulties they experience. This phrase is contrasted with the notion of uniformization, the standardisation of expectations and the imperative of complying with the norms. To the teachers, referring to the pupil individually is tantamount to singling them out from the ordered collectiveness and anonymity. It is a contrast to a description of a day in an 18th century orphanage presented as a place of anonymity and order, as quoted by Michel Foucault: "We found all the pupils drawn up as if for a battle, in perfect alignment, immobility and silence" (Foucault 1977).

The presented picture raises an unending longing of, hopefully very few only, also contemporary teachers, for whom pupils are anonymous performers of commands, who in extreme cases are called upon to answer by their number in the class register. Therefore, it seems obvious that, when selecting a model of education based on the power over an anonymous collection of pupils, and striving to make them uniform, teachers refer to the archaic understanding of school. Individualisation identified with taking into account the pupils' individual capabilities, and at the same time "bowing to" their limitations clearly seems to be a universally desirable state in general pedagogical reflections (Rimm 2009; Robinson 2011). However, also this naive perception of individualism in educational actions may lead to shifting responsibility for the pupils educational failures to the pupils themselves, as the school did its best to facilitate their education by taking into account their special needs. "The observed 'deviations' from norms and the recorded 'shortages' ultimately make up an individual and unique life history of a person. In line with this logic, to individualise oneself is to see oneself among those who have been described in most detail, examined in the most comprehensive manner" (Jacyno 2007: 159). The notion understood in the above way locates individualisation as a process which on the one hand is marginalised by the diagnosis, while on the other also excludes the "non-described" from the community, thus excluding them from the school's standard actions and expectations directed to others.

Taking into account the applied criteria of the assessment of the work of school based on the Educational Added Value, the comparison of schools of one type (lower secondary schools, technical upper secondary schools and general education up-

per secondary schools) with the help of the EWD calculator on the basis of results of external examinations actually ranks schools using statistical methods (www.cke.edu.pl/wskazniki-ewd/). In this situation, pupils with special needs are perceived as the ones who lower the external examination results, while teachers of the subjects covered by examinations try to talk these pupils into resigning from taking their secondary school final examinations (*matura*).

The difficulty in the solving of the dilemma: normalisation or individualisation in education, lies in the fact that both the sanctioning dimension of the norms presented above, and the individualization of pupils with special educational needs contribute, in contrast to the intentions of the creators and promoters of the solution, to the former's selection and exclusion from the educational mainstream of the school. Therefore, the dilemma is paradoxical: the individualisation of pupils may simultaneously become a new type of norm in the face of such a perception of individualisation, which, taking into account the description of individuals in the categories of their educational needs and difficulties, at the same time alienates them through a detailed characterization of their deficits and shortcomings, thus excluding them from the community of pupils who are not covered by such a procedure, as they fit the norms and rules contained in the expectations of the school in its institutional dimension. "In a sense, the power of normalization imposes homogeneity [...], by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialties and to render the differences useful; by fitting them one to another" (Ball 1990: 96).

Attributing importance to individualization processes as the stigmatisation of individuals through diagnoses, we basically refer to the level of their biological dissimilarity. Sensory, physical or intellectual disability have their own medical and educational picture. When strengthened with the authority of medicine, diagnosis seems to be correct. For this reason, we are experiencing the process of the medicalization of other categories of special educational needs.

Medicalization of various human conditions or problems, being the goal of actions directed at the profit of biotechnological companies, is possible owing to manipulations with criteria, borders between norms and pathology, exaggeration of threats, and the transformation of risk factors or normal biological states into illnesses. However, this is only possible when science participates in these processes (Nowakowski 2013: 14).

The author of the above quotation underlines the process of manipulation with the borders between the norm and pathology, and includes in its justification the orientation of pharmaceutical concerns' towards the generation of profits. The search for reasons behind the advancing medicalization of learning difficulties or educational needs lies outside the problems I am discussing, although it is an interesting thesis for further discussion. Medicalising practices towards pupils with special needs are also present in the classifications of diagnostic criteria. In the classification of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM-5), pupils with specific

learning difficulties are located in the chapter devoted to specific learning disorders (Gafecki, Świącicki, eds., 2015: 33), while phrases such as “impairment in reading”, “impairment in written expression”, and “impairment in mathematics” are used for the coding of the difficulties. The DSM classification constitutes a significant source of knowledge on the gist of learning difficulties also in Poland (Bogdanowicz 2006). As a result of the medicalization practices, children with special educational needs are subjected to pharmacological treatment; for example, the drug *Concerta* is used for the treatment of attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder with attention deficit disorder, while the drug *Piracetam* – for the alleviation of dyslexia-related difficulties. On the *Informacja Leków* [Drug Information] website, both these medicines are recommended for the treatment of children in the above areas. Therefore, summing up, it can be suggested that despite the recommendation of the individualisation and adjustment of schooling to the needs of children with special educational needs, the diagnosis turns out to be yet another form of a separation of those pupils who are stigmatized with their diagnosis, and subjected to pharmacotherapy from their peers fitting the norms.

Instead of a conclusion, I would like to look at the issue of special educational needs from the point of view accompanying many initiatives aimed at the extension of education that have been undertaken all over the world. Both the main educational programme of UNESCO (Education for All), and the documents referred to above (Salamanca Statement) or the UNESCO report drawn up by Jacques Delors (Delors, ed., 1998), underline the significance of universal education for the future. The possibility of participation in public, free education is becoming the centre of efforts of governments and social organisations. Education based on the four pillars of learning: learning to know, to act, to live together, and to be (Delors, ed.: 1998), is a challenge for the 21st century. The documents that are most significant at the global level stress a universal access to good, non-discriminating education. In this paper, I have sought to analyse the educational situation, learning difficulties, and forms of assistance and their effectiveness in relation to children with special educational needs. My long-term therapeutic work with this group of children, as well as the significance of the issue in question for education, are my justification behind the presented argumentation.

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Summary

The educational pressure of norms. Critical remarks on the sidelines of work with children with special educational needs

The text discusses the matter of pupils with special educational needs, whose ability to function in public educational establishments (kindergartens, schools, etc.) is governed by the international documents and regulations of the Minister of National Education. The problem of educating pupils with special needs concerns both the formal and organizational sides of support and specially organized activities, as well as the critical reflection of subordinating them to the expectations of the institutional school, and their distinct individuality. The ambivalence of the described group of pupils' ability to function is based on the existence of certain privileges and opinions in the context of stigmatizing them, and their possible failure to meet standards and expectations formulated within the institution.

Keywords

special educational needs, schooling standards, individualization in teaching, medicalization

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Communication styles of subjects of education in the gender perspective. Critical discourse analysis¹

Introduction

Research into the issue of language in use not only enjoys a strong position in the sociology of culture, but also has a significant impact on the image and perception of pedagogy as well as a discursive functioning of the classroom. Communication is a social process inseparably connected with the process of the teaching of pupils as well as their learning and construction of knowledge (Klus-Stańska 2010). Teachers' styles of communication disclose androcentrism in the form of gender inequalities inscribed into the logic of the functioning of the classroom as a social field. This article presents the styles of communication teachers use in verbal interactions with pupils of both sexes. Communication interactions are hierarchised in terms of gender, which means that girls are located in different points of the field in question than boys. This is related to the fact that knowledge polarised from the point of view of gender is created in the discursive space of the classroom. The above is entangled with the teachers' power in combination with the power of the "traditional" *illusio*² legitimizing the used styles of communication.

The language in use, the situations of speaking, and the manner in which they are understood by the subjects of education are rooted in the structure of the social field, including the subfield³ understood as the classroom. The relation between

¹ This text is a summary of a modified subchapter devoted to styles of communication of subjects of education from my PhD thesis *Język i gender podmiotów edukacji. Krytyczna analiza dyskursu* [The Language and Gender of Subjects of Education. Critical Discourse Analysis].

² *Illusio* – practical faith, a well-grounded belief in the necessity to accept the existing social order. It is one of the significant categories of Pierre Bourdieu's social theory.

³ I shall use the phrase "classroom field" as an equivalent of the "subfield" of the classroom.

the school culture and the symbolic culture is reproduced through verbal communication interactions. The teacher-pupil verbal behaviours positioning all the elements of the social field in the process of the daily discourse of the subjects of education in the classroom spaces how their ways of thinking, speaking, perceiving and experiencing gender hierarchisation. The verbalised school world of pupils of both sexes, constructed from the verbal “products” of the subjects, i.e. teachers and pupils involved in the process of teaching/learning, is entangled in a high complexity mode in the mechanisms of the symbolic culture, algorithms of the creation of knowledge, understanding of the teacher’s knowledge, gender habitus, and the attribution of the meanings of one’s location within the classroom field. The order of this world is hierarchized in terms of gender, and positions individuals according to the directives of the coherently and complementarily configured ubiquitous knowledge as a domination over the cognition, knowledge, (un)awareness, body, and creation of the individual’s identity. The “nature” of gender hierarchisation, which is both a being and a process, is shown through the manner in which language is used, which is constituted in the communication styles of the subjects of education, using Pierre Bourdieu’s social theory and Michel Foucault’s concept of power and the subjugation of individuals.

Language and communication styles are tools constituting and reproducing the existing order in every social field, including the classroom. In his works, Bourdieu presents a way of thinking about the world based on constructivist structuralism, where he pays particular attention to symbolic systems such as language and the existence of objective structures that are “pulsating” regardless of the consciousness and will of active subjects (Bourdieu 1984). I have adopted this approach in my research project, focusing on the manner in which gender differences are generated in communication styles by the subjects: female pupils, male pupils, female teachers, and male teachers. The author of the social field theory sees the social field as a space in which all actions, communication practices and language taking place in the field under analysis (the classroom), refer to this particular area of the social world. A significant feature of the social field is that it functions relatively independently of other micro-worlds (fields) in consistence with its own *nomos*. It is worth highlighting that the social field is a fragment of a structured social space materializing itself in compliance with its own order, which constitutes a space for the verbal activity of individuals (female teachers, male teachers, female pupils, and male pupils). The classroom is a small situational community, in which language and communication styles are categories with a special significance for the development of pupils. The process of learning as a part of and through communication interactions and the materialising gender socialisation brings effects, which are and will continue to be visible and perceivable in the pupils’ experience of the broadly understood social field located outside the classroom. Individuals in the social field: female pupils, male pupils, female teachers and male teachers occupy certain positions in compliance

with the hierarchical order, which materialises and consolidates itself through the communication practices and styles. The above-mentioned subjects functioning in the classroom together with the *illusion* reproduce their roles in the classroom in compliance with gender hierarchisation through their daily participation and involvement in the consolidation of communication styles. This process is accompanied by a well-consolidated conviction and belief (*illusio*) that the communication practices and styles are as good as their consequences. In the social field hierarchised in terms of gender, one can notice the domination of some individuals over others, as discussed in much detail by Foucault in his concept of power as domination. The iconoclast as the father of the concept is considered, and perceives power as a network of relationships and power relations which are ceaselessly active. This activity can also be noticed in the communication styles analysed as a part of my research. In Foucault's way of thinking about power perceived as domination, teachers are entangled in a network of power relations through "having" power over the cognition and knowledge of pupils. The involvement of all the entities of the social field in the power relations is materialised in the day-to-day reproduction of communication styles.

Language and gender are categories that are inseparably connected with cognition, reflective awareness, understanding and (mis)understandings manifesting themselves in the communication space of the subjects of education under analysis. Gender constituting a social discursive-performative construct is one of the main concepts in the space of the understanding of the social reality, as well as in terms of thinking about other social actors and actresses. Gender hierarchisation as a part of this research project is shown through the manner in which language is used as constituted in the teacher-pupil relations and communication styles. The best method originating from the ethnographic tradition, allowing insight into the manner in which language is used and into its entanglement in the mechanisms that may contribute to the phenomenon of gender hierarchisation in the classroom, is ethnography of communication. The subject of analyses is the communication styles of teachers and pupils of both sexes, sketching the borderlines of the discursive positions of the subjects in question. As a part of the manners in which language is used, I have been examining aspects of the communication styles used between teachers/pupils, pupils/teachers, and pupils themselves (female pupils/male pupils, female pupils/female pupils, and male pupils/male pupils). However, in this paper, I am mainly focusing on the teacher-pupil communication styles.

Clear lines of the gender division (Karwatowska, Szpyra-Kozłowska 2005: 139; Bochno 2009) that are reproduced and constructed in the daily life of the classroom, are located not only within the unconsciousness of the subjects of education, but also in the space-time of the magical impact of good faith – *illusio* (Bourdieu 1984). This illusion is a belief that the imposed creation of the "sense of gender position" in the social field is proper, indispensable, and beneficial for pupils – the future citi-

zens of a democratic country. Communication practices simultaneously determine the borders and parameters of knowledge, the gender habitus, and the inequality of the pupils' educational opportunities. The process of the construction of the way in which gender hierarchisation is consolidated in the communication styles of the subjects of education as the subject of research, as well as my reflections, are located in the perspective of structural constructivism.

Communication in the classroom is marked by specific features resulting from the authority of both the pedagogical institution and the particular pedagogues working with pupils in the primary schools. By reconstructing and analysing the communication styles of the subjects of education, I am checking whether they contain any traces of the materialization of the teachers' power. My primary goal is to identify communication styles – the manner in which they display the consolidation of gender hierarchisation in the classroom. Additionally, I want to show that *illusio* – one of the significant categories of Bourdieu's social theory – is a being accompanying and consolidating gender hierarchisation in and through the communication styles of the subjects of education. At the same time, I am trying to answer the question in what way the above-mentioned practical belief in the properness of the existing order, and the impact of language on the consolidation of the existing order, are connected with reflectiveness and the positions of the entities in the social field under study. Looking at the diversity of the subjects' positions, I analyse the coherence of the positioning effect of Basil Bernstein's codes with the consolidation of the social field which is hierarchized and positions entities through communication styles. In the process of socialisation, pupils learn to subordinate their actions, thoughts and wishes to the linguistic code, which not only enables and orders the fulfilment of a specific role in a concrete way, but also determines the way people think and speak about it. I deepen my analysis of the communication styles with the help of such elements of Bernstein's theory of linguistic codes as the positioning of individuals, roles, the determination of borderlines between individuals, and the reproduction of culture.

Along with the consolidation of knowledge and the existing order, the language in use as an important element of the social field rooted in the dailiness also aims at the construction of space for the reaching of agreement. For this reason, I also look at communication styles from the point of view of the discursive separation of space for agreement in consistence with Bourdieu's logic of the field and the way in which it is reached by the subjects within the field of the classroom.

I seek with determination to arrive at a deepened understanding of the issues of language in the gender perspective, as well as the building of space for the reflective awareness of (not only) subjects of education in relation to the processes which materialize themselves in and through relations of power, in the aspect of the "grammar" of discursive gender policy.

Teachers' communication styles

The standpoint of Deborah Tannen's linguistics in its general gender-related assumptions on the two distinct ways of communication: the male and the female one, is consistent with the logic of a gender hierarchisation in the language of the classroom. Clear differences in communication style may pose a threat to the heretofore accepted norms of the social functioning together with the socially accepted stereotypes and gains for their reproduction. Gender is a dynamic construct affecting the clash of attitudes and ways of perception of the individual as well as the group in which the individual co-creates communication interactions. The language of the classroom is an indicator of the diversity in the styles of female teachers, male teachers, female pupils, and male pupils alike. The style of communication is not only a substantial competence and a formal ability to communicate, but also the ability to express one's attitudes to the participants of the process of communication in two ways. The female and the male genderlects are determined by the gender distinctions in the utterances of girls/women and boys/men. In Tannen's theory in question, the primary place is occupied by the category of the difference in the relational competence, which emerges as early as in children's speech shaped in peer groups. Groups of girls, usually not very numerous, carry out the task of the establishment and maintenance of emotional bonds. Girls support each other and create a nice atmosphere, while the games they initiate end with a tie or a zero result (Tannen 1999). In the thus-configured communication climate, schemes of negotiation and solution of the possible conflicts involving the construction of simple and effective compromises are consolidated.

In contrast, the more numerous groups of boys are marked by a hierarchic structure, in which the individual giving orders and effectively supervising their fulfilment becomes the leader. The leader of the boy's group is considered a strong, intelligent, and consistent colleague with a sense of humour. Together with the discursive gender distinctions, the assumptions of the above theory are a foundation, on the basis of which we may reconstruct communication styles and separate them as a part of the typologies that order them.

The algorithm of dividing communication styles into female and male ones, which lies at the foundation of the genderlect theory, is only the basis for gender distinctions. Table 1 presenting a typology of communication styles contains two basic styles related to the theory of genderlect, which each include two classes of speaking. The female communication style applies to the verbal communication of female teachers and a separate style of speaking of the female pupils. In contrast, the male communication style covers the ways of speaking of male teachers, as well as the styles of male pupils. The excessively "tight corset" of the theory of genderlect made me construct a new relational typology of communication styles of the subjects of education, allowing for the highlighting and very detailed analysis of

the communication-related practices materializing themselves as a part of them as well as social phenomena entangled in the web of relational connections.

Table 1. Typologies of gender-hierarchised communication styles of the subjects of education

Typology no.	Typology (name)	Relational aspects of communication styles	Communication style
1.	Genderlect theory (frame of communication styles of subjects of education)	Female communication style (woman – man) Male communication style (man – woman)	Communication style of female teachers Communication style of female pupils Communication style of male teachers Communication style of male pupils
2.	Typology I Relational typology(refers to Bernstein's theory of linguistic codes)	Female teacher – female pupil, female teacher – male pupil, male teacher –female pupil, male teacher – male pupil <i>Female pupil – female pupil, male pupil – male pupil, female pupil – male pupil, male pupil – female pupil</i> Female pupil – female teacher, female pupil – male teacher, male pupil – female teacher, male pupil – male teacher	Communication styles of female and male teachers with female and male pupils do not contain an element of symmetry. Communication styles of female and male pupils contain an element of symmetry. Communication styles of female and male students with female and male teachers do not contain an element of symmetry.
3.	Typology II Typology of the teachers' communication styles	Teachers' communication styles. This typology was identified on the basis of the criterion of the teacher's power. All the above typologies concern the language of the classroom ordered in compliance with the gender policy.	Controlling/positioning/ disciplining style (further referred to as CPD) CPD with an element of teacher's sense of humour Dynamic style of CPD communication CPD style "young researcher" Subtle-gentle style

Source: author's own research.

This network seems to be a coherent construct configured taking into account the gender-hierarchised power and knowledge relation. What is very clear is the way pedagogues practice traditional didactics affecting the process of the construction of knowledge and the assignment of meanings. The weak link of the above system is the low coefficient of the aesthetic-ethical linguistic sensitivity of the subjects in the classroom space (Grzechnik 2015a).

I referred the typology under discussion to the assumptions of Bernstein's theory of linguistic codes in the aspect of the reproduction of the gender-hierarchised culture in the communication space of the classroom (Bernstein 1975, 1990). Bernstein showed how linguistic codes are determined by the nature of the division of labour and the basic values having an impact on the culture and system of roles in the main socializing institutions – in particular family and school. The culturally-determined communication code depends on the position of the individual and family in the class structure. I intend to relate the communication styles to the culturally-constructed gender aspect so as to learn how the aspect of gender affects communication styles in the classroom. The identification of typology I and typology II also aims at finding out in what way the communication styles position subjects of education and how they influence the fulfilment of the role of the pupil (male and female) in the classroom field.

Another type of typology is a construct that is new in its configuration: typology II, which refers to a group of styles of speaking of female and male teachers. Such an ordering contains ways of the perception of communication styles and gender-hierarchised actions discussed in detail as a part of each of the styles under analysis. The teachers' ways of speaking can be categorised into the following styles: the controlling/positioning/disciplining style (CPD), the controlling/positioning/disciplining style (CPD) with an element of the teacher's sense of humour, the dynamic style of CPD communication, the style of "young researcher" and the subtle-gentle style being an opposite of the controlling/positioning/disciplining style (CPD).

Teacher's controlling/positioning/disciplining style (CPD)

As a part of the CPD communication style, teachers ban, order, and give stylistically specific instructions related to the pupils' behaviour in the classroom. This sort of communication action seems to be of primary importance for the "controlling" ones. "Controlling orders" are directed at pupils in the form of imperatives or questions. The teachers ceaselessly underline their position in the discursive space with their intonation, rhythm and accents accompanying the style in question, at the same time managing knowledge, the way it is "acquired" and emotions (Galasiński 2008: 152, 153). Additionally, the location of the very class as a unit is much higher than the pupils' right to answer the teacher's questions in a way unhampered by anything or anyone. As a part of the thus-configured logic of the CPD style, per-

formative acts having the power to wound and simultaneously highlight the dominating position of the person disciplining and forming young subjects emerge spontaneously and freely (Kopciewicz: 2007, 2011). As a part of the management of the situations involving speaking, this style contains attributers such as an element of the teacher's criticism and the enforcement of keeping quiet and silence, which are more often assigned to female pupils than to the male ones (Grzechnik 2015b). Summing up the above manner of communication, we may say that this style, which dominates in the communication space of the classroom, exemplifies the domination entangled in prescriptive-prohibitive knowledge enriched with the power to control and performatively wound pupils of both sexes.

NIH⁴: Could you just look after yourself, no comments. (Male pupil U5 began to clap after the teacher's statement directed to female pupil Ua2).

NIH: If you want to say something, put your hand up.

U13: They could kill. (Male pupil U13 answers after putting his hand up).

U16: Yes, they could. (Male pupil U16 answers without putting his hand up). [...] (*history lesson No.1*)

Na7B: I would like each of you to be able to enumerate these five elements, rather than just talk like that, summing up. [...] (*science lesson No. 1*)

Na2P: Hey, you have just written your tests and you're now afraid that the blackboard will attack you, or what? (*Polish lesson No. 1*)

NIH: No, as your spine will bend utterly unnecessarily.

U1: My mum says that it is bent already.

NIH: And this is not good at all.

U5: You are bent all the time.

Ua2: Or twisted?

NIH: Could you just look after yourself, no comments. (Male pupil U5 began to clap after the teacher's words addressed to Ua2) (*history lesson No.2*)

The above fragment of a female teacher's statement indicates that the element of criticism as a part of the interaction of questions and answers "inspires" her to provide a fast reply.

⁴ The code key for the female teachers, male teachers, female pupils and male pupils participating in the study – used in the transcriptions of the recorded lessons and in the observation log. Bold font was used as an additional assistance to mark male and female teachers: **NIH** – teacher of history, **Na2P** – teacher of Polish, **Na3B** – female form tutor1, **N4M** – teacher of music, **Na5S** – teacher of music, **N6R** – teacher of religion, **Na7B** – teacher of science, **Na8** – female form tutor 2; Ua1, Ua2, Ua3, Ua4, Ua5, Ua6, Ua7, Ua8, Ua9, Ua10, Ua11, Ua12, Ua13, Ua14, Ua15, Ua16, Ua17, Ua18, Uax – female pupils; U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, U7, U8, U9, U10, U11, U12, U13, U14, U15, U16, U17, U18, Ux – male pupils.

A great majority of male and female teachers have a huge need to talk. As for male and female pupils, slightly more male than female ones try to be allowed to speak, while a decisive majority of boys are very clearly determined to present themselves in the communication space (Bochno 2009). When encountering communication difficulties imposed by the teacher, boys decisively fight for their “due” discursive position in the classroom. The female and male teachers’ communication with pupils is qualitatively different depending on the pupils’ gender (Kopciewicz 2007).

The controlling-disciplining-positioning style with a sense of humour

A variety of the above style is a manner in which the teacher communicates with their pupils differing from the controlling-disciplining-positioning style with only one small detail, i.e. their sense of humour (sometimes positioning the pupils). In the space of this style, the sense of humour can be used by both teachers and pupils.

U16: Strange sounds.

N4M: Why? Because when you laugh, your diaphragm works intensively. It massages your internal organs, which has a beneficial effect on the entire body.

Yes?

U16: If laughter is good for you, let’s laugh together.

N4M: OK. Everybody laughs out loud. (Laughter).Ok, thank you. Let us leave something good for our health for the break. (*music lesson no. 3*)

The “dynamic” teaching style

The teacher’s manner of talking presented in the fragment below is marked by, along with numerous orders, “forcing the pace” and you can notice “in no time” that the combination of dynamics with a frequent use of the conditional mode constructs a stylistic specificity of the expressed speech acts. In the example under analysis, this category refers to the “colloquial” speech, which offers the listeners a cold and not very nice intonation enhanced with a non-specific distribution of accents. The several minutes long dialogue fragment quoted below has the power to annihilate any space for the question/answer interaction in the discourse of the classroom:

Na7B: Quick, quick. Perhaps OU14 has something to say. People, wake up!

Na7B: Physical and chemical transformations. Fast pace.

Ua6: Oooh.

Na7B: Have I asked you to grumble? Unless someone wants to lecture today. Instead of revising in your free time, you keep talking.

U16: What is the subject?

Na7B: I advise you to revise.

Ua6: Well I was absent, so how can I revise? [...]

Na7B: Hey! Stop moaning. We are getting to work. Caution! [...] One person answers, and then we ask fast. Maybe Ua6.

Ua6: I was absent.

Na7B: But. When did you come back to school? Today?

Ua6: Well, no. But I was absent during this one. [...] I have this subject, but have not learnt it. [...]

Na7B:OK. So that is a minus for today, and if you still fail to know it by the next class, you will get a one. [...] Please, fast, one, two. And instead of revising, you are sitting like some magpies!

Ua6: Miss, this is the world of the matter?

Na7B: Yes.

Ua6: Then I was present.

Na7B: I have not put the minus in to the log yet, make it fast!

Ua6: So: matter.

Na7B: Ask her a question. In no time, one, two! [...] We are forcing the pace!

Na7B: If you dawdle relatively fast, maybe I'll give you some time for an experiment, but if your pace is hopeless, there will be no experiment at all [...].

Na7B: [...] Forcing the pace, as there is still the experiment.

Na7B: Coagulation. [...] OK, point two. Ok, so who is writing? OK.

Ua10:Me. (A female pupil puts her hand up).

Na7B:Move on, move on! [...]

Na7B:Please. Can you stop yelling? (to the boys). Move to the side. (*science lesson No. 2*)

In the space of the teacher's style under analysis, the female pupils answer in a shy, quiet voice. They also speak rarely, as they are rarely invited to take a voice. When a female pupil is instructed to take a voice, she is obliged to answer a rather bulky stream of the teacher's questions, as shown in the fragment above.

The female teacher **Na2P** has an expressive communication supremacy: she speaks a lot and in a loud voice, co-creating a clear dynamics of communication style together with the girls and boys, as can be seen in the next fragment.

U16: But you want it fast?

Na2P: Move on, hey! Listen, faster, or else you will sit here until Easter.

U14: So is it Easter tomorrow? (*Polish lesson No. 3*)

The "grey" dailiness of the classroom intertwined with the creation of gender divisions is a category manifesting itself interactively and very clearly in the presented fragments of "language games". These divisions were for example visible in the tendency to lower grades for the female pupil's utterance.

Na7B: So, how would you grade your friend?

U16, U12: Five.

Na7B: No, sirs, four at the most.

U16: Five!

Na7B: I said something! (Loudly and expressively) Give me your copybook, fast! (*science lesson No.2*)

The pupils were allowed/instructed to assess their friend's utterance: "So, how would you grade your friend?"; They graded her at "five". The teacher decided to give the pupil a "good", and when her fellow pupils "asked" the teacher for a very good grade, she protested loudly and decidedly: "I said something!". The teacher manages the situations of talking, and decides about the logic of the assessment of the pupils' utterances and the mode of sanctioning pupils for their insubordination.

The controlling-disciplining-positioning style – "young researcher"

In the empirical material, another communication style was identified: I called it CPD-"young researcher", as it is a mix of the CPD style and a style oriented at a "young researcher" (mainly the male one – and a female one to a lesser degree) of the surrounding world. As a part of this manner of speaking and communicating with pupils, the teacher arouses their curiosity and cognitive sensitivity, which is only partially combined with a free spontaneity of the pupils' exploration of the reality. The style of communication in question contains much more "CPD" than the "young researcher". It is the only style of teachers' speaking which accepts the aspect of exploration in thinking and speaking in the process of the construction of knowledge by the male pupils – and very rarely by female ones as well (Grzechnik 2014).

N4M: I don't know if you realise, but in the Middle Ages, there was a torture, a punishment, consisting in tearing out someone's tongue.

U16: Tearing it out?

N4M: Yes, they tore out the convicts' tongue as a punishment. I would probably do this to you today.

U1: Aaah, to me?

U10: It would do you good. (*music lesson No. 3*)

All the above – four – teachers' communication styles include a space reserved for a verbal, clear, often hurting, positioning, and subjugating category directed straight at the pupil, which I have called for the purposes of this project teachers'

performative straightforwardness. It is a specific variety of the “pedagogical performative art” about which we should talk and write. However, no trace of this straightforwardness was found in the style discussed below – one that is so different to the other ones and laughed at by the pupils.

The subtle-gentle communication style

The last speaking style I have identified and reconstructed is the subtle-gentle style, recognising and respecting the dignity of the other human being, of each girl and boy. This style, categorised in typology II of the teachers’ styles, has not been accepted by male pupils. Only girls, who fully accept the positions occupied in the discursive space in compliance with the assumptions of Bourdieu’s social theory, have an enthusiastic attitude to it. The process of learning of calm female pupils is disturbed by the loud behaviour of boys which has a destructive impact on the course of the lesson. Sensitive, calm, balanced, tactful, patient, valuing the culture of words and open to pupils of both sexes, the teacher finds it problematic to maintain discipline in the discursive space of the classroom. Her communication style shows that she is almost an ideal teacher: she is open, patient, and very competent in the scope of the building of communication interaction, taking into account its ethical and aesthetic aspects.

Each of the above styles contains elements of the teacher’s individuality, which translates into a stylistic specificity of statements, which is different in each of the communication styles of the teacher.

Na2P: U3! It is too loud. Will you stop talking?

Na2P: What is happening? Such a silence. I think that we should be making recordings at each lesson, I can see. (*Polish lesson No. 2*)

The above fragments of statements of a male and a female teacher are a suggestion that the presence of a camera fits the logic of the basic communication style of the teacher, which is mainly aimed at positioning, controlling, and disciplining the pupils.

Ua5: Why?

Na2P: I’m talking about this silence and peace. Have you finished writing? (*Polish lesson No. 4*)

NIH: Children are shutting their mouths. You will now be able to talk to your heart’s content.

NIH: Marysia, you are writing this down from the blackboard! (Female pupil Ua3 obediently nods several times.)

NIH: (To Ua12) I shall make you change your seat in a moment. (*history lesson No.4*)

Na2P: Ua7! What subjects are you discussing?

Ua7: He asked me what this is. Flowers.

Na2P: So you are not talking at the same time? (*Polish lesson No. 2*)

The female pupil Ua5, although she plucked up courage to ask a question, speaks in a whisper, quietly, hesitantly, and unclearly. Female pupil Ua7 has little confidence and is a calm girl, who has very good results at school and speaks quietly and shyly.

The way of the construction and description of the identified typologies allows for a deepened analysis and interpretation of the consolidation of the phenomenon of gender hierarchisation in the classroom in communication-related practices of the subjects of education.

In the style of speaking of pupils, both in the classroom and in the school corridor, one can almost hear their “call” for symmetry in their communication with the teachers, and as a part of it, for more attention, openness to young minds and linguistic ethical and aesthetic sensitivity. The gender aspect of communication styles together with the *illusion* is transferred outside the classroom. The power of the language of the subjects of education will probably accompany the pupils of both sexes in the future (Marody 1982).

Observing as a part of the ethnography of communication the manners of communication of the subjects in the classroom, I had a feeling that the linguistic actions constructed and delivered by the sender – the teacher – were implemented mechanically and unconsciously. However, the total or partial unawareness, constantly strengthened by the *illusio*, guarantees many subsequent repetitions and interpretations as correct, proper, and necessary. This specific manner of communication activity is related not only to speech acts, but also performatives (Butler 1997). Their location in communication styles is consistent with the principles of the activity of the social field (classroom), which are aimed at the consolidation of gender hierarchisation, and the subjugation of cognition, which takes away the “freedom” in the process of the creation of knowledge from not only the female but also the male pupils and determines, on a daily basis, the boundaries of the grounding in the worlds they become acquainted with and reproduce every day.

It is noticeable that the styles discussed on the basis of the rich empirical material are a variety of the colloquial style, as they are marked by a wealth of specific features, such as the verbal transfer of the message, increased expressiveness and impressiveness involving ellipses, nominal sentences and exclamations, as well as a high degree of changeability of contrasts of cultural seriousness and sense of humour entangled with control and subjugation of the subject. Another argument

in favour of the “school colloquiality” (Klus-Stańska 2010) of this style of speaking is the constant expectation of fast verbal contact and the related use of phraseological, syntactical and situational clichés, and stereotypes (formulas). What is important for the entire climate of the analysis and interpretation of the styles of communication is the absence, in the teachers’ speech acts, of a developed syntax based on the wealth of special terminology related to the description of the surrounding reality, which is constructed by the subjects of education. Along with the “school colloquiality”, an official, school-based, thoroughly normative form of the transfer of knowledge emerged that is coupled with schematism, an inviolability of the linguistic *illusion* and mechanisms ruling the field of discourse. Knowledge consistent with the hierarchical order prevailing at school is closely entangled with the impressive function of language persuading pupils to undertake actions and present attitudes expected by their teachers. The teachers, managing the situations of speaking, are well oriented as to what pupils need, or at least they are convinced about it and believe that this is really so.

Summary

In the course of my research project, I sought to answer the question of whether I could confirm the results of the previous research carried out by other researchers, or show that the discursive gender positioning of pupils in the classroom under study does not exist.

Summing up, I would like to offer three basic conclusions. Firstly, we may decisively say that the phenomenon of gender hierarchisation is consolidated as a part of the teaching and learning process in the teacher-pupil communication styles, being a set of actions. The classroom as a social field is a space in which knowledge combined with the teachers’ power consolidating the pupils’ gender polarization is created. Knowledge is supplied in the “best and special” way, i.e. stereotypically, naively, and traditionally. What is the driving force and the impetus of the hierarchisation is the multiplier effect⁵ coupled with the consolidating power of the *illusion* of the potential of the set of all the features of the teachers’ communication styles. What validates these “traditional” communication styles is not only the teachers’ and the ubiquitous power (Foucault 1994, 2009), but also the location and nature of knowledge filled with “gender colloquiality” together with a very serious role it plays at school.

Secondly, the communication styles constructed by teachers and directed at pupils position every subject of education in the classroom in a different way. It is very likely that the language and communication styles of pupils and teachers, manifest-

⁵ A category taken from the language of economy, marked by the intensification and strengthening of power through the combination of the particular factors.

ed as a consolidation of gender differences, effectively influence the construction of “ordered possibilities” and the selection of “obvious” positions of girls and boys in the broadly understood social field of the future.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the results of my research show that verbal school-based interactions are an exemplification of a set of reasons behind the absence and annihilation of a chance for a consensus. In one of his works, Zdzisław Aleksander describes a chance for intergenerational dialogue of contemporary subjects of education concerning pupils of both sexes aged 15 years (Aleksander 2009), for which in the light of my research with reference to 12-year-old girls and boys there is little place at school. On the basis of my ethnographic research, we may notice the above chance, but the way subjects of education communicate with each other does not contribute significantly to the construction of a space enabling its development and a strong position in the classroom field. What materialises itself against the background of gender polarised communication styles located in the discursive space of the classroom is the phenomenon of an absence of linguistic ethical-aesthetic sensitivity and trust, unsatisfactory quality of the teacher-pupil relations, and discouragement. On the basis of the above truth, we may conclude that the understanding and successful communication between subjects of education seems to be impossible.

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Summary

*Communication styles of subjects of education in the gender perspective.
Critical discourse analysis*

This article explores the communication styles of teachers in the classroom in the gender perspective. Ways of speaking show how power and knowledge are constructed by

verbal interactions. Schoolchildren are positioned in a traditional order in the discursive space of school, with the first one being the teacher, the second one – the boys, and the third one – the girls. The quality of communication styles does not facilitate the reaching of a consensus between teachers, schoolgirls and schoolboys.

Keywords

gender hierarchisation/inequality, communications styles, consensus, school

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The potential of video games: on the assignment of meanings, discussion, enculturation and the literary development of young gamers

Introduction

Fiction and daily life – pedagogical basis for the exploration of games
and other cultural texts

Video games – just like literature or films – are a type of a variety of cultural texts (Szeja 2004) and, similarly to literature (Nikolajeva 2014) together with other incarnations of culture, accompany children from their earliest years. It is in their context that children grow up, learn, develop, and become familiar with the world. It is in these incarnations that we seek the power of enculturation and socialisation.

Fiction – also in the form of games, films, and literature – is significant. Fiction helps bring us up (Miller 1977; Rodziewicz 2011). It helps us become familiar with reality in a variety of ways. Firstly, fiction places certain beliefs and convictions concerning the world in front of the child. Secondly, it encourages us to analyse the world, to undertake a difficult attempt at its understanding. Thirdly, when familiar, the fictitious world is a construct which the recipient may compare with the world in which they live; the readers, becoming acquainted with the universe of a book or game, relate them to the reality they know, and compare them. We may use fictitious examples – also ones taken from pop-culture – to teach and show that education does not have to be distant from the phenomena, products, and cultural texts that are important to young (and not only young) people (Wierzba 2015).

Games, being ludic products, are closely related to play, and, quoting Johan Huizinga “All play means something” (Huizinga 2002), even though it is understood as the antithesis of seriousness (Huizinga 2002). A ludic work is a construct with which one may work, which may inspire, put problems and theses before the recipient, and encourage further activity owing to its ability to involve. In video games, involvement has a special meaning, as it is often an effect of the immersiveness (Filiciak

2006) of the medium. Such immersiveness allows a special experience of the fictitious universe, the acquisition of experience “from a safe distance”.

Video games are also a ludic opportunity to act and experiment. Again – games mean something. Owing to their form, they metaphorically refer to the daily and the familiar; they allow a specific dialogue of the player with the posed theses and pop-culture allegories. The dialogue is by no means idle; rather, it enables familiarisation with significant phenomena, interaction, and, with appropriate conditions, a development of the ability to analyse what is presented, facilitating a training of the allocation and understanding of meanings.

Video games are cultural texts formed by way of enculturation. They discuss issues that are universal and significant, such as gender and gender roles (Prósiniowski, Ranachowska 2014; Prósiniowski 2015), *ergo* participating in the shaping of one’s understanding of the world (the social world in this particular case) or at least present certain constructs, offering cognitive challenges. Games are also polysensory. They engage one’s sight through images, a visual creation of the universe. They shape atmosphere owing to sounds (giving voices to the protagonists, and through music, and sounds of the surroundings). They require our touch and movement (through use of the mouse, keyboard, pad, and motion controllers) for example to navigate the character. We must not forget about the developing VR (virtual reality) technology, owing to which the sensory experience is stressed even stronger. Can they stimulate us to engage in something else? Creative behaviours? Creative writing?¹

Trying to answer this and other questions, and discussing issues that are important for education, upbringing, and human development as such, I shall reach for a concrete example of a video game – *Elegy for a Dead World* – developed by Dejobaan Games, as well as other productions of other game developers.

The game *Elegy for a Dead World* as an example of a ludic educational opportunity

Video games are complex constructs, with their specific features, possibilities, and limitations. To show the possible potentials of games as such, I shall mainly use a concrete example of a video game – *Elegy for a Dead World* – keeping other productions in the form of digressions or additional examples, since I very much want to show that, generally speaking, games, due to their popularity, ludic nature, or attractiveness, deserve attention on the part of pedagogues, teachers and psychologists. At the same time it is worth pointing out that there are also other valuable, interesting and potentially helpful games (both as educational tools, and materials

¹ I understand creative writing as voluntary, engaging writing activities, performed willingly, being significant for the author (gamer), bringing satisfaction, manifesting creativity, and having a potential for contributing to the writing person’s broadly understood development.

for discussion), which can be used in education, and which can be useful for many pupils of any age; here, *Elegy* is used as a very good example of the educativeness of games.

Product characteristics

Elegy for a Dead World is a video game released by an independent US studio – Dejobaan Games. The game has been classified as an exploratory, artistic, indie production (an abbreviation for ‘independent’). It does not have any special age limitations or labels informing about vulgar language, fear or other content that may raise the concern of some recipients. The developers describe their product in the following way:

In *Elegy for a Dead World*, you travel to distant planets and create stories about the people who once lived there. Three portals have opened to uncharted worlds. Earth has sent a team of explorers to investigate them, but after an accident, you are the sole survivor. Your mission remains the same: survey these worlds and write the only accounts of them that outsiders will ever know. [...] We created *Elegy* so that everyone can write. As you explore, the game helps you create the narrative. [...] Each world offers multiple sets of prompts, each intended to inspire you to write a different story about it. *Elegy* might ask you to write a short story about an individual’s final days, a song about resignation, or a poem about war. In the more advanced levels, you’ll sometimes get new information halfway through your story which casts a new light on things and forces you to take your story in a different direction. We like to think of those as puzzles — writing yourself out of a corner, so to speak. (Dejobaan Games 2014)

As can be seen, the game has been created intentionally to raise creativity; it seeks to inspire various stories, without guiding the gamer to the one and only appropriate interpretation of the audiovisual universe. This is also facilitated by the writing prompts (or rather the available forms of writing). Choosing one of the worlds, we will receive the following suggestions: *The Four Ages of Byron’s World*, *Freeform Writing*, *Darkness by Lord Byron*, *This Vacation is Terrible*, *10 Choices We Made*, *War of the Worlds*, *Plundering Byron: A Musical*, *This Was My World*. As results from the above enumeration, the proposals are diverse (and each of them can be additionally modified – even if we choose an option of prompts of the “end sentences” type, one may modify whatever is before or after the gap), building a rich offer for gamers-writers at different levels of ability. There are also clear references to a writer: George Byron.

The game is constructed in a way which is open enough for gamers to take decisions, and provides a liberty of choice of various writing forms. The availability of a large number of styles/formats is not without significance. It resembles a support of linguistic development, an intentional and extremely important creation of positive conditions (multiple proposals and offers) for individuals to undertake linguistic activity (Stawinoga 2007: 53) which is essential in the development of creativity.

Many researchers perceive this particular activity – writing – as a manifestation of creativity, and an opportunity to practice it (Cheung, Tse, Tsang 2003).

A very significant feature of *Elegy for a Dead World* – from both the theoretical and the practical point of view – is the simplicity of sharing one’s stories. The game also has an option of making the novels created with the thought of concrete worlds in mind available, and every act of sharing will be illustrated owing to a generated picture (if, for example, a fragment of the text was written when the protagonist was standing with a mountain in the background, the illustration will feature this particular “virtual landscape”). The options include the possibility to export stories to files that can also be printed out and made available in the physical form, which is to encourage the gamers to “exchange” their stories.

Digital tales, exploration of the world and Freinetian inspirations

Analysing the structure of *Elegy for a Dead World*, we came to a conclusion that in a way we may see it as an incarnation of Freinetian thought. What I mean is the free text method marked by “spontaneity, creation, connection with life, close and permanent contacts with the environment, and deep expression of the child’s experience” (Freinet 1976: 393). It was in terms of the presence of the aforementioned features that we assessed the game as strongly related to Celestin Freinet’s pedagogy. In the game under analysis, the above features manifest themselves in the following way:

- **s p o n t a n e i t y** – play as such is often connected with spontaneity (Paleczny 2012: 19). In the case of video games, it also manifests itself in a different way. Whatever we see on the screen and hear owing to loudspeakers, is a stimulus. It is often something new – an order or a “nudge” to react, as we want “our character” to develop; the player wants to explore the story he/she reacts to on an ongoing basis. A person with a video game also plays spontaneously, activates it “here and now”, as he/she has a free moment, has finished work, and can have fun; during the gameplay, he/she is surprised by the medium and encouraged to react. Without a reaction, without the presence of the player, the video game loses its sense, it ceases to be significant, because what gives it any sense and meaning is its reception, dialogue and reaction;
- **c o n n e c t i o n w i t h l i f e** – video games are connected with life – be it, and here we are returning to Huizinga (2002), owing to their culture-creating potential. We may definitely say that expressive activity is closely connected with the dailiness, often with the satisfaction, of one’s internal needs. In the 21st century, video games became a part of daily culture, are present in human life from the very first years of life, and they later “age and change” together with their recipients – such conclusions can be drawn from the GIT KIDS (Game Industry Trends 2014) and *Jestem Graczem* (I Am a gamer, 2015) surveys. Games picture social expectations (e.g. towards social groups, women, men, organisations) by presenting figures/phenomena and stimulat-

ing related discussion. At the same time, as an element of pop-culture, they are inscribed in the life “now and here”, as Paulina Wierzba argues (2015), and are significant for youth (and not only this group) and education. Ignoring pop-culture and everything it entails is nothing else but ignoring youth and children growing up in its spirit (after Wierzba: Melosik 2012: 18);

- close and permanent contacts with the environment – video games are often accused of a negative influence on the gamers’ contact with their environment (Braun-Gałkowska, Ulfik-Jaworska 2002: 221–222); it is commonly believed that games “isolate people”. However, this issue is more complex. As much as spending one’s time on playing games and performing game-related activities (being active on internet forums, and creating fanart² and fanfiction³) indeed takes place at the cost of time not spent in front of the computer (*ergo* sometimes at the cost of time spent with one’s family and friends), this is not always tantamount to isolation from people. Often, communication begins to take on a different shape. For example, there are fandoms – groups of people creating fanart and fanfiction; such groups exchange beliefs and findings. It is often the case that owing to fanfiction or fan art, fans experience life breakthroughs (or at least significant events) – for instance, they share their first artistic works, begin life-lasting friendships, meet life partners, or come out⁴ by sharing works marked by homoeroticism (Dennis 2010). *Elegy for a Dead World* allows communication with other creators through text. The notions of “creator” and “recipient” become mixed; it is sometimes the case that immediately after publishing their version of a story of their selected world, players check how much their vision differs from a short story shared by someone living on the other side of the continent or even planet. In contrast to social expectations, gamers also engage in close and permanent contacts with the environment, although they are sometimes “invisible” to the guardians and parents existing here and now: the internet environment rich in other experiences and other kinds/qualities of relations and acquaintances. It is worth stressing that in the course of creation, some of the game recipients establish cooperation and begin to work jointly on their projects – therefore, further development of acquaintance is possible;

² *Fanart* – art inspired by games, TV series, films, or books, normally involving the drawing of places, characters and events related to them. It also often expresses the support, admiration, and recognition of a concrete work. The last stage of the creation of fan art normally involves sharing it with other fans by publicizing it on a web portal (e.g. deviant Art).

³ *Fanfiction* – similarly to fanart, it is a manner of paying tribute or showing support or recognition to a concrete product of culture by writing texts (mainly short stories). The last stage of the creation of fanfiction is usually sharing the text with other fans by publishing it on a web portal (such as fanfiction.net).

⁴ *Coming out* – (implicitly: from hiding, a closet) – a disclosure of one’s non-normative (homosexual, bisexual, pansexual) sexual orientation.

- the creation and deep expression of the child's experience – we have decided to discuss these two features together as a single subsection as they are closely connected with each other. Writing is creative (Cheung, Tse, Tsang 2003). It offers an opportunity to express oneself, one's needs, desires, thoughts, and fears (and many other conditions) through fiction, through creation. It is a creativity training preparing for the daily challenges. *Elegy* is designed to inspire, to provide the already mentioned "nudges" and „grasps" so that the inner life of the audience can be externalised, in order for the work to become not only an author's work, but also material that others (here: gamers, recipients) can become acquainted with; a material with which one may work, which may further inspire others already as a new quality. A video game is to become an opportunity to "feel the need to express whatever fills us in writing" (Freinet 1976: 393). It is the video game which becomes the context and provides the space necessary for new texts and free expressions to come to life. It becomes a unique event to the author – a creative experience. Neil Gaiman – a well-known writer – described this feeling in the following way:

The best thing about writing fiction is that moment where the story catches fire and comes to life on the page, and suddenly it all makes sense and you know what it's about and why you're doing it and what these people are saying and doing, and you get to feel like both the creator and the audience. Everything is suddenly both obvious and surprising and it's magic and wonderful and strange. (Gaiman 2007).

Obviously, this is a very subjective description drawn up by a professional writer, but it shows how the process of the creation of texts (novels, stories) is associated with a unique, in a way cathartic process. Although Gaiman refers to his own experience (and he is a well-known writer, an author of many books and comics), we cannot deny the possible experience of similar emotions by young writers fulfilling their creative acts – also ones supported by games.

Freinetian thought, exerting considerable pressure on the independent construction of written statements by pupils, seems to be a theoretically close ground for the analysis of the potential of games such as *Elegy for the Dead World* – of course, taking into account the specific context of the digital world of the setting. Here, the connection with the individual experience of the pupil adopts a specific form of an immersion in the virtual world of the game (Filiciak 2006). Freinet, paying attention to the practical uses of the ability to read and write, referred not only to their instrumental function in contact with the material reality, but also to their ludic function (Legrand 1993). In the case of video games, reading should be understood more broadly – not only in the literary sense, but also as the reading of other elements of this concrete medium: its graphic and sound layers, and symbolic references to other elements and works of culture.

Also the filling-in or creation of texts on the basis of data has its specific meaning here. In learning to write, Freinet turned attention to the important element of communication through text understood not only as writing – an act isolated from other social practices – but also directed at sharing the generated information with others (Legrand 1993). As much as in his and his continuators' case the above took the form of the creation of small newspapers and the pupils' work through the physically existing printing press, sharing the effects of one's writing effort via the internet may constitute an excellent equivalent of the practice, reflecting the vast possibilities of the 21st century.

Potential of video games

Video games – even the ones that have not been classified as educational ones – have a teaching and culture-creating potential. They are a “variation on the dailiness”, a proposal to understand meanings, and they therefore inspire discussion; they encourage observation, construction (also the technical one as in *Cargo! The Quest for Gravity* by Ice-Pick Lodge), immersion in details, and, as in *Elegy for a Dead World*, the interpretation of images, meanings, and atmospheres. They encourage one to answer, create, and sometimes destroy. It is true that they are not perfect, but they are a possibility.

An unquestionable shortcoming of *Elegy for a Dead World* on the Polish market is the absence of its Polish version,⁵ but could not we offer the game to the children who have learnt the language and thus combine artistic, educational, and linguistic contents?

Video games are a part of pop-culture – a bombarding culture that is full of stimuli, ubiquitous, and close to the pupils of the 21st century (Melosik 2015). Sometimes, it is worth to remind pedagogues, teachers, and tutors of the above and to educate them about the potential of video games. Without any doubts, the school should not taboo video games, provide them with the features of “stupidity”, unaccepted childishness, or as the antithesis of learning. By doing so, other cultural texts, including cinematography and literature, are also questioned. Video games have been changing over time; they have become more comprehensive, discussing a larger number of issues; today, they offer many different forms of experience and learning. This is a fact pedagogues should be aware of.

In this place, it is worthwhile to say that video games as an element of the cultural reality in which we function, have some unique properties allowing them to support educational processes. As results from psychological research in this scope, playing games may bring about concrete effects in the scope of the development of cognitive mechanisms (Bavelier 2012). Additionally, the above-mentioned mechanism of immersion (Filiciak 2006) makes experiences resulting from playing games

⁵ State as at 28.02.2017.

closer than the ones that may be offered by other, more traditional media. Another significant factor in this area is the development of a creative attitude through phenomena and forms of activities related directly to games. Probably the most obvious examples of such a social practice is the creation of the so-called mods, i.e. unofficial alterations to games created by users themselves.

Modding is a very specific form of grassroots activity having its source in the voluntary work of the involved users of a given app. It is normally an unpaid activity. It seems that, by nature, it has a compensatory nature: gamers usually focus their efforts on improving the elements of the entertainment which they consider deficient, imperfect or one that could be extended (Prósiniowski, Krzywdziński 2016). What is of particular significance here is the fact that the creation of such alterations is inseparably connected with their publication and making them available to a broad public. This makes modding fit the Freireian idea of social communication via the created text as a significant element of the teaching process.

Final thoughts. On pedagogy, game studies and further challenges

Video games can be marked by ideas close to pedagogy. They have an enculturating, educational, and sometimes behaviour-shaping potential. They may stimulate reflection, although they also may treat various subjects very superficially. This is the reason why we need game studies researchers – also among pedagogues, as who is closer than they are to upbringing, education, inspiration, activities with children, youth, and sometimes also adults?

There are games, such as *Elegy for a Dead World*, which act in a variety of ways, offering a form of play that also educates. There are games requiring reading, decision-making, and analysis (such as cRPGs, for example *Planescape: Torment*⁶). There are also games resembling fables, offering interesting characters, creations, and graphic solutions (e.g. *Ori and the Blind Forest* or *Seasons after Fall*).

In pedagogical practice (but also psychological, sociological and the one connected with cultural studies), we are often asked by parents, caregivers, educators, and students about video games, their possible impact, and the related risks. Therefore, it is worth remembering that apart from the frequently discussed game-related risks (content inappropriate for pupils/children of a certain age, discrimination within the game plot, the stereotypical presentation of a character/phenomenon, excessive time spent in front of the computer/tablet/console) and risks in the times of the digital technology as such (Prymak 2014), games also have a great potential

⁶ *Planescape Torment* is classified as a game for more mature gamers of about 16+. A large share of cRPG is addressed to older individuals due to more difficult content, complexity, and more literal imagining of events, which may be inappropriate for young, beginning recipients. At the same time, however, they become an interesting material for analysis in the context of older gamers; they provide context for a discussion of more complex issues.

and may help where the school fails (with the possibility of expression, relaxation, learning/practicing languages, becoming familiar with topics that are normally tabooed, meeting people from outside one's closest circles – people from other continents, who are active on the same web portal as the child/pupil), while the times of the digital development also have another face – the face of perspectives and achievements which were impossible until recently due to technological limitations.

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Summary

The potential of video games: on the assignment of meanings, discussion, enculturation and the literary development of young gamers

Discovering, naming, reading and giving meanings to objects/phenomena is one of the most significant activities a child may engage in. A child's way of discovering the world and experimenting are a key to socialisation and mental development. Learning about the world also helps to realize how complex reality is; it aids in the development of seeing and the ability to analyse our cultural environment. In the beginning, the pattern of discovery is simple, but as they develop, children become able to perform more advanced experiments. They begin to learn differently. It is obvious that there are many ways of supporting the development – performing acts with different children/human beings, engaging in artistic processes, playing etc.. There are many different types of cultural texts that may support children in their development: different animations, music, literature. Video games are mentioned as a possible support of a child's development only rarely. The aim of this text is to present how video games can aid, teach, and educate children. The text specifically focuses on the game *Elegy for a Dead World* (which has features similar to Freinet's free text method) by Dejobaan Games, and some other examples of video games.

Keywords

child, video games, game studies, education, new media, ludology

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The rights of persons with intellectual disability in the light of European and Polish legislation¹

Article 32 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997 (*Dziennik Ustaw* of 1997 No. 78, It. 483, as amended) states that “All persons shall be equal before the law. All persons shall have the right to equal treatment by public authorities”. As to Polish legislation dedicated to persons with intellectual disability or mental disorders, who are the subject matter of this paper, it includes some articles from the criminal, civil, family and guardianship codes, as well as the act on the protection of mental health, the act on vocational and social rehabilitation and employment of persons with disabilities, and the Charter of Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The related EU legislation includes the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons, and European Social Charter. As can be assumed, their main objectives include the improvement of the rights of persons with various disabilities and ensuring their safety, guaranteeing them the necessary funding (ill health and retirement pensions) as well as treatment and care (residential homes, psychiatric hospitals).

Preliminary results of the 2011 National Population Census concerning the population of disabled persons show that 4,697,500 persons, i.e. 12.2% of the entire Polish population, declared their limited ability to perform ordinary basic activities relevant for their age and/or held a valid certificate classifying them as members of the disabled population. Interestingly, in connection with the voluntary nature of the questions concerning disability, almost 1.5 million respondents refused to give their answers. We may guess that some disabled individuals could also be among them (*Wstępne wyniki z Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego...* [Preliminary Results of...] 2011).

Summing up, the groups of persons whose rights are the subject of my research interest in this article constitute a considerable share of the Polish population –

¹ The legal state as at 26 July 2017.

therefore, it seems so important to discuss the topic. This paper seeks to analyse and discuss the articles, acts, and EU legislation mentioned above, which directly concern persons with disabilities and persons with mental disorders.

Place of persons with intellectual disability in the European Union – anti-discrimination law

From the point of view of human and civilizational development, the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century was a discredited period in history. The development of pseudo-science – eugenics, the two world wars, as well as revolutions and conflicts all over the world – disgraced the essence of humanity due to refined manners of torturing and killing people. After the end of the Second World War, the United Nations adopted the Charter of the United Nations, calling upon all nations to respect human rights, in particular underlining the right to freedom regardless of gender, language, race, and religion (Andrzejuk 2004: 41). The document, ratified by all the countries which experienced losses during the war, has a significant symbolical meaning, although it fails to mention persons with a disability. Beata Cytowska reflects that this fact can be interpreted in two ways: “either the subjects were considered of little importance for the population or/and they were treated like any other person, without identification or stigmatisation of this particular social group” (Cytowska 2012: 134).

The General Assembly of the United Nations took another step on 10 December 1948, drawing up the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The document contains the first anti-discrimination provision: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood” (Sokołowski 2004: 12). The act prescribes that differences resulting from race, colour, sex, language, religion, opinion (political or other), national or social origin, property, or birth should be disregarded (Piechowiak 1999: 89).

In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the General Assembly of the United Nations announced subsequent anti-discrimination acts: the Convention concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation adopted by the International Labour Organisation in 1958, the Convention Against Discrimination in Education adopted in 1960 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination of 1966, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women of 1979. Poland has signed all the above-mentioned documents (Cytowska 2012: 135). The situation of persons with intellectual disabilities and persons with other disabilities was given recognition as late as in the 1970s. Bernadeta Szczupał concluded that this became possible owing to a shift in the understanding of disability from the medical to the social model, mainly in

West European countries (Szczupał 2009: 80). 1971 witnessed the adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons, while 1975 – the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons. The former determines the persons' rights to "proper medical care and physical therapy and to such education, training, rehabilitation and guidance as will enable him to develop his ability and maximum potential", "economic security and [...] a decent standard of living", the right "to perform productive work or to engage in any other meaningful occupation to the fullest possible extent of his capabilities", and to "live with his own family or with foster parents and participate in different forms of community life. [...] If care in an institution becomes necessary, it should be provided in surroundings and other circumstances as close as possible to those of normal life", the right to have "a qualified guardian", and the right to "protection from exploitation, abuse and degrading treatment. If prosecuted for any offence, he shall have a right to due process of law with full recognition being given to his degree of mental responsibility" (Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation under resolution 2856 (XXVI) on 9 December 1975). Both the declarations mentioned above stress that persons with a disability have the same rights as other human beings of the same age, regardless of the degree or type of disability, and should be protected against all forms of abuse and discriminatory or humiliating treatment.

A Decade of Disabled Persons was announced for the period between 1983 and 1992. During that period, organisations and governments were obliged to implement the World Programme of Action Concerning Disabled Persons adopted by the UN in 1982. The programme was an effect of the celebration of the International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981. Towards the end of the 1980s, the UN announced the 3rd of December as the International Day of People with Disabilities, with a view to making society aware of problems related to disability and to promote actions supporting this social group and their active participation (Cytowska 2012: 136). It was only in the Convention on the Rights of the Child adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 November 1989 (*Dziennik Ustaw* of 1991, No. 120, It. 526) (hereinafter: Convention on the Rights of the Child) that the need to protect children with intellectual disability was recognised. In Art. 23 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child we can read: "States Parties recognize that a mentally or physically disabled child should enjoy a full and decent life, in conditions which ensure dignity, promote self-reliance and facilitate the child's active participation in the community." Poland signed the Convention on 7 May 1991 (Cytowska 2012: 137).

In 1997, the Sejm of the Republic of Poland adopted the Charter of Rights of Persons with Disabilities, in which the Government of the Polish Republic and the local governments are urged to take action aimed at the implementation of these rights. The document includes the following text: "[...] persons, whose physical, psychic or mental ability permanently or temporarily hampers, limits, or makes im-

possible daily life, learning, work and fulfilment of social roles in compliance with legal and customary standards, have the right to an independent, self-governing and active life and must not be subject to discrimination” (Resolution of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of 1 August 1997 – Charter of Rights of Persons with Disabilities, MONITOR POLSKI No. 50, It. 475). The Polish Government was obliged to inform the Parliament on an annual basis of the efforts that were undertaken in the area of the implementation of the rights of persons with disabilities.

When Poland joined the Council of Europe in 1991, and, 13 years later, the European Union, it had to participate in European projects, which obliged member states to introduce laws aimed at the welfare of disabled persons. One of the most important legal acts referring to the implementation of anti-discrimination actions related to disabled persons was the European Social Charter. Poland signed the first version of the document dating to 1961 thirty years later (in 1991, having joined the Council of Europe), while the second (amended) version was adopted by all member states in 1996. In the first version of the Charter dating to 1961, part II contained articles devoted to, inter alia, the right to safe and hygienic conditions of work, just remuneration, the protection of children and young people, vocational guidance, health protection, social security, vocational training, and the vocational and social rehabilitation of people with physical or mental disabilities (European Social Charter drawn up in Turin on 18 October 1961, *Dziennik Ustaw* of 1999, No. 8, It. 67, as amended). The second version of the document turned attention, among other things, to the disabled persons’ right to equal opportunities and equal treatment in matters concerning employment and the practicing of a profession without discrimination on the grounds of gender and the right to protection against poverty and social marginalisation (European Social Charter (revised) of 3 May 1996).

Another significant document decisive for the situation of persons with a disability was the Council of Europe Plan adopted in 2006 to promote the rights and full participation of disabled persons in society: the improvement of the quality of life of disabled persons in Europe 2006–2015. The main directions of action of the programme were oriented towards the internal politics of the Council of Europe member states and were among other things aimed at ensuring full participation in political, public, and cultural life to persons with disability; the right to education, employment, vocational guidance and training; the right to live in the local community, medical care, rehabilitation, social and legal protection, and protection against violence and abuse.

Poland satisfied the Council of Europe requirements concerning the ensuring of equal opportunities and the delivery of actions aimed at the social integration of disabled persons through the adoption in 1997 of the Charter of Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the drawing up of an act on vocational and social rehabilitation and the employment of disabled persons. It is still (despite many revisions) a legal act which is very significant for the improvement of the quality of life, social and vo-

cational integration and employment of the population in question on the open job market, and introduces a system of subsidies to employers and financial penalties to entrepreneurs, who despite preferential subsidies, do not employ persons with any documented disability (Act of 27 August 1997 on vocational and social rehabilitation and the employment of disabled persons; consolidated text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2016, It. 2046, as amended; hereinafter referred to as AVSREDP). The assumptions of the act are discussed in more detail in the chapter concerning the rights of disabled persons in Poland.

Regulations of the European Union were contained in the act of 3 December 2010 on the implementation of some European Union regulations in the area of equal treatment in force as of 1 January 2011 (*Dziennik Ustaw* of 2016, It. 1219). The European Commission has, however, been criticising Poland for negligence in the scope of the implementation of EU regulations. Five procedures were initiated against Poland concerning the non-implementation of the EU anti-discrimination law to the Polish legal system; two of them were taken to the European Court of Justice (Cytowska 2012: 139). For several years now, attempts have been made to implement a draft law prepared by Stowarzyszenie Przyjaciół Integracji, which is aimed at the equalisation of opportunities for disabled persons. It was suggested that it be called an act on the non-discrimination of persons with disabilities or an act on the equalization of opportunities for persons with disabilities. On the International Day of People with Disabilities, 3 December 2008, the document was handed in to the Prime Minister; nevertheless, the further fate of the project remains unknown (Cytowska 2012: 139).

Intellectual disability in the context of the act on the protection of mental health

The main legal act in Poland guaranteeing medical care to persons with intellectual disability and mentally disturbed people is the Act of 19 August 1994 on the protection of mental health (consolidated text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2017, It. 882, as amended) (hereinafter: APMH). The act was amended several times, and currently in force is the consolidated text of 5 April 2017 (Notice of the Speaker of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of 5 April 2017 concerning the announcement of the consolidated text of the act on the protection of mental health, *Dziennik Ustaw*, It. 882). The act on the protection of mental health of 1994 was created on the basis of experience and the related general standards of acts of law concerning mental health in European Union countries and the United States. It was also an answer to the Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms which Poland ratified in 1993, as resulted from Poland's accession to the Council of Europe. Poland also ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1977 (Gałęcki, Eichstaedt, Bobińska 2012: 525).

Regulations of the act on the protection of mental health of 1994 were divided into 3 groups and are a category of goals that can be described as follows:

- the promotion of mental health and shaping of societal attitudes;
- medical care and assistance in the family and community environments;
- the protection of the rights of mentally disturbed persons.

The first group of provisions of the act aim at the provision of the promotion of mental health and prevention of mental disturbances as well as the shaping of proper societal attitudes to persons with mental conditions: primarily understanding, tolerance, friendliness and prevention of their discrimination. The second group of provisions aim at the provision of multilateral and universally accessible medical care and other forms of assistance indispensable for life in the social and family environments to persons with mental conditions. The third group of provisions aim at the protection of civil rights of persons with mental disorders by strengthening the compliance with the rights specified in the valid acts and guaranteeing the civic rights of patients subjected to compulsory procedures.

The act on the protection of mental health of 1994 concerns three circles of subjects: mentally ill persons (i.e. people with psychotic disorders), mentally disabled persons, and persons suffering from other conditions classified as mental health conditions. It should be noted that all the above individuals are treated in the act as “mentally disturbed persons”, and despite the universally recognised and promoted term “intellectual disability”, the act, even its latest revision, uses the old nomenclature, i.e. “mental retardation”.

In its assumptions, the act on the protection of mental health of 1994 considerably stresses prevention in the area of mental health protection, indicating the necessity to develop various forms of self-assistance: family assistance, community assistance, psychological and social guidance, and the availability of specialist care. Article 8 APMH provides that:

[...] organisational units and other subjects operating on the basis of the act on social assistance [...] in agreement with mental health facilities shall organise social support in the area of their operation for persons who due to mental protection or mental impairment experience significant difficulties in their daily life, in particular in shaping their relations with the community in the area of education, employment, and daily life.

The legislature stresses that social support shall in particular involve the development and maintenance of abilities necessary for an independent, active life, the organisation of assistance on the part of family, other persons, groups, and social organisations and institutions in one's community, and the provision of financial aid, in-kind support, and other provisions in compliance with the principles described in the act on social assistance.

Under Article 4 of APMH, preventive actions in the area of the protection of mental health are undertaken mainly in relation to children, youths, the elderly, and

persons experiencing situations posing a threat to their mental health. Such actions include in particular:

1. the application of principles of mental health protection in schools, educational establishments, educational care and resocialization facilities, and military units;
2. the development of entities developing preventive measures, in particular psychological guidance, and specialist facilities, including early diagnosis of the needs of children with disturbed psychomotor development;
3. supporting self-help groups and other social initiatives in the area of mental health protection;
4. the development of preventive measures in the area of mental health protection by medical entities;
5. the introduction of issues related to mental health protection to a programme of the vocational preparation of persons dealing with the upbringing, teaching, resocialization, treatment and care, management and organization of work, and the organization of leisure;
6. research aimed at the improvement of mental health and prevention of mental disturbances;
7. taking into account issues related to mental health in the activity of the public mass media, and especially in radio and television programmes.

The act on the protection of mental health of 1994 also includes the notion of an “informed consent”, as defined in Article 3 of APMH. The article provides that informed consent means:

a consent given freely by a person with mental disorders, who – regardless of their mental health – is truly capable of understanding information provided to them in an accessible way, related to their admission to a psychiatric hospital, their health status, proposed diagnostic and treatment actions and the foreseeable effects of such actions or their negligence.

The above definition applies not only to an informed consent of persons with mental disorders, but also – as explained earlier – persons with intellectual disability. The concept of an informed consent is very significant for every mentally disturbed person in their striving to maintain their individuality and autonomy. In the case of this group of people, this notion is significant and momentous, since in the light of Article 82 of the Civil Code (Act of 23 April 1964 – Civil Code, consolidated text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2017, It. 459, as amended; hereinafter referred to as CC) a statement of consent of a mentally disturbed person may be questioned. Questioning one’s ability to express an informed consent is based on a wrong presumption that the state of every person suffering from a mental condition excludes free or informed decision-making and expression of will, which leads to an unjustified limitation of the autonomy of such persons. The autonomy of a person suffering from mental disorders, and their resulting right to express a consent or a refusal, may be

limited when the person is unable to provide a significant good for themselves or when they intend to do serious damage to themselves. The Polish legislator in this case uses the principle of paternalism. As a part of paternalism, individuals who are unable to manage their own affairs in a manner objectively good for them need assistance and control from other individuals (groups), who are predestined, or at least have competence, to carry out the function. In psychiatry, indications to use direct coercion appear relatively frequently, and each instance of coercion (direct or indirect) is a violation of an individual's autonomy, which has to be regulated by law. The act on the protection of mental health of 1994 provides that in psychiatry we can differentiate soft and hard paternalism. Soft paternalism applies to persons with deeply disturbed autonomy, for example with psychotic symptoms or severe intellectual disability, which testifies to and indicates their inability to make informed decisions. Hard paternalism allows the protection of individuals against their will, even if they are capable of free and informed choice. Such situations take place when non-psychotic patients are subject to direct coercion or examined or admitted without their consent (Dąbrowski, Pietrzykowski 1997: 27).

In order to protect the rights of patients experiencing compulsory procedures, APMH provides for derogation from the basic rule of consent in the situation of an absolute necessity in Articles 23 (hospitalisation) and 24 (observation). Direct coercion, compulsory examination and admission to a psychiatric hospital for observation or treatment can be used solely when due to the patient's mental disturbances or mental disease, particularly valuable goods such as the patient's life or other persons' life or health are directly jeopardized, and it becomes necessary to subordinate the patient's autonomy to higher order goods (Dąbrowski, Pietrzykowski 1997: 24).

Under Article 29 APMH, admission to psychiatric hospitals applies to persons with mental disturbances, whose behaviour suggests that failure to admit them will significantly worsen their mental condition, or who are unable to independently satisfy their basic needs, with a justified expectation that treatment at a psychiatric hospital will improve their condition; they can be compulsorily directed by a guardianship court to hospital treatment at the request of their spouse, relatives in direct line, siblings, a person authorised to represent them determined by law, or their primary carer. In relation to persons covered by social support, such a request can also be submitted by a municipality or the relevant governmental administration unit. Article 30 APMH provides that the request mentioned above should be accompanied by a report of a psychiatrist justifying in detail the need to treat the patient in a psychiatric hospital. Psychiatrists issue such reports upon reasoned requests of a person or unit authorised to submit a request to initiate the procedure. If the content of such a request or the documents attached to it provide sound reasons in favour of the patient's admission to a psychiatric hospital, and the submission of a report is impossible, the court orders that the person mentioned in the request be subjected to an appropriate examination. The examination can be carried out with-

out the person's consent if he/she refuses to be examined. A decision for the patient to be released from the psychiatric hospital, under Article 35 APMH, is taken by the hospital department head if they recognize that the reasons behind the person's admission to the hospital and stay there, as specified in the act, has ceased to exist. The patient may, after providing a consent at a later date, remain in the psychiatric hospital if, in the doctor's judgement, his/her further stay at the hospital is purposeful. Chapter 4 (Article 38) APMH includes the following provision:

Who due to their mental disease or mental impairment is unable to satisfy their basic needs and has no possibility to be cared for by other persons and requires constant care and nursing, but does not require hospital treatment, may be admitted to a residential home upon their consent or a consent of their statutory representative.

When a person with mental disorders or their statutory representative fail to agree for their referral to a residential home, while the absence of such care would pose a threat to the person's life, a competent social assistance authority may submit a request for the person to be admitted to a residential home without their consent to the guardianship court competent for the person's residence, as provided in Article 39 APMH. Such requests can also be submitted by the head of the psychiatric hospital if the patient staying at the hospital is unable to independently satisfy their basic needs, and requires permanent care and nursing, while not requiring further treatment at the hospital. Article 39 APMH also provides that if a person in need of a referral to a residential home due to their mental condition is unable to provide their consent to the above, their referral to such a residential home is subject to a decision of the guardianship court. Under Article 42 APMH, when a given person is admitted to a residential home without their consent, their statutory representative, spouse, relatives in the direct line, siblings or primary carer may apply to the guardianship court for a change of its decision on the admission to the residential home. Such a request can also be submitted by the head of the residential home if they decide that the circumstances justifying the admission of the person to the residential home without their consent have changed.

It should be stressed that under Article 43 APMH, judges are authorised to enter psychiatric hospitals and residential homes for persons with mental diseases or mental impairments at any time to control the legality of the admission and stay of persons with mental disturbances in such a hospital or residential home for persons with mental disturbances, to control whether their rights are complied with, and to check the conditions in which they live. Article 48 APMH guarantees that proceedings before the guardianship court in cases determined by the act are free of court costs and that the court may appoint an attorney for the person to whom the proceedings directly apply, even if no request is submitted in this scope, if the person due to their mental condition is unable to submit such a request, and if the court considers the participation of an attorney in the proceedings necessary.

We may point out that the act on the protection of mental health of 1994 on the one hand focuses on the health-related needs of mentally ill persons who pose a threat to themselves and others, and who require treatment – it limits the right to refuse treatment by patients admitted without their consent, determines doctors as persons deciding about the patient's release from the hospital in which they stay under court proceedings, and rejects the idea that a threat to life or health can be the only criterion behind compulsory hospitalisation. On the other hand, it determines relatively precise statutory criteria concerning the application of coercion (direct coercion, compulsory examination, admission, and treatment), provides for a clear system of administrative-medical, court-proceedings and court-control guarantees, and practically limits obligatory treatment to psychiatric hospitals, without extending it to outpatient treatment (Gałecki, Eichstaedt, Bobińska 2012: 530).

Selected aspects concerning the issue of intellectual disability in the context of civil law

The main issues concerning intellectual disability in the area of civil law are: legal capacity and incapacitation, the commitment of tort, responsibility for the damage caused, and defects in the declaration of intent.

Legal capacity and the issue of incapacitation

Article 8 CC provides: “Every human being has legal capacity from the moment of birth”, while under Article 11 CC: “Full capacity for legal acts is acquired at the moment of becoming an adult”, i.e. upon turning eighteen years of age. However, Article 12 CC stresses that “Individuals who have not attained thirteen years of age and persons fully legally incapacitated do not have capacity for legal acts”. Incapacitation is a court procedure aimed at the withdrawal or limitation of the legal capacity of the person it concerns (Łuniewski 1950: 55). It should be noted that incapacitation is a legal measure aimed at the protection of the interest of the person who is to be incapacitated (Uszkiewiczowa 1973: 31–40). Under Article 13 CC:

§ 1. A person who has attained thirteen years of age may be fully legally incapacitated if, due to mental illness, mental retardation or other mental disorder, in particular alcoholism or drug addiction, he is incapable of controlling his behaviour.

§ 2. A guardian is appointed for a fully legally incapacitated person unless the person is still under parental authority.

Summing up, to be incapacitated, a person must be mentally ill, intellectually disabled or present other mental disturbances, which may be related to the abuse of

alcohol or other psychoactive substances and due to such disturbances is unable to control his/her conduct (Pazdan 1997: 59).

Under Article 14 CC: “A legal act performed by a person who does not have capacity for legal acts is invalid”, but if such a person “executes a contract of a type commonly executed in minor current day-to-day matters, this contract becomes valid the moment it is performed unless it causes serious harm to the person who does not have capacity for legal acts”. Article 16 CC provides:

An adult may be partially legally incapacitated due to mental illness, mental retardation or other mental disorder, in particular alcoholism or drug addiction, if his condition does not justify him being fully legally incapacitated but he requires assistance to manage his affairs.

Guardianship is established for such persons. Article 15 CC provides that “Minors who have attained thirteen years of age and persons partially legally incapacitated have limited capacity for legal acts”. Article 545 of the Code of Civil Procedure (Act of 17 November 1964 – Code of Civil Procedure, consolidated text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2016, It. 1822, as amended) enumerates persons authorized to submit a request for incapacitation. They include: a spouse of the person to whom the request for incapacitation applies, their relatives in the direct line, siblings, and their statutory representative. The basis of the court to decide about incapacitation is the manner in which the person to be incapacitated manages her own affairs, whether they pose a threat to their own good or the good of their community, whether their condition or illness affects their understanding of what they do, whether it affects their will, and whether they pose a danger to themselves or their community (Hajdukiewicz 2004: 63). The pronouncement of the full incapacitation in the case of intellectual disability is based on the state of a severe intellectual disability, while in the case of partial incapacitation – states of intellectual disability which are not strong enough to justify full incapacitation (Uszkiewiczowa 1973: 31–40).

Tort and responsibility for the damage caused

Persons with intellectual disabilities may perform tort. The basic rule for the performance of tort is the principle of individual guilt, which results from Article 415 CC. In order to bear responsibility for a deed, there must be damage, a causal act being the root of the guilt and a proximate cause between the deed and the damage (Banaszczyk 1997: 758). Accusation of such a behaviour can be levelled only at a person who acted with full clarity, i.e. when the blame can be laid on them. Article 425 CC provides that: “A person who, for any reason, is in a condition which precludes conscious or free decision-making and expression of will is not liable for damage caused in such a condition”. Under Article 82 CC, such conditions include: “mental illness, mental retardation or other, even temporary, mental disorder”. The fact of

the incapacitation of the person who caused the damage is of no importance for the making of an allegation. As insightfully pointed out by Zbigniew Banaszczyk, even a person who has been fully incapacitated may act with complete clarity when causing the damage (Banaszczyk 1997: 820). Responsibility for the damage is maintained in the person who consciously and freely makes a decision and expresses their will (Hajdukiewicz 2004: 63).

Persons incapacitated by a valid decision of a civil court may be accused of committing a crime. In its decision of 25 February 2009 (II KK 316/08), the Supreme Court determined that incapacitation as such is not tantamount to insanity of the incapacitated offender. Such a situation only permits evidence from the opinion of expert psychiatrists for the determination of the defendant's insanity, since in the situation in question a doubt arises as to his/her mental state.

Legal acts and defects in the declaration of intent

As far as legal capacity and defects in the declaration of intent are concerned, Articles 82 and 87 CC are very significant. Art. 82 provides that "A declaration of intent made by a person who, for any reason, is in a state which precludes the conscious or free making of a decision and declaring of intent is invalid". Such states include, as aforementioned, severe intellectual disability. It should be noted that what seems to be extremely important in the case of intellectual disability is the aspects of the validity of the declaration of intent such as the awareness of the decision to be made, liberty and the possibility of direct expression (by way of words, writing or implicitly – by gestures or facial expressions) of the person's will. In order to express their declaration of intent in a valid way, persons who are intellectually disabled must understand their decision, and be able to foresee its legal consequences. While choices should be made freely, it should be noted that persons with intellectual disability are easily persuaded, easier give in to pressure from their environment, and seek acceptance while often being unable to rationally foresee consequences of their decisions. Willing to meet the expectations of their environment and be appreciated, persons with intellectual disability may bow to pressure from their environment against their own interest. They may also display a higher tendency to behave in accordance with orders or the context of a given situation. A rational assessment of a decision to be taken largely depends on one's intellectual capacity. The state of intellectual disability, especially if light, does not exclude one's ability to take rational decisions if the matter that the decision concerns as well as the consequences of the decision are presented in a way accessible and understandable to a given person. Summing up, only the state of severe intellectual disability excludes the possibility of an individual making a conscious or free choice and expressing their intent (Gałecki, Eichstaedt, Bobińska 2012: 537).

Selected aspects of intellectual disability in the context of pension certification

As far as forms of the financial security provided to citizens by the state are concerned, there are ill health pensions and disability certification. Intellectual disability is a state of incomplete intellectual development manifesting itself from the earliest developmental years. Persons with intellectual disability who are able to carry out their social obligations in the area of earning income, i.e. persons with mild intellectual disability, may receive pension benefits when, due to comorbidities, they lose their ability to earn such income. Persons with more severe intellectual disability (moderate or severe intellectual disability) are those unable to undertake vocational activity, and their intellectual disability is noticeable from their earliest developmental years. In the case of children of up to 16 years of age, the so-called disability is certified – which applies in the case of a diagnosed impairment of their physical or mental capacity with the anticipated duration of more than twelve months and the necessity to provide them with full care and assistance from third parties. In such situations, the children's parents may be granted the so-called care allowance. In persons above 16 years of age, certification of the degree of disability applies (Zyss 2009: 218). There are 3 degrees of disability: mild, moderate, and severe. Pension rights are provided to persons with at least a moderate degree of disability. The ill health pension itself is insufficient for rehabilitation, social assistance, and using other rights available to persons with a disability. The act on vocational and social rehabilitation and the employment of the disabled of 1997 specifies 3 degrees of disability: mild, moderate, and severe. Determination of the degree of disability takes place through the certification issued by District Disability Assessment Boards operated by District Family Assistance Centres. Article 4 AVSREDP provides:

A person with severe disability is a person who has a physical impairment, who is incapable of work or capable of work only under the conditions of protected labour, and who requires permanent or long-term care and support from others in order to fulfil their social roles in connection with his/her inability to live independently. A person with moderate disability is a person who has physical impairment, who is incapable of work or capable of work under the conditions of protected labour, or who requires temporary or partial assistance from others in order to fulfil his/her social roles. A person with mild disability is a person who has a physical impairment causing a significant lowering of his/her ability to work in comparison with the ability of a person with similar vocational qualifications with full mental and physical capability, or who experiences limitations in the fulfilment of their social roles which can be compensated by the supply of orthopaedic, assisting or technical equipment.

In persons with intellectual disability accompanied by other diagnosed disabilities (such as the hearing or vision impairment, motor disability, mental diseases and neurological conditions), the scope of the particular disabilities is determined (Zyss 2009: 219–222).

The current Act of 17 December 1998 on retirement and ill health pensions from Fundusz Ubezpieczeń Społecznych [Social Insurance Fund] (consolidated text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2017, It. 1383, as amended) does not contain any guidelines as to the certification clearly determining how a given condition affects the patient limiting their ability to be employed. The procedure of certification in the area of the attribution of a precise significance for certification to the particular diseases marked by specific severity was shunted to doctors employed with ZUS [Social Insurance Institution] and expert witnesses (Zyss 2009: 232). The Regulation of the Council of Ministers of 15 May 1989 on the rights of employees looking after children requiring permanent care to earlier retirement pension (*Dziennik Ustaw* No. 28, It. 149), which was valid until recently, was the only legal act specifying diseases and attributing specific significance for their certification (Zyss 2009: 232).

Issues described in the above-mentioned regulation of 15 May 1989 include mental disease manifested mainly by an intellectual deficit – including intellectual disability. Ill health pension certification dealt with an intellectual ability of below 90 points of the intelligence quotient. According to the regulation, intellectual disability was divided into six sub-ranges: intelligence below standard (intelligence quotient of 80–89), borderline “retardation” (formerly mental slowness, intelligence quotient of 70–79), and mild/moderate/severe/profound intellectual disability. Complete inability to work was certified on the basis of at least the moderate intellectual disability. More severe degrees of disability, usually related to neurological deficits or epilepsy, were considered sufficient grounds for certifying that the patient was not only completely unable to work, but also unable to live independently. Persons with a mild intellectual disability might require the care from third parties only when their condition was accompanied by other severe comorbidities very seriously hampering the fitness of their body. Mild intellectual disability itself was the basis for the certification of only a partial inability to work. Borderline intellectual disability or intelligence below average were not considered sufficient grounds for certification of even the partial inability to work. In situations when even a mild intellectual deficit co-existed with a deficit in the area of hearing, vision, or mobility or a mental disturbance or disease, it might be considered sufficient grounds for the certification of the complete inability to work. The mental health conditions that very often accompany intellectual disability include conduct disorder and emotional disorders, which, when confirmed with a necessity of treatment, might constitute grounds for the certification of even a complete inability to work (Zyss 2009: 235). Discussing the issue of the financial benefits persons with intellectual disabilities and their families may receive, I should also mention that the guidelines contained in the above-discussed regulation apply to the certification of the scope of a survi-

vor's pension and social pension (Zyss 2009: 240). In the case of intellectual disability, a person is liable for the survivor's pension in the situation of the death of one of the parents regardless of the person's age if the child is completely unable to work or exist independently. The social pension is a financial benefit for persons who fell ill during their childhood or early young age. It should also be noted that severely ill persons requiring assistance from another person are entitled to a benefit in the form of an allowance or care allowance. It is granted to persons who have been certified as completely unable to work and live independently (severe degree of disability). The right to care allowance applies regardless of the amount of income per family member, but it does not apply to persons staying in children's homes, nursing homes, care and treatment facilities or educational care establishments. Care allowance can be granted in the case of very severe conditions such as at least moderate intellectual disability or a milder intellectual disability coexisting with neurological disorders (epilepsy, hearing impairment, deafness, vision impairment, blindness, or cerebropinal palsy) or mental disturbances considerably hampering daily life. Care allowance is a supplementary benefit paid by social care, while attendance allowance is an insurance-related benefit and is paid by the Social Insurance Institution. A given individual may receive either the care allowance or attendance allowance (Zyss 2009: 216–217).

Selected aspects concerning the issue of intellectual disability in the context of criminal law

Unfortunately, there are no concrete data that might illustrate the phenomenon of crimes committed by persons with intellectual disability in Poland. In this place, I can only quote US research providing that persons with intellectual disability do not commit crimes more often than persons who are intellectually sound (Richard-Devantoy *et al.* 2009 after: Gałecki, Eichstaedt, Bobińska 2012: 530). In another, also US, research (Caldera *et al.* 2009 after: Gałecki, Eichstaedt, Bobińska 2012: 530) a correct thesis was offered that in view of personality traits of disabled persons, including the fact that they are easily suggestible and crave to be accepted by their community, it is highly probable that they will claim responsibility for acts which they did not commit. Persons with intellectual disabilities hardly ever act alone – they are much more prone to carry out somebody else's tasks. The crimes they commit are normally not planned and result from the disturbed control of impulsive behaviours, inability to cope with emotions and stressful situations as well as their inability to foresee consequences. Therefore, they can often result from fear, anger, or panic. Due to their low intellectual abilities, including low ability to plan and foresee, offenders with intellectual disability are more often caught, have a lower chance for self-defence and more often admit their guilt (Caldera *et al.* 2009 after: Gałecki, Eichstaedt, Bobińska 2012: 531).

In the one-but-last subheading, I shall present the most important issues related to the opinions of expert witness psychiatrists in situations when criminal proceedings concern persons with intellectual disability.

Identification of the sanity of the offender from the point of view of the norms of criminal law is very significant, since it is the only circumstance excluding the guilt. Article 1 § 3 of the Criminal Code (Act of 6 June 1997 – Criminal Code, consolidated text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2016, It. 1137, as amended; hereinafter referred to as CRC) provides that “The perpetrator of a prohibited act does not commit an offence if guilt cannot be attributed to him at the time of the commission of the act” (Latin *nullum crimen sine culpa* – there is no crime without culpability). What is of key importance for the opinions of expert witness psychiatrists is Article 31 CrC, which reads as follows:

§ 1. Whoever, at the time of the commission of a prohibited act, was incapable of recognising its significance or controlling his conduct because of a mental disease, mental deficiency or other mental disturbance, shall not commit an offence.

§ 2. If at the time of the commission of an offence the ability to recognise the significance of the act or to control one’s conduct was diminished to a significant extent, the court may apply an extraordinary mitigation of the penalty.

Article 202 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (Act of 6 June 1997 – Code of Criminal Procedure, consolidated text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2017, It. 1904, as amended) (hereinafter referred to as CCP) provides that in order to be able to answer questions concerning the presence of intellectual disability in an offender, expert witnesses psychiatrists are appointed to draw up their opinions on the following basis:

§ 1. At least two expert psychiatrists shall be appointed by the court, and in the preparatory proceedings by the state prosecutor, to deliver an opinion on the mental state of the accused.

§ 2. Upon a motion from the psychiatrists, an expert or experts of other specialties are appointed to participate in preparing an opinion.

§ 3. To participate in the release of an opinion on the state of the mental health of the accused, in terms of sexual preference disorders, the Court, and in preparatory proceedings the Prosecutor, shall appoint an expert sexologist.

§ 4. The experts may not be relatives by marriage or by any other ties which might cast doubt upon their independence.

§ 5. The opinion of the psychiatrists should include statements on both the sanity at the time of committing an act, and also the state of mental health and the capacity to participate in the proceedings [...].

The determination of an individual’s intellectual level for the purposes of the psychiatric examination in a court case should take place by holding an interview

and checking the individual's intellectual functioning by tests (Przybysz 2003: 27). Under Article 202 § 2 CCP, the task is to be performed by an expert psychologist appointed by the procedural body at the request of expert psychiatrists.

In the context of intellectual disability, the basis for the determination of an individual's insanity upon the commitment of the act is their severe disability or the ascertainment of a mental disease understood as a psychosis or short-term, passing mental disturbances being short-term psychoses, which may coexist with intellectual disability (also of a milder degree). Severely limited sanity can be determined in an intellectual disability, which does not give grounds for the determination of complete insanity, but considerably limits sanity. It should be stressed that both insanity and severely limited sanity are always determined for the time of the commitment of the act and with reference to the concrete prohibited act (Filar 2006: 99). Determination of the individual's insanity involves two compounds: a psychological one and a psychiatric one. Pursuant to the above, the intellectual factor is responsible for the recognition of the significance of an act, while the will factor that is its alternative opposition, is responsible for the possibility for the individual to control their intellect (Filar 2006: 98). Both these elements – psychiatric and psychological – limit each other, since not every mental disturbance gives grounds to determine the individual's insanity – only one leaving the offender unable to recognise the significance of the act or control their conduct, while the absence of these abilities must be caused by the disturbances specified in the psychiatric aspect. In some cases, despite an efficient intellect and undisturbed consciousness, the individual's control of their conduct is disturbed by will-related factors. It would be wrong to say that, in contrast to the above, the offender unable to recognise their acts can control their conduct (Hajdukiewicz 2007: 116).

From the point of view of medicine, the assessment of the offender's sanity is very often ambiguous and may raise doubts and controversies. Sometimes expert psychiatrists appointed by the court or a prosecutor are unable to clearly assess the sanity of the offender in a single outpatient examination. The above also applies to the determination of one's degree of disability, understanding of social rules and manner of functioning. In consequence, the above may be a decisive factor in the determination of insanity or severely limited sanity. Under Article 203 CCP, in the situation when it is absolutely indispensable, psychiatric observation may have to be ruled necessary.

One of the most difficult tasks both for expert witnesses and the court is ruling on liability in the state of insanity or limited sanity resulting from the consumption of alcohol or any other intoxicating agent. Under Article 31 § 3 CrC, insanity or limited sanity do not apply, if: "the perpetrator has brought himself to a state of insobriety or intoxication, causing the exclusion or reduction of accountability which he has or could have foreseen". Marian Filar says in his commentary that insanity or severely limited sanity cannot be adjudged, when the offender has brought himself to the state of insobriety himself, voluntarily, purposefully, and must have foreseen

or at least could foresee the consequences of bringing himself to that state (Filar 2006: 101). Hence, Article 31 § 3 CrC:

does not apply to persons who were intoxicated against their will or whose intoxication was a result of extraordinary and untypical physiological processes (pathological intoxication or intoxication on pathological grounds). This is because in the above cases the use of alcohol is only a factor intensifying the existing pathological state (such as brain damage, or mental retardation), and not a self-contained reason behind the loss or limitation of sanity (Filar 2006: 101–102).

In cases concerning juveniles, Article 12 of the act of 26 October 1982 on juvenile justice (consolidated text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2016, It. 1654, as amended), applies to issues related to intellectual disability:

If mental retardation, mental disease or other mental disturbance, or habitual consumption of alcohol or other agents with a view to intoxication is determined in a juvenile, the family court may decide to place the juvenile in a psychiatric hospital or any other relevant healthcare establishment. If it appears necessary to provide the juvenile only with pedagogical care, the court may decide to place them in a youth care and education centre, and if the juvenile is severely mentally retarded and requires only care – in a residential home.

Krystyna Gromek identifies the following therapeutic and educational facilities:

- a) therapeutic establishments, including psychiatric hospitals and other appropriate therapeutic facilities for juveniles referred to them for additional reasons:
 - independent of their conduct, i.e. mental retardation, mental disease and other mental disturbances;
 - dependent on their conduct, i.e. addictive use of alcohol or other agents with a view to intoxication;
- b) care facilities, including residential homes for juveniles requiring only special needs or pedagogical care due to their severe mental retardation;
- c) educational care facilities, including educational care facilities for juveniles requiring specialist revalidation and resocialisation impacts (Gromek 2001: 136).

Despite the absence of concrete data presenting the number of persons with intellectual disability or mental disease in prison, the topic does not remain in the sphere of the taboo. Last year, the Polish Office of the Commissioner for Human Rights carried out research during which intellectually disabled and mentally ill persons were identified in prisons, despite the fact that they should never have been placed there. In the course of the Commissioner's conversations with one hundred persons staying in the penal institutions he visited, it turned out that some of them probably should never have been admitted, while others could serve their time under the care of specialists, using therapeutic programmes in the con-

ditions providing security to them, their co-inmates, and the officers, rather than in a standard regime. Such persons are admitted to penal institutions, since information about their disability escapes attention or is not considered significant: policemen do not include it in their reports, prosecutors do not appoint expert witnesses in the case of doubts as to the state of an individual's mental health, courts ignore circumstances showing that a given person may find it problematic to use their rights (no obligatory defendant is provided), and sentences are passed without consideration of the offender's ability to serve a penalty. Sometimes guardians request the imprisonment of someone who failed to pay a fine ordered by the court or perform socially useful work indicated in a court decision, without ever having seen the person, and the court does not check whether the individual can at all serve the given sentence. Members of the Prison Service do not provide significant information about the prisoners to prosecutors, courts, or penal judge, and do not know how to react because they have not been adequately trained. Penal judges do not receive signals that would make them undertake actions as a part of their competences: meeting a given prisoner whose situation requires intervention, issuing guidelines to the Prison Service, or requesting *ex officio* a prison leave (*Więżniowie z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną...* [Prisoners with Intellectual or Physical Disability...] 2016).

According to Prof. Janusz Heitzman from the Institute of Psychiatry and Neurology in Warsaw, law in Poland is good, but poorly applied.

It should be remembered that one's mental state is affected by social conditions. That is why a single examination can be insufficient, and the evaluation of one's intelligence quotient does not directly translate into what articles can be used. After all, if a person who is intellectually unadjusted to a transformation is admitted to prison, the corrective purpose of the justice shall not be achieved (*Więżniowie z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną...* [Prisoners with Intellectual or Physical Disability...] 2016).

After Adam Bodnar's interviews with the sentenced individuals, the Office of the Commissioner of Human Rights is currently analysing their documents in terms of their possible cassation or applying to the court for revision. Perhaps some of these cases will qualify for the President to consider the granting of clemency to some of the sentenced individuals.

Controversy as a part of family and guardianship law – the right of persons with intellectual disability or mental disease to enter into marriage

The controversy in the Polish law as specified in the title is constituted by Article 12 of the family and guardianship code (Act of 25 February 1964 – Family and

Guardianship Code, consolidated text: *Dziennik Ustaw* of 2017, It. 682, as amended), under which: “Persons suffering from mental diseases or mental retardation cannot enter into marriage. If, however, their state of health or mental condition do not pose a risk to marriage or the health of the future offspring and if they have not been fully incapacitated, the court may allow them to enter into marriage”.

In November 2016 a case brought by the Commissioner for Human Rights was finalized in the Constitutional Tribunal. It was inspired by a concrete event: a registrar refused a woman with cerebral palsy to marry, since she had problems with speaking (being fully sound intellectually). During the hearing before the Tribunal, a representative of the Commissioner for Human Rights argued that the regulation is discriminative, causes the sense of debasement and humiliation, violates one’s dignity and the right to family life. According to her, the Article is based on a eugenic motivation: making the procreation of intellectually disabled people more difficult. However, from the scientific point of view, a mental disease or disability do not have to be inherited. Modern medicines allow to control the mental disease in such a way that ill individuals often function normally in their family and social community. The representative of the Commissioner for Human Rights also stressed that marriage is going to have a beneficial effect on the ill individual: “The regulation originates from the times when people believed that mentally ill individuals should be isolated from society. Today we know that they should be particularly included. Also, an absence of marriage does not make procreation impossible. As results from an examination of the records, the majority of persons who tried to win a court’s consent to marriage either already had children or were expecting them” (Siedlecka 2016). It clearly results from the above report that the relative ban on marriage for such persons is a non-proportional and unnecessary measure.

The right to enter into marriage by persons with intellectual disability on equal terms with other individuals is included in the UN Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities drawn up in New York on 13 December 2006 (*Dziennik Ustaw* of 2012, It. 1169). Poland ratified the convention in 2012, but made a reservation in relation to the point concerning the equality of persons with intellectual disabilities in marriage and other civil rights. For this reason the Commissioner for Human Rights could not refer to the Convention in his complaint to the Tribunal. In the times of the rule of Platforma Obywatelska [Civic Platform] works were in progress in the Ministry of Justice on adjusting the Polish regulations in this scope to the convention, but they were not finished. Currently, in connection with the liquidation of the Civil Law Codification Commission operating under the auspices of the Minister of Justice, the issue is not progressing at all.

The Constitutional Tribunal did not consider the arguments of the Commissioner for Human Rights as right. The judge and legal expert Andrzej Wróbel underlined that the Polish Constitution does not contain the right to marry, and the right to family life included in Art. 47 should be read in the context of Article 18, which provides for the protection of marriage, family, and parenthood: “The Con-

vention on the rights of persons with disabilities considers individual freedom as the highest value in the context of marriage, while Polish law – the protection of marriage, family, parenthood, and the interest of the child” (Siedlecka 2016). He also stressed that the limitation of the right of persons with intellectual disability to enter into marriage is to protect the values. The Tribunal also disagreed with a view that the regulation violates the principle of respecting human dignity. According to the Tribunal, in this case one could talk about the violation of dignity understood not as every individual’s constitutive trait, but as a violation of personal dignity, which can be limited, similarly to other human rights and liberties, e.g. in view of the protection of other persons’ rights and liberties. And, according to the Tribunal, this is so in this particular case – in particular this is about guaranteeing the safety and interest of children (Siedlecka 2016).

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Summary

The rights of persons with intellectual disability in the light of European and Polish legislation

Preliminary results of the 2011 National Population Census concerning the disabled population show that the number of people qualifying for classification to this community

amounts to 4,697,500, which constitutes 12.2% of the Polish population. This article seeks to analyse and discuss the main assumptions contained in selected provisions of Polish and European legislation with particular focus on the issues directly related to the disabled and people with mental disorders.

Keywords

disability, mental disorders, incapacitation, Polish law, European law

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Spanish educational policy towards Catalonia during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco – an attempt at an analysis from the perspective of the political theory of Ernesto Laclau

This text analyses the educational policy imposed on Catalonia during the regime of Francisco Franco Bahamonde (1892–1975). Hence, the key category discussed here is dictatorship, which is generally understood as a form of “the exercising of absolute and unlimited authority by one person or a group of people enjoying the support of the army and the police” (*Słownik języka polskiego PWN* [Dictionary of the Polish Language PWN], 2014). In the present text, however, I understand dictatorship in a slightly broader way – as an imposition and exclusion, in the social, political and cultural senses, of specific meanings, which brings about concrete consequences in the context of the construction of identity.

The problematics of dictatorship continues to be important, since we can still experience the phenomenon, albeit in a masked form, in particular in the context of the expansion of neoliberal ideology in contemporary states. It is connected inter alia with the imprinting of specific dispositions into individuals and the exclusion of alternative (not free market) manners of thinking and is becoming a cause of many negative consequences described in relevant literature (Potulicka, Rutkowiak 2012). In view of the above, it continues to be significant to explore the mechanisms of dictatorship, primarily in the context of the creation of the identity of individuals, which takes place among other things via specific educational policies.

Educational policy during dictatorship is a tool designed to impose particular meanings and thus to construct specific subjectivity. This process was particularly marked during Franco’s dictatorship in Catalonia. I shall attempt, with all the consequences involved, to analyse it further on. I shall start however with a description of Catalonia as a territory of Spain.

The very defining of Catalonia in the territorial sense is complex, since on the one hand it is considered to be a state (Constitució de Catalunya 2010) in the Mediterranean region of Europe, on the Iberian Peninsula, with its capital in Barcelona. It covers an area of 32,106 km² and is inhabited by 7,539,618 persons (*Gran Enciclopèdia*

Catalana 2014). At the same time, Catalonia is one of 17 autonomous regions (Comunidad Autónoma) of Spain. Article 137 of the Spanish constitution provides that from the territorial point of view, the Spanish state is organised in the form of *municipios* (an equivalent of Polish municipalities), provinces – autonomous regions, which combine to form one state. All these subjects enjoy management autonomy, in consistency with their interests (Constitución Española, BOE núm. 311, de 29.12.1978).

In view of its broad autonomy mentioned above and the linguistic and cultural distinctness, we can say that Catalonia is a state within a (Spanish) state. This situation was and continues to be complex for political reasons – and such was the case in particular during the regime of Francisco Franco, which was one of the most turbulent moments in the history of Catalonia, especially in the context of education.

The educational policy applies to many areas related to the construction of identity. It contains goals, orientations, and general priorities, which – defined by governments in the form of strategies – must be implemented (UNESCO 2005). The cultural distinctness of Catalonia is so considerable that it is worth analysing its educational policy in the context of the Catalans' linguistic identity, because, as argued by Zbyszko Melosik, Catalonia is “a region, in which the linguistic identity constitutes the largest component of political and cultural identity” (2007: 273). The official language of this region is Catalan.

The Catalan language belongs to the Romance languages and was developed in the Middle Ages. Some sources provide that in the 13th and 14th centuries, it was the language of the confederation of kingdoms with its capital in Barcelona. In the 15th century, during the “Spanish unification”, Catalonia lost its independence, and, in the 18th century, also its autonomy. It was at that time that the dynasty of Bourbon introduced political “uniformity”, which was tantamount to a ban on the use of the Catalan language – also in education. At that time, Catalonia experienced an economic growth, becoming the most important region for Spanish industry. It was followed by a rebirth of the awareness of the national identity and culture and alphabetization in the Catalan language, and the new middle class began to practice nationalist politics. The separatist politics was finalised with the recovery of autonomy in 1931 (Melosik 2007: 273).

The presented fragment of Catalonia's history until 1931 shows a fight for hegemony, which without any doubt affected the construction of identity on the basis of cultural, and primarily linguistic distinctness. Further on I shall analyse the educational policy during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939–1975), during which the fight for hegemony was particularly marked. To do so, I shall use the political theory of Ernesto Laclau.

Laclau's political theory is useful for at least two reasons:

- it allows an analysis of social processes in present-day multiethnic and multicultural states;
- it supports the process of the democratisation of societies, taking into account the demands of minority groups, the excluded, which makes it possess a huge political potential.

I shall inscribe the educational policy towards Catalonia in the times of Franco's regime into Laclau's reflections concerning the game between universality and particularity. Further on, I shall present this fragment of Laclau's theory.

Ernesto Laclau's theory as a tool for an analysis of educational policy

Laclau's theory fits the trend of reflections concerning democracy. Dorota Sepczyńska points out that Laclau is the key theoretician of radical democracy. The researcher writes that he subjected Marxist texts to critical selection, rejecting ideas such as economic determinism, the theory of class struggle, the historical logic of necessity, faith in the proletariat and its historical mission, as well as the call for revolution by blood, and it considered of key importance hegemony, emancipation, dialectics and social antagonism (Sepczyńska 2006: 280).

In Laclau's approach, hegemony refers to the practice of the chance creation of a temporary unity of a political community. Emancipation is the elimination of economic exploitation and other forms of discrimination, and is to ensure human rights, a combination of civil freedom and political freedom. Civil freedom is understood as freedom from violence and domination by others, as well as real liberty in the undertaking of public action and the formulation of all kinds of opinions, while political freedom as including participation in power and voting rights. Dialectics concern a paradoxical relation between the universal and the particular (Sepczyńska 2006: 281), while social antagonism is tantamount to an inherent conflict between various political and social groups. It is an effect of hegemonic practices and is aimed at the sketching of the borders of discourse. This determination of the border lies in the exclusion of an endangering discourse outside the discourse borders. Hegemonic unity is achieved owing to "mobilisation against the endangering force, which becomes a universal representation of the enemy or oppressor" (Laclau 2004: 21). Laclau believes that "[...] relations between groups are constituted as relations of power- that is, that each group is not only different from the others but constitutes in many cases such difference on the basis of the exclusion and subordination of other groups" (Laclau 1996: 27).

According to Laclau, a ceaseless game between the particular and the universal takes place within the social field. This element of the theory is of key importance for the analysis of the educational policy towards Catalonia. The game described by Laclau has no end, since there are never any final configurations or constant positions in the discourse. The researcher specifies four types of the particularism/universalism relationship:

- type one recognises that there is a border between the universality and the particularity, and that the pole of the universality can be fully understood by reason. From this perspective, one may say that there is no mediation between the universal and the particular: "the particular can only corrupt

- the universal” (Laclau 1996: 22). This approach is represented in classical ancient philosophy;
- the second approach recognizes that “a point of view of the totality exists, but it is God’s, not ours, so that it is not accessible to human reason. [...] the universal is a mere event in an eschatological succession, only accessible to us through revelation”(Laclau 1996: 23). The relation between the particularism and the universalism is therefore opaque and inconceivable (it takes the form of incarnation), which means that there is no rational link between the universality and the body that incarnates it. “God is the only and absolute mediator” (Laclau 1996: 23). This type of relation is connected with Christianity;
 - the third perspective rejects the logic of incarnation, and God is replaced by reason, for which everything is transparent – including the relationship between the universality and the body that incarnates it. This is tantamount to an elimination of the disproportion between the universality which is to be incarnated and the body which incarnates it. What is assumed here is the existence of the body which is the universal. It is a rational approach;
 - the last type considers the universal a symbol of the missing fullness, while particularism exists in motion between the determination and the recognition of differential identity on the one hand, and its cancellation via a non-differential intermediating medium on the other (Laclau 1996: 22–28).

Laclau inscribes his reflections into the fourth approach, which clearly refers to political actions. Varieties of politics include the understanding of identity in terms of difference and closure with a view to maintaining pure identities. According to Laclau, the construction of differential identities through closing to the external, is not however either a realistic or a progressive political strategy. If an oppressed group is defined through a difference in relation to the oppressing groups, the difference becomes an element of the identity of the oppressed, and the idea of “negativity” prevents us from stepping beyond the logic of pure difference. This is manifested in forms of objection: for it to be radical, it should equate the excluded with the accepted; this means that exclusion is a special form of acceptance. Laclau writes that every objection involves a certain conservatism. Antagonistic relations involve a certain equivocality, which can be subjected to negotiations, but which cannot be entirely eliminated. In the politics of difference, the continuation of difference as being always different has this consequence – that the rejection of the other does not constitute a radical elimination, but the continuous renegotiation of forms of its presence. If we reverse the oppression relation, “the other” (the oppressing) will be subject to exclusion and oppression, and the reversal leaves the form of oppression untouched. If the identity of the emancipated groups constituted itself through a rejection by the previous dominating groups, the groups continue to shape their identity. Inversion has taken place as a part of the formal system of power. The political identities of the oppressed and the oppressing are split, because

“no particularity can be constituted except by maintaining an internal reference to universality as that which is missing”(Laclau 1996: 59–62).

Laclau sketches several directions of action owing to which multiculturalism can be defended. On the one hand, we may recognise the rights of various ethnic and cultural groups to independent development and respect for their uniqueness. This path leads to a voluntary apartheid, recommending total segregationism and the opposition of particularisms. This kind of political actions are, however, based on inconsistency. Supporters of this option, defending the rights to the difference as a universal right, and fighting for legislative changes aimed at the protection in judicial institutions, engage in the fight for changes within the existing institutions. These institutions are, however, rooted in the political and cultural values of sectors of the Western society, and this is why the demands cannot lead to a reform of the system or broad hegemonic action. Laclau stresses that “(...) a system of oppression (...) can be combated in two different ways – either by an operation of inversion which performs a new closure, or by negating in that system its universal dimension: the principle of closure itself” (Laclau 1996: 33).

The democratic process, which takes place in today’s societies, can be deepened and extended, covering the demands of larger sectors of the population, i.e. minorities and ethnic groups, which were usually excluded from it. From this perspective, the institutions and theories of liberal democracy should be deconstructed, since they were designed for more homogeneous societies than the contemporary ones. Anyway, the conclusion of Laclau’s insightful analyses is that the universal does not have a concrete content, but is an escaping horizon, which emerges as a result of a chain of equivalent demands. “Universality is incommensurable with any particularity but cannot, however, exist apart from the particular” (Laclau 1996: 34). This paradox, according to Laclau, does not have a solution, but constitutes a prerequisite for the existence of democracy.

Laclau’s conception is a useful tool for the interpretation of social and political phenomena in multiethnic and multicultural societies. Spain can no doubt be categorised among them, as apart from Castilians (referred to as Spaniards), it is currently inhabited by Catalans, Basques, Galicians, the Roma, and immigrants from Africa, Asia as well as Central and Southern America. María Jesús Lago Ávila points out that minority groups are exposed to discrimination, i.e. a process in which one or more rights available to the rest of the society are violated, and the possibilities to enjoy rights are limited (Lago Ávila 2000: 81).

In Franco’s times, Spain was a country in which the rights of ethnic minorities were particularly violated – hence, I would like to briefly analyse the period of Franco’s dictatorship. As mentioned above, I shall use for my interpretation categories being elements of Laclau’s concept, aware that it is a theory of radical democracy. However, it shows relations between various subjects, who strive to achieve power and construct their identities.

Education during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco

Franco's dictatorship began upon his coming to power in 1939 and lasted until 1975. To begin with, it is worth to briefly recall his political doctrine, although, as pointed out by Adam Wielomski, it is difficult to delineate Franco's precise ideology. However, we may indicate its elements which did not change during the several dozen years of his regime:

- Catholicism – Francoism is considered a political doctrine of a catholic state, in which religion is a foundation of what the political system is and is considered to be the religion of the state. According to theoreticians of Francoism, power can be legitimized by two sources: either by the peoples or by God, and that is why Franco found in Catholicism a counterproposal to liberal democracy;
- nationalism – changes in politics depended on what, at a given time, Franco considered best for the Spanish nation. Nationalism in his version was tantamount to the “consideration of the superiority of the national interest (the common good) over particular interests, with an assumption that the best interest is expressed by the state”;
- subordination to the *caudillo* – faithfulness to and recognition of the leadership of general Franco (Wielomski 2012: 98–105).

Francoist policy was particularly affected by nationalism, as expressed by general Franco's words:

Spain is organised in a broad totalitarian concept, through national institutions, which provide for its totality, unity, and continuity. The character of each region will be respected, but without harm to the national unity, which is to be absolute, with one language, Castilian, and one personality, Spanish.¹ (Moa 2010)

Francoist policy applied mainly, inter alia, to ethnic minorities and aimed at the “eradication of the ethnic identity of native groups inhabiting Spain” (mainly Basques and Catalans), which was carried out via various institutions (Gmerek 2011: 287). Of key importance in this context was education and school policy, through which different actions were undertaken with a view to the cultural and social unification of the state. Educational institutions aimed at the promotion of the dominating, i.e. Castilian, culture and language. The Catalan minority was therefore subordinated and marginalised (Gmerek 2011: 287). Alongside the consequences of general Franco's political actions, the marginalisation of Catalan language and culture was a result of the absence of Catalan in public life, little interest in its use by persons speaking Castilian, as well as an influx of immigrants (who used Castilian, assimilating themselves to the Spanish community) (Gmerek 2011: 288).

¹ Translated into the English language on the basis of P.S.'s translation into Polish.

The principles introduced by Franco were to constitute a universal mission of re-Hispanicization, since according to the right wing politicians, Catalan particularism posed a danger to the Spanish (Castilian) culture. To achieve the above, the Catalan language was delegalized and eliminated from public institutions. These measures met resistance. In Catalonia, the social group aiming at the preservation of the linguistic and cultural uniqueness/separateness/distinctness was the *intelligentsia*. We may say that the resistance posed by the Catalans and other minorities in Spain was treated as a conflict between the Castilian universality and the minority particularisms – in which these social groups were to disclose „their incapacity to represent the universal” (Laclau 1996: 24).

In this situation, Spanishness was manifested through the establishment of an inequality between the objective positions of the social subjects, including Catalonians and Basques. Representing a concrete particularity, Franco’s government had to maintain “to have knowledge of the ‘objective meaning’ of any event, and the viewpoint of the other particular social forces had to be dismissed as false consciousness. From this point on, the authoritarian turn was unavoidable” (Laclau 1996: 26).

Anna Antczak writes that „during general Franco’s dictatorship, all the minority languages, including Catalan, were banned, and education was provided solely in the Castilian language, which was also the language of the entire administration, judicature, army, and the world of business” (Antczak 2008: 156). The hegemony of Francoism is clearly seen here. Franco, according to Melosik, believed that territorial identities posed a threat to the national unity and his power. This is because he imposed a “model of homogenisation”, in which Castilian was to be the official language, and the unity of the nation was to be based on the Castilian culture. However, the assimilation policy resulted in the consolidation of regional identities, and due to Franco’s violence “Spanish identity” was identified with authoritarian measures, while the regional identity – with the liberal-democratic policy (Melosik 2007: 269–270).

The oppression of Catalans took different forms: from a ban on the use of the Castilian language, dissolving Catalan political and cultural institutions, and sanctioning or expelling teachers to thousands of executions, in particular of persons involved in the defence of Catalonia’s autonomy (such as Lluís Companys) (*Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana* 2014). The oppression and exclusion of Catalans in the context of the construction of Spanish identity can be interpreted in two ways – this is because during Franco’s dictatorship, the Catalan opposition, constructed in this system of power, was equivocal towards the system. On the one hand, the system prevented the development of Catalan identity, while on the other it was a prerequisite for its very existence. A victory over the system would infringe upon the identity of the victorious power, which confirms Laclau’s thesis on the unending game between the particular and the universal. Spain (the Castilian identity) exists owing to Catalonia (the Catalan identity) and the other way round. Through the exclusion of Catalans, Franco in a way recognised their identity, and this very recognition was a condition for the construction of both identities at the same time.

In the times of Franco's dictatorship in Spain, there was a strong social antagonism between representatives of the separate Castilian and Catalan cultures. As it turns out, this difference cannot be eliminated – it is an element of both the identity of the oppressed, and the oppressor, even when one discourse becomes hegemonic. Following Laclau's line of reasoning, "[...] the abyss between the universal and the particular cannot be bridged, which simply means that the universal is nothing but a particularity which at some point won the dominating position, and social reconciliation is impossible" (Melosik 2007: 55–56).

There were also consequences of Franco's dictatorship in the context of the Catalans' emancipation. According to Tomasz Gmerek, due to the paradoxically low status of Catalan, the language entered the realm of the culture of Catalan elites, who continued to use it in social life and personal relationships. High culture (art and poetry) was also an element of the preservation of the language (Gmerek 2011: 288). Antczak writes that cultural revival in Catalonia began in the first half of the 1960s, mainly owing to the protests of students, the youth movement, and the New Left. It was then that progressive Catholics after the Second Vatican Council began to ground economic and social issues in Catalan realities. This social group was led by Jordi Pujol i Soley, whose goal was the rebuilding of Catalan national identity "on the basis of culture and economic progress, which would create a foundation for political actions in future" (Antczak 2008: 140). Thus, in the context of emancipation, the nationalism condemned by the majority of the society obtained a new meaning from the point of view of anticolonial ideas. It was because the Catalan left compared Catalonia at the time to a Spanish colony, which legitimised efforts aimed at the regaining of autonomy. In 1969, *Coordinadora de Forces Polítiques* (coordinated political forces), transformed in 1971 into the *Assemblea de Catalunya*, and demanded democracy, autonomy and freedom. Antczak stresses that "it was already a new generation raised during Franco's regime, all ready to act and having concrete goals" (Antczak 2008: 140).

Resistance and emancipatory efforts, which constituted the Catalan identity, took place in the context of the Spanish state. Under Laclau's logic, Catalonia, in order to fully constitute its identity, had to in some sense to integrate with Spain:

The identity of the oppressive forces has to be in some way inscribed in the identity searching for emancipation. This contradictory situation is expressed in the undecidability between internality and externality of the oppressor in relation to the oppressed: to be oppressed is part of my identity as a subject struggling for emancipation; without the presence of the oppressor my identity would be different (Laclau 1996: 46).

The construction of identity takes place via demands concerning education, consumer goods, and employment. Such situations mainly took place after the fall of the Francoist regime in 1975 and the introduction of a new constitution in 1978. Francisco Franco's death in 1975 was followed by the social, cultural, and political revival of the region, which invigorated the Catalan society. It was especially well

seen in the sphere of education. After many years of discrimination, a chance appeared for a rebirth of the minority language and culture. Gmerek believes that the most important element of the process was the introduction of the Catalan language to schools and making it a meaningful language in social and institutional discourse (Gmerek 2011: 288).

The above happened owing to the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, signed in 1979 and supported by 88% of the people voting in the region (Antczak 2008: 141), which made it acquire a broad autonomy in politics. Today, the government of Catalonia has competences to create educational policy and manage education. In Spain, however, the system of education is highly centralised, which means that it is the central government which ultimately guarantees the quality of education and its unification in the entire country. The above is tantamount to the implementation of a single national system of education, which considerably differs to the education proposed by the particular autonomous regions (Gmerek 2011: 289). Hence, we may say that the game for hegemony is ceaseless. Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas points out that: “Spanish nationalist and patriotic discourse exists since Franco’s death and is still present today as a group of various multifaceted ideas. In this sense, there is no Spanish nationalism, but various nationalist discourses despite certain basic assumptions”² (Núñez Seixas 2005: 56).

The period of Franco’s dictatorship and the related events exemplify processes, which take place also today, in particular in the conditions of multiculturalism. I believe that, when analysing past events, also ones outside the Polish context, we may draw valuable conclusions concerning the present politics and education. On the one hand this is because we live in a diversified society, in which many social minority groups coexist with each other, each of them creating a distinct identity and fighting for the creation of their own “self”/ “selves”; and on the other in view of the “new” types of dictatorship I mentioned at the beginning, such as the hegemony of the neoliberal discourse, which create specific subjectivities. Owing to analysing mechanisms of hegemonic fight, we are more sensitive to new hegemonic projects.

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Summary

Spanish educational policy towards Catalonia during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco – an attempt at an analysis from the perspective of the political theory of Ernesto Laclau

The text deals with the problem of the Spanish (Castilian) educational policy imposed on Catalonia during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. The dictatorship in this text is understood as an imposition of certain meanings and the exclusion which shaped the Catalan identity. The educational policy aimed at Catalonia is analyzed from the perspective of Ernesto Laclau's theory, in terms of the relations between Spain and Catalonia treated

as a constant particular/universal game and the struggle for hegemony. During the dictatorship, Franco imposed the Castilian particularity, by rejecting elements of the Catalan identity, its being a threat to the unity of the Spanish nation. The dictatorship of Francisco Franco via the usage of school policy on the one hand precluded the formation of the Catalan identity and, on the other hand, was the condition of its existence. Thus, the Castilian identity could exist due to the identity of the Catalan and vice versa. *Ipsa facto*, the oppression and the exclusion of Catalans was particularly significant for their emancipation and processes that took place after 1975.

Keywords

education, politics, Ernesto Laclau, Catalonia, Franco

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The zoo as a socialisation project

The topic of this paper is a deconstruction of the zoo. Therefore, I shall attempt to identify the two layers of the zoo as a text, and present conclusions resulting from analyses. The working questions I have posed are: “in what way does the zoo construct the notions of nature, species, and animal?” and “in what way does the zoo inscribe itself into the model of knowledge developed in the Western culture?”.

The modern form of zoological gardens – of an educational and entertaining nature – emerged in the 18th century. From the definitional point of view, it is assumed that zoological gardens are „public parks which display animals, primarily for the purposes of recreation or education” (Jamieson 2006: 132). The oldest zoological garden still in existence is the Vienna zoo founded in 1752. Along with the development of the natural sciences and the formulation of evolutionary theories, the interest in animals increased; a zoological garden with entertainment and education included in its charter was established in Paris in 1793. Despite a high mortality of animals transferred from their natural environment to Europe, the project of establishing zoological gardens by the biggest cities was very enthusiastically welcomed by their authorities. Before yet another zoo was opened, in London in 1828, people supplied from European colonies – mostly Africans – joined animals kept in the gardens, although displays of people with disabilities or suffering from genetic diseases were also very popular. Such exhibitions were called human zoos, ethnological expositions or Negro Villages. Subsequent zoological gardens were founded in Amsterdam (1838), Berlin (1843), Melbourne (1857), Moscow (1864), Philadelphia (1874), Buenos Aires (1888) and Cairo (1890). Later on, the above-mentioned functions of zoos were extended to include tasks in the area of the protection of endangered animal species and research.

Zoo as entertainment

The first function of the zoo, entertainment, is marked by the voyeurism of gazing at the animals. The factor standing behind the provision of pleasant impressions in the zoo is the sensory need of having contact with nature. On the viewer/gazing/object trajectory, sensations and emotions related to the exhibition of animals are embodied and grounded in space. Distance, assimilation, and objectification, being elements of the voyeuristic gaze, highlight the power victimising the animals, which are reduced to objects.

Assumptions as to the domination of the pleasure principle were confirmed in research carried out in the zoological garden in Buffalo, New York, which determined a very low educational effectiveness of the establishment. The research showed that visitors to the zoo were not interested in the educational factor, but their main motive behind their visit was the delivery of experience in the form of entertainment (Jamieson 2006: 135). Research into the turnout and population of visitors to zoos shows that in terms of the number of visitors, neither museums nor galleries can compete with them.

John Urry and Phil Macnaghten point out that for nature to become attractive to people, they need to take it into their possession, which in turn leads to turning attention into the possessiveness of the gaze (Macnaghten, Urry 1998). This appropriation is tantamount to the subordination of the sensory experience to the hegemony of visuality, which transforms nature into a sort of spectacle. Camille Paglia expressed the above as follows: "There is, I must insist, nothing beautiful in nature. Nature is a primal power, coarse and turbulent. Beauty is our weapon against nature... Beauty halts and freezes the melting flux of nature" (Macnaghten, Urry 1998, after: Paglia 1990). Animals subjugated in the way outlined above become embodiments of the victory of the male gaze, and their representation becomes a confirmation of the optic truth. The identification of the viewer with the image of the animal artefact becomes therefore possible through the framing of the experience in the pleasure drawn from one's identification with vision (the power of the gaze) and the observation of subjugation. Jacques Derrida, referring to Jacques Lacan, calls this experience narcissism: human subjectification occurs in their gazing into the mirror of nature at their own construction. Animals in enclosed conditions exemplify captivity as devotion, and stereotypy¹ – as infantilisation. Animals return in

¹ "Motor stereotypies (zool.) – repetitive identical or almost identical sets of motions in animals; they can be a natural element of their behavioral ceremonies, in particular dances, but they predominantly express temporary mental disorders or permanent mental aberrations, and – in people – even a mental disease; the dysfunctions appear as reactions in conditions of deprivation, e.g. due to keeping social seasonally migrating animals in isolation, limited space in cages or pens, poor conditions or due to their immobilisation; the most frequent motor

the consumption of nature as an opposite of the wilderness and chaos we associate with untouched nature. The plates placed by cages and runs provide animals with language, which shows them in their individuality and complexity as a species. The aestheticization of the scene in which we see animals in zoos allows us to notice their tarnished nature as beauty. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer expressed the process of cultural distortion in the following way: “Yet behind man’s admiration for beauty lurks always the ringing laughter, the boundless scorn, the barbaric obscenity vented by potency on impotence, with which it numbs the secret fear that it is itself enslaved to impotence, to death, to nature” (Horkheimer, Adorno 2002: 207). This makes one recall the obscenity of the indignation in the mass media in relation to the murders in Copenhagen zoo, which disturb the cultivation of beauty, making the truth about what we do to animals in the food and entertainment industries visible. And after all, it was only an instance of making visible what Paul McCartney expressed as follows „If slaughterhouses had glass walls, everyone would be vegetarian” (McCartney 2010). The authorities of the Copenhagen zoological garden explained that actually the murder of a giraffe and lions was no different than natural selection; it was to exemplify the wild and merciless side of nature, other than the tamed nature at the zoo. The Copenhagen mistake lay in forgetting that all deviations from the idyllic vision of nature are punished as crimes against the ideology of speciesism.

The organisation of what can be seen in the zoo can be divided into the aestheticization of animals and the cognitive layer of the prepared scene. The aestheticization and the cognitive value make the sum of the principle of the pleasure and the disciplining of the gaze. The disciplining takes place through the introduction of rules of the spatial order of one’s visit, a map of the zoo – i.e. a spatial symbolic visualization from a bird’s eye view (abstraction of the gaze), cameras, staff supervision, and rules and regulations. Maps of the zoo discipline the journey of the gaze and order the spatial division into the locations of the gaze – as the visitors’ route, i.e. the place of culture, and the locations of animals – as nature. Vision becomes an ever-present gaze following oneself. Just like in the panopticon, the gaze has a double organisation – as the gaze of the visitor and as a pervasive power of the gaze ordering the divisions: culture/nature, and human/non-human.

stereotypies include: head shaking or nodding, whole body turning or rapidly changing direction, running up and down the same route, usually along the fence, body rocking (e.g. rocking the body side to side on front legs by horses kept in small stalls – the so-called weaving) or swaying and cowering with the head hidden in the hands by macaques bred in isolation. Motor stereotypies caused by staying in a barren environment occur as a result of an absence of changes of controlling stimuli, resulting in the “freezing” of the movement orientation component; some stereotypies may vanish after the release of the animal, while others, e.g. ones resulting from separation anxiety disorder, normally leave permanent mental and behavioural damage”; <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/stereotypie-ruchowe;3979622.html> [accessed on 07.11.2017].

The power of the gaze is additionally strengthened by the role of technology in the visual culture and industrialisation of the sense of vision. Cameras allow a single, neutral, isolated, disembodied vision. The distance created in this way allows for the freezing of the observed animals and a confirmation of the separateness of the observer from the observed. Urry and Macnaghten point out that the experience of nature becomes increasingly hyperreal and hypersensory, thus resembling simulation (Macnaghten, Urry 1998: 167). Cameras and online visualisation techniques make it possible to visit a zoo without leaving one's home. Gardens increasingly resemble amusement parks. The architecture available to tourists is inscribed with a possibility of relaxation through the inclusion of benches, shops with drinks and food, bars, and shops with gifts and souvenirs. Donna Haraway describes the emergence of new technologies strengthening the visual experience as "[...] [a] technological feast (which) becomes unregulated gluttony; all seems not just mythically about the god trick of seeing everything from nowhere, but to have put the myth into ordinary practice" (Haraway 1988: 581).

This eye-centric surplus shallows the animal corporeality to the surface. Possessed with animality, the relation to the body in the Western culture takes the form of a feminised nature. Feminist critiques of the concept of nature underline the significance of the colonial era, when the explosion of the conquests of Africa, Asia and America led to the development of slavery, racism, militarism, capitalism and the keeping of exotic animals in captivity. Anne McClintock describes such subordination as the erotics of ravishment, in which the white man conquered nature and constructed the conquered bodies in the categories of radical otherness (McClintock 1995).

The zoo as cognition

The second function of zoological gardens is cognition. This role in zoo discourses is mostly referred to as education – nevertheless, in my opinion what is significant in this perspective is the reproduction of the experience of the sensory observation marking the enlightenment project. In this sense, I maintain that a trip to the zoo is a historical journey to the source of the paradigm of cognition and a question concerning the manner and the importance given to the representation of animals. Just like the panopticon, the tradition of the existence of zoological gardens and the discourse shaped around them teaches that the generation of objectivity, i.e. normativity, is a process of the construction of the conditions of the human gaze as a knowledge/power relation. In *The Order of Things*, Michel Foucault reconstructs the history of the development of natural history as a process designed for the production of plates introducing order to the representation of the objects of research (Foucault 2005). This process is embodied in the zoo in the form of the placement of information plates classifying the particular species of animals.

Libraries and archives in which knowledge is coded in the form of print cease being the only sources of research material, as these begin to include spaces in which things are grouped together, such as herbaria, collections, and gardens. A trace of this method has survived to our own times in the discourse of the zoo, in which animals are referred to as a collection². Such an organisation of things displayed for view appears in the space of signs ready to absorb the animal through discourse. This is what Foucault has to say about it:

It is often said that the establishment of botanical gardens and zoological collections expressed a new curiosity about exotic plants and animals. In fact, these had already claimed men's interest for a long while. What had changed was the space in which it was possible to see them and from which it was possible to describe them. To the Renaissance, the strangeness of animals was a spectacle: it was featured in fairs, in tournaments, in fictitious or real combats, in reconstitutions of legends in which the bestiary displayed its ageless fables. The natural history room and the garden, as created in the Classical period, replace the circular procession of the 'show' with the arrangement of things in a 'table'. What came surreptitiously into being between the age of the theatre and that of the catalogue was not the desire for knowledge, but a new way of connecting things both to the eye and to discourse. A new way of making history (Foucault 2005: 143).

Observation concentrates on the recording of the obvious and the spatial. What thus takes place is an exclusion of uncertainty through the shortening of the distance between the word and the thing. This attitude is strengthened through the privileging of the human body as an instrument of objectifying visibility through the possession of vision and linguistic tongue. The thus generated epistemological base allows a methodical and systemic classification of nature. The animal is classified as a species in the game of differentiating features, and its existence is confirmed on the surface of that from which it differs. However, in order for natural history to emerge and develop in the Enlightenment, we need to extend the view outside of the European continent. The subsequent step is to take possession of what the coloniser saw, and importing it to Europe to give things their names and some order. The creator of taxonomy, Carl Linnaeus, expressed his surprise at the fact that nature does not reflect the order of reason and locates organisms that are not connected by common features in the same places. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce to the observation conditions allowing for the transfiguration of the unordered nature and indication of its place in the order of the laboratory, the botanical garden, and the zoological garden. The division into nature and society in this organisation of the order of cognition becomes increasingly artificial and spatial. Linnaeus expressed the above as follows:

² For example here: <https://www.zoo.gda.pl/history> [accessed on 07.11.2017].

The method, the soul of science, designates at first sight any body in nature in such a way that the body in question expresses the name that is proper to it, and that this name recalls all the knowledge that may, in the course of time, have been acquired about the body thus named: so that in the midst of extreme confusion there is revealed the sovereign order of nature. (Linnaeus 1776: 13, after Foucault 2005: 173-174)

The assignment of names to the particular living creatures is created on a uniform, two-dimensional surface of the taxometric table. The individual's features located on the surface indicate the appropriate columns of taxonomy: genus and species. Nevertheless, along with the development of Georges Cuvier's comparative anatomy, the main notion of the categorization of nature becomes the internal structure. The notion of life is extracted from the previously abstract idea of nature. Nature is subject to being cut up in the laboratory with the help of a scalpel and microscope, which makes the internal order of the organism visible. Although the surface of the body still counts, its importance for the order of indexing is combined with the internal functioning of the organs. The thus created classification tension between the external and the internal parts of the body leads to the emergence of the vegetative order of plants and the animal order of animals. A high mortality of animals in zoological gardens at the turn of the 18th and 19th century becomes a backup source of material for autopsy and the development of knowledge. At that time, public autopsies of such animals as camels, rhinoceroses, reindeers, etc. enjoyed considerable popularity. The examinations resulted in the creation of the first atlas of anatomy (Gucwiński, Strojny 1977: 41). The contribution of zoological gardens to the development of the "base for science" has been documented since 1866. In laboratories, a reference of living creatures into things and words occurs. When the work has been done, nature becomes visible and understandable – therefore, taxonomic plates can be displayed to the gaze, and animals and plants can be arranged in gardens according to the order of their indexing. Zoological and botanical gardens therefore become a scene manifesting the visible law and order of nature. The power of the gaze is no longer to raise fear and fascination through a bloody spectacle of torment, but to draw admiration and amazement.

Zoos have their own infrastructure and organisation, which introduces a specific order of the gaze. Clean cages, bars, and later also cameras and geometrically arranged spaces down which the vision travels, become specific material-formal requirements of cognition. At the same time, walls and fences separate and determine space at the zoo, creating an operating closed circuit. The preparation of objects for examination in the laboratory takes place in a similar manner, and has the following sequence: reduction of complexity – cutting into pieces – isolation of objects – understanding – indexing and cataloguing their activity – manipulation. In the case of the zoo, the process of laboratization takes place in turn through the

taking of the animal from its natural complex environment and locating it in the controlled space of the cage or pen and separating it from other species, followed by the process of the isolation of the object and identification of its features that may exist in the prepared conditions, enabling its breeding and reproduction; the subsequent step is the preparation of a plate presenting the distinctive features of the isolated object, and at the end there are examinations aimed at the manipulation of the species and their understanding. However, in order for the zoo system to be operating effectively, it must solve the problem of the high mortality of animals and understand how to reproduce them in semi-natural conditions. However, at the beginning of the development of knowledge on animals, the activity of the gardens was limited to the reproduction of the idea of the zoo as such. For the zoo to become a well-operating closed circuit, it had to face the high mortality of animals, which initially provides a pretext for the supply of a large number of previous exhibits to zoological museums and laboratories. The materials obtained in this way are used for anatomical-morphological examinations. The first attempts at the extrapolation of knowledge acquired in the gardens in the animals' original environments were usually unsuccessful (Gucwiński, Strojny 1977: 41). For this reason, the understanding of the biology of animal reproduction was a task of the utmost importance for the newly established gardens. The continuation of the zoo system and reproduction of animals in captivity was dependent on familiarization with the breeding conditions, breeding season, and the manner of feeding of many species. People were also aware that the results of examinations acquired in the gardens are the only ones that are technically possible and that it is impossible to compare them with the results of field research. The problem of the impossibility to compare examinations in enclosed conditions with field research remains unsolved. A review carried out in 1995 by Ben Beck, Associate Director of the National Zoological Park in Washington, revealed that out of 145 registered reintroductions of 115 species, only just 16 were successful, with only half of these involving endangered species. The reason behind this failure in the application of the existing knowledge was that the natural environment of animals which were born in the zoo had already vanished or underwent degradation; also, the very process of biological changes taking place in the bodies of the animals bred in captivity was ignored (Jamieson 2006: 139). In other words, the fact that knowledge acquired in enclosed conditions can be successfully applied only in similar conditions was omitted.

The shift of the issue of animal reproduction and breeding to the forefront makes us again return to the problem of the status of the gaze at animals – this time from the linguistic perspective. The categories “species” and “animal” enforce the treatment of individuals as pluralities, as expressed in the use of the third person plural (they), the failure to perceive them as subjects (I), i.e. first person singular, or as partners to the dialogue (you), i.e. the second person singular. Derrida paid attention to the use of this inflective form in relation to animals and species, reflecting as follows:

I would like to have the plural *animals* heard in the singular. There is no Animal in the general singular, separated from man by a single, indivisible limit. We have to envisage the existence of “living creatures”, whose plurality cannot be assembled within the single figure of an animality that is simply opposed to humanity. (Derrida 2008)

The mixing of every non-human individual into the general category of “animal” or “species”, as Derrida noticed, was not a mistake against the rigour of thinking, but a discursive strategy of speciesism, a sin against empiricism. It is this procedure of the inflective multiplication of the individual which guaranteed longevity to speciesism. Richard D. Ryder uses the notion of speciesism in reference to an error in our moral understanding. In a similar spirit we read about it in works by Richard Dawkins, who explains speciesism as an erroneous habit of discontinuity of our minds, which strive to understand the notion of “species” within precise, impassable boundaries of morality. Using the term “discontinuous mind”, Dawkins refers to the efforts aimed at the delineation of boundaries wherever they do not exist, and a search for semantic preciseness for the categories defined on the basis of the relations between them. This problem has a long tradition reaching back to antiquity, which from the Middle Ages until our own times has been called a dispute between the status of universities and nominalia. In other words, all forms of exclusion are created as a tension between the recognition of the primacy in defining a category of beings as a general set at the cost of the recognition of their individual existence as a manifestation of a set of features of a general notion. With reference to the zoo, we can notice that the understanding of the role and function of the zoo as rearing, collecting and reproducing is a consequence of the understanding of animals in the category of species. For this reason in the zoo discourse, primacy is acquired by the scientific-technical issue of the replaceability, reproduction, and biodiversity of species through inbreeding aimed at the selection of the genetic material of the animals. In messages justifying racing (speciating), even the reproduction of animals who currently live freely is considered ecological practice, since the thus-acquired knowledge and experience are to protect such freely living animals from extinction (Gucwiński, Strojny 1977: 45–52). The treatment of animals from the species perspective is also based on the mechanical philosophy approach to the animal body – a concept commenced by Descartes, who believed that the animal is a mechanism, which can be produced and replaced by another one. This justifies a belief that some animals, including the aurochs, Père David’s deer, black wildebeest, okapi and Przewalski’s horse, live only because there are zoological gardens. It is said that if it was not for the existence of the zoo, these species would have been extinct by now. Hence, the reason behind the breeding and killing of animals is the achievement of a species

advantage that will be experienced by animals appearing in place of their killed predecessors, as well as the advantage to be gained by our successors from the possibility to satisfy their aesthetic needs – hunger of the gaze. The concept of the “advantage” or “interest” in being kept in captivity permeated to the zoo discourse in the form of Darwinism adopting species as a unit of natural selection. It is for this reason that as a part of zoological gardens’ successes, inbreeding and the selection of the animals’ genetic material are practiced as a justification for the protection of the biodiversity of species, subjecting individuals with excessively related gene pools to recycling. As a part of such practices, surplus animals are sold to various institutions or are used as shooting targets in private hunting grounds. Surplus animals are also killed in the zoos to be provided as food to other animals (Jamieson 2006: 139). Experiments with interspecies crossbreeding of animals are also carried out in zoological gardens. Many of the currently living animal crossbreeds originate from zoological gardens – this number is estimated at about 70% of new genetic modifications (Gucwiński, Strojny 1977: 44). The concept of the replaceability of life attaches value to the existence of species rather than the particular representatives of such species. However, species as a form of the continued existence of animals does not have an inbred value of life, which is only the right of individuals. This is because animals do not and cannot have any interests related to the continued existence of their species as they do not possess the appropriate mental structure allowing such abstract thinking. The attribution of advantages resulting from being kept in captivity is speciesism, an attribution error, and anthropomorphism. Animals understood as species do not have any interest in being kept, killed or bred by people.

Going back to the problem of the perception of the category of “animal” as a plurality, i.e. the primacy of the species/population before the individual, it will turn out that the order of existence of populations of animals results primarily from our biopolitics. Foucault claims that sovereign knowledge is transformed into biopower together with the birth of the police sciences. The formula of such power boils down to two imperatives: to order to live and to allow to die (Foucault 1991). In this sense, is not the remaining alive until obtaining a permission to die a condition behind the constitution of a boundary of subjectivity between a ban and a permission, the space of which is marked by the area of species/population/the animal? This would mean that the animal at the zoo takes the space of naked life, i.e. that it delineates its biopolitical substance, life, which in its nudity is no longer discernible from its biological mass. Following Giorgio Agamben further, it is life which can be killed, but which cannot be offered as a sacrifice (1998). Population as a form of care for species as a result of the development of the panopticon of the knowledge/power gaze became a function of survival. Replaceability, breeding and the order to live are therefore something more than ecology and science – they express a paradigm of the power of the gaze, changing the question “why do we have the right to kill animals?” into “why don’t we have the

right to let them die?”. Perhaps animals are to experience their own death to give testimony to their suffering in future? However, when becoming a all-embodying witness, will life that has been degraded and impoverished to the stereotypy of enslavement be able to make an accusation against its tormentors? Perhaps the demolishing of yesterday’s concept of lay theodicy would make us pose the question of whether existence boiling down to care for the population would be better than non-existence? The sustaining of the existence of animal species in captivity is not a choice of the interest of these species, but our own fancy and whim. For this reason, the question concerning the cultural construction of animal does not refer us to something external, but is inscribed into contemporary debates concerning the discursive construction of the subject. Looking at the culturally-generated “artefacts” of animals kept in captivity, we see with satisfaction our own construction of the human/non-human order. The gaze at the zoo should be located in the Western tradition of the interpellation of subjects, having its beginning in modern science.

Returning to reflecting on the zoo as a laboratization of the world and expansion of instruments of knowledge/power, successful rearing, crossbreeding and reproduction became a source of cognitive and technological success of the animal production science, i.e. knowledge on the rational breeding and use of animals. Such an extension of enclosed conditions allowed a transformation of natural environments in which living creatures live into supervised parks and nature reserves. Successful reintroduction, i.e. transferring animals from the zoo to the spaces prepared for their arrival, happened in the case of aurochs, Père David’s deer, and the black wildebeest. Such practices allow an extrapolation of conclusions drawn from the anthropology of science and a look at the zoo from the perspective of research practice blurring the boundary between animal science and its expectations on the one hand, and the technology of the organization and reproduction of life of animals kept in the zoo on the other. Hence, the success of reproduction and reintroduction becomes possible as changes are introduced to populations of endangered species, followed by their transfers to the prepared environments with limited biological instability and a low incidence of predators and other natural selection factors. In this way, the zoo becomes a self-justifying practice creating a closed circuit, in which, owing to isolation, new natures are created which are able to survive and exist through the blurring of the border between nature and culture, interior and exterior, freedom and enslavement. What also becomes blurred is the border between the technological generation of natures and life on the one hand, and knowledge acquired during the practice on the other. This knowledge provides support to biopolitics, and the extension of breeding conditions to populations of living species.

Conclusions

The performed analyses reveal a picture of the category “animal” as a cultural construction in which the biological mingles with the social. The cognitive-technical effectiveness of nature and the animal is formed by the disciplining of the gaze at and processing of the examined objects. Scientific cognition as an immobilisation and closing of systems takes place through the application of violence to the web of the culture-nature reality (Afeltowicz, Pietrowicz 2009: 35). In this perspective, one should consider the advantages resulting from the separation of the notion “species” and “animal” into their biological and cultural parts. After all, the notion of nature and animal in all the analyses of exclusion always appeared as the primary matrix of the placement of a group of beings outside the boundary of the social, political, and moral. The system of exclusions nature/animal/species/race/gender clothed the social into biological determinism, depriving the thus-cutout social actors of the possibility of rebellion and language, and transforming them into biological monads. The possibility to blow up the monolith nature/species/animal through a reference to its historical and linguistic context and its extraction would allow a continuation of the ethical project of liberating animals and its socio-political positioning. An infringement of the biological authoritarianism of the categories in question opens up a field of the possible political interventions on the axis human/non-human, subject/animal.

Returning to the diagnosis of the contemporary situation of the animal, we can say that the animal body constitutes only raw material for the fulfilment of our expectations concerning what we want to see in nature reduced to the transparent category of naked life. As a part of the Western discourse, the “animal” becomes a product of the knowing eye. The zoo as a laboratory becomes a protection and a collection of objects confirming the power of our appetite, law, order, and domination. It becomes a space of a species socialisation of our concept of Western androcentrism. In such a system, there is no place for partnership or untying social actors and actants from things.

The stake in the animal emancipation project is the recovery of biological animals, which can become allies in the strategy of returning and rewriting the teleological plate of the taxonomy of the species placed before the cage or run. It is about a recovery of the animals’ nature for them, even if it makes us adopt the problematic external position human/animal. We must remember that today’s division into human/non-human is not unquestioned, and in the light of the existing research into science we can show in what way it has been entangled and woven into our civilizational entertainment-industrial particularisms. The abandoning of animals and leaving them to the play of the gaze of science would be tantamount to Dr Frankenstein’s escape from the laboratory.

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Summary

Zoo as a socialisation project

The epistemological status of the zoo can be seen as a process of knowledge-power which supports something more than the Cartesian model of science. A visit to the zoo is a historical journey to the source of the cognition paradigm. Seeing animals in cages is the first lesson of what human perception should be like. It leads to adopting the attitude of gaining experience by homogenizing its contents from the natural environment.

Animals were turned into the object of cognition by depriving them of subjectivity. As a content of knowledge, it is formulated in a closed system cage – pen – aquarium, which is a representation of laboratization of nature. Just like panopticon the tradition of zoological

gardens and the discourse shaped around them teaches that the production of objectivity = normativity is a process of constructing the conditions of human perception in the form of a knowledge-power relation.

Keywords

zoo, posthumanism, animal studies, laboratization, knowledge, power, gaze