

Bogusław Śliwerski

<https://doi.org/10.26881/pwe.2023.56.01>

ORCID: 0000-0002-3875-8154

University of Łódź

boguslaw.sliwerski@now.uni.lodz.pl

Teachers under the Third Republic in the constant trap of political manipulation

Summary

In the analysis of the macropolitics of the educational authorities, the author proves that public school teachers find themselves in a situation of a trap that has various faces. During the first years of the political transformation, they experienced the right to professional autonomy and received decent remuneration. They were trusted and respected by politicians for the creative liberation of school education and of institution management from the arrogance and orthodox pressure of the ruling party of the times of real socialism, and together with the systematically regained state power over them, which, as in People's Poland, systematically since the mid-1990s were reduced them to the level of the precariat and the education and upbringing of young generations enslaved by ideology. We get a picture of the teacher's state of deformation from freedom to its loss in the fumes of the pretence of care of successive educational authorities for the education of children and youth.

Keywords: education, macropolitics, school management, destruction, enslavement, precariat

Słowa kluczowe: edukacja, makropolityka, zarządzanie szkołą, destrukcja, zniewolenie, prekariat

Introduction

The social, cultural and psycho-pedagogical situation of teachers in Poland has been in a constant state for several decades, which means that it is necessary to think about this professional group in reverse. We have an inflation of normative academic dissertations on the professional ethics of teachers, their responsibility, competence, vocational education and training, professional promotion and psychological well-being, but we are still treading water. We cannot accept that it is not only teachers who are the co-culprits of the situation that excludes them in society, despite public opinion polls published by various entities, which show a fairly satisfactory position of this professional group on the scale of social recognition. However, the problem of the real marginalization of teachers, and the lack of effective support of their profession or socio-cultural emancipation, has much deeper conditioning that require macropolitical analyses along with the demystification of the most important conditions for the process of destruction of their professional situation.

I am formulating theses on this matter that apply only to teachers, which does not mean that they are the most important entity in education. For the educational theorist, it is obvious that the school is for the child, and not the child for the school. Teachers, however, do not think so, which stems from the conviction that without them, i.e. without those who should be guides, translators, and narrators of the latest knowledge about the world, education is not possible. Meanwhile, the closure of schools resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic made it possible to partly cope without teachers thanks to new media and access to knowledge, which, despite having been available online for years, suddenly became the subject of individual search and use for self-education in the conditions of home isolation and the incompetence of most teachers in accompanying students condemned to independent learning and maintaining social relationships.

The pandemic has revealed with even greater force that most teachers have not achieved moral autonomy in their development, which should prove their selfless, pro-social orientation to the existential problems of students. Students have not become significant people for teachers. Once again, it turned out that students were not important, even though they were more helpless than adults, deprived of direct teachers' and assistance support as a result of previously imperceptible family problems, and various kinds of shortages and conflicts. While the isolation between the school and the students' family environment deepened, parents could directly see what school was worth, but also what the effort of teachers' work with a child is all about in order to awaken, maintain, and develop his or her aspirations, interests, inner motivation to learn not for school grades, but for oneself, and for personal wisdom.

The pandemic revealed the lack of professional education of teachers who, despite having completed university studies, did not have the so-called Bruner's "toolbox" (Bruner 2006). Perhaps this is a consequence of many years of manipulation of the core curriculum of general education, and the initiation of systemic and organizational changes in education by the central authorities. Unfortunately, the budget or EU funds invested in education could have been wasted without any responsibility by successive ministry authorities. Crisis-generating, inefficient, because incompetent, school management was made worse by the policy of keeping teachers at a low level of remuneration, inadequate to the tasks and the need for professional development, which violated not only self-esteem, but also made potential candidates for this profession aware of the durability of the state of "professional space burnout" (Nalaskowski 1997). Manipulating the functions of school education demanded by the governing parties to make them a reaction to the populist-created needs of society (Szczepański 1981: 34) causes that in one period those in power to put more emphasis on literacy and cognitive competences, on intellectual education, and in another to put more emphasis on prevention, more secular or patriotic-national, religious upbringing, or finally, inclusion, therapy, and even social rehabilitation and re-validation of children and young people.

Owing to the development of the post-human world and artificial intelligence, the necessary change in education and the state of development of society will not occur without

meeting the above condition. As long as public education of the young generations is not a common good in Poland, teachers will not be treated as a common good and a social good. The fact that “all children are ours” still remains only a populist-sounding maxim, as evidenced by numerous studies on the non-respect of children’s rights in Poland in the role of students and the appointment of the Ombudsman for Children, who was subordinated to the interests of the ruling party (Przyszczykowski 2012; Jagielska 2014; Kołomycew, Kotarba 2018). Thus, students and their parents were not, are not and still, and will not be perceived and treated as beings demanding respect for their natural right to dignity and upbringing and education with dignity, in multilaterally respected human dignity.

Without investigating the reasons for maintaining teachers in the role of enslaved public officials, deprived in fact of the right to co-determine the goals of education, without the understanding and acceptance by those in power in the state of the imperative of the self-determination of teachers about the principles, methods, forms, means, techniques, and the learning process of children and young people, change will not occur. This change is necessary to increase the quality of education in public schools. Unfortunately, the policy of making the functioning of the school system dependent on the will of politicians for whom education is not a common good will continue. The existing islands of transformative resistance, a kind of educational “guerrilla”, make it possible for only a few teachers to free themselves from administrative, legal, economic, and social constraints for the benefit of students attending so few schools in the country.

Diagnosis of the (self-)enslavement of the teaching profession

The basic destructive factor for the quality of the educational process and the upbringing of children in public education is the incompetently conducted policy of the state education authorities, which for several decades has been based on keeping teachers in economic poverty as a means of managing this professional environment. From the times of the People’s Republic of Poland until January 2023, when I am writing the article, the level of salaries of teachers starting their professional work in public education, regardless of their educational level and qualifications, was, with a short break, in the years 1990–1992 (Michalak 2002; Śliwerski 2009, 2015b) and is still below or within the national minimum wage. Keeping teachers on the brink of survival places them in the role of white-collar slaves, who are supposed to restrain their ambitions and give up any form of protest, because the rulers perpetuate the nineteenth-century message about the missionary nature of their professional role in society.

The preferences of actors of educational change depend on how they perceive e.g. the social world. After all, they design partial or systemic reforms of education, implement them in accordance with their own expectations, in order to influence changes in human behaviour, and at the same time want to strengthen their own financial, political, or ideological and informational position in the country. It is easier to introduce technological

innovations, because they do not require specific axiological justifications. The authorities will therefore do everything in their power to control what is uncertain in education, and what escapes internal school control and local pedagogical supervision. Therefore, they will include experts in the use of social engineering in the decision-making process and will use opinion polls to identify and then weaken the influence of the opposition and social criticism on the policy of the authorities.

This strategy is best illustrated by the so-called “road map” on which decision-making paths of reforms corresponding to the interests of the authorities are plotted. As ideas become part of the institutional framework of change, their main actors are constrained until there is another normative change in government. Therefore, consultations with the public are not intended to make it possible to withdraw from this map, or to correct it, but they are – if they take place at all, because in the case of the parliamentary project they are not subject to consultations – aimed at the effective pursuit of the goal, regardless of the percentage of people dissatisfied or opposition protests.

Ministry officials want to prolong the influence of politics based on the ideology of the ruling party, because their jobs also depend on it. The administration of the ministry and its subordinate superintendents are learning or have already acquired the skills of how to survive each power team, and not how to serve and support public education. Each redefinition of the political interests of the authorities requires the learnt forms of adaptation and the hiding from officials of the real attitudes towards their intentions. This means that the same bureaucrats of educational offices change their actions as a result of setting new goals for them, including those that are contradictory to the previously implemented goals, and often radically different, e.g. moving away from the goals of secular education in favour of conservative education. As a result of political changes in this country, it is mainly the staff managing the administration of educational supervision at all levels of institutional structures that are replaced.

In the open society in which Polish education functioned in the years 1989–1997, i.e. until the planning and implementation of a deep systemic reform of the school system, both non-governmental organizations, and teachers’ epistemic communities were created, operated and developed, which through their own channels disseminated new ideas, thoughts, models or concepts of education, upbringing, care, etc. Groups of professionals and supporters of their ideas, dissemination of new qualifications and skills in a specific scope, were created or reactivated, which were focused on meeting the educational needs, expectations, and aspirations of the society:

- in pre-school education – Montessori associations, the Reggio Emilia model of pre-school education, Steiner kindergartens, and forest kindergartens;
- in early childhood education – the movement of classes and proprietary schools, the renaissance of the Polish Association of Celestyn Freinet, the grassroots formation of educational associations – “School for Children”, “School of Health”, “School with Class”, “Waking up School”, schools of the Dalton plan;

- in secondary education – the movement of creative schools, proprietary art secondary schools, lower secondary, European, and international schools.

The existence of epistemic educational communities, in which the most creative and committed professionals, innovators and affirmers of changes for the autonomy of education gather, makes possible not only the pluralism of solutions in public education, but also the informing of parents about them, so that they can choose schools withdraw their children from them and direct their own child to home education or a non-public educational institution. The neoliberal education policy of Minister Mirosław Handke resulted in the beginning of authoritarian regimes of the ruling party along with the systemic reform he implemented. Since then, we have been dealing with a generation of a constant conflict between the educational authorities, who do not consent to the decentralization of the school system, and society, which is increasingly aware of the differences in the possibilities of public education, and the consensus in the educational sciences for possible and necessary educational solutions in a dynamically changing world. With the development of new communication technologies, changes in education are influenced by international factors, social awareness of differences in educational solutions, and the socio-economic status of teachers.

It is teachers who are expected to give up the possibility of expressing competent opposition to the education administration and formulating claims regarding the need to have access to goods that are only available to the power elites, although they are supposed to educate the elites for the future. Society, however, does not realize that the social elite class and the power group themselves take care of the proper education of their children. It is those in power who manage divisions in society in such a way that, by hurting some social groups, they expose their own as better, worthy, and relatively independent of others, also financially. Teachers are to perceive their existence as a verdict of fate, which, although it cries to Heaven, will not find universal support in society for improving their situation, also because of them and partly because of the bad memory of the school.

The political tool for placing teachers in the role of objective enemies of students is their obligation to use measures to discipline students' behaviour at school and their activity during lessons. Compulsory schooling is subordinated to triggering selection processes by teachers, thus strengthening social stratification (Szymański 1996; Sadura 2017). The consequence of these practices is teachers' subjective hostility towards students, and this, in turn, on the basis of a closed circle of violence, generates negative resistance among students, i.e. reluctance to learn, escape, aggression, and self-destruction (Bilińska-Suchanek 2000; Pasikowski 2014). This also applies to teachers, for whom the ministry reinforces the need for their restrictive functioning in relations with students and their parents. Thanks to this, it maintains a state of permanent conflict and disapproval; it also prevents them from leaving the state of enslavement in favour of their own and professional emancipation. "The more fatalistic the persistent social pressure is felt, the less it will be able to unleash the forces for practical social change, and the more room it will give to a critique of everything devoid of positive aims" (Scheler 2022: 27).

The constant complaining by representatives of the authorities of the largest trade unions in education (Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego (ZNP; Polish Teachers' Union) and the National Section of Education and Upbringing of NSZZ "Solidarity") about the really difficult situation of teachers is another reason to consider whether it is not also in their interest to maintain the state of proletarianization of teachers to justify the need for trade unions to act in schools on behalf of their alleged efforts to rectify this situation. In fact, the game is being played without the possibility of compelling the state authorities to change radically the status of teachers. This is the point of basing the management of school staff on arousing mutual jealousy, envy, and rivalry, as a result of which a few can improve their situation by cooperating with educational supervision or the elites of the ruling party (Nowak-Dziemianowicz 2001; Wróbel (red.) 2010; Śliwerski 2022b). It is not without reason that in the years 1993–1997 there were almost a hundred teachers-deputies in the Sejm, whose political and legislative activity was characterized by concern for their own standard of living at the expense of teachers as the common people experiencing the strongest decrease in their own income. The most painful manifestation of this phenomenon was not only the numerous protests and strike actions of this professional group, but even the establishment of the Party of Starving Teachers in Wałbrzych.

Stop prescriptive aspirations and models of the qualities of the ideal teacher

For how many more years, or perhaps centuries, will we in Poland affirm romantic pedeutology, whose normative aspirations of the ideal teacher made sense only in the 18th and 19th centuries, when there was a process of striving to popularize elementary education, and later also the development of universal schooling? To what and/or whom serve the studies and dissertations on the supposedly necessary features, competences, and qualifications of teachers in Poland in the 21st century, since their professional activity has been subordinated to the statutory standards of the educational law along with acts of the executive law, depriving them of professional autonomy? Does anyone else think or believe that any of the previous ministers of education (and science) was guided in establishing the requirements related to the employment of teachers in kindergartens and schools with the concepts, models, theories, or results of academic research on the features of an ideal teacher (Czerepaniak-Walczak 1997; Day 2004; Kwiatkowska 2005, 2009; Bielski 2017; Pękała 2017; Cęcelek 2020)? Pedeutology in Poland of 2023 has no longer any meaning, because with the first reform of the education system in 1999, the rulers stopped combining law-making with the science relevant to this profession (Zajac 2018; Madalińska-Michalak 2021).

In the period of political transformation after 1989, no authority has established a scientific and educational body to develop a strategy for reforming education, limiting itself only to political allies of the party and the trade union authorities. Since 1999, we have had a period of state control by trade unionists in coalition with members of parties coming

to power as a result of procedurally democratic elections, who are mainly interested in using budget funds, and after Poland's accession to the European Union, also funds from EU programmes, to promote their own political programmes. These in turn gave huge economic profits only to their beneficiaries. First, there was the process of mindless transformation of the school network (Herczyński, Sobotka 2014), creating only one type of lower secondary school (*gimnazjum*), instead of structural differentiation of this type of institutions in terms of mental potential, cultural capital, level of aspirations, and abilities of children and young people, and in 2017, devoid of any scientific reasons, a chaotic retreat, which strengthened in some students their feeling of powerlessness, helplessness, and experiencing learning failures. This must have resulted in students' negative resistance to school education, and thus also to teachers. The latter, on the other hand, are blamed for the upbringing and teaching failures of not only students, but also their parents, and exclude themselves from the group of accomplices of the failures.

The period of reforms of the school system always makes it possible for the rulers to increase jealousy among teachers, not only because of changes in the type of school in which they work, and they would prefer a different, higher-level school, but also because of the change in vertical promotion. Each time, the trade union elites arranged for a shortened path of professional advancement, reinforcing existential envy in the school environment, because its level determines the level of remuneration, which is already low in this country, but higher compared to people with a lower professional status. Divided and conflicted, they will not cooperate in solidarity to enforce change, the best proof of which has always been the failed, ineffective strikes in public education. When they were undertaken by teachers associated in ZNP, they were immediately opposed by teachers associated in "Solidarity" and vice versa. It was not without reason that the rulers gave teachers the status of public officials, allegedly responding to their expectations in terms of legal protection against students' aggression (Sławiński 2012; Walczak 2012).

Teachers were contrasted with headteachers of kindergartens or schools, who became representatives of educational supervision, and thus were to exercise political (party) power, but not the teachers' control in the institution. The managerial staff became a tool of political power, not a constructor of educationally autonomous kindergartens and schools, so only a few of them used this status to build a self-governing educational community hidden from their superiors, and protecting innovators from possible restrictions by school inspectors (Walenda 2010; Gawrecki 2021). The headteacher, focused on himself or herself, on improving his or her own financial status, will treat teachers as "common people" who are supposed to help achieve his or her goals and expectations. The more one of the teachers outperforms him or her with this or that characteristic or ability, the more such a teacher will be marginalized, and excluded, so as not to weaken the inadequate sense of self-value of the school supervisor.

Instead of creative and innovative thinking and acting, the policy of mediocrity will be preferred in a school managed in this way, precisely so as not to generate innovative activity that could overshadow the sense of greatness or uniqueness of the management

(Klus-Stańska 2005; Nawrocki 2015). Perhaps this is the reason why any bottom-up attempt to introduce changes in the educational process is immediately eliminated in order to maintain mediocrity. The powerful headteacher of a facility can cure his or her complexes, since he or she can get this position as a submissive officer. Jealousy emerges from the feeling of impotence to be a significant teacher for others, weakening at the same time the will to care for the autonomy of the facility. This aptly reflects the strongest resentment in such a person, which Max Scheler expressed in a message that could be referred in a centralized and authoritarian education system to ANOTHER, alternative, creative, and respected teacher-innovator: “I can forgive you anything, except that you exist and are the being that you are, only not that I am not what you are, that «I» is not «you»” (Scheler 2022: 30).

Have academic inquiries into the requested personal characteristics of teachers ever had any significance for their better work? This is a rhetorical question. In my opinion, they are useful only to academic teachers, so that they have a sense of their studies and research, since they have the object/subject of research at their fingertips (Dróżka 1997, 2008; Duraj-Nowakowa 2000). However, the results obtained are used to discover significant regularities nor to prove the effectiveness of the teacher’s work, which attempts to be determined on the basis of the significance of the relationship between the teacher’s personality traits and the results of his/her students’ work. Since each student and teacher is a different personality, what is the point of investigating the correlations between the above variables? It is all the more irrelevant that they also differ in terms of their cultural capital. Some try to combine the postulated characteristics of teachers with their authority. What is the value of judgments in the light of which, without possessing certain features and revealing them in relations with students, the teacher will not be an authority for students?

Stop the discourse about the missionary nature of the profession

The leading public opinion research institution in Poland, which was the Public Opinion Research Centre (PORC; Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej) in Warsaw, became interested in the attitude of the public about teachers only when the first, deep systemic reform of education was introduced in 1999. An opinion poll conducted in November focused on the following issue: “What should teachers’ salaries depend on?”. The submitted report shows that it did not take into account the categories of mission, devotion, service, and/or the missionary. It did not take into account the postulated personal characteristics of teachers, the shape of which should affect the remuneration of their work. Respondents believed that the amount of teachers’ remuneration should be made dependent primarily on such generally formulated factors as: 1) preparation for the profession, qualifications (98% of responses); 2) seniority, number of years worked in the profession by a teacher (89%); 3) the teacher’s participation in training courses (87%); 4) number of hours worked per week (84%); 5) and learning outcomes (82%) (Wciórka (red.) 1999: 2). While the PORC periodically repeated the public opinion surveys, e.g. in the field of educational aspirations

or parents' expenditure on educating children, the survey on the economic status of teachers has never been repeated in the same version. Could this question be incompatible with the needs of the educational authorities?

In connection with the protests of some teachers in the period of the neoliberal rule of the coalition of the Civic Platform (PO – Platforma Obywatelska) and the Polish People's Party (PSL – Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe) in 2007–2012 against the attempts and the statutory change in the lowering of the compulsory school age, a survey of opinions on the image of teachers was commissioned in the PORC (Feliksiak (red.) 2012). Another survey conducted by this institution appeared only in 2019, when a nationwide strike of teachers took place. At that time, the public opinion research institution, already privatized by the government, became interested in the issue of public support for that protest (Boguszewski (oprac.) 2019). Attention was directed to the problem of the pauperization of this professional group, which twenty years earlier had been promised a significant improvement in its economic situation. Since this did not happen, because the status of teachers placed them in a lost position of representatives of the precariat, and the main demands of the strikers concerned the need to fulfil the long-term promises of successive government formations regarding the alleged concern for decent remuneration for work, Poles were asked about their attitude to the financial expectations of teachers directed at the then government (a coalition of conservative parties Law and Justice (PiS – Prawo i Sprawiedliwość), Gowin Alliance (Porozumienie Gowina), and Solidarity Poland (Solidarna Polska). However, the poll was commissioned by the government to see if it would have to give in to the strikers if they got very high support for their financial claims.

Respondents answered e.g. the question: "Do you think teachers' financial expectations from the government are appropriate, too high, or too low?" (Boguszewski (oprac.) 2019: 3). According to the report, as many as 47% of the respondents believed that teachers' salaries were too high, and only 3% that they were too low (*sic!*). This convinced the Minister of Education that he could safely disregard the strikers, as they would not find support among citizens, including parents of children attending public kindergartens and schools. "The expressed beliefs depend mainly on the financial status of the respondents. The lower their per capita income and the worse they assess their own financial situation, the more often they share the opinion that teachers' expectations are excessive (...). The beliefs of the parents of school and pre-school children in principle do not differ in this respect from the opinions of all respondents" (Boguszewski (oprac.) 2019: 3). This only confirms the thesis of how strongly the stereotype of the teaching profession as humiliated, underestimated, and at the same time unfairly claiming improvement of their own financial situation has been established in the country.

When asked again whether teachers have the right to use various forms of protest in defence of their reasons, they were clearly against the most severe forms of protest, such as absence from exams (75%), taking sick leave (60%) or cancelling classes at schools (57%) (Boguszewski (oprac.) 2019: 5). Those in power could, therefore heat up the atmosphere of social dissatisfaction with teachers, using public television and social media for

this purpose. Thus, by making the strikers submissive to the authorities, they strengthened the tension between their unsupported desire to leave the poverty zone and their impotence and helplessness, which they could relieve only on students and/or in their own families.

The inability of a divided teaching environment to obtain decent salaries became a factor working against their aspirations, also as a result of breaking the strike by the pro-government Education Commission of “Solidarity”, which initially joined the whole action. The publicly unsuccessful attempt to leave the precariat state perpetuated the teachers’ sense of impotence, frustration, and professional burnout for years to come, while those in power could increase the pressure on this environment by placing them under even stronger supervision of the educational authorities and negatively sanctioning any attempts to disobey the rulers.

There is no first teacher in the country and province

There is a misconception among the public that the minister of education, like the superintendent of education, is the so-called the first teacher of the country or province, someone who has grown out of the structure of the school system as its leader, guide, and undisputed master of education. Nothing like this is happening in our country, no matter what it looks like in other countries. A minister is a politician who not only does not have to have teaching experience, but also does not have to understand the specificity of educational institutions and the role of teachers, because it is difficult to consider as such the completed postgraduate studies in the field of managing public administration institutions. According to Art. 103 of the Constitution: “Anyone who meets the requirements necessary to obtain a deputy seat may become a minister”. Thus, anyone who has become a Member of Parliament and will execute laws that are intended to serve the nation can be the Minister of Education, and in the Polish reality, primarily to serve the electorate of the ruling party and its acolytes, so that it can exercise power as long as possible.

Article 107 of the Constitution states that: guarantees of preservation the position and legal status of a minister as a public official is regulated by statute. Let’s take a look at it to see that the Education Law Act defines who can be the minister of education. Article 43 only states: “The minister competent for education and upbringing coordinates and implements the educational policy of the state and cooperates in this respect with voivodes and other authorities and organizational units competent in matters of the functioning of the education system” (Act of December 14, 2016 – Education Law). It is similar to the voivodeship education superintendent, who, in the light of Art. 50.1 is appointed by the minister of education at the request of the voivode, i.e. a representative of the ruling party, or on his or her own initiative by the minister responsible for education and upbringing on the basis of an announced competition for candidates for this position. His or her selection is decided by the majority of representatives of the ruling party, guaranteed by law, because

the competition is announced and conducted by the voivode, after the dismissal of the previous one, and thus already former, and thus opposition superintendent of education.

The candidate entering the competition must be a person who has a university degree and a professional title of magister (MA, Msc), magister inżynier (Eng Msc) or equivalent, has the degree of appointed teacher or certified teacher, qualified teacher, and has at least seven years of work experience as a teacher. However, the competition is conducted by the competition commission, in which the representatives of the ruling party have the majority. It is composed of three representatives of the minister of education, two representatives of the voivode, and one representative of teachers' trade unions (Act of December 14, 2016 – Education Law). Thanks to this, authoritarian supervision over education is exercised by dividing trade unionists into pro- and anti-government, in order to be able, thanks to their presence in the composition of the competition commission, to decide on the victory of the candidate who is to be loyal to the programme of the ruling party, but not to the assumed constitutional functions of public education.

Education is such an ambiguous concept that anyone can understand by it what they think is appropriate, not what the result of academic research is. Speaking of education, in fact, every citizen can think about it on the basis of their own school and ideological experiences in the context of what it is supposed to serve: should it be education oriented towards universal values, a type of political system, i.e. democracy of the welfare state, democracy of the rule of law, or perhaps democracy in the spirit of a religious state, etc. (Cwalina et al. 2015; Śliwerski 2020)? In the preamble to the Education Law Act, since 1997, there has been a register of universal norms, from which the ministers of education, changing with each political formation, will choose one as the dominant of their own educational policy subordinated to left-wing, conservative, liberal ideology or their hybrids¹. An ideologically subordinate carousel of educational reforms is spinning, which do not touch the essence of rational changes in Polish education, i.e. those resulting from the social sciences.

Central education authorities do not reform themselves, unless it is meant to increase the number of deputy ministers, rename departments for others, merge or split them, employ party experts in the political cabinet and have the mission of making necessary history as the one who designed some centralist reform, or cancelled or postponed it to the delight of the opposition. Games and plays in this ministry of successive unsuccessfully

¹ “Education in the Republic of Poland is the common good of the whole society; is guided by the principles contained in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, as well as the guidelines contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Teaching and upbringing – respecting the Christian system of values – is based on universal principles of ethics. Education and upbringing serve to develop young people’s sense of responsibility, love of the homeland and respect for Polish cultural heritage, while opening up to the values of European and world cultures. The school should provide each student with the conditions necessary for his development, prepare him to fulfill family and civic duties based on the principles of solidarity, democracy, tolerance, justice, and freedom” (Act of December 14, 2016 – Education law).

evoke ridicule and understandable resistance from teachers, students, and parents. This is how the question “Who wants to be the Minister of Education?” was answered by Dariusz Chętkowski – the most famous mother tongue teacher in the 21st Secondary School in Łódź, and also a blogger of the “Polityka” weekly:

The hunt for the minister of education is underway. Anna Zalewska leaves, and there is no successor. Nobody in their right mind will agree to take over the Ministry of National Education in the worst period for education – during strikes. It was speculated that Jarosław Zieliński would become the Minister of Education. Today we know that he does not think so. He’s got better things to do than put out a school fire. There are no fools, he said between the lines. If there is no successor, Zalewska should stay. You don’t leave a ship without a captain. Sure, someone will find it. We’ll have a minister from the roundup. Since the cream of the party does not want it, the prime minister will have to go deeper. Maybe all the way to the bottom. We will still remember that Zalewska was not so bad. The real catastrophe – although it is hard to believe – was only afterwards (Chętkowski 2019 (blog entry): March 6).

Not wanting to be suspected of preferring the criticism of the education minister of the coalition of right-wing parties, let me remind you of one more entry from the above teacher from 2014, when education was ruled by the PO and PSL coalition:

Therefore, if the opinion of teachers is taken into account, the future prime minister should appoint a new minister of education. Teachers do not want Joanna Kluzik-Rostkowska. I am not surprised by this opinion, I hear similar opinions every day in the teachers’ lounge. I’m just amazed at the scale of the phenomenon. There have not been so many opponents of the minister of education among the teachers since Roman Giertych was in charge of the Ministry of National Education. The current minister has a chance to leapfrog his predecessor in these disgraceful statistics. As a consolation, I will add that since 1989 there has not been a minister of education that teachers have liked. Everyone has been more or less disliked. However, total disgust was aroused by few, such as Handke, Giertych and... (Chętkowski 2014 (blog entry): September 13).

The differences in the ideological approaches of the ministers of education in the years 1989–2023, which affected their educational policy from the point of view of their teachers’ situation in public education, are the subjects of numerous studies and analyses. They include the status of teachers in confrontation with the assumptions and implementation of reforms, with changes in professional pragmatics, and also taking into account the attitudes of teachers towards those in power in the context of powerlessness of professional pressure from their own ministry to take into account the deepening financial, physical, cultural, and existential issues of the most important people in kindergartens and schools (Michalak 2002; Tucholska 2003; Poraj 2009; Śliwerski 2009, 2013, 2015a, b, c, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2022a; Pyżalski, Merecz (red.) 2010; Szempruch 2011; Zubrzycka-Maciąg, Kirenko 2015; Grzegorzewska 2019a, b). Politicians are not interested in the personal

problems of the everyday life of teachers who, year after year, are subjected to self-contradictory directives from the central authorities, devoid of empathy and respect for the ever-higher public expectations regarding the educational and psychological professionalism of teachers (Rubacha 2000; Michalak 2003; Kędzierska 2012; Łukasik 2013). Relations between teachers and students have not improved (Nowakowska, Przewłocka 2015; Waloszek 2015).

Conclusion

To sum up, I suggest a tabular summary of the educational management strategies in Poland after 1989, which are crucial for the analyses of the ministerial authorities' strategies, taking the conflict of values and the approach to teachers as criteria (table 1). It will be possible to see the lack of responsibility of the authorities of the Ministry of Education for the violation of continuity and coherence, lack of consistency and waste of human capital in which politicians of the ruling parties have been instrumental since 1992 (Olubiński 2021).

Table 1. The situation of teachers in the light of changes in educational policy in the years 1989–2023

Minister of National Education and term of office	The policy of the authorities of the Ministry of Education towards teachers in the context of political changes
Henryk Samsonowicz 12/09/1989– 14/12/1990	Phase 1: libertarian strengthening of teachers' autonomy while keeping their salaries high. The right to create schools, curricula, and proprietary classes. Dismantling the welfare state along with the socialist, statist education system. Work on the amendment to the socialist education law. Legal and organizational release of the innovation process, teaching creativity, and at the same time ensuring very high salaries. A period of romantic detotalitarianization of education, legitimized by the minister, and at the same time hope for society to regain school not for the next power, party, parties, and disputes over the possible indoctrination of the nation for the young generations, their teachers and parents (Figiel 2001; Śliwerski 2009)
Robert Głębocki 12/01/1991– 5/12/1991	Phase 2: adoption of the post-socialist law on the education system, enabling changes to the curricula of general education, and introducing legal grounds for the socialization of education (school councils, local education councils and the possibility of establishing a national education council). A slow and noticeable decrease in teachers' salaries as a result of the transformation of the state's economic system (Śliwerski 2013)
Andrzej Stelmachowski 23/12/1991– 5/06/1992	Phase 3: attempts to impose a four-point educational reform project and confrontation between the government and the protesting teachers. Failed attempts to increase teachers' working hours in schools. Increasing decline in teachers' salaries

Table 1. cont.

Minister of National Education and term of office	The policy of the authorities of the Ministry of Education towards teachers in the context of political changes
Zdobysław Flisowski 11/07/1992– 26/10/1993	Phase 4: adoption by the government of the so-called material and curriculum minimum in general education. Destruction of vocational education. Clear impoverishment of teachers, which was manifested by numerous strikes and protests of teachers, including registration of the Party of Starving Teachers in Wałbrzych (Śliwerski 2009; Babicka-Wirkus 2019)
Aleksander Łuczak 26/10/1993– 1/03/1995	Phase 5: taking action to stop the current trends and adopt multi-variant educational reform projects. Perpetuating apparent decentralization and discouraging teachers from creating classes, curricula, and schools in public education. Criticism of teacher innovations as alleged segregation practices in schools (Dolata 2008)
Ryszard Czarny 04/03/1995– 26/01/1996	Phase 6: stagnation, the authorities of the Ministry of Education treading water and the inability to go beyond the wishful thinking. Keeping teachers' salaries low
Jerzy Wiatr 15/02/1996– 17/10/1997	Phase 7: discouraging teachers from bottom-up pedagogical innovations, and at the same time reducing the socialization of schools and introducing restrictions on their autonomy. Announcement of centralist curricula and systemic reforms in education, including the establishment of 100 pilot schools to test possible changes in their management
Miroslaw Handke 31/10/1997– 20/07/2000	Phase 8: the “orange alternative”, i.e. the implementation of deep political and curricular reforms in the education system freezing by the AWS (Solidarity Electoral Action) in the “parliamentary refrigerator” of the project developed during the period of parliamentary opposition to establish a teachers' professional self-government (Frąckowiak 1998; Śliwerski 2015b). Changing the school network and the school system managed in two ways: maintaining state (party) pedagogical supervision via superintendents of schools and partial consolidation of decentralization processes thanks to the management of kindergartens and schools and their infrastructure by local governments. Changing the teachers' professional promotion system
Edmund Wittbrodt 20/07/2000– 19/10/2001	Phase 9: continuation and preparation for reforms in upper secondary education in the climate of pre-election struggle. Elimination of the right to grassroots creation of national and provincial education councils. Consolidating the feigned decentralization of education and strengthening the role of pedagogical supervision over teachers
Krystyna Łybacka 19/10/2001– 2/05/2004	Phase 10: hibernation of changes and post-reform vacuum reduced only to the continuation of the assumptions of introducing a full reform of state examinations (matura, lower secondary school and sixth-grade exams). Inclusion of Polish schooling in the global measurement of school achievement of 15-year-olds in the Programme for International Studies (PISA) and of early childhood education graduates in the Programme for International Reading Proficiency Surveys (PIRLS). Reorientation in the education and training of teachers focused on the so-called testing of the knowledge and skills of their students (Zahorska 2002)

Minister of National Education and term of office	The policy of the authorities of the Ministry of Education towards teachers in the context of political changes
Miroslaw Sawicki 02/05/2004– 1/09/2005	Phase 11: left-wing pragmatic stagnation before the elections, and therefore indecisiveness in the face of teachers' problems. Symbolic and at the same time ineffective attempts by the authorities of the ministry to encourage teachers to undertake bottom up innovations. Inspiring teachers to use European funds and forms of international cooperation and educational exchange
Miroslaw Sawicki 1/09/2005– 31/10/2005	
Michał Seweryński 31/10/2005– 2/05/2006	Phase 12: announcements of radical changes in education as part of the right-wing political project to create the so-called IV Republic in resistance to the partially neoliberal educational policy of previous ministers. Undertaking work on the necessary, but unsuccessful, amendment to teacher education standards
Roman Giertych 5/05/2006– 13/08/2007	Phase 13: top-down implementation of an authoritarian school governance system including supervision (including electronic monitoring), discipline and negative sanctioning attitudes and behaviours of students and teachers disapproved by the conservative authorities. Forcing political correctness among educational entities, resulting in numerous protest actions and teacher and student strikes
Ryszard Legutko 13/08/2007– 16/11/2007	Phase 14: survival of the state authorities, weakened in the Sejm, until the autumn parliamentary elections, with the hope of continuing the authoritarian, centralist model of conservative education
Katarzyna Hall 16/11/2007– 18/11/2011	Phase 15: oscillations between statism and declarative decentralization. Failed attempt to liquidate superintendents of schools. Lowering the standards of entry into the teaching profession and decreasing remuneration. Subordinating education to globalization processes and labour market requirements, to global corporations (Gromkowska-Melosik 2017; Murzyn 2018) The first edition of Poland's participation in the international study of teachers' working conditions, their views on teaching and the learning environment in schools (TALIS). Preparations for increasing the teaching load for teachers and changes in the Teacher's Charter. Subordination to the IBE (Educational Research Institute) research policy on the conditions of teachers' work at all stages of education, from primary school to upper secondary school, focused on working time. Conscious resignation from taking into account the issue of teachers' salaries in the diagnosis, so as not to look for links between their workload and the level of remuneration
Krystyna Szumilas 18/11/2011– 27/11/2013	Phase 16: education management from a closed fortress (minister treated by the prime minister as a bumper) as a result of unsuccessful attempts to lower the compulsory school age and limit pluralism in the school textbook sector. Including the Polish school system in comparative research as part of the international measurement of school achievements of 15-year-olds in natural sciences and mathematics (TIMSS) and including teachers and headteachers in the second edition of TALIS. Publication of a research report on teachers' working time with deliberate disregard for their material status (Federowicz et al. 2013).

Table 1. cont.

Minister of National Education and term of office	The policy of the authorities of the Ministry of Education towards teachers in the context of political changes
Joanna Kluzik-Rostkowska 27/11/2013– 16/11/2015	Phase 17: the policy of perpetuating educational centralism and feigning the socialization of education. Disregarding the resistance of teachers and parental movements. Withdrawal of the project to increase the number of working hours of teachers at the so-called “blackboard”. Publication of another report on teachers, omitting the financial status (Federowicz, Choińska-Mika, Walczak 2014)
Anna Zalewska 16/11/2015– 4/06/2019	Phase 18: deformation of the school system to break with the neoliberal education policy and return to centralized school management. A frontal, counter-revolutionary ideological attack of the “good change” on the current educational reforms, their invalidation. Non-substantive destruction of the professional ethos of teachers participating in a legally launched nationwide strike in defence of dignity, prestige, and working conditions. Populist and ideologically doctrinal school management strategy (Śliwerski 2019, 2020)
Dariusz Piątkowski 4/06/2019– 19/10/2020	Phase 19: perpetuating the authoritarianism of pedagogical supervision. Breaking off the dialogue with the teaching community, constant criticism of teachers and making the improvement of salaries conditional on the acceptance of changes in professional workloads. Social engineering of feigning concern for the professional prestige of teachers (Śliwerski 2020)
Przemysław Czarnek 19/10/2020– 1/01/2021	Phase 20: strengthening centralism, the national-patriotic model of education and upbringing of young generations in the model of “education by a strict father” (Lakoff 2017) and in the spirit of the doctrines and social teaching of the Catholic Church. Excluding constitutional ideological pluralism in public education and limiting participatory democracy in education. Implementation, as part of the Consortium of institutions related to education from France, Belgium, Greece and Poland, of a two-year project of research into teaching practices in secondary schools in connection with the reduction of the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and the diagnosis of their competence in handling digital school education
Przemysław Czarnek 1/01/2021–	Phase 21: continuation of centralist supervision over education, including in particular the elimination of the influence of non-governmental organizations in the implementation of general education curricula, limiting the methodological autonomy in the work of teachers and maintaining the equipment of teachers entering the profession at the level of the minimum wage in the country. Changing the teachers’ professional promotion system (Jastrzębska 2022). Abolishing the rank of contract teacher and extending the period of work without professional promotion. Significant growth of non-governmental educational and teacher organizations resisting the ministry authorities’ feigning social consultations on school education. In 2021, the Educational Research Institute joined the latest edition of the International Civic Competences Survey (ICCS), the aim of which is to diagnose the attitudes and involvement of teachers in civic education in order to prepare students to fulfil the role of a citizen

Source: own study.

This is not conducive to either the motivation to take up work in the teaching profession, or the quality of education and improvement of those who, despite unfavourable conditions, want to take up or are already involved in work with children or young people, having a sense of satisfaction, self-fulfilment and guarantees of supporting themselves and their families from sources other than those created by the government. The teacher resistance movement against such a policy of state authorities, which has been growing in recent years, is a manifestation of the natural defence of professionals and enthusiasts of the profession against the progressive destruction of the profession and its ethos, but at the same time it is a carrier of innovative potential among some teaching staff and the best models of humanization, openness, flexibility, and autonomy in (pre-)school education.

References

- Babicka-Wirkus A. (2019), *Kultury oporu w szkole. Działania-motywacje-przestrzeń*. Warszawa, Wolters Kluwer.
- Bielski J. (2017), *Nauczyciel doskonały. Kształtowanie się nauczycielskiego zawodu, warunki, kryteria i mierniki efektywności pracy*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Bilińska-Suchanek E. (2000), *Opór wobec szkoły. Dorastanie w perspektywie paradygmatu oporu*. Słupsk, Pomorska Akademia Pedagogiczna w Słupsku.
- Boguszewski R. (oprac.) (2019), *Spoleczne poparcie dla protestu nauczycieli. Komunikat z badań*. Warszawa, CBOS.
- Bruner J. (2006), *Kultura edukacji*. Przeł. T. Brzostowska-Tereszkiewicz, wstęp A. Brzezińska. Kraków, TAIWPN Universitas.
- Cęcelek G. (2020), *Kompetencje społeczne nauczyciela szkoły uczenia się i wyrównywania szans edukacyjnych*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Cwalina W., Falkowski A., Koniak P., Mackiewicz R. (2015), *Wieloznaczność w przekazach politycznych*. Sopot, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.
- Czerepaniak-Walczak M. (1997), *Aspekty i źródła profesjonalnej refleksji nauczyciela*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo Edytor.
- Day Ch. (2004), *Rozwój zawodowy nauczyciela. Uczenie się przez całe życie*. Przeł. J. Michalak. Gdańsk, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.
- Dolata R. (2008), *Szkoła – segregacje – nierówności*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Dróżka W. (1997), *Młode pokolenie nauczycieli*. Kielce, Wydawnictwo WSP w Kielcach.
- Dróżka W. (2008), *Generacja wielkiej zmiany. Studium autobiografii średniego pokolenia nauczycieli polskich 2004*. Kielce, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego.
- Duraj-Nowakowa K. (2000), *Systemologiczne inspiracje pedeutologii*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Federowicz M., Chońska-Mika J., Walczak D. (2014), *Raport o stanie edukacji 2013. Liczą się nauczyciele*. Warszawa, IBE.
- Federowicz M., Haman J., Herczyński J., Hernik K., Krawczyk-Radwan M., Malinowska K., Pawłowski M., Strawiński P., Walczak D., Wichrowski A. (2013), *Czas pracy i warunki pracy w relacjach nauczycieli*. Warszawa, IBE.

- Feliksiak M. (red.) (2012), *Wizerunek nauczycieli. Komunikat z badań*. Warszawa, CBOS.
- Figiel M. (2001), *Szkoły autorskie w Polsce. Realizacje edukacyjnych utopii*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Frąckowiak T. (1998), *Edukacja, demokracja i sumienie (Studium pedagogiczne)*. Poznań, Wydawnictwo Eruditus.
- Gajdzica A. (2013), *Portret zbiorowy nauczycieli aktywnych między zaangażowaniem a oporem wobec zmian*. Cieszyn–Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Gawrecki L. (2021), *Zarządzanie w oświacie. Podręcznikowy zarys problematyki. Systematyka – praktyka – rekomendacje*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Gołębiak B.D. (1998), *Zmiany edukacji nauczycieli. Wiedza – biegłość – refleksyjność*. Toruń–Poznań, Wydawnictwo "Edytor".
- Gromkowska-Melosik A. (2017), *Testy edukacyjne. Studium dynamiki selekcji i socjalizacji*. Poznań, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Grzegorzewska M.K. (2019a), *Psychospołeczne podłoże stresu w zawodzie nauczyciela. Podstawy diagnozy z wykorzystaniem modelu interakcyjno-transakcyjnego*. Kraków, Wydawnictwo AGH.
- Grzegorzewska M.K. (2019b), *Uwarunkowania poczucia zdrowia, stresu i wypalenia zawodowego nauczycieli a praktyczne wykorzystanie teorii zachowania autorstwa Stevana E. Hobfolla*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Herczyński J., Sobotka A. (2014), *Diagnoza zmian w sieci szkół podstawowych i gimnazjów 2007–2012*. Warszawa, IBE.
- Jagielska D. (2014), *Hybrydy ideologii edukacyjnych polskich polityków*. Kraków, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Jastrzębska A. (2022), *Stara i nowa ścieżka awansu zawodowego. Porównanie. 19 kroków postępowania*. Warszawa, Wiedza i Praktyka.
- Kargulowa A., Kwiatkowski S.M., Szkudlarek T. (red.) (2005), *Rynek i kultura neoliberalna a edukacja*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Kawka Z. (1998), *Między misją a frustracją. Społeczna rola nauczyciela*. Łódź, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Kędzierska H. (2012), *Kariery zawodowe nauczycieli*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Klus-Stańska D. (2005), *Mentalne zniewolenie nauczycieli wczesnej edukacji – epizod czy prawidłowość?* "Problemy Wczesnej Edukacji", 1.
- Kołomycew A., Kotarba B. (2018), *Interes polityczny w realizacji polityki oświatowej*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe "Scholar".
- Kwiatkowska H. (2005), *Tożsamość nauczycieli między anomią a autonomią*. Gdańsk, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.
- Kwiatkowska H. (2009), *Pedeutologia*. Warszawa, WAiP.
- Lakoff G. (2017), *Moralna polityka. Jak myślą liberalowie i konserwatyści*. Przeł. M. Szczubiałek. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo ALETHEIA.
- Łukasik J.M. (2013), *Doświadczenia życia codziennego. Narracje nauczycielek na przełomie życia*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Madalińska-Michalak J. (2021), *Pedeutologia. Prawno-etyczne podstawy zawodu nauczyciela*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Michalak G. (2002), *Uposażenie nauczycieli szkół ogólnokształcących w Polsce w latach 1944–1992*. Poznań, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Bankowej.
- Michalak J. (2003), *Poczucie odpowiedzialności zawodowej nauczycieli. Studium teoretyczno-empiryczne*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo IBE.

- Murzyn A. (2018), *Przedsiębiorczość. Biznes. Edukacja. Studium filozoficzno-pedagogiczne*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Nalaskowski A. (1997), *Nauczyciele z prowincji u progu reformy edukacji*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Nawrocki R. (2015), *Korozja tożsamości nauczyciela. Rzecz o relacji między sferami prywatną i publiczną*. W: H. Kwiatkowska (red.), *Uczłowieczyć komunikację. Nauczyciel wobec ucznia w przestrzeni szkolnej*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Nowak-Dziemianowicz M. (2001), *Oblicza nauczyciela. Oblicza szkoły*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Nowakowska A., Przewłocka J. (2015), *Szkoła oczami uczniów: relacje z nauczycielami i kolegami oraz przemoc szkolna. Raport z badania jakościowego*. Warszawa, IBE.
- Olubiński A. (2021), *Edukacja do oporu i (nie)posłuszeństwa. Ku emancypacji i demokracji*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo Edukacyjne AKAPIT.
- Pasikowski S. (2014), *Ambiwalencja i opór. Nauczyciele i studenci wobec szkoły*. Słupsk, Wydawnictwo Akademii Pomorskiej w Słupsku.
- Pękala J.L. (2017), *Etos nauczycieli – mit czy rzeczywistość?* Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Poraj G. (2009), *Od pasji do frustracji. Modele psychologicznego funkcjonowania nauczycieli*. Łódź, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Przyszczykowski K. (2012), *Polityczność (w) edukacji*. Poznań, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Pyżalski J., Merecz D. (red.) (2010), *Psychospołeczne warunki pracy polskich nauczycieli. Pomiedzy wypaleniem zawodowym a zaangażowaniem*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Rubacha K. (2000), *Pełnienie roli nauczyciela a realizacja zadań rozwojowych w okresie wczesnej dorosłości*. Toruń, Wydawnictwo UMK.
- Sadura P. (2017), *Państwo, szkoła, klasy*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej.
- Scheler M. (2022), *Resentyment w strukturze systemów moralnych*. Przeł. B. Baran. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Aletheia.
- Sławiński S. (2012), *Status zawodowy nauczyciela. Analiza prawna*. Warszawa, IBE.
- Szczepański J. (1981), *Konsumpcja a rozwój człowieka*. Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne.
- Szempruch J. (2011), *Nauczyciel w warunkach zmiany społecznej i edukacyjnej*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Szumiec M. (2016), *System awansu zawodowego nauczycieli. Ocena kluczowego elementu reformy edukacji*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Szymański M. (1996), *Selekcyjne funkcje szkolnictwa a struktura społeczna*. Warszawa, IBE.
- Śliwerski B. (2009), *Współczesne problemy edukacji. Dekonstrukcja polityki oświatowej III RP*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne.
- Śliwerski B. (2013), *Diagnoza uspołecznienia publicznego szkolnictwa w gorsecie centralizmu*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Śliwerski B. (2015a), *Racjonalność pedagogiczna polskiej polityki oświatowej w latach 1989–2014*. In: R. Nowakowska-Siuta, B. Śliwerski, *Racjonalność procesu kształcenia. Studium z polityki oświatowej i pedagogiki porównawczej*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Śliwerski B. (2015b), *Edukacja (w) polityce. Polityka (w) edukacji*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".

- Śliwerski B. (2015c), *Nauczyciele w gorsecie MEN-owskich regulacji*. W: H. Kwiatkowska (red.), *Uczelniczyć komunikację. Nauczyciel wobec ucznia w przestrzeni szkolnej*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Śliwerski B. (2017), *Meblowanie szkolnej demokracji*. Warszawa, Wolters Kluwer.
- Śliwerski B. (2019), *Różne wymiary teorii kształcenia oraz ich polityczne i naukowe uwarunkowania*. In: K. Maliszewski, D. Stępkowski, B. Śliwerski, *Istota, sens i uwarunkowania (wy)kształcenia*. Kraków, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls".
- Śliwerski B. (2020), *(Kontr-)rewolucja oświatowa. Studium z polityki prawicowych reform edukacyjnych*. Łódź, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Śliwerski B. (2022a), *Niewykorzystana szansa polskiej edukacji na rzecz demokracji liberalnej*. In: A. Cybal-Michalska, A. Gromkowska-Melosik, K. Kuszak, M. Piorunek, W. Segiet (red.), *Tożsamość pedagogiki współczesnej. Wydanie jubileuszowe z okazji XXV-lecia Wydziału Studiów Edukacyjnych Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu 1993–2018*. Poznań, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Śliwerski B. (2022b), *Kultura rywalizacji i współpracy w szkole*. Warszawa, Wolters Kluwer.
- Tucholska S. (2003), *Wypalenie zawodowe nauczycieli*. Lublin, Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Walczak D. (2012), *Początkujący nauczyciele. Raport z badania jakościowego*. Warszawa, IBE.
- Walenda A. (2010), *Zarządzanie i nadzór w systemie oświaty polskiej w latach 1989–2005*. Białystok, Niepaństwowa Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Białymstoku.
- Waloszek D. (2015), *Nauczyciel w dzieciństwie człowieka. Doświadczenie – kompetencja – refleksyjność*. Kraków, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego.
- Wciórka B. (red.) (1999), *Co powinno mieć wpływ na wysokość wynagrodzenia nauczycieli? Komunikat z badań*. Warszawa, CBOS.
- Wróbel A. (red.) (2010), *Nauczyciel w krajach postsocjalistycznych jako sprawca i ofiara manipulacji. Studium teoretyczno-empiryczne*. Łódź, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Zahorska M. (2002), *Szkoła: między państwem, społeczeństwem a rynkiem*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Akademickie "Żak".
- Zając D. (2018), *Etyczność pracy zawodowej nauczycieli. Studium teoretyczne*. Bydgoszcz, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego.
- Zubrzycka-Maciąg T., Kirenko J. (2015), *Asertywność nauczycieli. Badania empiryczne*. Lublin, Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Internet sources

- Chętkowski D. (2014), *Nowy minister edukacji?* <https://chetkowski.blog.polityka.pl/2014/09/13/nowy-minister-edukacji/>, 23.01.2023.
- Chętkowski D. (2019), *Kto zechce być ministrem edukacji?* <https://chetkowski.blog.polityka.pl/2019/03/06/kto-zechce-byc-ministrem-edukacji/>, 23.01.2023.

Legal acts

- Act of December 14, 2016 – Education law (consolidated text: Dz. U. of 2023, item. 900), <https://www.prawo.vulcan.edu.pl/przegdok.asp?qdatprz=akt&qplikid=4186>, 21.01.2023.