EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES IN TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION

EDITED BY

Lotar Rasiński, Tamás Tóth, Josefine Wagner

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Hana Cervinkova, Lotar Rasiński

This edited volume is a result of the international conference, "European Perspectives in Transformative Education," held in Wrocław, on June 19th–June 20th. The conference and this publication are an integral part of the project European Doctorate in Teacher Education (EDiTE), which has spanned over the course of two projects: In the first preparatory stage, EDiTE was funded through the Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Commission, while the current project is supported by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, Marie-Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement number 676452. In the current project, researchers from eleven countries (Czech Republic, Ecuador, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Nepal, Poland, Serbia, Syria, Buthan and United States of America) are working in the partner universities (University of Innsbruck, University of Lower Silesia, University of Lisbon, Masaryk University and Eötvös Loránd University) where they cooperate closely with supervisors and pursue individual research projects in the framework of the EDiTE joint research programme. The theme of the EDiTE program, Transformative Teacher Learning for Better Student Learning within an Emerging European Context, draws on the deep interdependence of educational research and practice. Over the course of the project, the EDiTE community envisions growing into a European network for innovation in teacher education, accessible to academics, practitioners and policy makers. A key principle of the projects is its collaborative character. In addition to junior and senior academic researchers located at the partner universities, strong institutional partnerships are built with the field of practice – with schools, research and development institutes, as well as government agencies – seen as key partners in promoting quality and relevance in teacher education and research. Collaborations within the EDiTE program take

place on multiple levels – within host institutions (between researchers, supervisors and partners), and trans-institutionally with other teams at partner universities. This cooperation is made possible by a number of structural and mobility solutions that constitute essential elements of the project design. This includes joint meetings during summer schools, virtual seminars and conferences; periods of secondment for doctoral researchers at partner universities; virtual co-operation and networking between supervisors, researchers and partner institutions across the consortium and a knowledge portal.[1]

In this volume you will find both individually and collectively written papers by the EDiTE researchers that reflect the results of the first year of their research within the EDiTE framework (PART II). The authors were given freedom in choosing themes and co-authors of their papers. The effect is a rich mosaic of focus and scope of interests that aptly mirror the diversity of the EDiTE community. We would like to draw your attention to three collectively elaborated analyses of the three components of the EDiTE theme, Transformative Teacher Learning for Better Student Learning within an Emerging European Context (PART I). These papers are based on a complex and challenging joint effort of international teams of EDiTE researchers, who over the course of several months carried on an internal survey, analysis, and discussion concerning the common understanding of the EDiTE research theme. Anybody, who has had an experience in synchronizing diverse academic cultures and agendas on international scale will appreciate the hard effort that junior scholars put into the writing of these papers.

We would like to close by thanking all the EDiTE participating institutions who have provided and continue to provide intellectual home to the junior researchers who appeared as authors of chapters in this publication. Their work justifies to the academic support they are receiving on their first research journey. We look forward to bringing everybody together again for the second and final edited volume, which will appear in 2019, featuring the final results of individual research projects completed within the EDiTE framework.

References

[1] A part of this project description appeared in the introduction to the thematic section of the journal *Educational Forum*, dedicated to EDiTE (Hana Cervinkova, Orsolya Kalman, *Forum Oświatowe/Educational Forum* 28, no. 2 (2016).

PART ONE

ON EDiTE PROJECT

TRANSFORMATIVE TEACHER LEARNING
FOR BETTER STUDENT LEARNING
WITHIN AN EMERGING EUROPEAN CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

Doing educational research can be an experience of enlightenment, but it can also become a labourious burden. When we started designing a transnational collaborative project working on an educational doctorate in teacher education within the realm of the European Network of Teacher Education Policies (ENTEP), we wanted to see research as a means of improving the ability to read situations, to evaluate and extend one's practice; as a way of making the bureaucracies within which some may work more responsive to client, student and staff needs and as a means of developing an educative approach to the design, delivery and assessment of training.

Considering the different professional backgrounds of possible applicants from diverse cultures, we became aware that we need an open mind about what research means to somebody who will become part of the project. The motivations for, commitment to and practice of research are central to the research enterprise, but so is the notion that they are inextricably as much personal as they are scientific. Whether research will be understood as a specialised form of academic work or, in the context of social action research, will be more a situationally driven momentum of lived experience often depends on the research area and methodological approach.

When the partner universities involved in the European Doctorate in Teacher Education (EDiTE) started exchanging their assumptions and approaches on how to lead young researchers into the art of acquiring research knowledge and skills, we encountered a wide array of understandings and practices. Research not only proceeds to recommend changes but also seeks to understand situations as participants see them rather than as theory might suggest. Having more than 20 early-stage researchers on board in a joint degree program means finding common ground to be covered by all individual researchers to contribute to the overall aim of the project. We decided to build EDiTE on three pillars

representing vital issues of teacher education in the future of Europe and beyond: transformative teacher learning, better student learning and the emerging Europe.

We suggested ways of building the three pillars as a continuing research dimension into each EDiTE researcher's work. We had to think of research as providing space for reflection rather than as a means for extending the scope of coercion. To do so, we need a space for intellectual agility in moving from one way of thinking and talking about research to another, maintaining commitment and enthusiasm when pressure is being applied by those who perceive what you are doing as threatening, sustaining some concern for the process when the demand is for a mundane product.

EDiTE has been developed in two phases. In the first, preparatory phase (2012 to 2014), the project was funded through the Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Commission. The current project (2015 to 2019) is supported by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement number 676452. The four-year project involves early-stage and independent researchers from around the world, employed by five partner universities (ELTE Budapest, the University of Innsbruck, the University of Lisbon, Masaryk University and the University of Lower Silesia) in conducting research on the theme of "transformative teacher learning for better student learning in an emerging European context." Strong institutional partnerships are built with the field of practice – with schools, research and development institutes, as well as government agencies – seen as key partners in promoting quality and relevance in teacher education and research.[1] A key element of EDiTE is its collaborative character. Collaborations take place on multiple levels: within host institutions (between the EDiTE researchers, other student researchers, supervisors and partner institutions) and with other teams at partner universities. This cooperation is made possible by a number of structural and mobility solutions that constitute essential elements of the project design. They include joint meetings during summer schools,

virtual seminars and conferences; periods of secondment for doctoral researchers at partner universities; virtual cooperation and networking among supervisors, researchers and partner institutions across the consortium; and a knowledge portal.[2]

Upon successful completion of Ph.D. projects, the EDiTE researchers are awarded a joint doctoral degree by their host institution and one partner university in which they undertook a secondment period. To be eligible for the joint degree, researchers need to fulfil the common EDiTE curriculum developed by the partner universities. The EDiTE curriculum is structured around two modules: the Advanced Studies Module (Module1) and the Individual Research Module (Module 2). The Advanced Studies Module as a comprehensive learning programme consists of three submodules: the Advanced Pedagogical Studies Submodule, the Transversal Studies Submodule, and the Research Methodology and Management Submodule. The Individual Research Module is an intensive research programme that is the general framework for realising the individual research projects.

The following papers will present the findings of a collaborative task developed by the EDiTE researchers in the first year of their studies. In the 2016 Brno Summer School, "Research as Social Change," organised by Masaryk University, the researchers participated in a reflective activity related to the connection of their individual research projects to EDiTE's overarching theme. The outcome of this activity was to create three working groups responsible for further exploring the deeper meaning of each pillar constituting the EDiTE theme: transformative teacher learning, better student learning, and emerging European context.

Following up this activity, the researchers decided to organise an online survey asking the members of the EDiTE community to express their views related to each of the three pillars. Each working group of researchers developed three open-ended questions for each thematic pillar. The survey was launched in mid-October 2016 and both researchers and supervisors were invited to participate by the end of November 2016, considering their individual research project and

expertise when answering the questions. In total, 19 researchers and 7 supervisors filled out the online form. The findings were then analysed by the working groups following the method of thematic analysis. At first, researchers familiarised themselves with the data and searched for emerging themes, keywords and repetitions. Once initial broad themes were identified and reviewed, a coding process followed, applying the themes to the data. As themes and codes were developed, the researchers advanced their understanding of what the data means and placed the data in a context of theory, using literature to explain their findings. Thus, the final report for each pillar was structured in an intelligible way according to an inductive reasoning approach. The three papers that follow this introduction aim to illustrate the findings of the survey, helping to deepen our understanding of EDiTE's conceptual framework.

The aim of the thematic analysis was twofold. First, since the interpretations of the three pillars embrace diverse approaches, it is important at least to consider the differences as a contextual field. It is, on the one hand a theoretical landscape, capable of integrating the heterogeneity of individual research, and on the other hand a point of reference, where commonalities emerge in the intersecting points of ideas. There the researchers will be able to locate their studies and illuminate the thematic heterogeneity, in which the latter will inform individual research as a point of reference. Second, the long-term plan of the EDiTE programme is to grow into a leading European network for generating knowledge in teacher education. For such an enterprise, it is indispensable to constitute an identity (even if a partially fluid one) conducive to (1) constructing the synergy of project-based activities and interventions, (2) forming the basis for international, horizontal networking, and (3) relating EDiTE to informing and making policy.

It is important to consider the limitation of such a thematic analysis. Although the three pillars will be analysed separately, the interplay between them has to be taken into account. That interplay presupposes that each of the pillars is always-already present in one another. It doesn't mean an ultimate equivalence among the three subthemes; on the

contrary, there is a centre of gravity in every individual research, as there is a focal point for the programme as well: transformative teacher learning. One also has to take into account that each of the three thematic analysis had to identify a point of departure (a theoretical ground) to be able to analyse the survey, but these points of departure are arbitrary and do not necessarily constitute a continuity through the three analyses, which is undoubtedly a limitation of this adventure but in a sense converges with the aim of constructing the heterogeneous context described above. Therefore, the concluding part is an attempt to create a synthesis of the three analyses and look for the possibilities to constitute an identity in synergy, a centre of gravity.

Michael Schratz
Vasileios Symeonidis
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[1] Hana Cernikova and Orsolya Kalman, "European Doctorate in Teacher Education (EDiTE)", *Forum Oświatowe* 28, no. 2 (2016): 10.

[2] Ibid., 10.

TRANSFORMATIVE TEACHER LEARNING

AN ANALYSIS OF TRANSFORMATIVE DIMENSIONS AND RELEVANCE

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Keywords: transformative, teacher-learning, 21st century skills.

Abstract. This paper attempts to present an edifice of the concepts and discourses engaged in defining transformative teacher learning (TTL) within European educational space. To address this goal, we developed three open questions: 1) The definition of teacher learning in the 21st century, 2) transformative dimensions of teacher learning in the 21st century, and 3) the relevance of transformative teacher learning in 21st century education in Europe. Inductive content analysis was applied to interpret the perception survey-based data. Though inconsistently perceived, the most agreed-upon notion was that as a complex and dynamic process, TTL is a knowledge, skills and ability development process that exists in response to changes and challenges associated with the emerging dynamics of education. The relevance of TTL as a transformative approach is in response to the changes associated with the Common European Framework, having its niche in national and transnational education.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Considering the theme of the European Doctorate in Teacher Education (EDiTE), *Transformative Teacher Learning for Better Student Learning within an Emerging European Context*, an analysis of the underlying conceptions and dimensions representing the notion of transformative teacher learning (TTL) provides a space for revisiting existing thoughts on the subject. For EDiTE, TTL is the major pillar of the theme, as it provides direction as to what the project is for, to which the two other sub-pillars – better student learning that connects TTL with its goal and the emerging European context that informs TTL – are subordinated.

TTL emerged in response to some of the most important concerns in education: how to promote quality of teaching, improve the effectiveness of classroom-level processes and develop teachers' practical knowledge.[1] These are the questions formulated in the foreground of the widely engaging quest on teacher competences (TCs),[2] for which teacher professional development (TPD formulates its dynamic aspects. But teacher competence stands as a subject of diverse interpretations, conceptualisations and suggestions shaped differently in different situations, as well as spaces that have a chain effect on its dynamic part like TPD and its mission, TTL.

This may be one of the reasons very basic but important questions about the what, how and why of TTL are always matters of debate and investigation. In the emerging European context, they also provide an ever-lasting scope for research inquiry in teacher education that should exist as a campaign for the promotion of teacher competences.[3] Thus, this research is conceptualised on the stated open quests and intends to report on the conceptual and perceptual representations that may be significant in stimulating new debates.

As indicated, promoting teacher competences is at the heart of TTL, which teacher education perceives as being an intriguing issue of great significance for which teacher professional development should be

framed as a continuous process.[4] A huge body of literature exists that defines teacher competence, the goal for which TTL is realised, but it disseminates unpredictably inconsistent ideas, conceptions, theories, hypotheses and varied models. Thus, it is very challenging to choose one over the other. However, a level of appropriateness in some degree of relevance can be expected.

As a subject of academic value, the concept of teacher competence(s), to which TTL traces its epistemological roots, stems from the idea of teacher knowledge. One school of thought is that teacher knowledge bears subject knowledge and knowledge of pedagogy, but most contemporary literature synonymises it with a comprehensive model called the technology/pedagogy content knowledge (TPACK model).[5] Many more varied models of teacher knowledge have been proposed. But teacher knowledge is one segment and a basic requisite. Anderson,[6] too, exposed the same postulation that teacher knowledge is one aspect of teaching as a profession. Thus, with TTL, one needs to capture the meaning of teacher competence as its dynamic segment.

A large body of literature on teacher competence, though diversely represented, indicates the necessity of developing teacher knowledge of learning – for instance, as Schratz[7] said, "learning to learn." The concept as this helps understanding that teacher competence begins when knowledge interplays with a number of transformative dimensions that make a process. This is that teacher knowledge is just a basic aspect but when referred to mean or represent TPACK, it must be taken synonymous to the meaning of teacher competence as a comprehensive, dynamic and progressive concept associated with 21st-century skills such that Pellegrino and Hilton's[8] model illustrates.

Defined as synonymous to teacher competence as well as TPACK as a framework, teacher knowledge is thus, not only a basic eligibility criterion but is a never ending process embedded with myriad questions related to professional life and the question of survival to profession. Answering them turns out to be a necessity in order to survive and celebrate the profession and professional duties in a career teacher's life

cycle, as Steffy[9] observed. In this way, limiting teacher knowledge to the basics will not qualify as that Anderson and Schratz briefly hinted. Thus, the idea of teacher competence, which intersects with the idea of teacher knowledge as a dynamic concept and a process of learning, turns out to be relevant when it comes to define transformative teacher learning.

Stating relevance of teacher learning in more specific manner, it is related to the changing phenomena and situations in flux that teachers encounter in the profession, such as Schratz[10] hinted in the phrase "teacher competences for transnational needs." The point is that teacher competences must address new challenges for which teacher learning is required.

Moreover, relevance of 'teacher competence' becomes clearer if looked at it from the perspective of teacher education's political literature. Though educational political literature publicizes quantitative over virtual and qualitative indicators named as; professional frameworks and teaching standards,[11] national teacher competence grids,[12] performance appraisal like that of Ohio standard,[13] etc., treating the mentioned types of grids as prescriptive and obligatory aspects which the educational political level seems to do, specifies that relevance of teacher competence is now an over engaging issue. Or in simple words, teacher competence or teacher knowledge as a dynamic concept has its direct impact on teaching profession and thus, is an important element in this profession.

In addition, teacher education's political prescriptions taken as examples here make it easier to exemplify how the issue of teacher competences is surrounded with multiple situations. The need for teacher competence is *not only related to decorative aspects of developing a qualitative professional wardrobe, but also in response to meeting the hidden curriculums telecast from education's political sphere or its governing strata*. The conclusion is that teacher competences are competitive and conflicting discourses connected with teachers' professional as well as personal survival, and their image.[14]

Another major question stems from the definition of teacher knowledge conceptualized as synonymous to the meaning of teacher competence as

stated above and it is: how can teacher learning be processed from which TTL is materialised that could be presentable as a conclusive framework?

In this quest, among endlessly stipulated inconsistent ideas, Cranton's[15] concluding remarks in his book that is largely about this issue are worth proposing. As an example, his view that "teachers should know how to support their own development as educators and better understand the process of professional development as adult learners" provides a major conceptual framework that TTL is a self-professionalising process in teacher education. It, too, directs the thought that knowing about or being involved in learning to change one's own professional skills is the first and foremost requirement. Cranton offers a little more regarding the process: that teachers must learn to develop attitude as one of the key dimensions and transform their own professional aptitude. As Cranton write, "teacher must regard her/himself as an adult learner." In the TTL process, a teacher is not to celebrate being an educator, but a learner first and an educator second.

Another competitive idea cones from Schratz, who articulates it as an act of professional reflection. He states that, apart from the significance of making oneself able to explore opportunities to be involved in the development action, it is equally or more essential to be in a process of collective and self-reflection.[16] Schratz calls this process as *developing self-awareness on one's own state of professional life collectively and individually*.

On the "how" of the TTL process,[17] Ofper and David, too, recommend to becoming linked and helping others become linked with the edifice of professional development available in the emerging social horizons of education.[18]

TTL is suggested in many ways in the research space on teacher education. However, there seems to be common consensus concerning how to conceptualize the term and it is that TTL is a continuous process of learning to enhance new competences, by being connected with the emerging theories and practices, that enables one to develop professionalism with increased level of competences required for responding *the*

changes and challenges that emerge at local, national and transnational level in the 21st-century European social milieu.[19]

For instance, Kraler and Schratz[20] write, "How can the existing system be developed and changed in such a way that it can face the emerging challenges of education?" The insightful thoughts as these provide a map to existing and coming changes and challenges associated with 21st-century aspirations gripping education,[21] for which TTL is to be built on one hand and these too provide an answer to another major question as how to achieve TTL which as discussed can be built on a research-based reflective and innovative process with which teachers' professional development can address "next practice from the best practice,"[22] on the other.

Finally, we managed to pick up two key points from theory literature connecting our quest for what TTL is. One is that TTL is a very important topic of implementation to keep teacher professional development as a continuously developing process that must serve to refresh, reconstruct and refine teacher competences. The other that it is a more important topic for research investigation, as it needs to be captured at the nexus of theory and practice.

With the above theoretical ideas and also the understanding that TTL is a very important topic of research scope, the EDiTE community of researchers engaged in transnational research under EDiTE, a formally adopted research program of the EDiTE consortium, which is directly guiding the research of the whole EDiTE community of researchers both fellow and self- funded researchers.[23] The community of researchers undertook, in a collaborative framework, a survey to identify how scholarly thoughts are engaged in defining TTL, the first pillar of the theme.

Thus, a perception survey based on the open-ended questions below was distributed for qualitative analysis[24] to the EDiTE community representing diverse generations of learners and researchers. The three main questions were developed as the main research questions to generate an item pool representing the what, how and why of TTL:

What is teacher learning in the 21st century?

What are the transformative dimensions of teacher learning in the 21st century?

What is the relevance of transformative teacher learning?

Having received the answers to the distributed questions, and using the inductive qualitative content analysis approach,[25] we developed analytical codes from the pool of information pertaining to the main research aims for qualitative interpretations. Based on this information, this paper presents the findings, interpretations and conclusions on how TTL is understood by generations of researchers in teacher education.

2 ANALYSIS

This section presents our interpretations of the findings on the survey data that represent the respondents' subjective responses expressed in the form of quotations, critical remarks as well as suggestions, and references to the literature.

We attempt to present how researchers capture the notion of TTL which can be used as a window to view whether the respondents' expressions and approaches are coherent in some way with the theoretical and conceptual stances. The participants took different roles in expressing their opinions. Most reflected their individual opinions, while a few referred to literature without stating their own points of view.

RQ 1: What is teacher learning in the 21st century?

Research on teacher learning (TL) is a major field in educational research with a strong academic base and hence the phenomenon bears a huge repository of conceptual guidelines and ideas representing diverse theoretical perspectives, most of which centre on the notion of teacher learning for transformation in the profession.[26] Based on such theoretical guidelines, we assume that teacher learning may be captured by understanding its *nature, dimensions, contexts, goals* and *ways or methods*. Thus, as the first question of the TTL pillar intended to explore the respondents' ideas and opinions regarding teacher learning (TL) in the

21st century, the answers were coded into the five main categories stated above to draw a full picture of teacher learning as approached by the participants and discussed below:

2.1 Meaning or definition of teacher learning

Responses to "what is teacher learning?" showed a varied profile. A majority of participants agreed that it is a complex, dynamic process; others defined it as "total human experience." However, the focus in approaching learning showed three different perspectives. A majority of answers understood teacher learning in terms of knowledge, ability and skill development[27] that they saw as *moving beyond the known, learning in relation to the world,* and being *learner-oriented* and not *a figure of strict knowledge*.

2.1.1 Teacher learning as knowledge, competence and, skill development

A majority of answers supported the approach that defines teacher learning in terms of some broad knowledge, competence or skill development.[28] Respondents agreed that learning is no longer a simple acquisition of factual knowledge, but instead "learning should happen at the nexus of theory and practice," apart from a need to move beyond the simple acquisition of factual knowledge. Thus, the answers were in agreement with a dynamic approach that points to a need to develop competence,[29] find and integrate effective strategies, make innovations, and create a deep knowledge base in a variety of domains.[30]

Example:

TL should include not only the mastery of the subject matter, but it should also cover learning theories and the various pedagogical approaches; develop competencies; grow intellectually and professionally in all areas.

2.1.2 Teacher learning as moving beyond the known and by context

A few answers viewed teacher learning as moving beyond the already known self, abilities and regulations. Although participants did not

explain exactly the change or transformation, their indications seemed corresponding with what Goodson and Hargreaves said: "Changing beyond the recent clamour in *technical* competencies."

Example:

To go beyond schemes or orders; becoming active subject of changes; doing something that otherwise one would not be able to do.

Some answers approached teacher learning *as a relation* to the world. These answers emphasised the importance of learning *by* context such as students, school community and broader society, not *in* the context.

Example:

Learning is best when you can connect it with students' world; critically overview the social and educational reality; engage with the school community and with the local environment.

2.1.3 Influential factors in teacher learning

The analysis of the answers also revealed some elements that influence teacher learning. One of the most represented was "changes" in the living and learning environment, although respondents viewed "change" differently. A few identified reasons of noted changes included *migration*, wars, *globalisation*, and flexibility of the market economy, *technological advancements* and *innovations* (including ICT) as such. In addition to the general factors noted above, some answers tied teacher learning to *national* and *local characteristics*, to current conditions in schools, and even to the *changing nature of knowledge*.

Example:

Yet education is not static, as society and culture is not static; multiple roles expected from a teacher because nature of knowledge in the 21st century is no longer fixed in a space or within any epistemological boundaries, but knowledge is ever passing across spaces.

2.1.4 Context of teacher learning

Regarding the context of TL, both formal and informal contexts could be identified. Though the formal learning environment in which

teachers are deputed to respond to pre-set outcomes like those stressed in a speech by George Bush, the then president of USA ("You must show us whether or not children are learning to read and write…"[31]) were agreed to dominate. Some other contexts, such as *local* (or living) environment and the *socio-cultural* environment, including the educational *research*, pedagogical revelations and technological *innovations,* were also identified among some eminent respondents.

Example:

T*eachers acquire the knowledge and skills needed for effective work through learning in formal and informal contexts*.

2.1.5 Goals from teacher learning

Some respondents also made an effort to identify why teacher learning is desired. The responses revealed *improvement of education* as articulated by Cranston[32] as the major goal, to which three sub-goals were connected which related to *students* (e.g., creating learning environments for students, motivating them to gain new knowledge, etc.), *teachers* (professional development, etc.) and future *implications* for which TTL should work.

Examples:

To create the best possible environment for students, for children, for future generations;

teachers can learn and always improve their teaching; in order to be ready to meet the future.

2.1.6 Facilitating factors for teacher learning

As a final point, it is important to reveal the ways teacher learning may be facilitated. According to the respondents, *continuous professional development* (with a specific focus on new pedagogical and technological approaches, methods, skills and strategies) plays a crucial role. Respondents also pointed to significance of reflection in the learning process – As Schratz[33] indicated reflection on *one's own professional status*. Other dominant factors extend beyond pedagogical and content knowledge,

and those relate to *collaboration* and *learning communities* and a think-outside-the-box attitude, including the *transformation* of *self*, *reflection*, going *beyond* schemes, etc.

RQ2: What are the transformative dimensions of teacher learning in the 21st century?

The second question of the TTL pillar sought to identify the transformative dimensions of teacher learning in the 21st century from the respondents' understanding or referred research knowledge. These were the remarkable dimensions indicated as *social change, innovation,* and *development and combination of research and practice*.

In addition, some responses articulated psychological, pedagogical and critical pedagogical perspectives in conjunction with social changes, innovation and development as the transformative dimensions of teacher learning. Moreover, conscious-raising, critical thinking, development and individuation were some of the broadly stated transformative dimensions of teacher learning. The identified transformative dimensions of teacher learning, based on the personal opinions and referred literature have been exemplified as:

2.2 Transformative teacher learning in response to social change

The respondents viewed TTL as a dynamic process in response to emerging changes and challenges as the contextual dimensions for transforming teacher learning.

Example:

Transformative teacher learning (TTL) should reflect the emerging changes and challenges occurring in the 21st century that have influenced many aspects of life, including education.

These suggested remarks from the respondents elaborate this dimension categorically as follows:

Teachers should adapt and be open to diverse classroom practices and embrace multiculturalism; catch up with the latest technological skills; invite learners to be critical thinkers; and prepare learners to be active

change agents in an interdependent and connected world.

2.2.1 Innovation

Another important dimension identified from the responses was related to innovation that refers to pedagogy in practice. The respondents' views seemed to refer to innovation in teaching as a *profession* for improving learning outcomes.

Example:

Teachers should go beyond the traditional role of teachers; constantly reflect on their own practices; participate in professional development programmes and learn new practices; move away from their comfort zone; and be context-sensitive and adapt to different learning environments and different students' needs, aspirations and emotional aspirations.

2.2.2 Development and combination of research and practice

Regarding professional development as a transformative dimension, responses pointed to a need for teachers' active *engagement* in research, in professional development, student learning, institutions, environment, policy etc. In addition, the responses made reference to the given three broad perspectives – *psychological, pedagogical* and *critical pedagogical* perspectives – connected with transformative teacher learning as the key dimensions. The perspectives have been stated here, indicating their basic meanings as:

Psychological perspective: *transformative learning here refers to changes in learners' beliefs and attitudes.*

Pedagogical perspective: *transformative teacher learning here can refer to Hattie's notion of visible learning* [34, 35] *and Dewey's learning and experience, which involves learning that makes the learner view the world in a new way.*[36]

Critical pedagogy perspective: *transformative teacher learning can also refer to emancipatory learning that challenges the taken-for-granted status quo and promotes a democratic context in which dialogue for change is possible.*

Some answers made reference to consciousness-raising, critical and analytical thinking, development, and individuation as the core transformative dimensions.

RQ 3: What is the relevance of transformative teacher learning in 21st-century education in Europe?

The third question of the TTL pillar sought to identify tits relevance in the 21st-century education in Europe. Though the discussions above offer a fairly comprehensive picture of TTL, establishing its relevance, explicitly presenting its relevance can be more helpful. These remarks let us capture the relevance of TTL to begin, with as *TTL is a significant process for the multicultural, globalised and change-oriented European society*. To put it simply, the relevance of TTL is embedded with the *globalisation* and *changes* affecting the field of education.

With these premises, the relevance of transformative teacher learning has been stated as building on the respondents' opinions and the referred literature knowledge.

2.3 In view of changes and challenges in 21st-century Europe

Most respondents recognised the relevance of transformative teacher learning in connection with *complex* and *challenging* social, cultural, political, ecological, economical, technological, phenomenal and educational *changes* in 21st-century Europe.

For example, one of the responses:

TTL is relevant in response to global changes and the challenges associated with them as it prepares teachers for the changes and challenges that will prepare European citizens.

More specifically, the response indicated its relevance in responding to the change-embedded *learner aspirations* on education in light of the changes and associated challenges.

Example:

TTL attempts to promote diversified and multicultural teaching practices; provides new values and perceptions.

The quoted remarks elaborate this standpoint:

TTL activates teachers for making change in the emerging interconnected world, in which changing learner attitudes and beliefs is a must; encourages teachers to adopt critical and reflective approaches in education that would challenge power structures in society towards inclusion and democratisation.[37]

One respondent looked at this point in this way:

TTL is relevant in dealing with the status quo that European society inherits from the past feudalism.

A few responds also indicated the relevance of TTL in promoting *constructive* teaching-learning or a collaborative frame for sustainable skills[38] in connection with the 21st century's related social changes and challenges before education.

Example:

In the increasing nationalism and populism, TTL can contribute to developing critical thinking, preparing global citizens, respecting diversity.

2.3.1 In view of everyday teacher practice

This was a workplace-focused question and at this level, responses pointed out the relevance of TTL for a *paradigm shift*[39] over traditional teaching practices. The shift was emphasised in view of a need of *skill-oriented* and change-making educational process at the level of real practices.

Example:

TTL prepares teachers for learner centred teaching-learning on the ground in that learners are activated and engaged in constructive learning process; guides for framing learning based on critical thinking ability for sustainability; and promulgates in teachers self-thinking and reflectivity habits for self-correction, innovations… learning.

Some responses indicated Hattie's idea of visible learning as essential teacher ability. Example:

TTL is relevant for the enhancement of teacher ability in addressing the need of making learning visible.[40]

The responses also pointed out the needs of *multi-skills*-focused and *interdisciplinary* teaching practices that should address 21st-century

learning skills with high-tech, market-oriented and professional skills needs in view.[41] TTL is for capacity-building for *adaptability* and instillation of new perspectives in teachers in view of such circumstances.

Examples:

TTL builds in teachers a capacity for adaptability to new changes, environments and technologies, and cross-cultures… sensitises teachers in playing responsible roles that instil positive values in learners, respect and address learner aspirations and protect their emotional well-being sensitively.

2.3.2 In professional development

The respondents also sought to connect TTL's relevance with professional development as the third major component. In this regard, the responses held TTL instrumental particularly for *personal, professional and social* as the three main dimensions of teacher development, which must be compatible with *local*, *national* and *transnational* standards and values of the emerging Europe seeking unity in diversity.[42]

Examples:

TTL guides culture of being engaged in continuous professional development; helps teachers in building connections with the professional and learner circles plays a bridging role in combining research with practice by means of which teachers develop a think-outside-the-box *attitude and explore opportunities for innovations that support consistent professional development.*

3 CONCLUSION

Though with very subjective interpretations in pursuit of the what, how and why of TTL as analysed and discussed above, we conclude that TTL is a complex, continuing but highly aspired-to teacher developmental process. It has emerged in response to the changes and associated challenges, as well as the diverse political, economic, and cultural interests at national and transnational levels, in 21st-century European education under the European Union.[43] Its focused goal is to develop teacher competence from engaged learning by teachers as one of

the main transformative dimensions. In addition, situational changes, changes in values, and associated local and global aspirations facing 21st-century education in Europe are among other but eminent transformative dimensions of TTL. Its main relevance is in keeping teacher education alive with research and innovations, thereby developing alternatives to "more with the same' approach."[44] On this level, TTL synergises processes by igniting thoughts and by creating influential relations with policy and practices. In this way, it would be essential that the educational stakeholder agencies have substantial involvement in supporting TTL's development as a comprehensive and continuous learning process, cultivating systems of organisational changes, and reinforcing a pattern change[45] and a change in professional aptitude.[46] To the goals as these, all- inclusive and research based joint efforts might be crucial.

The appendix includes a graphic illustrating the findings on transformative teacher learning.

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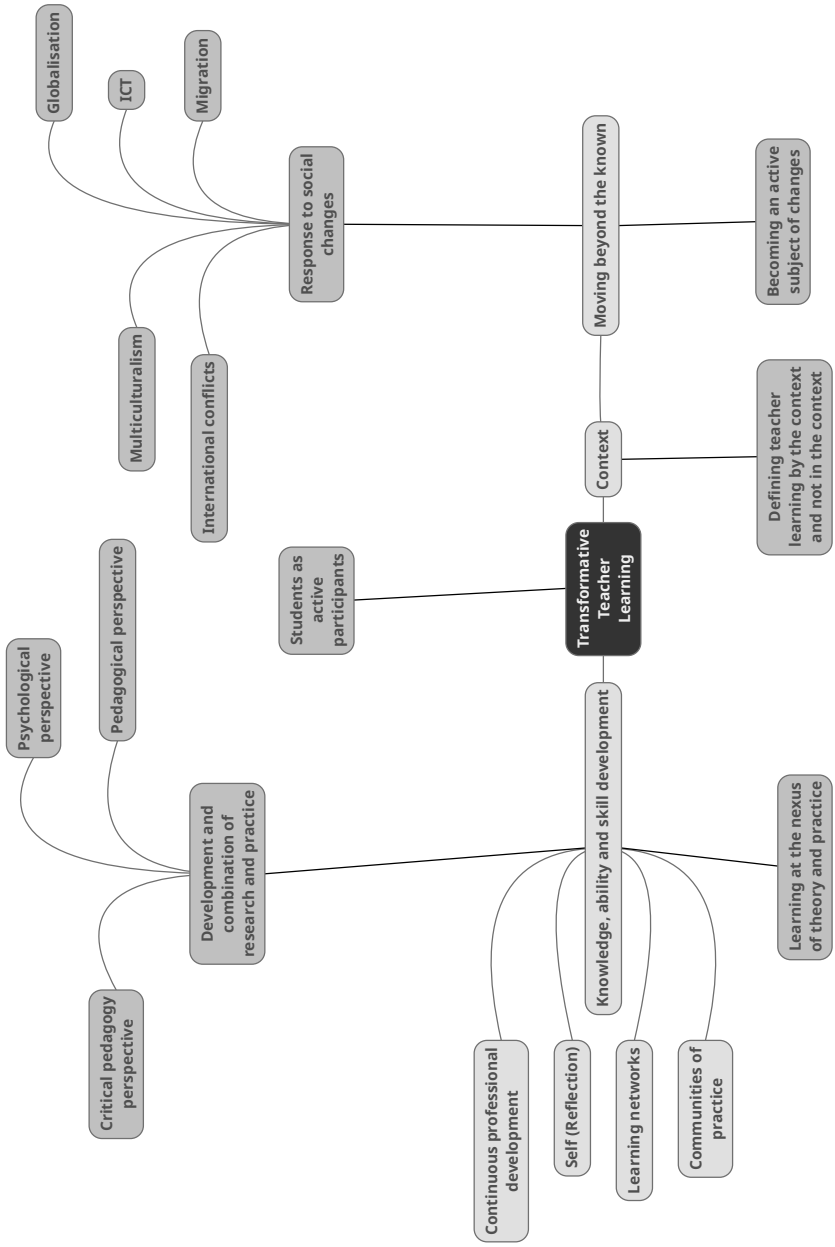
APPENDIX 1.

Source: Findings on the Empirical Survey of EDiTE Theme



BETTER STUDENT LEARNING

IS BETTER GOOD ENOUGH?

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Keywords: better student learning, neoliberalism, emancipation.

Abstract. This paper presents the analysis of the second pillar of the EDiTE Theme Survey. We will use the three major political philosophies and their translations to education – conservative, liberal and emancipatory approaches – as an analytical tool. The choices of values in this political framework outline not only philosophical centres of gravity, but also the conceptual conflict between the desirable pedagogical purposes. Obviously a conservative pedagogical philosophy will not promote the collaborative construction of a legitimate authority in a student-teacher relationship, but that does not mean that at the same time it will not commit itself to cooperative learning. Similarly, an emancipatory pedagogical philosophy will not promote mono-cultural standards in terms of curricular content, but could commit itself to strong truth-references, e.g., historical necessities and so on. This means the approaches to better student learning are not fixed and the interpretations of the key aspects of learning in the 21st century, the notion of "better" and students' role, are far from fitting only one segment of this analytical framework. By thematically analysing the answers, we would like to illuminate the undecidability of the questions about better student learning and will particularly emphasize the conflictual site between the value systems.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The questions we try to analyse below are teleologically oriented questions, which encompass (1) *how we interpret the situation of younger human beings* (the child/student/learner) embedded in contemporary societies; (2) *how we extrapolate a pedagogical-educational "futuresque"* from that interpretation; and (3) *how we define their/our roles* conducive to the reproduction or transformation of the prevailing structures. To grasp the horizon that emerges between the realities of the present and the envisioned futures, we will surround the spectrum of the answers with the three major political philosophies and their translations to education, drawing on Henry Giroux:[1] conservative/neoconservative, liberal/neoliberal and critical/emancipatory approaches. These three directions will be supplemented with two other dimensions. The first focuses on the relation between the individual and the society,[2] and the second will be used to identify whether the reproduction or the transformation of the prevailing structures is emphasised in the answers.[3] Giroux, while analysing the relations between authority and schooling, defines the major political philosophies in term of education as follows:

Conservative/neoconservative pedagogical philosophy emphasizes the necessity of traditional values and norms and "presents a rich mix of resonant themes in which the notions of family, nation, duty, self-reliance, and standards often add up to a warmed-over dish of Parsonian consensus and cultural reproduction."[4] In this perspective, knowledge is defined as an already given representation of cultural standards that needs to be passed down to students. Conservatism (just like neo-conservatism) addresses the school's lost prestige and teachers' eroded authority. It makes a strong reference to commonweal as a break with pluralism, presenting education as a public interest for preserving norms and values. These norms and values are often derived from the "Western" traditions.

For *liberalism/neoliberalism* the key principles are decentralisation; autonomy; free choice of schools; political neutrality; comprehensive, transferable competencies; and meeting the clientele's needs and market

demands, combined with equity and social mobility. The continuous need for reforms is also a basic characteristic of the neoliberal philosophy in education, since a key element of neoliberal discourse is the narrative of the crisis of the education systems, and the continuous promotion of the need for reforms and modernisation. The main directives of neoliberal reforms are performance, efficiency, competency-based education, standardization, accountability and lifelong learning. The narrative that the labour market's needs and educational outcomes have to be harmonized is a central narrative in this discourse. While (neo)liberalism makes reference to subsidiarity, democratic practices and equity, it refuses to acknowledge power relations and states of structural domination; thus "we get no sense of how authority functions as a specific practice within schools shaped by the historical realities of social class, race, gender; and other powerful socio-economic forces that sometimes prevent authentic forms of authority from emerging within public education."[5]

Emancipatory approaches in education emphasise the transformation in the social structure through pedagogical praxis and the development of critical consciousness. Paulo Freire,[6] the Brazilian educator and philosopher, concludes that a change in the social structure, the fight against social inequality, cannot be achieved through a top-down (educational or economic) reform, but is the task of the exploited, the oppressed; only they can dissolve the contradictions of the prevailing society. This humanist, radically democratic pedagogy is thus not a value-neutral approach; its core value is social justice. In its so-called romanticised approaches (A.S. Neill, John Holt, etc.), the fundamental critique of critical education – that schools are the depositories of the reproduction of the status quo – dissolves in the desirable development of a free subject (*viz.* free from any domination/authority). In the authentic emancipatory philosophy of education, "while there is a strong element of truth in the notion that schools contribute to the reproduction of the status quo, with all of its characteristic inequalities, it is nevertheless inaccurate to argue that schools are merely agencies of domination and reproduction."[7] Thus the *critical emancipatory* approaches emphasise the

transformative potential of schools and the idea that authority/power is a constitutive element of that transformative praxis, highlighting that "it is not the rejection of all authorities that is at issue here, but the quality of authority and the procedure in which authority is established, observed and tested."[8]

In all these approaches, we can find trends that attach greater importance to either the individual or society, and to either the reproduction or the transformation of the prevailing social structures. The choices of values in this political framework outline not only philosophical centres of gravity, wherein the interpretation of the present and the extrapolation of the future emerges, but also the desirable pedagogical praxis that leads to the expectations characterised in these values. Obviously, a conservative pedagogical philosophy will not promote the collaborative construction of a legitimate authority in a student-teacher relationship, which does not mean that at the same time it will not commit itself to cooperative learning. Likewise, an emancipatory pedagogical philosophy will not promote mono-cultural standards in terms of curricular content, but could commit itself to strong truth-references, e.g., historical necessities and so on.

This means that approaches to better student learning are not fixed and that the interpretations of the key aspects of learning in the 21st century, the notion of "better" and students' role, are far from fitting only one segment of this analytical framework. Our aim in this paper is precisely *to show the gaps between the approaches, the conflicts between the different interpretations*. By thematically analysing the answers, we would like to illuminate the undecidability of the questions about better student learning, and we will *particularly emphasise the conflictual site between the value-systems*.

Now, let us go through the three questions that address better student learning.

2 WHAT ARE THE KEY ASPECTS OF STUDENT LEARNING IN THE 21ST CENTURY THAT NEED TO BE ADDRESSED?

This deeply political question involves a hidden question, which is just as important as the initial one. As Ferenc Loránd once argued, the essential level of an educational question "is almost never at the level of what it asks directly."[9] Returning to our framework, it would seem obvious to predict that a conservative approach would promote traditional values, clearly defined cultural norms with a reference to a "national identity"; a liberal approach would emphasise key competencies, cooperative learning, productivity and equity; and an emancipatory approach would prefer empowerment, critical awareness and democratic participation. But these value systems are not rigidly defined. For example, liberalism often promotes critical thinking, and emancipatory approaches frequently promote cooperative learning. What is important to see here is the hidden problem encompassed in the initial question (which will reappear in the next question): *for what purpose are the specific aspects of student learning chosen*? As we will see, the lack of an explicitly expressed purpose could either create confusion in understanding the suggestions in depth or could make the illusion that a taken-for-granted understanding or consensus is encoded in the chosen aspects.

2.1 Pseudo-consensus on 21st-century skills

The key aspects of student learning have been partly understood in the survey as key *skills or competencies,* and the notion of "21st-century skills" appeared self-evident for education discourse. *Learning skills* (4C), *literacy skills* (information, media, technology) and *life skills* (flexibility, initiative, social skills, productivity, leadership, problem-solving and decision-making skills) appeared as recurring items in the answers. The notion of "21st-century skills" is underlined in the survey as a possible answer for the *challenges of globalisation, technological advancement, knowledge society,* referring to *cross-cultural learning, online learning* and *knowledge sharing,* for example. Learning *per se* was also an accentual part of the answers, which emphasised the ways/techniques/circum-

stances of learning instead of what to learn. Learning was described as an *adaptive experience*, as a learning process (*learning to learn*) itself and its *collaborative*, *communicative, creative*, *inquiry-based* and *critical* aspects were emphasised. There was an attempt among the answers to create a balance between the *soft competencies* described above and the *hard competencies* according to content learning, and *university-informed subject learning*.

The problem is that, just as much as we should define why to learn something, it is also crucial to define why to learn in such ways promoted above. The survey in terms of 21st-century skills obviously tends towards a paradoxical mixture of neoliberal and emancipatory approaches, with more stress on the individual and the learning subject, but the purpose of the suggestions (reproduction or transformation of the prevailing structures) remains vague.

While approaches to developing 21st-century skills are very diverse, there seems to be agreement on the importance of analytical skills, technological skills and "soft" skills such as cooperation and communication.[10] The logic behind the need to develop 21st-century skills can be illustrated by Andreas Schleicher's comment at OECD Education Directorate in 2010: "Today, because of rapid economic and social change, schools have to prepare students for jobs that have not yet been created, technologies that have not yet been invented and problems that we don't yet know will arise."[11] The problem with such an argument is not only that it overemphasises education's role in preparing students to become a good labour force on the market, but that it also allocates and relegates social problems – jobs that are incredibly underpaid, technologies that colonise our bodies, problems in the *present*, etc. – to the releasing horizon of the "unknown" future.

2.2 Classless citizenship

In certain respects, a postmodern understanding of citizenship has been outlined in the answers with a great emphasis on *inclusion, multiculturalism, multilingualism, tolerance, empathy* and *diversity* – with

the purpose of *living together with people of different colour, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, political beliefs*. This image is supplemented with the periphrasis of *active, autonomous* and *engaged citizens*, who are capable of using *their own voices*. This understanding of citizenship was just in a few answers translated to educational praxis; *participation in the learning process* and *democratic practices* appeared only a few times.

While such aspects as gender, race, language, culture and religion were stressed, *class* as a relation of domination was not mentioned explicitly but appeared through some references to the *socio-economic dimension* of learning, education about, through and for *human and children's rights and democracy, social justice,* and *resistance against injustice and intolerance* to *change society*.

As early as the 1950s, Thomas Humphrey Marshall[12] contested the concept of citizenship as a mere status, and emphasised its conflictual character, as a site of struggles. "As a result, various struggles (…) have found new ways of articulating their claims as claims to citizenship understood (…) as political and social recognition and economic redistribution."[13]

In terms of citizenship, an interesting mixture of a liberal postmodernism and critical emancipatory approaches was synthesised, with an emphasis on the social spectrum of the individual-social dimension, and clearly on the transformation of the prevailing structures.

2.3 Critical *vs.* critical

Becoming *critical* was a recurring theme among the answers – critical, in the sense of being able to *locate, filter and evaluate information, accept* but also *challenge the diversity, multitude of perspectives*. It is important to note here that both liberal/neoliberal and emancipatory approaches talk about "critical thinking," but while the former interprets it on the level of competencies, the latter connects it to social criticism, critique of the prevailing structures, ideology and power relations. In the survey, a more liberal, postmodern understanding of critical thinking has been stressed, with the focus on society.

3 HOW DO YOU UNDERSTAND THE NOTION OF "BETTER"? TO WHAT GROUNDS DOES IT REFER, AND TO WHAT KINDS OF DESIRABLE INNOVATIONS OR TRANSFORMATIONS DOES IT POINT?

How does the notion of "better" relate to learning in the three main political philosophies? If in conservatism learning is mainly a form of indoctrination – or, as Freire would put it, "cultural invasion" – then should better student learning refer merely to more sophisticated or effective ways of indoctrination? Is better student learning about better access to the labour market or greater freedom of the individual? Does emancipation promote better access to learning, or also the promise of a better society?

In sum: is it actually possible to make something better without changing the very idea of that something? Do we have to "renounce any project of a global social transformation, and limit ourselves to partial problems to be solved,"? Do we "jump (…) to anti-utopian 'reformist' gradualist politics"[14] of those "who 'realistically' devalue every global project of social transformation as 'utopian,' – that is, as unrealistic dreaming and/or harbouring 'totalitarian' potential"?[15] And if better refers to reformist politics of education, then isn't the notion of better itself a "mental block which prevents us from imagining a fundamental social change, in the interests of an allegedly 'realistic' and 'mature attitude?"

We find the notion of better not only practically but also ethically very problematic, and our main identified overarching themes definitely refer to these tendentially unsolvable dilemmas: "Is 'better' measurable?" "Is 'better' more or another?" "Is 'good' good enough?"

3.1 Measuring the unmeasurable

So how do we know if something is finally better? Some of the responses argued that better learning *produces real outcomes,* thus – as another topic supplements it – better should stand for a *more scientific approach* to education *less based on pedagogical beliefs.* Now this would

imply that better is something objectively measurable. As a slightly positivist argument presupposes, since students can be divided into *those who want to make a career and the downshifters,* the achievement of something better would be indicated by the access of the *downshifters* to *basic knowledge about how to survive in the ever-changing world*. We do not want to comment on this.

The problem with understanding *better* learning as an objectively measurable change is not solely that the examination of social problems never leads to irrefutable facts, but that the very formulation of what counts as better is always made along different discourses, and "the same applies to the methodology, but especially to interpretation. The reference to 'objective facts' in fact excludes the examination of prerequisites and ideological commitments from the discourse, in sum: the possibility of debate."[16]

3.2 More than another

So does better refer to something more or something new? Those who argued that better has to produce something more mentioned more *critical*, more *effective*, more *scientific*, more *accurate*, more *student-centred* learning, while those who argued that better is a *next practice* that stands for *something new* mentioned the necessity to *change the whole education system* and the *way we see schools*, to *break with the goals of industrialisation* and *global capitalism*. We assert that what we see here is the classical debate between liberal reformist and emancipatory politics. This was already a problem for Rosa Luxemburg, for instance, challenging the "reformist lemonade"[17] of her time in her classic *Reform or Revolution*. George W. Denemark poses the same question in terms of teacher education in his editorial "Teacher Education: Repair, Reform, or Revolution?" He argues that as long as we, teacher educators stick to reforms, "[w]e are shadow-boxing with the real problem unless we are willing to develop new structures for bringing together the groups necessary for the education of our teacher."[18]

3.3 Better(s)

For both reformists and revolutionists, good is never good enough, and as one respondent wrote, *better is always constituted around a lack*, which is the condition of possibility of even talking about anything "better." But what is the *telos* of better? Where does it point? Here we would like to dazzle the reader with the sublime diversity of possible *telos* of betters: *equitable education* based on *social justice*; *better human beings* who contribute to a *better world*; *students capable of thinking critically*; transformation of learners *from information receivers to digital natives*; teacher *teaching the skills* and *students practising them*; *knowledge-based society*; *involvement of students in classroom activity*; *transcultural, innovative* and *holistic learning*; *good citizens*; *students as change agents and critical thinkers.*

In these answers, the notion of "better" appears as something measurable in terms of effectiveness, performance and learning outcomes, but also refers to a more critical understanding wherein better means a degree of students' active participation in learning and knowledge production. The answers often highlight the individual learning process, with an expected transformative potential, embedded in a neoliberal agenda. There is an obvious tension among the answers between the adaptation of learning to a postmodern society of fluid identities and the transformation of the society wherein learning occurs – the classic historical tension between liberal and critical theories.

4 HOW DO WE UNDERSTAND THE ROLE OF CHILDREN/STUDENTS IN DEFINING STUDENT LEARNING?

The answers given to this question represent both liberal and emancipatory approaches. *Students' autonomy* was underlined in a majority of answers as one of the most significant elements. There is not one definition of autonomy, and a variety of aspects may be found in the respondents' argumentation. Respondents emphasise the necessity to *engage students* in *planning the process of learning, modifying the curriculum*

according to their interests, background, etc. The key feature of students in the emerging European context is the ability to think critically upon their learning. Respondents also mentioned the possibility of fostering students' active participation in the *school-based communities of practice*. Learning at school should be thus a meaningful experience, not a practice of memorising. Moreover, the *school environment should be treated as the source of learning*, creating identity and engagement. Therefore, one of the biggest and most complex challenges is to engage students actively in the process of learning, in which *students participate* in their education. In the survey, students are being named as *clients and participants*. Some also underlined that it is *worth asking students* their opinions about how to learn and their role in defining the process of learning. This should be developed, as we want to analyse this matter thoughtfully, not only from the perspective of teachers and/or researchers but also from students.

5 CONCLUSION

Our aim in this paper was to highlight the heterogeneity and the conflictual sites of the diverse approaches in the theme survey, and we tried to locate these ideas in pedagogical philosophies. How should we understand student learning, considering the diverse assumptions mentioned above? We assert that there are two features of student learning, which appeared repeatedly in the theme survey. On the one hand, there seems to be an agreement that learning is not only a cognitive process, but also an *interaction*, as Knud Illeris[19] put it, drawing on Jack Mezirow's[20] transformative learning theory, "an external interaction process between the learner and his or her social, cultural, and material environment."[21] On the other hand, learning also involves either *change* or *transformation* of both the subject (individual) and his or her circumstances (social). In this sense, constructivism and transformative learning theory go hand in hand. Illeris also tried to harmonise transformative learning theory with the mainstream framework of *competency-based education*, also a recurring topic in the theme survey. Illeris argues that the cognitive, emotional and social dimensions of transformative learning theory are

"precisely the fundamental elements of what we call *competence*."[22] But the problem with inscribing competencies in the theory of transformative learning is not that it is a value-neutral construct (it is not), but that it replaces ethical aspect of transformative learning with the elements of rationality. As Ottó Mihály, Hungarian education philosopher, put it ironically in his bitter farewell speech in 2008,

> if we know what happens in the cognitive sphere of children, we can translate it into methodology and technology. If we are able to translate it, we only have to teach the teacher how to apply this methodology and then we are doing what is considered 'good.' What do we need to be able to do this translation? We have to decide what we consider as a result. (…) But what does that mean? It means the elimination of morality and its replacement with elements of rationality. (…) We do nothing more than narrowing down the personality that is otherwise being celebrated. We are now narrowing it down, now to competencies. (…) We are narrowing it down, and from this point of view it doesn't make a difference to operate the school as a classic knowledge-industry or as a competence-packing McDonald's.[23]

Mihály argues that transformative learning should hence not be a question of the elements of rationality (methodology and technology of acquiring pre-packed competences), but a question of students' autonomy and engagement – participating in setting the aims of education and in defining what we consider as a result. This is what the last question of the "Better Student Learning" section referred to – namely, how do we understand the role of children/students in transformative learning?

The interpretation of this question in critical pedagogy goes back as far as Marx's *III. thesis on Feuerbach*, in which he argues that "[t]he materialist doctrine concerning the changing of circumstances and upbringing forgets that circumstances are changed by men and that it is essential to educate the educator himself."[24] Drawing on Marx, Freire not only stated that transformative learning is "*reflection* and *action* directed at the structures to be transformed,"[25] but he also argues for the need to

abolish the distinction between teachers and students; he talks about "teacher-students" and "student-teachers" in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. In critical theory of education, learning thus means a deliberate change of the circumstances, in which "individuals become subjects to learning by consciously participating in 'educating' their environment. Considering this, education, in its traditional sense, is terminated."[26] What it means is that, paradoxically, transformative learning is not only based on *interaction* and *transformation*, but is also a site of *teaching*, of *educating the self and the environment*. We suppose that this understanding of transformative learning can function as a bridge over the watershed between neoliberal and emancipatory approaches that were so characteristic to the theme survey: the undecidability of the questions of 21st-century skills, the features of citizenship, the characteristics of critical attitude, the interpretation of the notion of "better." If transformative learning is a site of "teaching" and "educating," then we can learn the answers to these questions about student learning only by letting the children to teach us about these questions – as a recent issue of the Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies summarised it so beautifully, "Learn by listening to the child."[27]

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THE EMERGING EUROPEAN CONTEXT

CROSSING THE THRESHOLD TO RISE

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Abstract. This paper presents the findings of the EDiTE theme survey with regard to the thematic pillar "Emerging European Context." Employing Scharmer's theory of social fields, the paper brings together perspectives of the EDiTE researchers and supervisors related to the following: (a) participants' views of the "old Europe" and "future Europe" with regard to transformative teacher learning; (b) perceived challenges and potentials facing an emerging Europe for teacher and student learning; and (c) views on how the EDiTE network can open spaces for a new Europe to come into being. The thematic analysis of the survey's results indicates a variety of responses about the contextual factors that can facilitate or hinder the development of transformative teacher learning for better student learning. Overall, EDiTE is seen as an emerging leading network of education researchers and professionals, working on all three levels of education policy, research and practice. Bearing this potential in mind, EDiTE researchers can illuminate the "blind spots" concerning teacher and student learning, and achieve the project's highest future potential through collective commitment to action and social change. Towards the end of the paper, a graph aims to illustrate two parallel processes of thinking about the emerging European context, considering the analysis of the survey's findings and Scharmer's Theory U model.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Considering the overarching theme of the European Doctorate in Teacher Education (EDiTE), *Transformative Teacher Learning for Better Student Learning Within an Emerging European Context*, we can foresee that the contextual analysis, integral in the work of the EDiTE researchers, will open up a critical and constructive dialogue about the state of Europe and its member states today, as well as about the anticipating future of the Old Continent. But what is the purpose, and what does it mean to be talking about the emerging European context for teacher and student learning? EDiTE, as a community of emerging researchers from different countries around the world, has tasked itself to become a leading European network for innovation in teacher education, accessible to academics, practitioners and policymakers. The EDiTE researchers are conducting transnational research engaging in a process of rethinking and re-envisioning future education in Europe, most of which will rest on the rigorous analyses of the contextual backgrounds of their host countries, as well as of those countries in which the researchers undertake their secondments.

According to Scharmer[1], we are living in a time of disruption, when something is ending and dying and something else is wanting to be born. The rise of terrorism, authoritarian strongmen and the far right indicate that our economic, political, and spiritual paradigms in place fail to explain and resolve crucial issues of today's societies. In a world of global interdependency and immense potential made possible through technology, the existing systems fail on three levels:

1. The economic failure: creating well-being for all.
2. The political failure: creating direct, distributed, dialogic participation for all.
3. The spiritual failure: activating the sources of human creativity.[2]

To move beyond those failures, we need to abandon our systems' current mode (ego-system awareness) and move towards activating generative social fields, meaning "structures of relationships among individuals,

groups, organisations and systems that give rise to collective behaviours and outcomes."[3] In today's Europe, as in other places worldwide, the challenges raised by Scharmer are clearly visible. Brexit, Le Pen, Pegida, terrorist attacks in London, Manchester, Paris, Berlin, Brussels, Turkey operate through the same social-emotional logic of prejudice, anger and fear, resulting in a negative social field of *absencing*, a self-reinforcing cycle of polarisation that begins with denial (disconnecting from outside reality), deepens via de-sensing and *absencing* (disconnecting from reality within), and finally results in destruction.[4] However, a second and positive state of the social field is possible and has been witnessed in the work of grassroots activists and communities across cultures. This is the social field of *presencing,* which becomes possible when groups leave behind their habitual reactions and proceed with fresh eyes (an open mind), sensing other perspectives (an open heart), *presencing* the highest future possibilities (an open will), and eventually co-creating those possibilities through learning by doing (realising).[5]

It is in the aftermath of dreadful happenings that educational researchers think about the state of the world today, and in particular the purpose and the potential of education that has been unharvested or, even more frightening, used to wrong ends. Nevertheless, while education cannot, and should not, be the single solution to the multitude of social problems in the world today, it most definitely plays a role that strongly connects to the idea of the future Europe seeks. That said, the changing world and the changes that await inevitably push educational practices and goals to change, including rethinking the purpose and the ways teachers learn, and teach future generations. Thus, the connection between teachers, education and the future of Europe and wider, is inevitable.

In this context, the EDiTE community is seen as a network working towards the social field of *presencing*, aiming to co-create possibilities for teacher learning in Europe. One of the most important tasks, therefore, is to analyse the current and presence/reflect the future possibilities of a European context that enables transformative teacher learning. To this

end, the specific paper will bring together perspectives of the EDiTE researchers and supervisors with regard to the following questions:

What is for you the "old Europe" that is ending, and what can be the "future Europe" that wants to be born, with regard to transformative teacher learning?

What are the challenges and potentials facing an emerging Europe for teacher and student learning?

How can the EDiTE network open spaces for a new Europe to come into being?

1.1 Methodology

The following sections will analyse the results of the EDiTE Theme Survey, an online survey shared among the EDiTE researchers and supervisors, focusing on the answers related to the above questions. Based on Scharmer's Theory U[6], the questions aimed to indicate what the shift from traditional teaching to transformative teacher learning for better student learning could possibly mean for Europe, and how can EDiTE support this shifting process. Theory U was considered appropriate for our study because it provides a method for leading transformative change, arguing that the real leadership challenges of our time require "letting go of the past in order to connect with and learn from emerging future possibilities."[7] In other words, we wanted to examine the transformative change Scharmer defines as a "shift from downloading to *presencing*,"[8] meaning a shift from habitual behaviour and thought to sensing and actualising one's highest future possibility. Although various other learning methodologies exist, Scharmer's theory innovates in trying to grasp learning from the emerging future, thus establishing a subtle connection to a deeper source of knowing that remained largely unexplored in contemporary literature.[9] This deeper level of self-awareness proves useful for a young and growing community, such as EDiTE, that tries to empower individual members in functioning as intentional agents for an emerging future.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the online

survey was designed by the EDiTE researchers in view of better understanding EDiTE's overarching theme. The survey was launched in October-November 2016, with a total of 19 researchers and 7 supervisors participating. This paper analyses the responses related to the thematic pillar of "emerging European context" following the method of thematic analysis as suggested by Marshall and Rossmann.[10] First, the researchers familiarised themselves with the data by reading the survey responses several times. During reading, the researchers kept notes focusing on respondents' own interpretations, and patterns emerged. Hence the categories were not pre-set, but generated from the data. Once categories and themes were developed, the researchers placed the data within a context of theory. In a process of analysis and synthesis, the survey findings were first broken down into themes and sub-themes – italicised within the text – to be combined later in the conclusions, as well as in the graph presented towards the end of this paper.

Moreover, some limitations of this study need to be acknowledged. The specific paper is part of a broader effort to define EDiTE's overarching theme and thus needs to be seen in connection to the other two papers of this chapter related to transformative teacher learning and to better student learning. In addition, this paper describes the findings of an opinion-based survey and tends to be self-reporting. This process implies certain constraints on the generalisability of the findings, although the aim is not to generalise, but rather to explore and illustrate the perspectives of the survey's participants, who are academics and researchers in the field of teacher education. Last but not least, the analysis of the empirical data may be influenced by the researchers' subjectivity.

2 EUROPE BETWEEN TWO SOCIAL FIELDS

2.1 Europe in the field of *absencing*

When thinking of an old Europe with regard to teacher learning, many of the survey participants referred to *the rise of nationalism and populism* across Europe and beyond. They often paired nationalism

with globalisation and the continuing economic crisis. A causal relation between nationalism and globalisation was emphasised, implying that the growing socio-economic inequalities of globalisation backfired and caused the rise of populist movements, which took advantage of the specific situation. The old Europe that is ending was dominated by hegemonic socio-political, -economic, -cultural, and -technical characteristics laden with elitist values that ruled with discriminatory powers, dividing social life, which was labelled civilised or uncivilised. Within this context, teachers' role had been to serve reproductive education or the core state intention, i.e., preparing the ground for centrally directed education philosophy of social, class, or cultural stratification.

The old Europe is based on *exclusive models* of societies that build on homogeneity and close themselves into national entities, sorting students into two groups: healthy, functioning individuals and disabled, useless individuals. A Europe of nationalism, in which education systems are isolated and foreign to one another, and in which assimilation and integration of the other is considered more important than inclusion and learning to be together. In an old Europe, transformative teacher learning is a matter of a few critical educators, and therefore its effects can only be negligible for society in general. For some participants, the old Europe challenged teachers with diverse classrooms but, at the same time, enriched the school communities and our value system.

Survey participants also connected the idea of an old Europe with *authoritative teacher-centred learning*, focusing mainly on content and treating students as passive listeners who need to be constantly filled with information. With regard to teachers' professionalism, a Europe in the field of *absencing* implies that teachers are not highly regarded in the society, have poor working conditions and receive low salaries while being threatened with precarious employment. An old Europe is also hindering the prospects for *lifelong learning* and disregards the connection between initial teacher education, continuous professional development and induction.

2.2 Europe in the field of *presencing*

A majority of the participants connected the idea of the emerging Europe to *values, such as trust, respect, and collaboration, as well as to inclusion and diversity*. Europe today needs a new philosophy of inter- and multi-cultural approaches to education, and European citizens have to face the growing importance of other parts of the world, learning from other cultures while retaining their own identities and values. Various mobility programmes help teachers and students move in different countries and experience different examples of schools, teaching and learning practices. Future Europe needs to be seen as a community of all member states who commonly agree on values, even considering the diversity among them. Competition is replaced by true cooperation and collaboration among people with different mind-sets. Within this context, transformative teacher learning should take into account that multicultural societies do not function on the basis of fear, but communication. Reflective teacher learning can thus help develop highly conscious, reflective and active teachers who stand up for the values of equity, freedom, human rights, and social justice.

Furthermore, the future Europe needs to strengthen *democratic processes* in schools. Education institutions should set an example of democratic mechanisms by emphasising active participation of students and their parents. Decisions should be made collectively in open, democratic ways, moving beyond top-down or bottom-up approaches; a process of co-creating and enacting policies.[11] EDiTE can also be seen as such a democratic institution that can bring change through the collective achievement of people in the areas of policy, research and practice.

In an emerging conception of Europe, *learning is seen as student-centred and personalised*, with the role of teachers being crucial in this process. Some participants argue that teachers should be the best graduates of upper-secondary education, with high interest in their profession and motivation to discover and develop novel practices, and with stimulating career paths. Nowadays, teachers are increasingly mobile and can

teach across borders and systems. The context within which teachers are meant to work is no longer fixed or linear, but rather globalised, multivariate, complex and uncertain. Teachers need to prepare well-informed, multi-tasking, tech-savvy, critical, creative, collaborative and communicative generations of learners who should cope with educational, economic, cultural and social challenges, but at the same time contribute to an increasingly participatory, interactive, collaborative, intercultural and inclusive European society.[12]

Thinking of the emerging Europe, several participants connected this idea to *the policies of the European Union (EU),* which are constantly evolving and being enriched with new instruments. European policies are emergent as the results of the interaction of many actors at EU and national levels. According to Kleirides et al.,[13] a particular kind of "empire in education" emerged in the Western Europe of the mid-20th century with the goal of unifying Europe via education. Over time, and particularly after the fall of the Soviet Union, this goal of integration acquired other, mainly economic priorities. In the late 1990s, the shift towards a knowledge-based economy led to a complex outcome-oriented governance in education, which emphasised *lifelong learning* as a goal for the individual and as a synonym for Europeanisation in the 21st century.[14] Through the Lisbon strategy in 2000 and the Education and Training 2010 work programme in 2002, the EU initiated a process of policy coordination in education, which included the goal of improving the quality of training for teachers across Europe.[15] Following these developments, the Europeanisation of national education policies related to teacher education has accelerated, and teacher professionalism increasingly became a European issue.[16]

To sum up, a future Europe is considered to be a Europe of openness, in which education plays a vital role in constantly transforming the minds of people and of society in general. Education systems may and should be different in addressing the needs of local people, but they should also be open to the world. And in this respect, the policy focus of European education cannot be oriented only toward economic priorities, but rather

should focus on common values that bring people together and help them be better included in the society. This future Europe requires unity in diversity.

3 OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF EDUCATION IN STRENGTHENING TIES WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION

The challenges facing an emerging Europe for teacher and student learning were largely commented on by referring to the general dichotomy between European disintegration and European unity. The threats of right-wing politics, populism, and political instability in many countries across the union endanger the realisation of the European project. Moreover, rather global appearances of economic crises, xenophobia, terror and the election of Donald Trump as the president of the United States were named as factors that put pressure on the EU. Instead of fuelling a stronger union with arguments drawn from the economic sphere, solidarity and joint cross-national projects were recommended to revitalise trust in the Union to produce a common understanding of why the EU is a project worth supporting and being a part of. The striving for non-bureaucratic but meaningful ways of bridging the gap between member states was therefore considered crucial to counteract disintegration.

With respect to not only the union but also to the topic of education, *neoliberalism* and *individualisation* were regarded as great challenges. Especially with regard to *accountability schemes and performance-based reward schemes* geared towards managing schools like businesses, the European context could prove fruitful when developing *alternative accountability schemes* that are first and foremost oriented towards facilitating teacher and student learning. This alternative accountability could be, for example, based on formative feedback/assessment that serves as a "crucial factor for motivating learning."[17] Pauline Lipman, a Chicago scholar of education policies and activist, discusses the features of neoliberal education programmes that employ market principles across

school systems.[18] Among other consequences, this results in "top-down accountability and incentivised performance targets on schools, classrooms, and teachers, such as merit pay based on students' standardized test scores."[19] Considering neoliberal education goals, we need to pay attention to teaching that is directed towards standardised testing and performance outcomes, principals who are turned into managers and learners who become education consumers, going to school to gain a head start on the labour market instead of developing their individual potentials.[20]

Moreover, teachers were considered essential partners of the EU in fighting the aforementioned threats to the union. Teachers are the ones educating children on the dynamics of national political and, economic crises, and may thereby empower disadvantaged groups with democratic means to contribute to a more equal and just EU (*Teacher as navigator helping students steer through the dynamic socio-ideological-political reality*). Hence, teachers who take on this role should be supported in changing today's practice. The most obvious move is to implement adequate skills in teacher education programmes, which consider not only cognitive but also social and emotional aspects of human development. This means knowledge and skills are not the only focus of teacher development. Some responses indicated fear of future scenarios in which teachers are reduced to voices from machines that give instructions according to accountability schemes that evaluate their every step in the classroom. The question of a suitable accountability paradigm that encourages teachers instead of punishing them was of high significance to the respondents of the survey and remains to be elaborated on in detail.

Survey participants saw education, on the whole, as a large driving force for common projects and ideas across the EU that have the potential of creating the apparently missing bond within the union. *Mobility*, initially motivated by the establishment of the free market for goods and labour force to circulate flexibly, with regard to high school and university students as well as teachers, is considered a way to reduce national prejudices and instead foster a European identity, including a possible identity

of a European teacher.[21] Likewise, *educational programmes* supported by the EU have the potential to create understanding and common ground among nations. The challenge, though, seems to be overcoming the purely declarative nature of teacher professional mobility policy and the hard to operationalise quest for a common European teacher education curriculum.

As indicated by Sayer,[22] the appreciation of differences (*diversity of educational systems*) and local experiences (*creativity*) might prove a better incentive for professional teacher mobility and knowledge-sharing than a purely rhetorical call for a European dimension of teacher education. The question at hand, therefore, concerns an adequate theory of change for communalising education, i.e., making it a *supranational* affair instead of national or regional only. Given the unprecedented abundance of instruments of the EU, including joint policies, spending, discourses and institutions, the main challenge remains how to use those instruments to secure a multidimensional policy-making process allowing for top-down, bottom-up, as well as horizontal experience-sharing and knowledge-brokering. Opening space for experimentation and innovation at classroom, school and policy levels seems crucial to setting the scene for a truly transformational teacher learning process. It is also believed that this may counteract the negative phenomena of relative unattractiveness of the teaching profession among the most creative and promising graduates and contribute to a perception of education as a dynamic space for generating ideas, competitive in its appeal with other sectors of the labour market.[23]

4 EDITE AS A NETWORK FOR OPENING SPACES OF EMERGING OPPORTUNITIES

The EDiTE network has been identified by the survey participants as a great opportunity in terms of the potential it carries. A large number of responses mentioned research as the strongest contribution to the birth of a new Europe, an idea that indeed fits well into the programme's profile. Nevertheless, the appetite for making a valuable and meaningful

contribution seems to go wider into the fields of both practice and policy. In fact, the diversity of methodologies employed through the network and the plurality of the topics covered by the research community are strongly reflected in the answers related to this last question of the survey.

That said, the ways the EDiTE network can create and open spaces within European educational research could be classified into the following groups, according to the answers given by the survey participants:

- Impact on research.
- Impact on practice.
- Impact on policy.
- Innovation and social impact.

Academic research is the most dominant and arguably most important trait of the EDiTE network. *The thematic coverage is set to be diverse and to cover a whole array of issues*, while methodologically researchers come with different approaches including participatory research designs. Thus, the new change in European research on education can come from researchers critically assessing policies and practices and finding "blind spots" in the implementation gap from policy to practice. The most potent attribute of EDiTE lies in the fact that it is a *network based on intense collaboration*. If and when actualised, the cooperation between young researchers, their supervisors and lecturers, practitioners and educational experts can truly bring about new discoveries and open up meaningful academic discussions.

Within EDiTE, practice is not only a matter of investigation and observation. The inquiry on actual issues of teachers, school leaders and pupils spans as far as young researchers working together in a school setting. The *partnerships with schools, educational institutions and relevant bodies*, as well as the commitment to doing an internship, allows the young research community to make a meaningful impact on practice. In addition, the element of having research done *with schools and not only on schools* makes EDiTE operate on a level of application and real solutions similar to Gibbons et al.'s Mode 2 in generating knowledge.[24]

Mode 2 argues for context-driven research involving multidisciplinary teams working for a period of time on specific problems in the real world. Within EDiTE, there is strong potential for doing *cross-national collaboration projects* that can bring about sharing of examples of good practice and future joint work. Focus on policy, spanning between national, European and international contexts, is a centrepiece for many of the EDiTE researchers. *Analysis of policy impact*, *bridging the gap between the two ends* and *opening new channels of communication* are perceived as significant opportunities that the EDiTE network can unleash.

Last but not least, the network's dynamic pulse brings in *innovation and a possibility for social change*. The DNA of EDiTE is composed of researchers from around the world, who connect to one another through their research work and to the local community and schools through internships and research-oriented cooperation. *Exchange of experience and knowledge* in such a rich community has been noted by the survey participants as beneficial for the host nations, as well as for the researchers' home countries or future destinations. Furthermore, the results deriving from a variety of research projects the network is undertaking are seen as great support for setting new goals and priorities in national and European policy and practice, even if unsolicited.

One possible shortcoming of the survey results is that while the responses are largely hopeful with only a few discouraging answers, the responses have a tendency to be vaguely speculative. For example, the words "potential," "opportunity," and "future" are used rather frequently, and answers often provide general views for building community, interdisciplinary cooperation and multi-faceted impact. However, specific and feasible suggestions that could help the community take advantage of that potential or those opportunities are, to a great extent, absent. Overall, the discussion seems to end with a general vision of optimism. As a result, it may prove difficult to bridge the gap between the current reality and the perceived optimistic vision of the future. In fact, this divide may account for the few negative responses to the question.

Berliner[25] argues that education is the hardest science of all because of its ever-changing context, growing complexity and impact on society. *The mix of the research methodologies, topics, contexts, abilities and even personalities,* integral to the work of EDiTE, bears the potential to tackle the difficult character of education science. Moreover, it is considered to be EDiTE's mandate and duty towards society to do the utmost best and provide new solutions and insights, opening new spaces for policymaking, practice in schools and philosophical discussion within academia. By realising the responsibilities and privileges that the specific network carries, each EDiTE researcher can significantly contribute to education policy, research and practice, thus opening spaces for a new Europe to come into being.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The European context EDiTE is researching may be seen as a backdrop against which a plethora of opportunities may be explored and become possible. This variety of thoughts as to what an emerging European context consists of with regard to teacher and student learning has become clear in the analysis of the survey's results. Considering Scharmer's idea of social fields, we have tried to explore the sources of destruction and the sources of co-creation in Europe – the fields of *absencing* and *presencing* – which could enable, or not, transformative teacher learning for better student learning to happen. To this end, Figure 1 illustrates two parallel processes of thinking about the emerging European context, following the model of Scharmer's Theory U[26] and considering the analysis of the survey's responses. The U journey of EDiTE starts from identifying some contemporary challenges facing education in Europe and the world, with market orientation and individualism constituting two of the main challenges. On one side, factors that stem from an awareness of *absencing* may lead to a Europe based on fear of others and isolation. However, an alternative route is possible when groups (i.e., teachers, students, parents, policymakers) move beyond their past experiences and presence

emerging future possibilities. Such an alternative journey can lead to a Europe based on collaboration, openness and plurality, with education playing a central role in social change. Within this context, the EU's role is seen as bringing member states closer to learn from one another, while providing a supportive framework for modernising education with respect to the values of solidarity, equity and social justice.

According to Scharmer,[27] history emerges from the interplay between fields of *absencing* and *presencing* in every country, culture and community. This clash of forces happens both on the level of exterior systems and on the level of the self, meaning that systems change is also personal. EDiTE can act as a social change network, enabling its participants to reach a deeper level of understanding and self-awareness, while at the same time empowering them to take initiatives for positive change on the small scale of their communities. Overall, the analysis of the survey's findings has revealed a vision of EDiTE as a leading grassroots network of education researchers and professionals, working on all three levels of education policy, research and practice. Bearing this potential in mind, EDiTE researchers can illuminate the "blind spots" concerning teacher and student learning, and achieve the highest future potential of the project through collective commitment to action and social change. As Scharmer indicates, the root of the word "leadership" means to "cross a threshold,"[28] and the threshold that can lead to transformative teacher learning for better student learning is right in front of us. Are we, as EDiTE, ready to rise?

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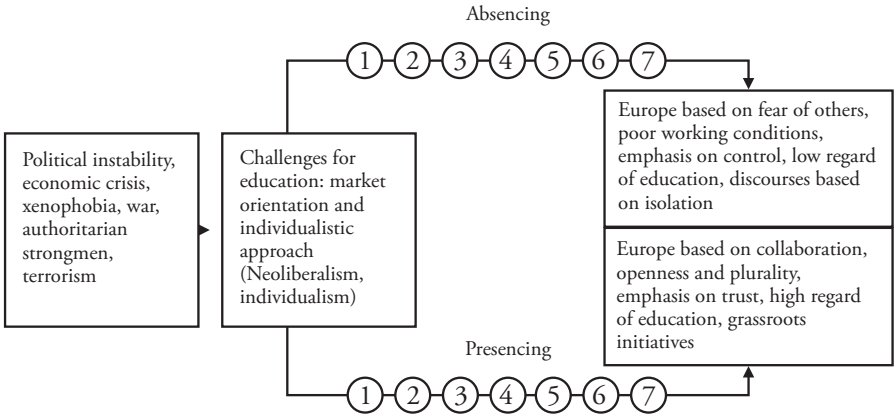
FIGURE I.

Europe between two social fields:



Absencing
Disintegration of Europe with regions infusing nationalist general education provision

1) Rise of right-wing politics, populism, nationalism

2) Educational provision based on fear

3) Isolated creation of knowledge

4) Authoritative teacher-centred learning

5) Exclusive models of society and identity

6) Poor status of teaching profession

7) Low value of education

Presencing
The European Union as moderniser in education and in teacher education

1) Potential for education that the European context offers

2) Cross-national education programmes

3) Impact on research, practice and policy

4) Solidarity, equity and social justice

5) Solid and wide foundation of knowledge

6) Alternative accountability

7) High value of education

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of the preceding thematic chapter was to give an overview of and insights into the three pillars of the EDiTE programme. The idea, derived from the Summer School 2016 "Research as Social Change," has provided a possibility for each researcher to connect to the main ideas behind the programme and offer different perceptions in terms of transformative teacher learning, student learning and an emerging European context. As described in the previous sections, a follow-up virtual collaboration was organised after the Summer School. It included wide discussion among EDiTE researchers about the three pillars, a survey that collected viewpoints about specific aspects of the programme and a collaboration on preparing three joint thematic papers. This short epilogue comes at the end of a yearlong process in the attempt to summarise and integrate all three pillars. As such, it will give short digest of all three pillars, highlighting the most important elements, and an exploration of ways these three pillars are strengthened and stand interconnected in the attempt to develop synergies and a sense of research identity.

The EDiTE community argued that transformative teacher learning is framed as a complex progress of not only the individual teacher, but also the profession as a whole. It is a continuous process in which teachers develop both hard and soft skills for better teaching and learning. As humanity, culture and technology change through history, educators must keep pace to contribute effectively to ever-evolving humanity. To do so, transformative teacher learning necessitates a nimble, creative process that fosters individual agency and collective collaboration. Thus, it is understood as a platform for embracing development of higher-order knowledge, critical thinking and communication skills that are required for the 21st-century education. Consequently, by creating a better teaching environment, transformative teacher learning creates a better learning environment for students.

Through the lens of political philosophy, better student learning is understood as sometimes complementary, sometimes competing frameworks of conservative/neoconservative, liberal/neoliberal, and emancipatory pedagogical philosophies. In the same vein as transformative teacher learning, the pillar of better student learning must address the evolving challenges of globalisation, technological advancement and increasing multiculturalism in the 21st century and beyond. Better student learning, it is argued, succeeds when students are able to think critically about complex social issues such as race and class. However, critical thinking is not achieved through deep yet idle thought, but through a developed sense of agency and action with which students can actively confront these societal issues. Furthermore, better student learning elicits a question about the notion of "better" – that students must be active and engaged in the development and implementation of a "better" form of student learning. In a nutshell, the essence of better student learning is to engage individuals in education in such a way that they become catalysts for change and transformation, in and out of the classroom.

Finally, the emerging European context sets the stage for the development of both transformative teacher learning and better student learning. Like many other places in the 21st century, Europe is in the midst of massive changes and developments. As such, it is confronted with challenges as well as opportunities in economics, politics and culture. Europe is experiencing growing pains; whereas it previously existed as a collection of homogenous cultures, much of Europe is swiftly becoming heterogeneous. Certain values and practices that dominated "Old Europe" may not necessarily be adequate for the context of "New Europe" in the 21st century. However, while there is an awareness of the evolving European context, there is also wariness of the backlash of right-wing populism running rampant, generally, in the West, complicated by the understandable criticism of neoliberalism and individualisation resulting from the dominant ideology guiding globalisation. Because of this complex European context, it is incumbent upon teachers to think

critically in navigating a dynamic socio-ideological-political reality and assist their students to do the same.

The three pillars meet in the European Doctorate in Teacher Education programme. Under its umbrella, a network of ambitious researchers and professionals presents a picture-puzzle in which each of the players provided a piece. Thus, the embodiment of *Transformative teacher learning for better student learning within the emerging European context* takes place through efforts in individual research, joint and collaborative work, connections in the classroom and with practitioners, enquiry into practice, policy and existing academic discourses, and production of valuable new insight.

As an example, the plethora of individual research projects captures the richness of response to the issues, discourses and ideas raised in the articles above. The topics covered by the researchers range from initial teacher education to continuous professional development and adult learning. They cover aspects of democracy and equity in the classroom, policy enactment, learning and teaching within a specific scope or area of interest, dealing with and developing innovative approaches, and understanding from different angles what makes school professionals do their jobs in Europe today. By capturing insights into their respective individual studies, the researchers add to a tapestry of today's educational practices.

Yet the most inspiring element that comes to life within the EDiTE network and clearly illustrates the potential in creating synergies among the three pillars is the collaborations mushrooming across universities, schools, research agencies and training centres, as well as across nations and cultures, pedagogies, approaches and philosophies. The potential of cross-examining different principles and values, and questioning the unquestioned, is at its core the force that runs through EDiTE and makes it, in a way, unique. The collaborations are both targeted and spontaneous, providing plenty of space for imagination and creative processes. They form between researchers from different countries and cultures, of different ages and ethnicities, and certainly with different personal

backgrounds. The collaborations are also configured between different professionals, allowing researchers to work side by side with teachers and educational experts, school leaders and policy professionals.

Within the EDiTE community, therefore, it is evident that in an emerging European context, transformative teacher learning is not just about checking the box but about sensing the emerging needs and bringing social change. Transformative teacher learning thus should depict a niche where teachers facilitate knowledge acquisition by actively involving and engaging students in learning, as a result contributing to better student learning. Transformative teacher learning in such a way addresses the development of intellectual tools, critical thinking, research capacities, and learning strategies in students and teachers through collaboration, learning communities, and individual and joint research. That way, emerging issues in European education may be addressed substantially. Thus, the three pillars must stay connected and collaborate to create exemplary education in Europe that can be consumed by global markets.

The EDiTE Researchers

PART TWO

TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

THE DEADLOCK OF SCHOOLING

Tamás Tóth[1]

Keywords: Foucault, schooling, genealogy, education porn, pedagogical atrophy.

Abstract. In this paper I attempt to understand through a Foucauldian genealogy how the School became one of the central institutions among other disciplinary institutions and how the discursive formation of education gained its invaluable importance in Western societies. I do so by using, rethinking and supplementing the dispersed and contingent "historical shifts" that Roger Deacon identified in his genealogies of institutionalised education. I want to show, that while the ordering operation of schooling was brute force and the poor economy of coercion until the decline of feudalism, the Enlightenment made a new pedagogical horizon possible. This new horizon consisted of the shift from coercion to positive re-disciplinarisation of schooling, and from exclusion to inclusion. I argue that the modern School performed so well in accomplishing these shifts that it not only rendered its disciplinary operations almost invisible, but also started to present the operation of schooling as valuable and good *ab ovo*. I conclude that this process closed institutionalized education into a deadlock. A possible way out is to reformulate the pedagogical from a teleological question to an ethical dilemma.

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1 THE PROLOGUE

Britain's longest-reigning monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, has been up to high jinks lately. At the beginning of her two-day royal visit to Northern Ireland, just a few days after United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union last year, when Martin McGuinness asked how she was[1], Her Majesty replied. "I'm still alive!"[2] Very few people have declared the beginning of a new predicament with such an explicit statement – Caligula with his last words[3] and Malala Yousafzai with

her first only a day after her skull was reconstructed during a five-hour operation at Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham. Elizabeth and Malala met on Oct. 18, 2013, at a Buckingham Palace reception. Malala gave Her Majesty a copy of her best-selling book, "I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban." "I am Malala. My world has changed but I have not," concludes the book, published almost half a year after her operation in Birmingham.

Malala arrived in the UK on Oct. 15, 2012, only six days after she was hit in the head by a Taliban bullet. She had been on her way home to Pakistan's Swat Valley after an exam when a gunman stood in the way of her school van and shot her and two other girls. After life-saving surgery in Peshawar, an offer came from the UK to treat Malala, who needed to have "bones in her skull repaired or replaced as well as long-term rehabilitation."[4] The assassination attempt had been planned for a long time, since she had spoken up several times addressing education rights after local Taliban banned girls from attending school. After her rehabilitation, Malala gave her first, hallmark speech at the United Nations Youth Assembly in 2013, and a year later she became the youngest-ever Nobel Peace Prize laureate. Since then her media appearances have been highly fragmented. The mainstream Western press exulted, and the ways she was presented were "unabashedly doting."[5] In Pakistan, the government's answer was a general backlash against her,[6] while her reception among Pakistani people was far from gracious, rather full of "resentment," as Cyril Almeida put it only a day after Malala's UN speech in his article with the talkative title "Hating Malala."[7] "It sucks to be a Pakistani in Pakistan," he wrote, trying to draw attention to the roots of what he sees as the declining of the state of Pakistan, which facilitated the emergence of the far-right Islamist militant organisation. In Almeida's interpretation, the resentment of the Pakistani people is caused by the oversimplifying outburst against the Taliban overseas, to which Malala highly contributes by emphasising rights in education, while "Pakistan continues to suffer under the weight of its neoliberal elites." Pakistani people accused Malala of highlighting the country's most negative

aspect and for echoing Western agendas, but her critics also cast stones at Western hypocrisy for having overlooked "the plight of other innocent victims, like the casualties of U.S. drone strikes."[8] Western columnists also criticised how Malala's story was (re-)written into a typical racist Western narrative, namely as a miracle of the white-saviour industrial complex,[9] in which the poor native girl, shot for demanding education, is rescued by *deus ex machina* – the civilised white man who defeats the demonic non-white Muslim man.[10] The formation of the white-saviour industrial complex is a spacious discursive field, which continuously invites enterprising individuals into its splendid limelight. One of the first visitors of this discourse (and Malala in the hospital) was former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, who instantly issued a petition in Malala's name "in support of what Malala fought for."[11] The petition, whose aim was that no child be left out of school by 2015, was launched by the same Gordon Brown who was committed to Iraq War, which actually blew children out of their schools, to put it mildly.

After Malala's speech at the UN, celebrities and politicians joined this discursive stage of the emerging hegemonic symbol represented by Malala. What we see here, as Navtej Purewal put it precisely, is that "the plight of third-world girls has yet again emerged as an imperative to promote education as a liberating tool in the symbol of Malala Yousafzai."[12] Unmounted from its incredible complexity and deprived of its cultural and geopolitical context, Malala's story became a quasi-political extraction manifested in the seemingly eternal message that *education is the only solution,* which was nevertheless just one of Malala's messages. But what is left and what became notorious is the extra-bold headline: *Education is the only solution. Education first.*

2 THE HOCUS-POCUS

How is it possible that this statement was extracted from such a complex chain of events? What were the conditions of possibility of the dispersion of this quotation among politicians, celebrities, researchers and students? What were the historical conditions that made education

so important and valuable, and that highlighted this sentence from Malala's speech and not another? "Every great magic trick consists of three parts or acts."[13] To understand why this specific statement started to dominate the discourse of education, we have to go through the simplest magic trick, in which the magician makes an object disappear and then brings it back.

2.1 The pledge

> The first part is called 'The Pledge.' The magician shows you something ordinary: a deck of cards, a bird or a man. He shows you this object. Perhaps he asks you to inspect it to see if it is indeed real, unaltered, normal. But of course… it probably isn't.

When it comes to the importance and the value of institutionalised education, a great deal of argumentation is derived from liberal, leftist or Marxist discourses. These mostly emphasise the interests of the bourgeoisie, the context of national states, class struggles, the influence of neoliberalism, etc. (cf. Paula Allman, Richard Brosio, Henry Giroux, Dave Hill, Peter McLaren, Bertell Ollman, etc.). Those arguments tend to present a continuous history of education, with a sense of progression or regression, and with reference to great or less valuable educational thinkers.[14] Whilst all these discourses highlight significant aspects of schooling, they "pay insufficient attention to the relatively marginal, mundane, contingent, and discontinuous disciplinary technologies spreading throughout early modern societies."[15]

There have nevertheless been fewer but several attempts at Foucauldian genealogies of schooling, which both supplement and go beyond the discourses presented above to show the variety of polyphonic and polymorphic historical conditions that made it possible for the School to acquire its prior position among other institutions. In these interpretations, institutionalised education is not an apparatus of the state, a factory of indoctrination serving the interest of the ruling class, or an unfulfilled promise for the progress of nations, but instead an inference of the historical discontinuities, differences, multiplicities and disarrangements

of the development of the "carceral archipelago"[16] and its disciplinary technologies. Discipline is thus an ordering principle in a Foucauldian genealogy of institutionalised education. That principle helps us understand the conditions of possibility of institutionalized education and of the huge importance and value it gained – namely, how regularities in dispersion, in fragmented, peripheral and central, top and bottom historical processes of ruptures and inosculations made schooling in the last three centuries one of the most important institutions in managing and instructing huge numbers of bodies in the extremely minute web of the microphysics of power.

Roger Deacon[17] provides a few of the most comprehensive genealogies of institutionalized education[18] and locates its development in the context of 17th-century Europe. Deacon argues, along with Foucault, that because of the decline of feudalism and the emergence of a new social order, a new concept of social control was needed, and thus "[a]mongst the various responses by the local authorities one common and unoriginal theme emerged: the re-imposition of order through the confinement of disorder."[19] The need for institutionalized mass education was more than ever emphasized by the spreading idea that childhood should be the time for learning and by the realization of necessity of not only treating the more and more visible and urgent problems of criminality, diseases and pauperism, but also *preventing* them on a moral basis of discipline[20], rather than one of simple fierce instruction.[21, 22]

Although the era of the Great Confinement[23] inherited its disciplinary modes from monasteries and armies and attached them to the new, evolving institutions of enclosure, surveillance and normalisation, those old mechanisms of discipline were neither sufficient nor acceptable in the new rationalism. Even early forms of schools could not retain those methods of brute confinement and violence that had been so characteristic since the early Reformation and even before. Moreover, the increasing number and the specialisation of intersecting disciplinary institutions (the prison, the hospital, the clinic, the police, etc.), reaching out for an increasing number of people in already increasing

populations made those institutions' inner problems more and more visible: "insufficiency, poorly regulated, arbitrarily managed, abusive, ineffective, generating resistance, depriving parents of income, exacerbating labour shortages and producing delinquents."[24] Because of these inherent problems and therefore no guarantee of social control, new forms and modes of disciplinary mechanisms became necessary in all disciplinary institutions. Deacon argues that to draw the new "humane" face of discipline on the pale canvas of brute force, several shifts had to occur to enrich the "poor economy of coercion."[25] The School was just one of those institutions that had to "train" and "civilise" its disciplinary techniques, and it was not at all evident that institutionalised education would be in a noble position among the institutions of discipline. Among the various shifts, which were so characteristic in bridling and moulding the discipline machinery – e.g., the shift from group-centred to individual-centred processes, from the control of "place" to the post-feudal control of time, from the localisation to the centralisation of power in the state, but also from the ecclesiastical pastoral power to the individualisation and localisation of control in the new forms of pastoral power connected to the state.[26] Two undoubtedly major shifts took place, in which the School became the vanguard of disciplinary institutions. One is what Deacon calls, drawing on Foucault, the shift *from confinement to attachment*, which meant the attachment of the individual to power/knowledge relations and processes of production[27] starting in the late 18th century. While confinement was based on exclusion, the moment of attachment since the Protestant Reformation aimed to fasten the individual to a particular *varieté* of correction, based on possibilities of inclusion through exclusion – *inclusion par exclusion*.[28] The other major shift was the recognition of the possible variety of "humane" modes of correction – a change from the obsolete, brutal and violent techniques of discipline to *corrective and positive processes* in the 19th century. The body, which had previously been the scarred landscape of torture and punishment, became the embodied potential for development and progress. These two shifts pointed towards the long and dispersed

process that resulted in *mass schooling*. (The prerequisite for inclusion in education was not a narrow category like insanity, health or crime, but the uneducated, non-adult subject.) On the other hand, it also brought the move towards *positive* disciplinary techniques by emphasising the future potential of youth and implementing the corrective techniques of discipline regarding what the individual might, should or could do instead of what she did. One of the best examples of the early germs of this "positive" development is the works of Johann Friedrich Herbart. In the reprinted version of his 1835 *Outlines of Educational Doctrine*,[29] he presented the practical considerations of the introductory pedagogical phase of his theory, called the "government of children." He based his concept on the pedagogical power of discipline, but obviously by introducing a "fairer" and more "positive" and "humane" mode of discipline. "It would be in vain to attempt to banish entirely the corporal punishments usually administered after fruitless reprimands; but use should be made of them so sparingly that they be feared rather than actually inflicted."[30] Herbart introduced a few of the most successful techniques to guarantee constant obedience through the pedagogical practice of raising fear using mental and physical superiority. He urges teachers not to punish for too long and to look after the child (punishment should "be feared rather than actually inflicted") and to use "adequate mode of disciplinary procedure" because inadequate punishment may produce backfire ("brutish insensibility is the consequence") and pupils would not "conform to the system of order that obtains in the school."[31]

Here is one of the first significant traces of emphasising the necessity of new positive disciplinary techniques with a comprehensive attempt to alter the way children were educated. Starting in the era of the "government of children," the pedagogical problem was not "how to educate the uneducated, but how to change the way in which children were already educated, that is to say how to alter the way in which children were already trained up."[32] This alteration meant placing the subject in the centre of the micro-physics of power relations, both as subjected by them and as constituting them. After centuries of brutal confinement, people

were already subjected and disciplined enough to educate themselves and their children for self-discipline, to master themselves, and to master and manage other people as well, thus permanently being and becoming *intersubjectively subjected in the interlocking web of power relations.*

Popkewitz and Brennan argue that the School was so influential in the development of techniques of attachment and the new positive forms and techniques of discipline that "the institutions of formal education, schools, and universities have become central to the 'disciplining' in most, if not all, other fields."[33] Thus the multifaceted development of disciplinary technologies in education had its resemblances among other institutions.[34] This novel possibility of interweaving and cooperating institutions of the disciplinary society resulted in an emerging interest from the state, national legislators and the bourgeoisie from the mid-18th century. While national legislators saw the School as conducive to creating better patriots and better soldiers, the bourgeoisie saw it as means to create better workers. While the growing interest of the bourgeoisie, national legislators and increasing state control played a crucial role in rationalising the great importance and value of education,[35] I argue that another, more important grid of Enlightenment social practice slowly stretched itself over the new disciplinary ethos of education and contributed greatly to its importance. The "positive" shifts of the School's disciplinary techniques, the emerging discourse about the predictable future of youth, the reconstruction of childhood, the family's changing role and the church's declining authority in education coalesced into a condition of possibility for sciences and institutions to take their part in a School-based pursuit for the Truth. The early appearance and structuring of modern disciplines[36] so characteristic of schooling today were just a small part of this.[37] I argue that a rarely discussed but more important shift was the attachment of sciences and institutions to the School that were not yet directly related to education. The dispersed encounters between sciences and education, institutions and the School, those "multiple intersections of knowledge constructed in these varied arenas that are present in the production of knowledge

about education,"[38] made possible the conditions for wider social control and self-control of the School. The School was thus no more a self-contained house of correction, but *an institution made up from intersecting practices and apparatuses*: "families, parents, communities, employers, doctors, lawyers, priests, psychologists, social workers and the police – [started to] interact and support one another."[39] The intersecting sciences started to provide the clinical, biological and psychological conditions for the normalisation of younger human beings and created "the universal condition of childhood."[40] While psychology and medicine had huge prestige in building their discourse around scientific truths about children,[41] school hygiene, school meal, paediatrics and psychiatry also became major disciplines, as did judicial, executive, punitive and industrial practices. A good example of the intersecting institutions and their practices over the body of education is the agrarian colony of Mettray in France, whose primary function was the re-education of criminal children from 1839. Inside its settings the colony implemented the functionalities and disciplinary techniques of the family, the prison, the army, the church and the court.[42, 43] As I argued before, the early "networking" of disciplinary institutions rendered their inner problems more visible, and sciences intersecting with education had the same effect. They not only contributed to the increasing importance of institutionalised education but also pointed at failures, difficulties, obsolete practice and, non-scientific beliefs concerning the child, for example. Sciences not only revealed but also brought problems into the School: the necessity of the complex psychological understanding of the child, the administration of institutions, evaluation of teachers, etc.

During this first act – *the pledge* – something ordinary has been shown, namely that institutionalised education emerged as a part of the carceral archipelago and faced similar problems as those of other disciplinary institutions. Solving those problems in the School cried out for urgent solutions; it also gave education the opportunity to take its part in the discursive struggles for Truth and become a science, which it had always wanted to be since the late 18th century.

2.2 The turn

> The second act is called 'The Turn.' The magician takes the ordinary something and makes it do something extraordinary. Now you're looking for the secret… but you won't find it, because of course you're not really looking. You don't really want to know. You want to be fooled. But you won't clap yet.

Despite several pedagogical endeavours (e.g., those of Comenius, Herbart, Locke, Pestalozzi, Rousseau, etc.), the birth of education as a science was a difficult travail. After education slowly started to remove itself from scholastic and religious traditions, it was still unclear how education would align itself with the scientific "revolution" of the Enlightenment. Although mainstream historical narratives hold that the first steps towards education science may be found in the footprints of great pedagogical thinkers, the shifts described above (from brute force to humane discipline, from confinement to attachment - inclusion through exclusion - and from the self-contained house of correction to institutional interdiscourse) seem equally responsible for a scientific shift – a shift *from moral orthopaedics to technology*. The necessity of a positive shift in the degrees and modes of disciplinary techniques especially created great opportunities for education to realise the diversity of possible fields of power/knowledge relations it could occupy and rationalise: teaching methods, time management, organising spaces, directing sexuality, moulding bodies, toilet training, prescribing rituals, examining and observing knowledge transaction.[44] The differentiation of spaces into classrooms, separating pupils spatially according to their diverse characteristics, and replacing the monitorial system and one-on-one teaching by putting the teacher in the centre of the classroom are the few early densities of the contingent constellation of education science.[45] Measurement and the promises of quantification and statistics also played a crucial role in the story of education's emerging as science. Just as today economics seems more legitimate among social sciences because it uses more mathematics,[46] education also had to realise that "power

always stands in need of numbers."[47] Thus, to become a science and to participate successfully in the scientific search for Truth, education joined the battlefield of numbers. Consequently, a new historical shift in addition to those described above emerged in education: a shift "from devotional practices that emphasised the distinction between the body and the soul to methodological practices that emphasised the distinction between the True and the False."[48]

It was a part of the search, in which from the late 18th century sciences translated a new relation of power/knowledge and moulded it into scientific practice: the concept of "population" and its quantitative, statistical characteristics (wealth, health, military power, etc.). As "population" and "society" appeared as scientific objects, the necessary statistical classifications provided more appropriate tools for governmentality to focus its power on the technologies of institutional normalisation and the disciplinary techniques of the self.[49] In the next 150 years, institutionalised education opened several "classrooms" for the new power/knowledge relations of examination, observation, measurement, quantification and monitoring. This scientific grid imposed upon the School greatly contributed to its increasing importance; to the possible relations between supervisors, observers, officers, monitoring groups, teacher, parents and pupils; and to the (still) multiplying number of bureaucrats in education. This new religion of measurement, calculation and examination envisaged the first possibilities for a *science of education* that potentially could address the urgent problems of institutionalised education, revealed and multiplied by other institutions and the scientific discursive formations connected to them. Thus, to represent and echo the Enlightenment's central belief that "reason" – objective, systematic knowledge – is the primary condition for social change[50] and was the foundation of the emerging positive disciplinary techniques, the School started controlling its own processes. Examinations, observations and School visits – which have their resemblances in pre-modern forms of disciplinary traditions, defined by Foucault as religious confession and medical examination[51] – provided the appropriate scientific forms of

extracting knowledge from students, teachers, headmasters and parents. This established those microphysics of power processes, in which people controlled and mastered one another and themselves in a self-disciplinary, intersubjectively subjected manner.[52] The appearance of examination "in the form of tests, interviews, interrogations and consultations is apparently in order to rectify the mechanisms of discipline: educational psychology is supposed to correct the rigours of the School, just as the medical or psychiatric interview is supposed to rectify the effects of the discipline of work."[53] All these quantitative measurements served as "normalising judgment," inasmuch an average test score or a mean of performances provided both the norm and the tolerable deviations. Testing, the flagship of contemporary policy-making in education, started to become popular in education in the mid-19th century as a "tool of government".[54] In the United States, written examination was introduced into educational practice around 1845, and the success-failure dichotomy was replaced with results given in percentage.[55] Around the same time, Francis Galton established the first mental testing centre in the world, and Europe was suddenly in the "transitional phase" of giving birth to IQ testing. One of its most successful precursors was the Binet-Simon test, designed to identify mental retardation, to diagnose "sickness" and redistribute children among the variety of normalising institutions, from schools to asylums.[56, 57] Although contemporary testing culture avoids labels such as sickness, based on hierarchical surveillance and normalising judgment, it still "assures the great disciplinary functions of distribution and classification."[58]

Since the post-Sputnik era, testing has become the core arithmetic of normalising judgment and jurisdiction not only for pupils, but for teachers, too.[59] The arithmetic of controlling the School with evaluations and training put not only the pupils under critical gaze. Teachers, supervisors and school administrators were also under surveillance. This reciprocal, porous character of power/knowledge relations may also be called, in Foucauldian terms, "doubles," which refers to the "modernist view of the individual, as someone who is simultaneously conceived

of as the object of knowledge and the transcendental condition of knowledge."[60] Surveillance and observation were not merely disciplinary techniques, but rather the first steps in the hierarchy of those techniques. But obviously "the first of these disciplinary technologies is surveillance. Constant observation is made possible through the ordering of bodies in space and time."[61] As new forms of examinations and observations constituted human beings intersubjectively subjected in the Orwellian web of omnipresent gazes and as both the subject and the object of knowledge, the promising opportunity emerged for education to *study the subject as an object*. Moreover, since the subject was no longer determined by a transcendental law, be it God or nature, control by the preventive or corrective interventions of education science became also possible. This shift towards a modern educated subject, in whom objective knowledge and validated truth were at stake, highlights one of the most characteristic historical diversifications of education science: in addition to education psychology and education administration, *teaching as a science* was starting to appear at the developmental stage of a larva. "[J]ust as the procedure of the hospital examination made possible the epistemological 'thaw' of medicine, the age of the 'examining' School marked the beginnings of a pedagogy that functions as a science."[62]

Teaching as a science and teacher professionalisation emerged in the mid-19th century as possible solutions against ineffective top-down education reforms (which increased the complexity of educational bureaucracy) and sought to decentralise educational pursuits and "to increase the autonomy of teachers and institutionalise their impact on classroom instruction."[63] The shift from practical knowledge to a mastery of knowledge and control over practice started to redefine the role of the teacher as a professional, which presupposed scientific knowledge and certification. While Comenius talked about the art of teaching in his *Didactica Magna* in 1632, a few centuries later the industrialising Western world required the implementation of a new strategy in institutionalised education: the evaluation of teaching profession, scientific standards for proper and objective knowledge in classroom instruction and, most

important, qualified teacher educators.

According to the birth of education as a science, those historical shifts that made its emergence possible (positive re-disciplinarisation, widening inclusion through exclusion, quantification and examination, interdiscursive and interinstitutional expansion, etc.) became the cornerstones of its scientific progress. Here I agree with the critique that holds that education hasn't really changed in its core during recent centuries. What actually has changed is the degree and the mode of shifts discussed above. But these continuing shifts – from frontal teaching to cooperative techniques, from lecture to seminar, from individual work to collaborative group work, from teacher-centredness to child-centredness, from knowledge to competencies, from instruction to motivation, from mass teaching to individualised learning, from integration to inclusion, etc. – disguise power/knowledge relations and push the process of rewriting disciplinary techniques towards its never-ending "more positive" spectrum. The endless shift towards more positive disciplinary techniques "construct[s] invisible power, silently (although sometimes violently) creating individuals as bodies to be controlled."[64] This power is not only silent but also more effective, since its strategy is "not to punish less, but to punish better (…) to insert the power to punish more deeply into the social body."[65] Foucault argued in his famous debate with Chomsky that at the moment of a science's birth, that science not only overcomes certain obstacles but also masks existing knowledge and wisdoms: "it represents the application of an entirely new *grille* [grid], with its choices and exclusions; a new play with its own rules, decisions, and limitations, with its own inner logic, its parameters, and its blind alleys, all of which lead to the modification of the point of origin."[66] At the birth of education science, *the new grid started to mask its very origin: disciplinary techniques*.

During this second act – *the turn* – the previously mentioned ordinary thing – the disciplinary institution of the School does something extraordinary: it ceases to be the institution of disciplinary technology and "moral orthopaedics."[67] In the healing hands of science, the School

is finally capable of accomplishing its transformation – namely, to face its institutional problems it inherited from the Great Confinement and depict its most humane face. But you won't clap yet.

2.3 The prestige

> Making something disappear isn't enough; you have to bring it back. That's why every magic trick has a third act, the hardest part, the part we call 'The Prestige.' This is the part with the twists and turns, where lives hang in the balance, and you see something shocking you've never seen before.

Education is the solution. Education first.

This statement and what it represents became central to contemporary education discourse. As I pointed out in the Prologue, after Malala's speech at the UN, celebrities and politicians joined this discursive field. Lady Gaga quoted from that speech that "a pen can give life."[68] David Beckham was thankful for meeting "a true role model to so many people."[69] Davis Guggenheim realised after meeting her that "education really is liberation."[70] Sir Graham Watson, a Liberal Democrat Member of European Parliament, was delighted how Malala fights for universal rights to education "with her weapons of books and pens."[71] UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon described her as "our hero" who taught us that "education is the pathway to saving lives."[72] Arne Duncan, former U.S. secretary of education and the father of the $4 billion Race to the Top competition in education, realised after Malala's speech "the importance of pens and books" and that "education is the only solution."[73]

Education porn[74], the almost pornographic imaginary of the importance and extreme potential of education is not specific to Malala's case. Grubb and Lazerson[75] call attention to the phenomenon that schooling has taken an almost religious character in the last century. Starting in the mid-19th century, the School started to go through another shift: expansion. Not only did the number of institutions and students expand, but so did the curriculum, the knowledge, education

science(s), the number of compulsory hours at School, the number of years of compulsory education, the number of intersecting disciplinary institutions and social groups, etc. School became a teaching factory, and learning became "children's work" in the development of modern capitalism. After World War II this multifaceted expansion accelerated in an unprecedented way, since the availability of large qualified labour force was a key issue in the reconstruction of economic and social stability.[76] Although government support started to decline in the 1970s, public education was still expanding. While the number of students doubled or quadrupled in some European countries by the new millennium, government spending on schooling still approximated its level of the 1970's. Soon increasing social problems, widening and deepening inequalities, widespread discrimination, the drastic decline of the number of jobs, the inflation of qualifications, the global auction of labour force, deskilling of the professions, etc., brought all the hopes and promises of institutionalised education into question. Governments simply seem to ignore, that within the present historical conditions education and qualifications are less and less conducive to social mobility and equity. Grubb and Lazerson call the phenomenon, in which the hope in the promises of schooling became almost a religious belief, *the education gospel*. While the process Grubb and Lazerson show is very important, as is introducing the notion of the *gospel of education,* the analysis overemphasises economic questions. Those promises and hopes that Western societies connect to education cannot be completely deduced from the development of global capitalism, however big an impact neoliberal discourses had on public opinions about education. On the contrary, we also hear the choirs and bells of the holy education gospel outside the discourse of economy. Think of the campaign with the face of Malala Yousafzai saying, "The best way to fight terrorism is to invest in education. Instead of sending weapons, send teachers"; a pencil (symbolising education against war) in the Charlie Hebdo campaign after the ISIS attack; the tons of educational books from the climate literacy industry against global warming; the educational campaigns conducted by UNICEF to abolish poverty

saying, "If you want to break the cycle of poverty, educate a girl"; the Global Business Coalition for Education's big project with Western Union, Gucci and Intel, titled "The world needs more education"; Nelson Mandela's often-quoted sentence he said after receiving Nobel Peace Price: "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world"; or Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos and the Marxist rebel leader Timochenko signing a peace deal after 52 years of fighting with a pen made from a bullet, symbolising that the future of Colombia is education.

In the emerging era of *education porn*, a huge diversity of social groups and discursive formations (neoliberalism, law enforcement, information technology, etc.) promote more education as a solution because of the historically interinstitutional, interdiscursive and influential character of schooling. We live in "an excessively schooled society, where one remembers passing the college entrance exams as being a defining moment in one's life."[77] Since Western societies' interdiscourse is thrilled with education, it became a widespread possibility to connect any kind of problems with the various forms of education of human beings. Education porn is the era of the fetishism of learning, the era which offers in-service development for packing workers at meat processing firms, customer service trainings for gas station attendants, antenatal classes for pregnant women, blended learning courses in learning (sic!), home schooling for discriminated children, after-school coding lessons for girls or elder education in safe sex and so on. The almost religious belief in education also became conducive to the overestimated importance and potential of schooling – for example, its potential to a final transformation, reaching the ultimate *humane* end of the historical shifts. But this final transformation is both impossible and the condition of possibility of the School. Impossible, since the shifts from brute force to humane discipline, from confinement to attachment, from the self-contained house of correction to institutional interdiscourse, from moral orthopaedics to technology, from misery to remedy made and are still making the inner problems and failures of institutionalised education more and more visible, continuously subverting

and limiting the shifts themselves. But the shifts are the conditions of possibility of the School as well, since the answers for the failures and subversions of institutionalised education still consist of pushing those historical shifts, so characteristic to modernity, towards the "modern" and "humane" end of the spectrum – towards more positive reforms in disciplinary techniques; more expansion by inviting wider audiences and covering more time and space; more numbers and more science; more inclusion and more examination. *More schooling and more education in general.* But Foucault's investigations have shown that modernity is not that humane, and "the more 'humane' we make these institutions, the more insidious has been the exercise of power."[78] As long as the School is closed into those historical shifts of making its disciplinary technologies more "humane," as long as the problems of schooling are addressed with the promotion of more schooling, as long as "the standard response to educational failure is to provide more education, such that education has become the remedy for its own ills (…) [e]ducation is designed to fail,"[79] and the School hangs in the balance of a deadlock.

During this third act – *the prestige* – the trick reaches a deadlock, unable to bring back the object of its desire. But the deadlock is the trick itself: the deadlock, where "lives hang in the balance", is precisely the condition of impossibility and the condition of possibility of the School.

3 THE BACK DOOR

> Now you're looking for the secret. But you won't find it, because, of course, you're not really looking. You don't really want to work it out. You want to be fooled.

The symbol of Malala saying that "education is the only solution" is precisely a representation of the deadlock in the trick – an authentic representation of the necessity of continuing to push forward the historical shifts of institutionalised education. I say authentic because Malala's story is the deterrent example for the West (even if flawed) of the consequences when the positive shifts in education are corrupted.

But the trick, as I have argued, is the deadlock itself. The always/already incomplete shifts towards the positive, humane end of education are not only the aims but also the conditions of possibility of the School, which only by its closed character in the deadlock can project the promise of "the impossible object – the fullness of the community."[80] But not only the fullness of the society is impossible; so is the ultimate closure of the shifts. Positive re-disciplinarisation will always face its subversive remainder of discipline and punishment, just as attachment will always work through detachment. "In the case of schools, individuals are only 'excluded' from the rest of society in order to better embroil them in or 'attach' them to relations of power and knowledge."[81]

In the film "The Prestige," the magician Angier, using Nikola Tesla's replicating machine, is capable of reproducing himself at a distance from the machine. In his trick "The Real Transported Man," he disappears in the machine's electrical field, and a clone of him appears on a balcony behind the audience. The deadlock of the trick, which is precisely the trick itself, is that the "original" Angier falls through a trap door and drowns in a tank under the stage, while at the same moment his clone is already sentenced to death as the new "original" Angier. The real tragedy is thus both on the stage and behind the scenes. When Angier's engineer, John Cutter, enters through the back door, he discovers dozens of water tanks with the rotting clones of Angier. If, in the same way, we enter the School through the back door, what we find is its conditions of impossibility that I have called earlier the subversive remainders – disciplinary technologies, moral orthopaedics, exclusion, misery and detachment, etc.

While a Foucauldian genealogy of the School "helps to overcome naïve hopes about the emancipatory potential of education,"[82] the problem of the School as a disciplinary institution is still at stake. A turn to critical pedagogy or other progressive educational attempts to reform or transform institutionalised education cannot provide satisfactory answers now. These approaches deliver normative and classical notions of power (from which the subject must be liberated to see the Truth,

be it class struggle or the door to socialism), dominated by a scientific account.[83] Within these attempts, even if the students' empowerment is the ultimate aim, the pedagogical "alchemy inserts the expertise of science as a secure model for telling the truth of a given reality."[84] What I would like to propose here, to avoid totalising accounts and the authoritarian imposition of rationalities, are two ways the *pedagogical* can re-enter through the back door as an *ethical problem*. I agree here with Dekker and Lechner that Foucault is "disposing of the pedagogical through the front door by declaring that all pedagogical action in the traditional sense in truth is nothing more than disciplinary action, showing a deep aversion towards the educational archipelago." But at the same time "he opens up the back door to let the pedagogical re-enter as a pedagogical project in the sphere of ethics."[85]

A possible reentering of the pedagogical could be extracted from Foucault's critique of pedagogical power relations in his comparison between lecture and seminar. For him the classic, frontal, nonreciprocal character of a lecture is at least crudely honest about its power relations than the apparently open character of a seminar, in which students might be

> even more twisted than if they had simply attended a series of lectures (…) [i]sn't there the risk that the professor feeds them with ideas much more insidiously? I don't wish to defend the lecture at all costs but I wonder it does indeed have a kind of crude honesty, provided states what it is.[86]

Consequently, the pedagogical could re-enter by becoming once again crudely honest about its roots in the carceral archipelago by taking off the mask – the Foucauldian *grille* – that the historical shifts towards the "humane" end of the pedagogical spectrum depicted on it. If crudely honest discipline is a productive aspect of power and if, then, "'it is the power over self which will regulate the power over others,"[87] then the School could possibly open its back door as the disciplinary institution – i.e., *as what it is*. In this case, the assumption is that "the more (self)

disciplined one is, the more one cares for one's self, the more free one will be, and the better one will govern others."[88]

The main problem with this scenario is that while generally power is not "evil," and agreeing with Foucault that there is nothing "wrong" in the educational practice, in which someone "knowing more than others in a specific game of truth, tells those others what to do, teaches them, and transmits knowledge and techniques to them[89]," the School – i.e., institutionalised education – is not simply constitutive of and constituted by simple power relations, by "games of power," but by "states of domination." Here "power relations are fixed in such a way that they are perpetually asymmetrical and allow an extremely limited margin of freedom."[90] In the School, the subject of this fixed and perpetually asymmetrical power relation is *the younger human being*. The younger human being has been treated as fundamentally different since post-feudalism. Gaile S. Cannella[91] devoted almost a whole article specifically to this issue. She argues that contemporary society accepts the pre-determinism of younger human beings without question or critique. A common agreement is still that science has revealed the biological, physical, psychological and pedagogical standard a younger human being is like, while also dedicating a huge amount of research to the deviations from that norm. Younger human beings – whose interests are always at stake, who are distinguished subjects and objects of the discursive formation of education and on whom the whole discourse, its practices and intersections are actually built – are subjected to states of domination in the School, which has been promoting its "humanisation" for centuries.

> They are the ultimate 'Other' than the adult – those who must have their decisions made for them because they are not yet mature – those who must gain knowledge that has been legitimised by those who are older and wiser – those whose ways of being in the world can be uncovered through the experimental and observational methods of science – those who can be labelled as gifted, slow, intelligent, or special.[92]

The discursive formation of education "has justified the construction of younger human beings as the 'other' and legitimises the continued regulation of their lives through the institution of education."[93] However, since the School is seen as both a right and a need for younger human beings,

> [t]hose who challenge that ritual are placed in the margin, are considered uncaring, non-democratic, not supportive of learning, children, and/or progress (…) 'What would happen to those who are younger if they didn't go to School? How would they be prepared for life? and perhaps more importantly: What would parents do with their children when they went to work?'[94]

If the problem of the School is the problem of its fixed, perpetually asymmetrical power relations, then the pedagogical project in the sphere of ethics would be to make these states of domination visible and to find out "how to avoid the kind of domination effects where a kid is subjected to the arbitrary and unnecessary authority of a teacher."[95] This would be the pedagogical second possible entrance through the back door, where the pedagogical problem would be "to acquire the rules of law, the management techniques, and also the morality, the ethos, the practice of the self, that will allow us to play these games of power with as little domination as possible."[96] I argue that these two scenarios are complementary and outline a possible way to reformulate the *pedagogical* as an ethical dilemma, in the form of what we could call "pedagogical atrophy," as a return to crudely honest discipline (*viz.* a negation of new technologies such as cooperation, differentiation, motivation, individualisation of learning paths, etc.) *and* also as an effort to avoid states of domination. The concept of *pedagogical atrophy* (1) is not neutral with the question of power but doesn't aim to get rid of power relations with a utopia (e.g. de-schooled society); (2) doesn't neglect the humane face of the historical shifts of schooling, but puts them under critical inquiry; and (3) finally, leads out from the deadlock of those shifts described above by *presenting the School as what it is – a disciplinary institution*.

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PIPPI LONGSTOCKING

READING BEYOND AN EMPOWERMENT ICON

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Keywords: critical thinking, children's literature, textbook analysis, cultural translation.

Abstract. Textbooks represent what society has recognised as the "official knowledge" deemed valid and truthful. They determine and are determined by the values of existing power structures rooted in cultural and political contexts. Critical pedagogues have strived to study the relationship between schools and society, thereby stressing the role of education in the construction, manifestation and also corrosion of social order that is divided disadvantageously along the lines of class, race and gender. One of the crucial areas that have attracted the attention of critical pedagogues is literature, particularly children's literature, and the way it travels across borders, becoming adopted and adapted to the cultural and political regimes[1]. Astrid Lindgren's Pippi Longstocking is a world classic of children's literature. The red-haired heroine has appeared in numerous cultural contexts over the decades since Lindgren published the first book in the series in 1945. Pippi's popularity among children lends itself to discussing her in the classroom, which turns Lindgren's series into a textbook of a specific sort. This paper applies the concept of cultural translation and sheds light on the colonising and colonised aspects of the Lindgren text with regard to Poland and Germany.[2] Hence we draw attention to the empowering potential of critical thinking when approaching literary works in this way. Eventually, this paper aims to inspire teachers and teacher educators to take this approach to literary works in the classroom.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This paper seeks to show how Astrid Lindgren's children's book series *Pippi Longstocking*, acclaimed worldwide, may be used to teach children critical thinking. The authors recognise a common appreciation of Pippi as one of the few non-stereotypical female protagonist in children's literature whose appearance and actions mock the power relations between adults and children and expose the weaknesses of the traditional schooling system. We intend, however, to read Pippi beyond these empowering features of her character.

Pippi Longstocking is undoubtedly an international bestseller that can be read in nearly 70 languages; however, the stories are deeply rooted in the Swedish national, historical and cultural context of the 1940s. Postwar West Germany embraced Pippi as the blue-eyed country girl who turns hierarchies upside down when Oetinger published her in 1949. As West Germany grappled with adopting a democratic identity, children needed characters with whom they could identify after years of exposure to Nazi ideology. German parents seemed to approve of Pippi, whose features are Aryan enough to be granted entry to the children's book shelves even though she undermines traditional virtues of discipline and order. The at times racist stereotypes Pippi reiterates in the stories are adopted without question in the German edition. Social anthropologist Ulla Vuorela speaks of "colonial complicity"[3] reflected in Pippi's depictions of the other: "The little black Canny Cannibal children approached Pippi's throne. For some strange reason, they had got the idea that a white skin is much better than a black one […]."[4]

This paper approaches Lindgren's books as agents of cultural politics. We draw from critical approaches to text analysis, including critical discourse analysis (Van Dijik,[5] Phillips and Hardy[6]) and post-colonial discourses on cultural translation (Asad,[7] Said,[8] Spivak[9]) to raise children's awareness of additional perspectives from which they can read and interpret the books they encounter. We stress that cultural translations have reshaped, censored and distorted Pippi for cultural and political purposes as the book series was introduced throughout

politically polarised countries across cold-war Europe. This context is rarely disclosed to young readers; yet the impact of these additional messages on children's understanding of the world must be addressed. While teachers undertake conscious deconstruction together with young readers, children learn one of the most important skills in the contemporary world: critical thinking. At the core of this paper is an assumption regarding the purpose and tools of education in school, developed by critical pedagogues such as Henry Giroux, Paolo Freire and Peter McLaren. We contend that the skill of critical thinking is indispensable in using education as a tool for social change – the motto of the EDiTE researchers' community.

The paper is structured in three parts. First, we elaborate on the paper's theoretical grounding and place it in the frame of critical pedagogy. Second, critical discourse analysis as the methodology with which we approach literary analysis is discussed. Finally, the lens of cultural translation opens up space to consider literature outside its textual frame and situate it within the tensions between colonised and colonising efforts of the cultural contexts within which literature appears. The concluding remarks comment on this paper's potential use as a reference for teachers when designing culturally and historically sensitive and emancipatory lessons.

2 THEORETICAL GROUNDING AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

This paper is grounded, first and foremost, in the theoretical elaborations brought forward by critical pedagogy. Anti-discrimination education may be regarded as a practical result of engaging in discourse on critical pedagogy. Therefore, critical pedagogy and anti-discrimination education are strongly interconnected and need to be regarded as two sides of one educational effort. Engaging with *Pippi Longstocking* as a text of cultural domination and cultural distortions stems from the following assumptions on the purpose, tools and responsibilities of education.

2.1 Critical Pedagogy

The theoretical perspective from which we engage with *Pippi Longstocking* is positioned in critical pedagogy. Representatives of this strand, such as Henry Giroux,[10] Paolo Freire[11] and Peter McLaren,[12] underline the need to reveal the fact that education is not a tool for democratic, egalitarian development of modern society. Contemporary school, they contend, is, rather, a place of reproduction and confirmation of social, economic and educational inequalities, along with abusive power-relations. Critical pedagogy clearly points out the political aspects of education and reveals that school reproduces the values and privileges of dominant groups. As a remedy, it seeks learning methods and activities that build on solidarity with marginalised groups to undermine the seemingly obvious truth and to make empowerment and social change the key aim of education.[13]

Critical pedagogues contend that everyone is responsible not only for individual actions but also for the system at present which determines everyone's subjectivity. The aims of critical pedagogy are to show the normative character of educational processes and content, to question the obvious, and to consider the perspectives from the margins of society, as opposed to the dominant centre, as a reference point. The way to do so is to deconstruct and reconstruct the artificial rules and actions that constitute daily school routine. The most interesting question is not "What is education?" but "How did education become this way?" How is it possible that schools, instead of helping young people become intelligent, responsible, dedicated and committed citizens who are the future of enlightened societies, create individuals focused on their own careers – first at school and later on the labour market? Critical pedagogues point at capitalism and highlight its mechanisms, which create circumstances in which thinking about society and education is subordinated to the principles of economic rationality, which exacerbates social segregation as well as sexism, racism and classism.[14]

To change power relations, we need to reveal and understand them.

Pedagogy can be the means for resistance, and learning processes can be a key concept in creating critical citizenship, inclusive democracy and a global public sphere. Giroux[15] introduces this idea as follows:

> The concept of public pedagogy as a form of permanent education underscores the central importance of formal spheres of learning that unlike their popular counterparts – driven largely by commercial interests that more often miseducate the public – must provide citizens with those critical capacities, modes of literacies, knowledge, and skills that enable them to both read the world critically and participate in shaping and governing it. Put differently, formal spheres of learning provide one of the few sites where students can be educated to understand, critically engage, and transform those institutions that are largely shaping their beliefs and sense of agency.

Hence, public pedagogy helps students understand the complexity of reality and enables them to be a part of the public sphere they help create. Teachers, in this regard, must accept the consequences of the knowledge they produce and the social relations they create and legitimise, as well as ideologies and identities they provide to students. At the same time, it is not enough to understand and describe the unfair world that surrounds us; it is crucial to place education and politics in relation to what we find important and necessary for a democratic, egalitarian and just society. Therefore, we argue teachers should pose fundamental questions about social, political and economic forces that influence and shape their lives as well as the lives of their students. We think students will then be better prepared to live in the contemporary world, since they will understand and appreciate the politics of interpretation and dialogue as a tool for social change or intervention. We agree with McLaren and consider education, i.e., teaching and learning, an instrument that leads to building a democratic public sphere.[16]

In this regard, *Pippi Longstocking* appears to be a perfect example of critical-thinking potential. Pippi breaks nearly every female stereotype: she is independent, unbelievably strong and fearless; does not care about

what she wears; takes leading positions whenever she can; and is highly reasonable, which is often mistaken for being impolite. She seems to embody Simone de Beauvoir's statement that "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman,"[17] though Pippi successfully avoids certain socialisation processes successfully and remains free of fulfilling her gender expectations. Nonetheless, a closer look shows that her emancipation has limitations that are bound to the temporal and socio-cultural context in which she came into existence.

2.2 Anti-Discrimination Education

Building on the above and taking critical pedagogy into the realm of practical work, we draw on anti-discrimination education as a tool for implementing public pedagogy in the classroom. The Anti-Discrimination Education Association (TEA), a Polish NGO founded in 2009 by people involved in anti-discrimination education, brings together several dozen women and men specialising in this area. They include anti-discrimination trainers, initiators of equality and diversity projects, and members of organisations supporting groups threatened with discrimination. The following widely used definition of anti-discrimination education is represented in Polish educational law: "Anti-discrimination education is the conscious action of increasing knowledge and skills as well as influencing attitudes to counteract discrimination and bias-motivated violence and to promote equality and diversity."[18] Furthermore, it is stated on the TEA website on anti-discrimination education:

> Most relevant for teachers' work in the classroom is that anti-discrimination education develops knowledge about the mechanisms of discrimination and exclusion. It is important to understand how stereotypes and prejudice lead to unequal treatment and the violation of individual rights. Anti-discrimination education addresses the manifestations and consequences of discrimination as a result of power relations. It builds competence in fighting discrimination. Therefore, knowledge about various mechanisms to counteract discrimination and the ability to use them, both are essential. The roles of the victim and the perpetrator are

> not the only important ones in such situations; the role of the witness is emphasised. We could also say the role of the reader witnessing discrimination is key in the literature classroom.[19]

Anti-discrimination education may be a practical tool for deconstructing curriculum content that has produced and reproduced social inequalities, which were caused by perception of school knowledge as representing the universal "truth" for all students in the classroom. The knowledge production itself is problematic, just like the content of school textbooks.[20] In essence, we argue that it is not enough to teach a storyline, such as the *Pippi Longstocking* series, without taking critical questions into focus: Why do I teach this particular knowledge? Whose perspectives does the story represent? Whose perspectives are shown in a strongly stereotypical way, and what do my students learn from this? These critical questions allow for analysing the underrepresentation of subaltern groups in the curriculum and, even further, in everyday school practices. This shift permits calling for social justice education and multicultural education.[21] Last but not least, it enables all children, not only those from majority groups, to identify with fictional characters.

3 METHODOLOGY OF TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

Astrid Lindgren's *Pippi Longstocking* series is written for and read by children in their leisure time. It is not necessarily a textbook in the traditional sense of a didactically edited book that offers information geared towards a certain learning objective, which children should attain after fulfilling certain tasks, such as reading, summarising and answering questions on the text. Nonetheless, Lindgren's books, such as *The Six Bullerby Children* or *The Brothers Lionheart*, for example, are recommended by the Polish school curriculum as additional reading in grades 4 to 6.[22] Furthermore, *Pippi*'s popularity in Poland and Germany may lead to the conclusion that this is an unofficial textbook in the sense that many children of a certain age are exposed to its content and enjoy reading it. To create lessons that touch on the experiences

of young readers, we consider it useful to work with the Pippi series in class, which is the moment *Pippi* does turn into a textbook in a more traditional sense. Critical discourse analysis, which corresponds to the ideas of critical pedagogy and anti-discrimination education, lends itself to approaching this task.

3.1 Text and Textbooks as Discourse

Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. However, "it is itself produced by a practice: 'discursive practice' – the practice of producing meaning. Since all social practices entail meaning, all practices have a discursive aspect."[23] Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was initiated in the 1970s by linguists who argued against the dominant unsocial and uncritical forms of discourse analysis that had occurred in the 1960s. Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter[24] relate the term "critical" to Critical Linguistics or the Hallidyan Linguistics, which was a reaction against empirical linguistics and stressed the social dimension of language. CDA, on the other hand, assumes a relationship between discourse and social practice. Discourse is constituted by social practice and, in turn, affects social reality. The linguist Norman Fairclough views language use as a social practice and investigates the tension between the two assumptions about language use. He contends that language is both socially shaping and constitutive, as well as socially shaped or determined. Furthermore, he argues that language use "is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations, (iii) and systems of knowledge and beliefs."[25]

The term "critical" can also be traced back to the works of critical theorists of the Frankfurt School, such as Jürgen Habermas, and their elaborations on how language is socially determined and a reflection of unequal distribution of power in society. Fairclough[26] summarises that the concept is used to indicate the link between social and political activities with the construction of society, where the word "critical" corresponds to making this relationship visible.

Critical theories as well as CDA are guides for human actions.

They seek enlightenment and emancipation by creating awareness in agents. While traditional qualitative approaches "work to understand or interpret social reality as it exists, discourse analysis endeavours to uncover the way in which it is produced."[27] Fairclough[28] clearly states his two main purposes of writing *Language and Power* were "to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power" and "to help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation." A crucial element to CDA is the explicit awareness of its role in society. It rejects a "value free" science and argues that "science, and especially scholarly discourse, are inherently part of and influenced by social structure, and produced in social interaction,"[29] and such relations should be studied and never denied or ignored. CDA takes the position that language is not neutral in describing the world and that it constructs, deconstruct and regulates social relations and knowledge.

3.2 Textbooks and the Reproduction of Social Order

Debates surrounding textbooks result from the fact that their influence extends beyond academics to include politics, ethics and aesthetics.[30] Apple (2000) considers texts "messages to and about the future,"[31] and as part of a curriculum, textbooks "participate in creating what a society has recognised as legitimate and truthful. They help set the canons of truthfulness and, as such, also help recreate a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief and morality really are."[32] Being the source of official knowledge, textbooks reflect power structure and the way dominant groups decide what to include and promote and what to ignore or silence in the school curriculum.

Researchers and educationalists have been applying the insights of critical social theorists to the study of schooling, mainly because of an aim to establish a link between schools and society, and to stress the role of schooling in the reproduction of a social order divided by class, race

and gender.[33] The perception that textbooks both shape and are shaped by the values of existing power structures pervades much of the literature of critical pedagogy. Hickman and Porfilio[34] highlight the role of textbooks in creating the student's political, social and moral development and in distributing unequal social and economic relationships in which certain actors are given privileges based on race, gender, sexuality, class, religious and linguistic background.

Research has documented the extent to which textbooks and children's literature are dominated by the worldviews and ideology of those in power. Williams[35] refers to this dominating set of worldviews as a "selective tradition." He argues that the transmission of certain groups' knowledge and culture is intentional and that it reflects the social and cultural ratification of the social order and is an important part of the "hegemonic culture," which constitutes the sense of reality for most people in a society. The selection of teaching materials seems to depend on "power relations that affect the exclusion and inclusion of voices in their production and dissemination."[36] Taxel argues that this selective tradition provides "a powerful lens through which to view the numerous content analyses which point to the existence and persistence of racism and sexism in instructional materials including children's literature."[37] For example, when children are exposed to narratives and texts that degrade a particular group, they are likely to develop negative attitudes towards that group.

4 BOOKS AS AGENTS OF CULTURAL POLITICS

A look at the reception of *Pippi Longstocking* in Poland and Germany in the second half of the 20th century shows interesting aspects of cultural translations, whose focus widens, as we argue, the critical analysis of literary works. Both countries were at the centre of European warfare and the cold war's aftermath. Nazi Germany was defeated and divided into two ideological poles: a communist regime and capitalism. Poland turned to quasi-socialist nonpartisan rule under the guardianship of the

Soviet Union. In the following, we elaborate on the concept of cultural translation and show how it can be used to look at *Pippi Longstocking* as a vehicle for "imperial domination," which can export norms, values and stereotypes as well as be owned and reshaped by the literary "colonies" for their own agenda.[38]

4.1 Cultural Translation

Translating, Gayatri Spivak writes in her book *Outside the Teaching Machine*, is "a simple miming of the responsibility to the trace of the other in the self."[39] In this sense, *Pippi Longstocking* is set in the cultural, political and linguistic frame of the 1940s to which many Swedes related and with which they were able to resonate. This idea holds true even if we consider the outrage among Swedish critics and pedagogues about Pippi's naughtiness and her extraordinary powers. The fact that she nonetheless gained incredible popularity in Sweden in itself mirrors the cultural negotiation processes within Swedish society, which were decided in favour of the little girl who broke with the stereotypes of proper female behaviour. Pippi, unaltered from the character Lindgren imagined, entered the homes of Swedes and contributed to the knowledge system about girls. According to Spivak, translation is a dialectical undertaking that does not work without incorporating the other, in terms of content and language, into the knowledge system of the context for which it is translated. In Spivak's words, "absolute alterity or otherness is thus differed-deferred into an other self who resembles us […] and with whom we can communicate."[40] Hence, if a translated version of a text aspires to be read, understood and related to by the foreign readership, then the translator has a very crucial task. He or she needs to grasp the essence of a text because "unless the translator has earned the right to become the intimate reader, she […] cannot respond to the special call of the text."[41] Many translations of Pippi did not give in to this "special call." Instead, we can observe that the "self" into which the "other" was incorporated was a highly politicised and culturally constructed one. Drawing from Talal Assad and his thoughts on *The Concept of Cultural Translation in*

British Social Anthropology, we want to understand culture as "social heredity" transformed into text, into which discourse is inscribed.[42] Hence, paying attention to cultural translation asks for exploring the discourse inscribed in the original text as distortions and alterations. This practice resembles the work of ethnographers, who seek to create a thick description, i.e., "the deeply contextualised description of microscopic instances."[43] In this way, distortions and censorship are the microscopic instances that need to be highlighted with the thick descriptions of the context. Regarding cultural translation in this way, we understand text as a colonised entity. However, the dialectical nature of the concept of cultural translation entails reading text reciprocally, thus as a colonising one as well. This reciprocity becomes clear when we look at text passages with racist, misogynist or shaming content that has not been altered for the sake of children's proper education. The pieces like these tell us a lot about the compatibility of discriminating discourses between Lindgren's text and the cultural realms it entered. Therefore, we would like always to understand cultural translations from two perspectives and ask: How was original text colonised by discourses of the culturally constructed "self," and how did text colonise the discourses of the "other" that it entered?

4.2 Reading *Pippi* through the Lens of Cultural Translation

Lindgren received many international awards for the *Pippi Longstocking* series. However, *Pippi* and the Polish People's Republic, as it was called under the communist regime from 1952 to 1989, had a troubled history of censorship and distortions. When the book series was published in 1961, 16 years after it was released in Sweden, the Polish Pippi had undergone a number of changes. The initial range of printing was kept deliberately low at 50,000 copies[44] so *Pippi* would not be exposed to a mass Polish audience. Unsurprisingly, the series did not cause controversy when it was first published in Poland, as reviewers did not focus on Pippi's undisciplined lifestyle or extreme powers. In one of the first Polish reviews, from 1961, headlined "Modern Orphan from a Fairy Tale," Hanna

Skrobiszewska states that the *Pippi* books were not just good literature, but also a perfect reflection of contemporary literary knowledge about the child's psychological reactions.[45] In contrast to the criticism that *Pippi* initially triggered in Sweden, nobody in Poland attacked Lindgren for allegedly corrupting and negatively influencing children. Instead, the reviewers focused on the book's sense of humour, witty dialogue and artistic qualities, thereby completely ignoring issues of alleged negative impact on children.[46] Maybe because of the limited edition that very few critics noticed at all, the Polish Pippi, Fizia Pończoszanka, passed almost unnoticed by Polish critics, as Ewa Teodorowicz-Hellman argues.[47] In 1992, though, a new Polish edition brought back the original name Pippi and the drawings that gave the series a second life. This edition was much more true to the original character developed by Lindgren in the 1940s and inspired teachers, educators and parents, resulting in Pippi as a symbol of "Girl Power."[48]

4.2.1 Poland

In the communist period, however, the Polish translation was inaccurate and censored. Pippi's actions and views were strongly toned down, as the following examples show. In the Polish translation by Irena Szuch-Wyszomirska, published in 1961, a passage from the chapter *Pippi Goes to School* reads as follows:

"I think you're awfully nice, ma'am!" Then, Pippi rushed out into the schoolyard and leapt upon the horse.[49] From this passage, Szuch-Wyszomirska completely omitted the following:

> And look what I've got for you, ma'am!" Out of her pocket, Pippi brought a fine little gold chain, which she laid on the desk. The teacher said she couldn't accept such a valuable gift from Pippi, but then Pippi said, "You have to! Else I'll come back again tomorrow, and that would be a pretty spectacle!

The Polish cultural filter prevented a faithful translation of the original speech, which shows Pippi as a heroine who mocks her teacher. In a different scene, in which Pippi tries to eat a toadstool, she, contrary

to the original, spits it out and says disgustedly and full of regret:

"This is not suitable to eat."[50]

When in *Pippi Saves the Lives of Two Children*, Pippi admires the fire and sings a song about it, in the Polish translation the passage is shortened to the first two verses.[51] It becomes clear that interpreters seemed to be guided by convictions of a certain didactic and moral nature closely entwined with the respective political framework in which the stories appear.

Similarly, in Nike Pokorn's monograph "Post-Socialist Translation Practices: Ideological Struggle in Children's Literature,"[52] we encounter phenomena of cultural translation, which are derived from the agenda of communist cultural politics. Pokorn's study examines international children's literature translated during the socialist period in such countries as Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia. From her analysis, she concludes that "80% of all translations in that period [socialist rule] were ideologically tampered with."[53] Slovenian translators, for example, changed religious references so that Pippi was not celebrating Christmas, as in the original version, but New Year's Eve.[54] Pokorn attributes these changes to "self-censorship by translators who consciously or subconsciously internalised the Communist attitude towards religion."[55] Also in the Polish version from the communist area, the Polish religious word for Christmas, Boże Narodzenie, was replaced with "Gwiazdka," which means "little star," the alternative secular name of Christmas used in Poland.[56]

In a way, this is what Edward Said explains as the task of the interpreter. In his article "Orientalism Once More," Said states that "the interpreter's mind actively makes a place in it for a foreign Other. And this creative making of a place for works that are otherwise alien and distant is the most important facet of the interpreter's philological mission."[57] However, when the foreign Other is distorted to fit the cultural politics of a certain regime, the interpreter's motivation to do so must be questioned. Therefore, we argue in favour of culturally sensitive textbook analysis to show that books must be examined critically.

4.2.2 Germany

East German experiences with *Pippi* are reminiscent of how the Polish People's Republic treated Lindgren's books. Whereas in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Soviet-controlled and communist-governed from 1949 to 1990, *Pippi* did not officially enter the literary stage until 1975, though West German children were already reading Lindgren's books in 1949. Similarly to communist Poland, in the GDR Pippi's anarchical personality did not suit communist education and politics advisors. The GDR publication had its own illustrations and was available only as a brochure in very small numbers, the representative of the Oetinger publishing house Sylke Weitendorf remembers.[58] The GDR censorship bureau was strongly trained to seal off East Germans from "fascist and militarist literature,"[59] thereby denying East Germans access to books by Franz Kafka, for example.[60] *Pippi Longstocking* was considered "Westschund"[61] ("Trash from the West") and corruptive of pioneer children. They were supposed to be less individualistic and rather community-oriented, which Pippi's extraordinary personality did not stand for, according to Caroline Roeder's research on the reception of Lindgren's literature by the GDR censorship office.[62]

In West Germany, however, Pippi seemed to fill a void that had developed after the Nazi ideology was dispelled from the school curriculum, at least on paper. Lindgren's books were an immediate sensation. Nowhere outside Sweden did they sell as fast and as many copies as in the Federal Republic of Germany.[63] After World War II, Germans seemed to quickly grasp Lindgren's idea of a non-conformist girl who is powerful yet never exploitive of that quality.[64]As a 1949 review from the newspaper Hamburg Allgemeine shows, *Pippi* was regarded as an import from the democratic victors: "After the CARE packages, we are now receiving also humour from abroad, which is why we should warmly welcome Pippi."[65] The Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe (CARE) had sent roughly 5 million boxes packed with food to West Germany from spring 1946 to January 1947. The German Historical Museum summarises

this initiative as Americans' showing solidarity with the poorest of the postwar West German population.[66] We carefully want to point out and interpret the parallel that the literary critic draws between Pippi and the CARE packages. Both are happily and unquestioningly accepted and integrated into the West-German knowledge system, since food and ideology fill empty stomachs and minds. What the victors offer is new, as it is not soaked with Nazi allusions and, on the other hand, relatable to existing discourses within German society. We deem it striking that throughout decades of liberation movements, neither the Polish nor the German translations questioned "colonial racist stereotypes" such as Pippi's father being the "Negro's King."[67] In *Complying With Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region,* several authors describe the very interesting tension that Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and Norway entertain within post-colonial literary discourses.[68] As Catrin Lundström summarizes in her review of the book, the Nordic countries "foreground their historic position outside a colonial project" but "tended to identify with former colonial European regimes' idea of the 'other,' with its division between 'the civilised' and 'the savages.'"[69] Lundström also highlights that Sweden was a leading force in eugenics. Interestingly, Lindgren was inspired by the teachings of the Swede Ellen Key,[70] who is famous for stressing the right of children to their own developmental path but, on the other hand, a clear advocate of eugenics. Sabine Andresen explains in her work on Key's echo in the pedagogic discourse of modernity that Key condemned Christian charitable care and argued that "physical and mental disability is a torture of the child and its surroundings."[71] According to Key, merciful death would eradicate this pain for future humanity.[72] Ulla Vuorela explains colonial complicity as the "participation in the hegemonic discourses, involvement in the promotion of universal thinking and practices of domination" of a country such as Sweden, which has "neither been historically situated as one of the colonial centres of Europe nor has it been an innocent victim of, or stood outside of, the colonial project."[73] With this in mind, we conclude that *Pippi Longstocking* may be read as a colonising book.

It is exemplary of the complacency of hegemonic discourses that link over racist stereotypes that are not called into question, as they resonate within the translating "self."

5 CONCLUSION

Although the *Pippi* books provide many emotions and topics for discussion, in school their potential is not usually taken advantage of in a creative and meaningful way. In this paper, we aimed to show that deeper reflection and critical analysis of this world-famous reading for children provides the opportunity to counteract the reproduction, confirmation and alliance of hurtful power relations and abuse that have been handed down from the past to our present times. Once we deeply contextualise literary translations, we can see where text as the "other" has been colonised to serve the construction of a "self" soaked in cultural politics instead of lyrical loyalty. Censoring and distorting *Pippi* are strong examples of the way literature is at the heart of influencing and manipulating the citizen into a certain ideal, obedient and in line with the regime. Peeking at the other side of the coin, translations can reveal the colonising nature of texts when the "other" and the "self" share similar discourses around post-colonial racism, economic rationality, sexism, classism and other forms of discrimination. Incorporated in the original and unaltered in the translation, these discourses reveal themselves as compatible and provide the starting point for critical evaluation of social and cultural assumptions and norms that make it acceptable, for example, to speak of Pippi's father as the "Negro's King.".

To our mind, providing children with the knowledge that reveals mechanisms of prejudice and discrimination, and encouraging them to name particular situations as racist, misogynist or shaming, help them move critically and empathetically in our contemporary world. Therefore, we would like to transfer our discussions into praxis by "suggesting how teacher education can reduce the alienating power of the textbook and how content-area teachers can transform their textbook-driven curricula

to be critical and transformative despite the textbook's content."[74] If we use the tools of anti-discrimination education and apply them to reading *Pippi,* we can not only focus on showing how stereotypes of non-white people are built into text and what they do to the consciousness of the readers; we can also open up space to discuss the Black Liberation Movement of the 1960s and nowadays, for example, to see their impact on literature and power relations depicted in literary text. In this way, the "Negro's King" is transformed from a racist figure into a tool for the transformation of children's knowledge. Instead of reproducing stereotypes, teachers build, together with their students, the skill to understand discriminatory discourses as the first step towards deconstructing unfair situations to build a more just world.

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STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AS AN OFFSHOOT OF THE DISCIPLINARY SYSTEM

DISABILITY, ROMA AND EDUCATION

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Keywords: disciplinary system, structural violence, disability, the Roma, Africa.

Abstract. The paper uncovers and explores the depth of structural violence embedded in systems of power. In the theoretical framework, the overarching paradigm is the belief that the disciplinary system originated in the 19th century and now taken for granted has never really forgotten about its primordial idea: to take the decision-making process out of the hands of deviants and their families, and to control them. The ideas of a social enemy, binary division, disciplinary partitioning and disindividualised surveillance have given rise to the panoptic scheme helping to control deviants (beggers, thieves, rebel youths, murderers, madmen, prostitutes). Ever since, the state and its institutions have been using the panoptic scheme and its structural violence to discipline people who do not conform to normal standards. The paper presents an in-depth description of a Foucauldian methodology to uncover power/knowledge relations. It subsequently follows three levels: (1) the archaeology of knowledge, (2) genealogy, and (3) ethics. At the first level, the paper presents three statements as epistemological acts: the African disabled, the Roma case and the Polish case of a sit-down action. At the level of genealogy, the paper explores the relations of the subject, emergent at the first level as the object common to all three cases, and describes the power/knowledge as the outcome of the disciplinary system. At the level of ethics, the paper argues the system of power following the definition of structural violence and its six distinctions developed by Galtung (1969). The paper posits an argument that the last distinction referring to latent or manifest character of violence simultaneously offers the best possibilities of lessening or overcoming it. Exposing the violence in a theatrical way and using features of a spectacle open the way for performative democracy in which doing something has in itself the capacity to reach catharsis and thus overcome injustice.

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I INTRODUCTION

"The goal of my work in the last 20 years has not been to analyse the phenomenon of power, nor to elaborate the foundations of such an analysis..., but the experience," said Foucault in 1981.[1] And the experience of injustice hidden behind *mixed feelings,* two words pronounced by the famous Polish journalist Janina Paradowska, triggered this paper's reflections on power, violence, and authorities. The language of the phrase suggests setting the problem aside, and even if put into the sentence, it does not sound like a whistle-blower: "I have never supported the occupation of buildings or at least part of them. I looked at parents' protest with highly mixed feelings, because instead of desperation I saw aggression and lack of willingness to compromise," Paradowska wrote in her commentary for *Polska The Times.*[2] In 2014 parents of severely disabled children organised a sit-down strike in the Sejm, the lower house of the Polish Parliament. The event was reported on TV and received wide press coverage. Most people shared Paradowska's *mixed feelings* and did not gain any insight into the situation. This unprecedented protest by parents who took severely disabled children to the strike and presented them to the world should have been seen as a groundbreaking act. Previously the disabled and their families or caretakers had been perceived as victims of personal tragedy quietly suffering in their humble abodes. Suddenly they changed their image, appearing as uncompromising fighters. For what? *Money*, says the public. The paper presents the building occupation as an act of political violence whose nature is to cause disorder for a specific purpose, e.g., to redefine and realise justice and equity.[3] The public could not see injustice and inequality, and Davidson suggests analysing the experience of power, following the three Foucauldian complementary levels: archaeology, genealogy and ethics.[4] "One ought to begin the analysis of power from the ground up, at the level of tiny local events," says Ian Hacking.[5] Foucault sees such events, sudden obstacles, breaches into the continuum, as epistemological acts inviting themselves into the solid state. The notion of an epistemological rupture/act was introduced into the philosophy of science by Gaston Bachelard, who explored how

a fixed system of knowledge could change with the appearance of a new creative thought. The idea of *an epistemological act*, threshold or break was adapted by Michel Foucault and introduced into his theory of ideas.

2 LEVEL I

2.1 Archaeology of knowledge

Foucault starts his research on the history of ideas with statements. A statement claims to be the truth, which is an economical and social construct "to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements."[6] To explore statements, the field for thought studies must be cleared of all the notions connected with a continuity having a precise function: tradition with its temporal inclination, influence with a causal process, development and evolution with the old norm of innovation and opposition original/regular-banal, assimilation with the future, spirit with collective consciousness. These notions are not precisely defined, and we tend to accept them *a priori* as working tools. We must question any major types of groupings or discourses like forms of genres, politics, classical culture because – as reflexive categories, normative rules, principles of classification – they are not universal. We also must put aside continuities used to organise an analysed discourse: opposite themes of "already-said" and "semi-silence." If we accept something, its construction, rules and norms must be explored. Any unquestioned synthesis is set aside until the field consists of freely dispersed spoken and written statements as discursive events.

Freed of unities, we look for relations between statements. Some statements may be easily described as belonging to bigger strands like grammar, political economy or medicine. Are they, however, unities? A madman in one place differs from a madman in another epoch or place. Foucault[7] tests four hypotheses by which to group statement – the opposition same/different; the notion of a certain style with its descriptions; the system of permanent and coherent concepts; identity and

persistence of themes, e.g., belief in natural character, organism fulfilling its own needs – and proves them all false. So we turn to the dispersed statements alone; search for any regularities, e.g., an order in their successive appearance; define *systems of dispersion* (*discursive formations*); and name the conditions used to organise formations (*rules of formation*). An archaeological description looks at regularity and explores a set of factors conditioning its appearance. We do not contrast the regularity with some irregularity, but we look for other ones (*regularities of discursive practice*). We search for practices that are active throughout and might occur in borrowed, copied or the most innovative pieces of work, avoiding words like science, ideology and theory.

Discursive practices (*formations of objects*) might emerge differently named (redefined, erased); e.g., intelligence quotient can be traced back to the notion of imbecility; model of exclusion back to the confinement of madmen in psychiatric hospitals. The planes (surfaces) of objects' emergence differ in form, for each society or period. In the 19th century, surfaces in psychopathology were probably defined by social norms, religion or margin of tolerance. Then a plane was delimited by new authorities of medicine, law, religion and literary criticism with the notions of heredity; danger to society; division between mystical and pathological; supernatural/abnormal; and an object of taste/a language to be interpreted. Into the delimited plane, forms of specifications were introduced, and kinds of madness have been divided, classified, etc., ever since. Finally, medicine invented concepts of the norm and of pathologic and started sending deviants to treatment. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* presents new, 19th-century prisons, hospitals and schools in which experts decided who was mentally healthy. The body has been disciplined ever since.

We tend to use the word "experts," yet we must explore their authorities, their status and that of institutions they represent. The doctor/expert questions, listens, describe, sees, touches the patient, using his modalities. The doctor is the sovereign, and his modalities become modalities of power to decide who is mad. Doctors' documents (statements) claim to

tell the truth (universal truth) when they refer to accounts of incidents, malice and emotions observed in the hospital, which has become *the* place of observation. Anything observed and noted gives basis for the beginning of science with formed concepts and hypotheses, additionally mixed with prejudices; Foucault names such surface knowledge with its lot of solid propositions *connaissance*, while *savoir* means something more than science; it is in-depth knowledge.[8] How are concepts formed at the preconceptual level? Foucault[9] suggests using forms of succession, types of dependence, and forms of coexistence.

"One ought to begin the analysis of power from the ground up, at the level of tiny local events."[10]

2.2 Statement No. 1

Thirty adults with disabilities participated in a study run in 12 villages in the Mpumalanga Province of South Africa. They told their life stories.[11]

> The problem is, if you are disabled, you are nothing. You are the last thing to think about. Even the ID people are just thinking, 'Oo! Here is pension – he will get money and I won't.' You see, it took me many years from the time I applied for ID until I got it.
>
> At the school the principal was saying they could not admit me because that was the school for normal people.
>
> I couldn't go to school because I didn't have a wheelchair. I was always waiting for my sisters to teach me.
>
> Life is painful for me because I am not working. When I look for a job, others ask 'Why?' because I am getting disability grant. You see, it is just that I want to work.
>
> People in the community, they look at you like you are an animal. When you are crawling, they laugh and point, like it is the nonsense thing, like at the bioscope.
>
> My father beat me because I was disabled. He said I was bewitched…

and tried to cut me with the knife.

Without food there is no happiness.

My brother is always saying, 'Don't ask for food. There is no food for you here.'

My family was always discriminating against me, treating me different. But when I started getting the grant, they were getting close to me, wanting money from me.

2.3 Statement No. 2

My daughter started primary school in a normal class, but she felt she received no attention from teachers as compared to her non-Roma classmates. Due to the negligence of the teacher, she once failed. She was taken to the remedial special class immediately. I was not even asked or informed about it in time, only after the transfer. If she were in the normal primary school, I am sure she would already have learned that (recognising letters).[12]

The transfer is often based on a single opinion from the 30-minute examination of the expert committee.[13]

Roma in the countries of the former Yugoslavia face significant difficulties in obtaining basic personal documents, such as birth certificates, identity cards, local residency permits, documents related to health insurance, marriage certificates, work booklets, death certificates, passports, and internally displaced person and refugee registration documents.[14]

The Bosnian radio station radio BORAM reported that the police claimed that its search of Roma dwellings had been conducted following reports of drug trafficking.[15]

2.4 Statement No. 3

On March 19, 2014, the Sejm, the lower house of the Polish Parliament, became the scene of a sit-down strike. Parents of severely disabled children, together with their children, *invaded* the official governmental

building, and the Sejm became full of disabled children, wheelchairs, placards, shouts and loud arguments.[16] The striking people camped with their children in an open gallery over the stairs. They did not have beds or mattresses, only blankets spread on the concrete floor. The corridors were occupied by disabled children either lying on mattresses on the floor or sitting in wheelchairs. They were dirty and sleepy. Some strikers did not even have room to lie down and spent nights in armchairs. The strikers stayed there for over two weeks, yet despite rules and guidelines for visitors to the Sejm, security guards allowed them to stay.

The striking group was surrounded by cameras and visited by the politicians, who promised a lot of things. The priest Tadeusz Isakiewicz-Zaleski describes Adam Szejnfeld (a lawyer, politician, member of the European parliament) as presenting his haughtiness, arrogance and callousness during the parents' action.[17] The disabled and their parents remembered the case of Michał Huzarski, a politician in the SLD party, who wanted to place the disabled in welfare homes and sell their flats and properties.[18] Usually the disabled and their parents or caretakers communicate with the state via the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for the Disabled or the Team for the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The basic relation is economic, and communication is disappointing. Parents and caretakers must make plans for themselves and their children, and they remember all promises broken by the state and politicians. Parents had a clear objective: to obtain higher benefits.

The children are severely disabled and totally dependent on parents or caretakers who had earlier left their permanent jobs to take care of their children and received a disability benefit of 620 zlotych per month (circa $162 dollars) for themselves and their children from the state. The state system does not allow them to have an additional job; it is either a job or a benefit. In the present economic situation, the only thing the system guarantees is poverty. The system does not help organisationally, and parents do everything on their own. A parent is usually very poor because she or he cannot work without losing benefit money and lonely.[19]

Parents take care of their children 24 hours a day. They live according to schedules for benefit money in their accounts, appointments with doctors, public transport, queues, special diets, etc. Children mostly stay at home, sometimes going to the doctor or health care institutions, but they always travel everywhere with their parents, who usually have no help. Parents have to organise and pay for transport on their own, because of financial problems; they use buses, trams, vans and sometimes private cars. Disabled children who go to school have free transport there, but the striking parents have either adult children or children so severely disabled that they stay at home.

2.5 Archaeological descriptions of the statements

Statements of an autonomous author are transient, shapeless and opinions rather than knowledge, errors rather than truth, types of mentality rather than forms of thought.[20] Hacking describes Foucault as having an original analytical mind with a fascination with facts.[21] He breathed facts, started with being suspicious of any generalisations referring to them and finally rejected the official history of ideas. The archaeology of knowledge uses archaeological description as a tool to analyse facts: parents' action in Poland, stories from the disabled in Africa and the stories from the Roma in Europe. "Archaeological description is an abandonment of the history of ideas, a systematic rejection of its postulates and procedures, an attempt to practise a quite different history of what men have said."[22]

To describe the field of initial differentiation, we start with the surface of statements' appearance. The Polish parents' sit-down strike successfully penetrated wide consciousness with their problems, though they had earlier tried to make them visible. African disabled and the Roma community became objects of observation and analyses for social studies. Thus, all three groups became "manifest, nameable, and describable."[23] Yet who is legally authorised to delimit a problematic object? In the Polish case, the state recognises and names people as disabled. In the African case, first the community and then the state describe people as

disabled. In the Roma case, the community and the state confirm people are Roma. Delimiting authorities put the disabled and the Roma into grids of specification and classify them as objects. In the Polish case, grids follow the ICD-10 – Classification of Mental and Behavioural Disorders prepared by the World Health Organisation. In the African case, the community believes in God's influence on separating the soul from the body (*he said I was bewitched*), but the state also refers to ICD-10. In the Roma case, the state accuses the Roma of breaking the law.

The next level is *enunciative modalities*. Who is the author of statements? What is the author's status? In the Polish case, parents and the state are the authors; in the African case, the disabled and the state, and in the Roma case, the Roma and the state. Do the authors represent any institutions? The parents, the disabled and the Roma represent themselves, and in each case the state is the second author. What is the position of the author/the subject? In all three cases, the parents, the disabled and the Roma are the subjects who question, listen, touch, see. In all three cases, the state, too, appears as the subject. This preconceptual level presents the regularity of a discursive practice. However, the problem is that there are two subjects creating their own concepts of sovereignty. The state thinks of itself as the sovereign, as the law supports it and its decisions, and people consider themselves as their sovereigns and want to decide for themselves. We have two co-existing concepts. How do they relate to one another? Which concept is the true sovereign?

3 LEVEL 2

3.1 Genealogy

Concepts create a system of conceptual system formation, at the second level of analysis: genealogy and Foucault calls them strategies as they are inserted into social life. However, who has the power to put them into motion? Who is the sovereign? For Foucault,[24] there is no sovereign anymore, only discursive practices with their forces and power relations explored by genealogy.[25] This shows how, around the beginning of the

19th century, a new gentler form of punishment appeared: a disciplinary power, which started with doctors' having the possibility of making decisions and taking them out of the hands of a family. Since then, the system has been gaining precise knowledge about how to exercise its power. Foucault calls this combination power/knowledge. The power is in power relations. The power is the network with three primary control techniques: hierarchical observation, normalising judgement, the examination.

The system's primary function is to correct deviant behaviour with training organised by technicians of behaviour who have been modeling bodies to become docile and capable. "Disciplining the body has a double effect on the body: a soul to be known and a subjection to be maintained."[26] The constant modeling and perpetual assessment creates knowledge about an individual and establishes power relations. The examination offers power/knowledge to scientific psychology, the discipline born in the 19th century with its quantitative assessment to control sensory responses, thus starting the supervision of normality. Ever since, the law has been guaranteeing the right to judge normality to the knowledge and power set in medicine or psychiatry. These introduced disciplinary mechanisms – for example, Public Assistance, which sent rebel youths (defined as deviants) to work. Since then, the carceral system has developed many diffuse or compact forms for discreet surveillance and insistent coercion. The carceral form of disciplining was widely accepted because it turned a social enemy into a deviant. A social enemy (thief, robber, madman, murderer) attacked the common interest, and it was in the common interest to take all deviants out of sight.

> The frontiers between confinement, judicial punishment, and institutions of discipline, which were already blurred in the classical age, tended to disappear and to constitute a great carceral continuum that diffused penitentiary techniques into the most innocent disciplines, transmitting disciplinary norms into the very heart of the penal system and placing over the slightest illegality, the smallest irregularity, deviation or anomaly, the threat of delinquency.[27]

Basing on medieval accounts, Foucault suggests that the experience of the leper triggered the rituals of exclusion and the *Great Confinement*, while the plague triggered disciplinary mechanism, e.g., disciplinary partitioning of the space for lepers to stay outside. They were treated as victims, but city inhabitants individualised the excluded and marked the area by applying analytical procedures. Individualisation has become based on binary division, e.g., normal/abnormal, and different techniques and institutions for measuring have been developed. By being observed (being seen), the person has become the object of information, not a subject to communicate with (not seeing personally). Through techniques and institutions, the power has become automatic and disindividualised because anybody might exercise power: the relation between the observed and the observer becomes fictitious. The observed knows he is being subjected to scrutiny and assumes responsibility for his behaviour, thus starting his own subjection. With one individual under surveillance, disciplinary partitioning enables division by grouping individuals: bodies are related to one another, hierarchically organised. With numerous individuals, panoptic schema may be used, thus becoming a generalised function that aims to support society in its economy, education and public morality. The more the panoptic scheme helps the society, the more power grows and spreads to the very foundations of society, though in a subtle way; otherwise it would be bound with sovereignty. Thus, we have the disciplinary society.

The efficient panoptic scheme has flourished everywhere discipline is sought: hospitals, the army, schools, and charity associations. Charities long ago came to the conclusion that a docile body is not enough; they have to supervise and gain information about the environment, i.e., number of beds. Their centres of observation specified various aims – religious, economic, political – and charities divided themselves into quarters, assigned members to different areas, and started checking all the individuals asking the same questions (modern charities do the same). The mechanism of discipline exercised by either private or parish groups or charity associations was first controlled by the King's forces,

later the police (the state). The idea of discipline, however, cannot be associated with any institution or apparatus. Discipline is "a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a "physics' or an "anatomy' of power, a technology. And it may be taken over either by 'specialised' institutions… or by institutions using its instruments,"[28] Since the 19th century, the state has been spreading its influence with more and more profound intervention into all aspects of social life.

4 LEVEL 3

4.1 Ethics

This paper finds its beginning in the sit-in of Polish parents and children (actors) whose political action uncovers a non-discussed area. And the discourse is absolutely necessary for any event not to lose its meaning when it sooner or later ends, as involved people must redefine their needs.[29] The African, Polish and Roma actors retell their stories in the process of "narrative reconstruction of reality."[30] The narrated stories cumulate their beginnings and ends in one "thick description."[31] By telling them, the victims co-create collective narration and overcome negative circumstances. In this process, actors transform themselves and their acts by making history whose symbolic capital belongs to everybody. The archaeological description shows how the African, Polish and Roma subjects try to keep their status against opposing subjects, but fail abysmally and become objects of power exercised either by the state or individuals. Though Apter[32] says analysing violence is as ubiquitous as violence itself, there is a research gap in the topic of structural violence.

The concept was developed by Galtung, who starts with the opposition of the actual/the potential:

> Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance. Thus, if a person died from tuberculosis in the 18th century it would be hard to conceive of this as violence since it might have been quite unavoidable,

> but if he dies from it today, despite all the medical resources in the world, then violence is present according to our definition. Correspondingly, the case of people dying from earthquakes today would not warrant an analysis in terms of violence, but the day after tomorrow, when earthquakes may become avoidable, such deaths may be seen as the result of violence.[33]

If the individual can avoid the actual to reach the potential and cannot achieve it, there is violence. If the unpleasant reality is avoidable, but nothing is done to change it, so violence is present. The definition provides six distinctions when something avoidable is present, so consequently violence is present.

The first distinction (1) is between physical and psychological violence when the body or the soul suffers. The Polish actors are not exactly violated; they do not experience direct/personal violence, as the African disabled or the Roma do. The body of the African disabled is the target for inflicting pain/punishment for being disabled. To some extent, the European disciplinary system has replaced somatic violence, but the body has become an instrument to deprive the person of liberty, understood as right and property: the body is prohibited from entering certain area (exclusion from schools), is deported, is imprisoned. Foucault calls it "an economy of suspended rights."[34] The Polish case presents how the disabled experience indirect violence in increasing constraint on their movements because of more difficult access to transport. The African disabled mention the lack of wheelchairs. The Roma people have problems with passports that stop them from moving. Constraints on movement belong to the category of indirect physical violence, and the actor responsible for them is the state. Galtung calls institutional activities or lack of necessary decisions "structural violence."[35] In developed countries, violence has changed its actor in a way presented by Foucault. In developing countries, there is more direct violence, yet the European model of suspended rights and soul training is spreading throughout world organisations.

The European penal system has been gradually judging and threatening

the soul of the criminal and the soul of the society for the last 150 to 200 years[36] by referring to Gabriel Mably's idea that "Punishment, if I may so put it, should strike the soul rather than the body." [37] Discipline, supervision, punishment and constraints have constructed the soul "the prison of the body."[38] And Galtung[39]points out that acts committed on the soul constitute psychological violence: lies (in the Polish case, politicians' lying), threats (in the African case), decrease on mental potentialities (in the Roma case, denying education to children). In all three cases, the subject becomes subjected to the state. However, Foucault[40] says that in a disciplinary system there is already no subject: this has become the body or the object of knowledge of a disciplinary system. There used to be the juridical subject, the possessor of various rights and the most important one – to exist – but not any longer. All three cases above include objects who feel that they are subjugated not of their own accord. There is the doer. Galtung considers such situations violence, but Roger Scruton mentions that there is always a threshold present in violence, which a human being must recognise to lead his life.[41] By the threshold he means compliance with the other subject a human being is willing to obtain; this is the theory of contract, when we grant somebody the right to punish us. Shakespeare[42] maintains that some disabled people prefer to rely on welfare benefits because of their impairments and lack of training or motivation to enter labour market. Foucault refers to a mercantile society governed by contractual associations but reminds us of the working correlative power/knowledge: power produces the individual body, reality and the truth, and it is better to avoid using words like "excludes," "represses," "censors," "abstracts," or "masks." Scruton suggests a free will; for Foucault there is no individual. The Polish and African actors willingly comply with the state to obtain financial support. However, the outcome is different. The Polish actors face structural violence, as money is too little and violence is avoidable. The African disabled with enough money are suddenly sought by members of family and society who desire their benefits.

The second distinction (2) describes the negative and positive ap-

proaches to influence. Foucault rejects the word "influence," as it "refers to an apparently causal process with no delimitation."[43] Galtung connects violence with behaviouristic reactions observed by B.F. Skinner, who was fascinated with the influence of external environment and its factors. Human behaviour is not caused by personality but by (1) positive reinforcement, which by adding a stimulus helps to increase an expected behaviour; (2) negative reinforcement, which by removing a stimulus helps to increase an expected behaviour; (3) positive punishment, which by adding a stimulus helps to decrease unwanted behaviour; (4) negative punishment, which by removing a stimulus helps to decrease unwanted behaviour. The present consumer society[44] follows the first, reward-oriented model and is promised euphoria for going in for consumption (positive reinforcement). Yet those who do not go for exemplary shopping because of movement constraints are not positively punished by the state[45]. When people do not receive any equivalents for being forced to stay outside, they often feel dysphoria and profound uneasiness or dissatisfaction. The state does not have the definition of discomfort, which is nevertheless used. The Katowice airport in Poland follows its own regulations concerning the transport of special passengers: "Sick/ill passengers should have medical certificates. If their state of health affects flight safety or causes discomfort to other passengers, airlines can refuse to fly the passenger."[46] The city refers to *Regulation (EC) No 1107/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 concerning the rights of disabled persons and persons with reduced mobility when traveling by air,*[47] which, however, does not mention the discomfort. The feelings of discomfort, euphoria, uneasiness or dissatisfaction are manipulative. In fact, Polish parents organised a building occupation to obtain a positive punishment. They manipulated politicians' feelings of discomfort and dysphoria, threatening to stay in the Sejm's corridors and lobbies as long as necessary. It was an act of political violence that the public could not fully understand, but that one can see as "violence [that] becomes a way of challenging hegemonic discourses, the power of the abstract conceptualisers who use knowledge as power, or as in

Foucault to challenge abstraction in the service of professionalism and expertise" (Condit).[48]

The third distinction (3) explores the outcomes of violence: physical or biological damage. Galtung[49] presents a typology of somatic violence on anatomy and physiology. The African disabled experience personal violence; their bodies are pierced with knives. The Polish actors are exhausted. The Roma experience the threat of physical violence, the denial of movement (physiology) by being put into prison and exiled.[50] The threat of physical violence influencing the mind is the basis for the balance of power theory, and the Polish parents tried to threaten politicians when one mother shouted "Putin help us!"' in front of TV cameras. The politicians did not know the limits of the parents' desperation.

The fourth distinction (4) concerns the subject (person) acting. If there is an actor, we talk about *personal/direct* violence and with no physical actor about *structural/indirect violence*. The African case mostly describes personal violence, yet this underpins other forms of interpersonal violence, thus making them vulnerable to exploitation.[51] Roma children are denied the right to adequate education.[52] The Polish actors are offered unequal life chances and cannot reach the level of their potential.[53] The Roma and Polish cases are the examples of structural violence: the victims feel oppressed. Young[54] mentions five categories of oppression: *exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism* and *violence*. Marginalisation of the Poles, Africans and Roma creates their powerlessness. The Africans and Poles are not allowed to earn additional money, and they feel equally powerless, though their motives are different. The Africans want to work to feel better, as a disability grant is ma lot of money by African standards. The Poles want to work because of poverty, yet they can only either take little money from the state or put their children in nursing homes for the disabled.[55] The process of distributing distribution is governed by the state helped by Foucauldian widely spreading disciplinary mechanisms gaining and controlling information about resources. The notion of resources also

includes education (denied in the Roma case) and medical services (wheelchairs denied to Africans). Consequently, unequal distribution of resources underpins other inequalities: the low-income individual has low education; the individual with low education has no power.

Structural violence governs all European countries and world organisations established by European culture. Its origins can be traced back to disciplinary structures over the body. As Arendt[56] says, "there exists a consensus among political theorists from Left to Right to the effect that violence is nothing more than the most flagrant manifestation of power"; she quotes C. Wright Mills: "All politics is a struggle for power; the ultimate kind of power is violence." In disciplinary systems – including education – the soul is the prison of the body. All graduates have the soul trained to obey power and to avoid penitentiary systems. Modern power transforms people into three kinds of objects: (1) non-reflexive but efficient producers, (2) insatiable consumers (consumption is more important than production), and (3) human waste, unable to participate in consumption and described by Bauman in *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*.[57] The carceral system presents how people may become its object if they do not behave well. The system has been ascribed the right to punish and lower the threshold of people's status. The producers and the consumers do not want to be outcasts, so working people become docile and work more and more, not even knowing they are being violated. This is pure structural violence, as a human being has higher potentials than being Marcuse's one-dimensional man. Arendt, however, rejects the equation of power with violence. For her, "power corresponds to human ability not just to act but to act in concert and violence is distinguished by its instrumental character…"[58] it is close to strength, since the implements of violence, like all other tools, are designed and used for the purpose of multiplying natural strength.[59] This definition might include extra-institutional protest movements (as in the Polish case) "whose violence is tempered by the desire to generate larger clientele and public support."[60]

The fifth distinction (5) is intended/unintended violence. This is an

important distinction in the Mediterranean countries, as it is connected with Christian ethics of guilt, and later with Roman jurisprudence connected to the intention. When there has been intention, there has always been violence, yet modern times have started defining violence by consequences, too. Foucault suggests looking for a long chain of consequences, as these reveal events/actions taking place at multiple times. The Polish political action was not the first attempt to communicate with the state. Parents had already negotiated with the Prime Minister, who promised help but did not keep the promise (psychological violence: lies). In such a case, as Foucault suggests, we should look to replace one technique with another. And this is what happened. Parents took their disabled children to the building occupation, and it worked the miracle. In this distinction, however, consequences are known. By who are they intended? This is the whole system of power/knowledge put into motion by systems "functionaries, the governed, the exiled – each willingly or unwillingly doing their bit."[61] The parents' action was a planned activity with no physically violent consequences. A politician always has good intentions and can easily confirm them in front of the camera. During the Sejm occupation, politicians gave interviews on TV promising a lot of help, but they usually disavow any connection with disability issues, saying they are *complex* and *difficult problems*. As in a vicious circle, everybody agrees the state is the guilty party, as its activities are intended and bring dreadful consequences, yet the suggestion to question either the ethical behaviour of state structures or of the ethical standards of decision-makers is called absurd and futile, as the orders are given by the state. The ethics of the public were, however, violated by parents who dragged their disabled children to the Sejm, so the public prefers to wonder if they behave morally.[62] In the Roma case, the state and its functionaries ruthlessly expelled the Roma, making it easier to prove structural violence.[63]

The sixth distinction (6) underlines the manifest or latent character of violence. Direct/personal violence as a visible phenomenon may be fought, but latent violence has to be exposed to the world. This truly fleeting

moment of exposing something, which transforms its visibility into doing/performing something, has in itself the capacity for performativity. Polish history taught its citizens how to perform it. Matynia[64] describes the exposure of Polish political oppression in 1991, when quiet Poles created conditions to talk actively, negotiate and compromise in face-to-face meetings with oppressive Communist authorities. Poles talked, discussed and learn how to use words to convince and compromise, as this was their vision of self-government. As Arendt says, "if you want to be active, you have to use words and make them heard because uttered words create the field of visibility."[65] Therefore, if quiet negotiations fail, extra-institutional protest movements like throwing a noisy party, a spectacle with a moral climax – e.g., Polish actors and actresses on the marble stage of the Sejm. Protesters always want large audiences, and as victims, they turn their sacrifice into martyrdom, which turns into testimony of devotion to a noble end.[66]

However, before protesters reach the stage of performative democracy,[67] there is the moment of political violence, and even earlier there is an overture.[68] Earlier Polish actors tried to negotiate with the state, but with no success. Because of this disappointing state of communication, desperate parents decided to act and find the time and place where they would be noticed and heard. They went on stage in the only Foucauldian overlapping area for all the dramatis personae, i.e., the Sejm building, which any citizen following certain rules of behaviour is allowed to visit. The Polish actors used their Foucauldian bodies as weapons: as victims/conspirators driven by personal motives, they introduced dynamics onto the scene and potentiality for Greek catharsis. During the building occupation, the presence of all the dramatis personae was constantly felt, though some politicians ran off the stage and hid, while visibly tired children simply hung from wheelchairs. However, when the strikers were surrounded by cameras, the whole cast gave a great performance. The cases of personal-structural violence have always been photogenic, and TV spectacles turn everybody (including targets) into an actor (disputant in an Apter's discourse) with a role to perform. Parents uttered

their grievances, their children smiled, and politicians started parading and promising the best things imaginable as long as they performed on the screen.[69] Insensitive Polish politicians starred as the latent and petrified structural violence of the state. Victims generally want to be watched as a group – but not a hierarchical one – rather as a romantic guerrilla organisation fighting inequality. The scripts of spectacles put into the mouths of victims (the Polish, African and Roma actors) words like *exploitation, inequality* and *social injustice,* but any politician tries to avoid these words as too emotional. Polish politicians, though representatives of the state did not feel personally responsible for anything, as the state is not them. Parents made subject-object (parents-politicians/ the state) (personal-structural) relations visible; the audience (media) appeared; the situation was commented upon, and politicians had to do something. Thus the Polish spectacle managed to shake static univocal determination of state structures uncovering the violence that afflicts the victims. Politicians tend to avoid spectacles unless they organise them. European history is full of them: public executions, scaffolds, pillory, flogging – all "to brand the victim with infamy."[70] In its nature, the spectacle is a show of power, and the person who controls it is the winner. Previous European spectacles gave victims a chance to redeem themselves by telling the truth amidst the show of the body and blood. Is the show of blood necessary to tell the truth? And the question is whether we are still looking for the truth. The present age "prefers the sign to the thing signified, the copy to the original, representation to the reality, appearance to essence." (Feurbach)[71] The Roma, the African and Polish disabled, and their parents are the thing signified – the original, the reality, the essence – and they know how to organise a truly cathartic and performative spectacle to get to their justice and democracy. The performative way offers the method to lessen or overcome structural violence.

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REVEALING THE HIDDEN PROFESSION?

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS TO SUPPORT TEACHER EDUCATORS IN EUROPE: THE CASES OF HUNGARY AND POLAND

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Keywords: teacher educator, European policy, professional profile, teacher educators' competences, teacher educators' networks.

Abstract. This paper aims to examine the contemporary European policy debate on supporting teacher educators and to analyse against this backdrop current advances in their professional status in two post-socialist countries and members of the EU: Hungary and Poland. In a thorough desk research supplemented by interviews, the motives, directions and key actors behind recent developments in the field are being identified and compared. Although in neither of the two countries an official regulation defining the teacher educator profession so far exists, the extent to which teacher educators are being considered and addressed as a distinct occupational group differs substantially between them. In Hungary, a grounded self-understanding and support of teacher educators is facilitated by the activities of the Hungarian Association of Teacher Educators, as well as research efforts to define a competence framework for teacher educators. In Poland, however, teacher educators as a separate professional group remain vastly unrecognised, both by policy and by the milieu itself. Mapping this hidden profession – its contours and internal structure – might prove an interesting and dynamic process, with both EU recommendations and in-country explorations, bearing potential to shed light on it.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, teachers and teacher education have received increasing attention in Europe, as depicted by both research and policy documents. Teachers matter,[1] and teachers are the most important in-school factor influencing the quality of student learning.[2] We could thus assume that those who teach our teachers – the teacher educators – have a significant impact on the quality of student teachers.[3] However, teacher educators themselves remain an understudied and poorly understood occupational group,[4] especially when it comes to research on teacher educators' professional learning and relevant policies on their professional development.[5] Until recently, both researchers and policymakers have largely ignored teacher educators, focusing instead on structures of teacher education and on the relationship between teacher education programmes and student achievement in schools.[6] Livingston[7] suggests that teacher educators may be "unrecognised" and remain "hidden professionals" because of the identities they construct for themselves or the institutional settings in which they work. She argues that further clarification of the roles and responsibilities they hold is thus necessary to recognise and value teacher educators' distinctive contribution to teachers' continuing professional learning.

Snoek et al.[8] studied the quality of teacher educators in the European policy debate, arguing that European Union (EU) policy documents pay limited attention to the quality of teacher educators. Although stakeholder organisations, such as the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE) and the Association for Teacher Education in Europe (ATEE), have often raised the significance of the specific occupational group,[9, 10] international policy exchange proved limited. However, since 2010, an increasing number of studies, reports and communications from the European Commission have envisaged emphasising the significance of supporting teacher educators with concrete policy measures at the level of member states. The Commission appears to be leading a process of raising awareness and influencing member states in

a relatively unknown area of national education policy by fostering the professionalisation of teacher educators. Considering the Commission's soft influence in the field of education, recent initiatives related to teacher educators reveal the Commission's interest in penetrating into policy areas not fully developed by member states.

This paper aims to explore contemporary European trends in improving the quality and support of teacher educators. It deals with the process of professionalisation, a social and dynamic process of transforming an occupation into a real profession by establishing acceptable qualifications, a professional body to support its members, and some decree of demarcation between the qualified and the unqualified.[11] To this end, European policy documents and reports are analysed to better understand the "European thinking" related to teacher educators. Considering some key European recommendations, the paper will then examine the advances towards the professionalisation of teacher educators in two post-socialist countries and EU members: Hungary and Poland. A comparison between the two countries and the extent to which they seem to reflect European thinking concludes the paper.

2 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Based on the theoretical framework proposed by Snoek et al.[12] with regard to concerns, policy regulations and measures for the professionalism of teacher educators, as well as our own analysis of key European policies and recommendations, we framed our comparative research according to the following themes: (a) professional profile of teacher educators, (b) measures to support teacher educators, (c) supporting networks, and (d) the competences of teacher educators. Specifically, examining the professional profile means we focus on "a personal interpretation of a position based on expectations from the environment and on a systematically organised and transferable knowledge base,"[13] rather than on the professional identity, which implies personal views and self-images. Supporting measures include both policy initiatives related

to the quality of teacher educators and selection criteria or accountability systems, as well as institutional measures, such as training and research opportunities offered by universities or other education centres. Another form of support may come from professional networks that can operate at national, regional or local levels, offering opportunities for professional development and engagement in professional and policy dialogues. Last but not least, the development of competence frameworks for teacher educators is a measure strongly promoted in European discourses. Our methodology includes a review of European policies and developments; an analysis of national policies and initiatives, informed by semi-structured interviews with experts to support the desk research; and a comparative analysis and synthesis of the results. The research follows a comparative case study design,[14] providing a description of the different case countries on the basis of the conceptual themes mentioned above. Although the aim of the study is to illustrate recent developments, certain constraints on the generalisability of the findings should be acknowledged.

In Hungary, interviewees included five teacher educators from one of the country's major teacher education institutions, as well as two policy officials working in government agencies. In Poland, the interviewees comprised three teacher educators from university-based pre-service teacher education providers and two representatives of NGOs and policy-based organisations involved in providing in-service teacher education. The purpose of the interviews was to provide additional information and fill gaps identified in the literature and policy analysis. To this end, the content of the interviews was related to our conceptual framework, while the analysis of interview transcripts followed Mayring's[15] qualitative content analysis and a deductive category application. For ethical reasons, anonymity of the participants is ensured.

3 EUROPEAN POLICY MEASURES TO SUPPORT TEACHER EDUCATORS

Among several initiatives of the European Commission (EC) related to education, teacher education has recently moved higher on the

political agenda, particularly since the publication of the EC's 2007 Communication on "Improving the Quality of Teacher Education." Ministers agreed then that improving the quality of education requires improving the quality of teaching, and thus of teacher education. Providing support to teacher educators was one of the recommendations proposed by the Council of Ministers to address the new demands on teacher education.[16] In 2009, the European Council of Ministers recognised for the first time that teacher educators should have "solid practical teaching experience, good teaching competence, and a high academic standard" and invited the EC to prepare a study on the existing arrangements in the member states for selecting, recruiting and training teacher educators.[17] In 2010, a preliminary Peer Learning Activity (PLA) organised by the Teachers and Trainers cluster took place in Reykjavik, Iceland. Experts from various European countries participated in the specific PLA in an attempt to map the main policy approaches concerning competence requirements and the selection and professional development of teacher educators. A working definition of teacher educators was then adopted, defining the specific profession as including "all those who actively facilitate the (formal) learning of student teachers and teachers,"[18] implying those involved in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) and those involved in Continuing Professional Development (CPD) of teachers. However, the Reykjavik PLA revealed that the notion of teacher educator was differently understood between and within countries' education systems.

In March 2012, a peer learning conference was organised in Brussels, Belgium, which emphasised the need to raise awareness of the important role of teacher educators and to ensure that national policies support the development of the profession.[19] The outcomes of the Reykjavik and Brussels PLA resulted in the document "Supporting the Teaching Professions for Better Learning Outcomes,"[20] which has advisory status across the EU member states and declares that "policy actions should aim at better defining the role and the competences of quality teacher educators to improve their positive impact on teachers' training."

The specific document also refers to the scope of all member states toward making "a significant improvement in the quality of teaching, by improving the ways they select and educate those who educate teaching staff."[21] It thus proposed two key actions that member states were invited to undertake to support teacher educators: (a) develop an explicit profile of the competences required by teacher educators, and (b) reinforce collaboration among all the key actors in all phases of teacher education.[22] The first implies that countries should define explicitly what competences are required by any professionals involved in the ITE or CPD of teachers, irrespective of the institutional setting within which they may work. These competences should include first-order competences (teaching competences) and second-order competences (teaching about teaching, research competences, pedagogy, and didactics). The second key action of reinforcing collaboration among all key actors implies an effective professional collaboration among teacher educators working in different settings, such as higher education subject departments and departments of education, pedagogy or didactics; schools, training or adult education centres; local authorities, and the private sector. To achieve this professional collaboration, education policies should foster the development of networks to ensure that the teacher educators are fully represented and heard in social and professional dialogues.

After these developments, the Irish Presidency of the EU hosted a conference about the support of teacher educators in February 2013, and the European Commission published a report on "Supporting Teacher Educators for Better Learning Outcomes."[23] The specific report identified the following systemic conditions to enhance the quality of the teacher educator profession: creating the necessary regulations or legislative framework in which teacher educators can be most effective; promoting and supporting regular dialogue among key stakeholders; providing a framework of professional characteristics; and regularly assessing the quality of teacher educators' work and of the teacher education system.[24] Particular emphasis was given to the profession's role in proactively defining and safeguarding its own quality through bodies

that can represent the voice of the profession. Suggested policy measures to support teacher educators can first include clarifying who can and should educate teachers, as well as defining the necessary competences and the most appropriate qualifications for members of the profession. At a later stage of policy development, criteria can be set for entry into the profession, selection to teacher education posts and further stages of professional development. An induction programme into the identity and task of educating teachers is also considered an optimal policy measure. Last but not least, the report highlighted the need for teacher educators to reflect and develop their professional qualities and leadership skills throughout their careers. Thus, access to high-quality CPD designed to address the needs of different kinds of teacher educators should be ensured.

Finally, in 2014 the Council of the European Union adopted the conclusions on effective teacher education, acknowledging that teacher educators play a crucial role in maintaining and improving the quality of the teaching workforce. The council invited the member states to "encourage the establishment of professional competence frameworks for teacher educators, setting out the competences they require, while reinforcing collaboration and the exchange of peer practices and developing areas such as the school-based mentoring of new teachers."[25] Additional recommendations included enhancing teacher educators' digital skills and promoting their mobility through funds from the Erasmus+ programme and the European Social Fund (ESF).

4 THE PROFESSIONALISATION OF TEACHER EDUCATORS IN TWO CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

This paper analyses recent developments to improve the professionalisation of teacher educators in two countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), Hungary and Poland, considering the potential soft influence coming from the EU level. Both countries became EU members in 2004, participate in the cluster of the four Visegrád countries,

and share a socialist past. In the 1990s, they experienced a dramatic transformation that redefined the way educational goals and the goals of socioeconomic transformation were aligned.[26] The transition from a planned to a market economy and the accession to the EU strengthened the crucial role of education in enhancing broader social and economic developments within the new context provided by the lifelong learning approach of the EU, which both countries quickly adopted under the influence of the new European policy coordination mechanisms and the EU structural funds.[27] At present, both countries have right-wing Eurosceptic governments whose policies have significantly altered the structure and functioning of the education system.

After 20 years of decentralisation, the Hungarian government in office since 2010 introduced legislation to centralise power in education, putting schools under the direct governance of central authorities. The Decree on the National Core Curriculum (2012) redefined the mission of the national curriculum as a regulatory instrument and introduced general knowledge content, while the Act on Textbook Provision in National Public Education (2013) established a new body responsible for producing and disseminating textbooks.[28] A major change included the transfer of school maintenance from the level of local governments to the level of the state through the establishment of the Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre in 2013. With regard to teachers, the National Public Education Act (2011) transferred the employment of public-school teachers to the state and defined teachers' tasks, rights and obligations. The Decree on the Teacher Training System (2012) reintroduced an undivided initial teacher education programme and increased the duration of teaching practice from six months to a full academic year at the end of the studies.[29] In 2015, external and internal school evaluation were strengthened and linked to teacher appraisal, which has an impact on teachers' salaries and career opportunities.[30]

Similarly, since 2016 the Polish education system has experienced a dramatic shift, in terms of both curriculum and organisation. The tripartite system comprising a six-year primary, three-year lower secondary

and three-year upper secondary school, introduced in 1998 and hailed for increasing social equity and academic achievement, is now being reconstructed, with the aim of reintroducing a bipartite system from 1961. The reform is being heavily criticised by educationalist, academia and civil society for its premises and mode of implementation. With the eradication of lower-secondary schooling, both local governments, having invested considerable funds in establishing an adequate infrastructure for the previous education system, and teachers striking in prospect of retraining and potential job loss, have made educational reform one of the most pressing socio-political issues in 2016 and 2017.

4.1 Recent developments in Hungary

4.1.1 The professional profile of teacher educators

Nowadays, teacher education in Hungary is provided in higher education institutions (universities or colleges), and all teachers need to have a bachelor's or master's degree, depending on the school level they are teaching. Although no official regulation specifically addresses teacher educators, interviewees in this study referred to a common understanding that teacher educators in Hungary include all those who contribute to the education and professional development of prospective and in-service teachers. Within this context, higher education faculty members who specialise in subject-related studies, subject methodology training, pedagogy or psychology are responsible for educating teachers at higher education institutions. Thus, their qualifications are regulated by higher education acts. According to the 2011 Act on National Higher Education, employment at higher education institutions may include the following positions: assistant lecturer, senior lecturer, college or university associate professor, and college or university professor.[31] Enrolment in a Ph.D. course is a precondition for employment as an assistant lecturer, while holding a Ph.D. is a precondition for employment as a senior lecturer at universities and as associate professor in colleges and universities. Habilitation and international acknowledgement constitute

additional requirements for employment as a professor at universities. Depending on the higher education institution, more rigorous or softer regulations may apply. For example, some universities currently employ "master lecturers" who have not completed doctoral studies; their main task is to teach, rather than to conduct research.

In addition to higher education faculty members, teacher educators in Hungary are also practising teachers who play a role as mentors in schools. At present, and because of the high demand of school mentors, there are various ways a teacher can become a mentor – for example by following an in-service course awarding a certification, or simply by having a minimum of seven years' teaching experience. However, the new system of teacher career management aims to change this situation in the near future. Specifically, the new system, introduced in 2013, stipulates that teachers may be promoted from "novice teacher" to "teacher I," "teacher II," "master teacher" or "researcher teacher."[32] Upon implementation, all teachers were classified as "teacher I," and experienced teachers faced a salary loss. Although all teachers need to go through the first three classifications, the last two are optional and one can decide to be a master or a researcher teacher later in his or her career. According to this newly established system, mentors of novice teachers need to be master teachers who observe and evaluate the teaching practice of their younger peers and decide on their promotion considering a centrally defined list of teacher competences.[33] To qualify as master teachers, teachers are required to have reached the "teacher II" and prepare a five-year plan demonstrating how they intend to further develop their teaching practice, as well as the practice of their school in general. The specific plan is evaluated according to four aspects: innovation, gathering evidence on one's own practice, knowledge sharing, and professional development.

Steger[34] studied the perspectives of Hungarian teacher educators with regard to the evaluation of their own activity as teacher educators. Her findings indicate that a vast majority of the study's respondents (90.8%) considered themselves teacher educators, including 17% of the respondents who had jobs in institutional coordination and another

31% who were disciplinary teachers in the fields of subject, pedagogy, or psychology. The respondents found their activity as teacher educators definitely important among their other tasks, rated the professional content in their own practice as more modern than that used by other professions, and thought they were using a broad range of methods in their own teaching but developing the pedagogical skills of their students only moderately.

4.1.2 Measures to support teacher educators

In Hungary, teacher educators receive support from different levels: ministerial, regional, institutional, and doctoral schools.[35] The Ministry of Education defines the training requirements through legislation, estimates the percentage of teacher educators with PhDs, and finances projects in which teacher educators work and learn together. A system of regional centres for teacher education research and development has been established within universities, aiming initially to provide support to teacher educators, publish support materials, and organise methodological conferences. However, after the restoration of the undivided ITE programmes and the government's efforts to centralise power, the regional centres for teacher education were awarded greater authority with regard to the development of teacher education programmes and, more important, the organisation of practicums. With this new system, teacher education faculties have stopped owning the development of ITE programmes and the organisation of the teaching practice, and cater predominantly for providing subject-related studies.

In view of supporting teacher educators, teacher education institutions organise two- or three-day workshops for all profiles of teacher educators, as well as in-service training for school mentors, while doctoral schools offer specialised doctoral programmes for teacher educators.[36] Although opportunities for professional development seem to exist, there is no systematic or mandatory professional development for teacher educators. Academic faculty members are generally responsible for their own CPD, which plays an important role in applying for promotion but is not

centrally regulated.[37] School mentors are subject to the same regulations applying to teachers' in-service training, meaning that teachers must complete a minimum of 120 hours of CPD every seven years.[38] However, as of 2010, in-service professional development can be financed only from targeted tender funds because normative funding support was abolished.[39]

According to one interviewee, development interventions in teacher education, funded by the ESF, have also crucially shaped micro-level institutional processes much more deeply and intensely than legal measures. The Social Renewal Operation Programme (TÁMOP) has been the Hungarian government's most important instrument in shaping the development of ITE, including the development of teacher educators. Specifically, action 4.1.2. focused on the renewal of the teaching profession and fostered the cooperation of higher education institutions in the field of teacher education.[40]

4.1.3 Supporting networks: the Hungarian Association of Teacher Educators

The Hungarian Association of Teacher Educators is one of the oldest associations of its kind in Europe, dating back to 1988. It was founded as an NGO by teacher educators, with the mission of participating in policymaking, fostering cooperation among teacher educators in different institutions, and supporting teacher educators' self-development. The association also contributes to research and publications on teacher education through its journal, Teacher Education (Pedagógusképzés), and book publications. It currently has more than 300 members, mainly teacher educators from the fields of education, psychology and subject methodology, as well as schoolteachers. It remains a challenge to reach and include more teacher educators of different subjects. Originally, all kinds of teacher educators, from pre-school to upper-secondary education, could be members of the association, but later a separate association was created specifically for pre-school and primary school teacher educators. The association's activities are organised around the following

interest groups: pedagogy, psychology, subject methodology, mentors, subjects in teacher education, in-service education, centres for teacher education, and vocational education and training. Members participate in professional committees developed on the basis of contemporary issues of high importance for the profession.

The association offers formal professional learning programmes for teacher educators from various institutions through the Teacher Educators' Academy. According to Falus,[41] the specific academy was introduced as a policy initiative of the association to support the in-service training of its members, focusing on theoretical issues that influence teacher education. About 80 to 120 participants from all teacher education institutions in the country take part in professional training organised by the academy at least once a year, usually in the form of half-day, one-day, or two-day sessions. When urgent issues related to the profession arise, additional training or group meetings may take place. The training may include lectures, seminars, discussions, workshops, or projects, and lecturers are usually high-level policymakers, university professors, and practising teacher educators. In the last years, some trainings were related to the competences of teacher educators (January 2017), in-service teacher education (October 2016), and renewing teacher education (October 2015). The academy actively contributes to the professional development of teacher educators, while outcomes so far include scientific articles published in the association's journal and the development of documents considered by policymakers in the preparation of various ministerial decrees or institutional-level decisions.[42]

4.1.4 The competences of teacher educators

Formally, there is no regulation concerning the competences of teacher educators. Depending on whether they work at a higher education institution or a school, teacher educators need to follow the respective national education acts. Despite the lack of a formal framework, a research group at the Eszterházy Károly University at Eger recently developed a handbook for teacher educators' competences, considering

the framework produced by the Dutch Association for Teacher Educators VELON, as well as recent European initiatives on supporting teacher educators. The competences consist of relevant indicators of knowledge, skills, and attitudes. The aim of the research group was to showcase the idea that teacher educators have multiple identities, including their professional identity as experts in specific disciplines and their identity as teacher educators. In the specific handbook, Falus and Estefánné[43] suggest that teacher educators:

1. Model professional teaching practice (possess the competences of a teacher).
2. Support student teachers in the process of becoming teachers and in their professional development, in their career socialisation, and in their continuous professional development.
3. Collaborate with other people, institutions and organisations related to teacher education.
4. Regularly analyse their own practice, reflect on it, and make clear their commitment to lifelong professional development and teacher education.
5. Conduct research on learning, teaching and teacher education.
6. Contribute to the development of teacher education activities within their institutions.
7. Take responsibility for ensuring and improving the quality of teacher education and public education.
8. Join the international stream of teacher education and public education regarding their approaches and practices, at least on a European level.

Teacher educators' competences remain a debated topic in Hungary, as there are fears that once again the government will use such a competence list for control and appraisal rather than professional development. Interviewees in this study stressed that several requirements and competences are already defined by national legislation, which makes it unnecessary to include more. Some teacher educators expressed the view that such a tool may be used as a "political weapon'" that, in the form

of a checklist, might disqualify competent teacher educators because of their political beliefs and attitudes. Instead, autonomy and improved salary and working conditions were highlighted as measures that could have a direct influence on supporting teacher educators.

4.2 Recent developments relating to teacher educators in Poland

4.2.1 The professional profile of teacher educators

Following a process of "universitising" the teacher education landscape in Europe,[44] which in Poland intensified from the 1960s onward,[45] virtually all pre-service teacher training institutions are currently university-based.[46] As in most European countries, the qualification and competence profile of teacher educators is therefore part of general regulations and provisions for teachers in higher education.[47] These are regulated by the Higher Education Act of 2005[48] and are very flexible in nature, listing several types of academic profiles – i.e., research, research-lecturing and lecturing positions – translating into different minimal qualifications requirements. In effect, the qualifications of teacher educators in Poland range from MA for assistant positions to PhD for full professors. Assistant lecturers with B.A. qualifications may be accepted in specific cases. In additional, the Polish regulations set standards for the composition of the teaching faculties of all university-based study-programmes, indicating a minimum number of professors and PhD researchers, their academic profiles and records, as well as the proportion of the joint number of research staff members and other teaching staff members on the faculty.[49] All the regulations, naturally, apply to teacher education faculties.

With regard to in-service teacher educators, the variety of professional profiles seems even more diverse than in the case of pre-service teacher training. Central and regional public teacher development centres tend to grant teacher-training posts and assignments to practitioner teachers. This tendency is also reflected in the regulation defining the qualifications

of consultant-teachers[50] and advisor-teachers forming the bulk of teacher development centres' staff. In addition to regular qualifications allowing them to teach a given subject on a given educational level, both profiles require candidates to possess either appointed-teacher or certified-teacher status, as well as a minimum of five years' teaching experience. However, accredited NGOs and commercial bodies are authorised to deliver training for teachers just like central and regional teacher development centres. The professional profiles of trainers also comprise such roles as adult educators, training assistants, group moderators and facilitators. Those trainers usually hold trainer certificates from one of the several training and certification bodies, although this standard is not set in any of the documents regulating in-service teacher education. In effect, it is not uncommon for trainers with no classroom experience or pedagogical preparation to deliver training to teachers. This feature, by the way, is also characteristic of pre-service teacher education providers, formally allowing for a purely academic profile of most of their staff.

With no official definition in place, teacher educators' professional profiles tend to be understood very broadly in Poland. Some of those interviewed in this study directly pointed to the wording proposed by the European Commission, indicating all professional roles involved in pre-service and in-service teacher training as teacher educators, including mentors, coaches and consultant teachers. Others differentiated between teacher educators, being involved in general, long-term professional development, irrespective of pre-service or in-service setting, and teacher trainers – engaged in the process of acquiring specific skills only in the short term. The former, bearing a greater responsibility for the overall competence profile of future teachers, were generally also expected to meet more demanding qualification and competence standards. This was said to be specifically the case for pre-service teacher educators. An interesting borderline case is school-based mentors supervising the professional development of novice teachers throughout their first two stages of career advancement (*apprentice teacher* and *chartered teacher*).[51] While mentors are being charged with co-developing, and evaluating the

professional development plan of novice teachers, their status as teacher educators is not considered clear-cut and is being disputed among teacher educators.

4.2.2 Measures to support teacher educators

Although no specific measures – either financial or programmatic – have been identified to support teacher educators as a specific target group (distinct from other academic teachers or trainers working in the field informal adult education), some provisions for quality assurance in teacher educators' training could still be distinguished. For example, the development of consultant-teachers and advisor-teachers employed by central and regional teacher development centres is meant to meet some basic standards: it can be delivered only by accredited teacher development centres of national coverage and should therefore follow a thematic and methodological agenda developed by the central teacher education centre.[52] Although there are few instruments to evaluate the educational outcomes of the CPD of teacher trainers employed in public bodies, but for a yearly evaluation and the possibility of prematurely terminating the contract, those interviewed in the study – representing both teacher development centres and other institutions – seem to share a view that the tools in place suffice for granting a satisfactory competency level of the teacher training staff.

However, they also share an opposite outlook regarding the quality of non-public teacher training provision. The quality provision of teacher education ranges from methodologically excellent, introducing best international practices initiatives such as two Polish-American Freedom Foundation spinoffs (the Centre for Civic Education and the Teacher Academy) to theoretically uninformed, with non-existent methodology standards of a multitude of other non-governmental and commercial companies. In the common view of all those interviewed, this phenomenon has deepened with the rise since 2004 of the ESF operational programmes inducing a dynamic, but not qualitatively competitive, increase in the number of training companies, offering

low-quality, non-profiled training to a variety of target groups, including teaching staff members of virtually all educational levels and school types.

To counteract the low standards of commercially based teacher training, in 2016 the Polish Ministry of National Education (MoNE) initiated a discussion on some possible steps to secure high-quality training provision of CPD opportunities for teachers. As a result, the Education Development Centre (ORE) – a MoNE-supervised teacher development centre – has recently been assigned the task of developing validation and certification procedures for teacher trainers. This might prove a ground-breaking step, as it will require setting one or several qualifications for teacher trainers, as well as a decision whether and how to align the educational outcomes of the qualification to the Polish and European Qualification Framework.

4.2.3 Supporting networks

With a relatively developed civil society sector,[53] the lack of any association or networks grouping teacher educators might come as a surprise. None of the three stakeholder institutions – the Teachers' Union, the Board of Rectors of Polish Universities or the School Management Staff Association – has a section or working group focused on teacher educators. Although the Teachers' Union does have a separate higher education section, addressing, for example, the quality of higher education provision and of the educational system in general, the thematic scope of its activities is limited to improving conditions for higher education teachers. No special regard to teacher educators could be discerned. This situation seems to reflect a general low recognition of the teacher educators' separate professional identity. According to one interviewee, the multiple roles and identities of teacher educators, usually working simultaneously as educators of other target groups (students of other faculties, other professionalisms), debilitates the development of a clear-cut self-definition of teacher educators, as well as a clear recognition of the group's specific characteristics and needs.

This is the case even among faculty members lecturing solely in teacher education programmes. A majority of deans surveyed by Gołębniak and Krzychała estimated that only 10 to 30% of their students in teacher education programmes actually intend to become teachers.[54] Pre-service teacher educators tend, therefore, rather to identify with general higher education faculty members than to stress their specificity.

4.2.4 The competences of teacher educators

The competences of academic faculty members has been an issue of concern, both on the central policy level and in the Polish academic milieu. Whereas governmental strategies stress the development of research competences, the Higher Education Development Strategy 2020, authored by the Board of Rectors of Polish Universities,[55] points to the teaching competences of academic staff members as a crucial element of raising educational standards in Polish academia and voices a need for a major paradigm shift in academic teaching from those of a teacher as a knowledge-provider to a model in which the teacher is a mentor and guide in knowledge and skills acquisition. Still, neither document specifically addresses the competences of academic teachers who are teacher educators. Interestingly, in the above mentioned survey on teacher education provision, conducted among the deans of 87 teacher training faculties in Poland, no concern has been raised with regard to teacher educators' competences.[56] Once again, it seems, that the issue of the specific profile of teacher educators, though occasionally raised by some researchers and practitioners in the field, does not yet seem to be a focus of teacher education faculties management and, according to those interviewed in the study is not likely to become one in the nearest future.

However, more dynamic developments might be expected in the in-service teacher training field. As indicated above, developing a validation and certification system for in-service teacher trainers will require designing at least one generative teacher training qualification. Assuming the qualification will be consistent with the Polish Qualification Framework, the process will encompass defining three aspects of the

teacher training qualification profile: professional knowledge, skills and social competences. If so, this would be the first attempt in the Polish education system to indirectly define the competence profile of teacher educators. Moreover, by registering the to-be-developed teacher training qualification in the integrated qualification system, it would also be the first document comprehensively describing the teacher trainers' professional profile to have regulatory status.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Sharing an analogous starting point of a post-socialist educational system, and having implemented a series of solutions decentralising and modernising the educational system in the 1990s and 2000s, Hungary and Poland face similar quality and equity challenges stemming from educational reforms implemented in the last 20 twenty years. As if overwhelmed by the effects of their predecessors' deregulative agenda, the governments in office in both countries withdrew from many of the previous system's achievements reintroducing curricular and organisational solutions from the pre-transformation period. Whereas Hungary overtly tightened central control over education provision, teacher education as well as teacher appraisal, Poland seems to have kept the autonomy once granted to the actors of the educational field, i.e. higher education institutions and in-service teacher training providers, yet introduced standard-setting or regulatory solutions in other fields previously not covered by the reforms. Both past and current developments in transforming the educational systems appear to affect the debate on the status of teacher educators as recently stipulated in EU documentation, displaying potential of advancing or debilitating it. The context matters and on several occasions the two governments proved they are better at words than implementation. Some Hungarian teacher educators see the introduction of competence frameworks as yet another government effort to control them. Although neither country has an official definition of teacher educators' professional role, the

extent to which teacher educators are being considered and addressed as separate, distinct actors in the educational system differs substantially between them. Contrary to Poland, where no attempts at forming an overarching representation of the teacher educators' milieu could be identified, in Hungary there seems to be a grounded self-understanding of teacher educators, evident not only in an established professional association but also in efforts to define teacher educators' competence profiles. The developments in Hungary seem at least partly to reflect two major recommendations of the European Commission related to supporting teacher educators: developing an explicit profile of teacher educators' competences, stemming from the professionals themselves, as well as reinforcing collaboration among key actors of teacher education; and providing a basis for further policy work regarding the professional profile of teacher educators.

Still, the status of teacher educators in both educational systems remains vague. Although in Hungary this professional group remains officially unrecognised, a dynamic bottom-up process of teacher educators' self-definition is facilitating its formation. In Poland, however, teacher educators remain vastly unrecognised as a separate professional group, both by policy and by the milieu itself. Mapping this hidden profession – its contours and internal structure – might prove an interesting and dynamic process, with both EU recommendations and in-country explorations bearing potential to shed light on it.

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IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF FOUCAULT'S NOTION OF DISCIPLINE

INSIGHT INTO TEACHERS' PRACTICE

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Keywords: power relations, discipline, teachers, Foucault.

Abstract. Building on Foucault's understanding of disciplinary power, I would like to investigate the power relations shaping contemporary teachers' reality. In *Discipline and Punish,* the philosopher describes various procedures in which people, described as "docile bodies," are controlled, influenced and analysed until they perform expected behaviour, "the norm." My focal point is to show those hidden techniques of "training" teachers, such as observations, normalising judgments or examinations, which are often not recognisable as such by the teachers themselves. While nowadays power relations are more complex than the disciplinary type alone, it is worth considering that the disciplinary power still constitutes teachers. It needs to be underlined that the disciplinary power is more dangerous than other power relations because it remains invisible and, accordingly, so effective. The paper demonstrates that the "disciplinary" world of education has not changed much but, rather, developed its techniques since the 18th century. At the same time, it raises some important questions in need of further investigation regarding power relations that shape the teaching profession.

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1 INTRODUCTION

> It is necessary to pass over to the other side – the other side from the 'good side' - in order to try to free oneself from these mechanisms that have made two sides appear in order to dissolve the false unity of this

> other side whose part one has taken. That is where the real work begins, the work of the history of the present. (Interview with Michel Foucault, March 1977)[1]

As Pezdek and Rasiński argue, "Foucault's philosophy no longer seems just a dismal vision of carceral society, but also offers an active critical attitude that supports individuals' emancipatory strivings."[2] Michel Foucault's works have far-reaching influence on understanding how *power relations* constitute educational reality and how they are visible or hidden in that context. Following Deleuze's understanding of Foucault, one must remember that power cannot be assigned to a particular person, a political party, or an institution.[3] The French philosopher defines it as "a whole range of power relations that may come into play among individuals, within families, in pedagogical relationships, political life and so on."[4] Therefore, it can be stated that power relations are manifold and omnipresent. The prime concern lies in understanding that although power is not only discipline, discipline is a possible technique of power. It needs to be underlined that the disciplinary power is more dangerous than other power relations because it remains invisible.[5] While nowadays power relations are more complex than the disciplinary type alone, it is worth considering that the discipline power that "makes" individuals into teachers is still present.

The philosopher's insight into the development of controlling practices goes back to its roots in the 18th century. He proves that "disciplinary power which arises from these institutions is based upon a structuring of individuality through spread of practices which are both normative and normalising."[6] In terms of educational context, teachers are, at the same time, both objects of discipline and the means to discipline others. Discipline power relies on the controlling practices of activities "on almost every occasion, (…) adopted in response to particular needs."[7] It aims at recognising a behaviour that did not match the norm "to supervise the conduct of every individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits. It was a procedure, therefore, aimed at knowing,

mastering and using."[8] It is the characteristic feature of "normalisation." A question arises: in what ways one can use the potential of Foucault's notion of discipline to talk about contemporary teachers? Are the power relations still used to "train" teachers to become disciplined, well-regulated "docile bodies"? Furthermore, can anyone be encountered as an autonomous subject in a "carceral" world of education?[9] Prisons and the military are two of the greatest examples of disciplinary power, according to Foucault.

Therefore, the primary concern of this paper is to shed light on power relations that shape teachers, disabling them from achieving autonomy. The paper offers a theoretical study of Foucault's concept in the disciplinary reality of schooling. My focal point is to examine a number of illustrations from contemporary educational context to follow Foucault's understanding of discipline. Foucault maintains that presupposed mechanisms guarantee the "proper training" of an individual. He puts forward that the success of disciplinary power is based on plain instruments. In the educational context, it seems that at least three of them might be distinguished: hierarchical observations, normalising judgment and the examination system.

2 TEACHERS' INTERNAL EXAMINATION

Examination combines observation and the normalising judgment. Foucault defines it as "a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them."[10] The core of education is devoted to examination, to which almost every school activity is somehow subjected. In other words, education aims either at preparing for examination, analysing the results of examination or creating new solutions how to improve examination results. Olivier[11] posits that it indeed has an informative character, as it focuses on an individual's abilities and skills to act according to the norms defined by dominating economic system.

Teachers' assessment begins as soon as they enter academia to learn

how to become effective in their jobs, strengthening the normalisation. They usually receive high level of theoretical preparation: the university diploma. The acquired knowledge is tested against a detailed list of abilities, competences which a young candidate is expected to develop during a five-year programme. The situation is reminiscent of a factory.[12] When a "product" is ready, it is classified according to the norm. Unfortunately, the examination procedures do not only confirm the acquired abilities of future teachers, but is also applied to the teaching profession as it is to the learning process through constantly repeated rituals of power.[13]

Similarly, in evaluating practitioners, the emphasis is placed on their "doing" rather than thinking; controlling, not understanding; mastering "obedient" classes rather than innovating or developing reflective thinking.[14] Polish teachers hold the opinion that "now teachers who are experimenting are not promoted. If I suddenly stopped using textbooks, I would probably have been censored at the time."[15]

Another aspect of examination is hidden in the paperwork teachers are expected to produce. The evaluation of their effectiveness as evidenced by piles of papers is one way to influence and, at the same time, discipline teachers. Foucault underlines that "a power of writing was constituted an essential part of disciplining."[16] In this way, a system of penalties and rewards is exercised. Such a procedure fosters teachers' obedience. This is an effective way to limit their autonomy.[17] However, one should be aware that the power of writing does not aim to normalise every individual, but it makes an analysable object out of a body that is to be classified and described according to its characteristics and ascribed to a scale that measures the gap between individuals. The examination system constitutes the individual as an effect and object of power, and at the same time as an effect and object of knowledge. As the power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more individualised.

In the Polish educational context, teachers recognise paperwork as their main obstacle to acting autonomously and creatively. They perceive

those procedures as the successful attempts to take away their sense of creativity, substituting freedom in creating documents that respond to the guide lines of various reforms on education. In addition, they recognise it as the most important characteristic of their job, saying that being a teacher relies on "the production of countless paperwork, its description, evaluation and analysis. Who will believe me that I fulfill my duties if I have no paper for it?"[18]

3 TEACHERS' EXTERNAL EXAMINATION

Success in a teacher's career path relies to a great extent on constant observations, as well as the capability to produce and gather various certificates confirming ability to work with the local community, knowledge of computer and information technology, ability to develop and implement various educational programmes, etc. A few years ago on the basis of fullfiled folders, today on the basis of multimedia presentations, the Commission including a principal and "experts" from Department of Education decides to accept a teacher as a professional teacher. "Unfortunately, the production of papers is compulsory for a teacher's promotion."[19] Such a procedure only confirms Foucault's standpoint that "the examination is fully ritualised."[20]

Applying Foucault's framework to the educational context, one may notice that the growing importance of tests and examinations has turned the education into an economic market. Before the exam results that describe teachers' effectiveness, the shift in the educational discourse is noticeable. Nowadays, teachers perceive one another not as colleagues, but rather as *competitors* who need to prepare children better to achieve norms. Schools focus on improving their *management* because fulfilling the norms is at the same time the guarantee of receiving financial funds from the *controllers*. School principles focus on mission statements and performance measures. Parents are perceived as *clients*; teachers, instead of inspiring and motivating people, have learned well that they should satisfy their clients. Last but not least, students became *customers*, *products* or *numbers* in the tables of the school's achievements.[21]

Power structures describe a grim future in economics, technology, and social life. Unfortunately, such prospect is being tightly connected to a crisis of school legitimacy, which causes anxiety and the concern about safety among parents and students. As a result, society starts to consider "lowering standards of education," making it is easy to introduce educational reforms in the case of continuing ideological and political struggle. In other words, the "truth game" is played to uncover publicly the imperfection of the schools. Thus the need, fully recognised and understood by society, to introduce new laws and reforms.

Such an attitude creates dichotomies between teachers and parents, turning them from allies into enemies, thereby undermining the potential of the possibilities of collaboration. The central element of such discourse is the schools' inability to respond to rapidly changing economic conditions. By implementing such an approach, schools are presented as an obsolete relic that needs to be reformed. Teacher's voices are not taken into account because they are already labelled as bureaucrats using out-of-date approaches and techniques. In consequence, the social needs are opposed to distant, bureaucratic institutions. As a reason of such judgment, it comes as no surprise that parents rarely fight for schools.

In constant debates regarding teachers in Poland, they are shown in a contradictory light by professionals, experts who motivate students to opinions. In her research, Małgorzata Czerni was told research that "teachers are lazy grumblers, they put forward unreasonable claims to the educational authorities, (...) there are arguments relating to the hours of work they do, and salary they gain for that, ('a teacher works to 2 P.M., and later on does nothing'), poor teaching skills ('students have to rely on private lessons in order to pass the year'), the lack of pedagogical skills (school 'does not know how to' get to grips with spoilt children)."[22] Such a judging debate, widely covered by media, shifts attention from the way teachers are disciplined and experience growing shrinking of autonomy. The debate is well described in the works of Śliwerski,[23] who contends that "the society is totally confused by chaos, mutually

exclusive solutions."[24] The essential feature of this discourse is indeed assessment and judgment. Therefore, the discourse is based on such socially recognisable concepts as norm, authority, success and freedom. It creates a significant "truth effect" that commands loyalty and steers society. Schools seldom question the laws they follow, which they assume are justified by the rules of the world around them.[25]

Unfortunately, the examination strategies celebrated by schools have mainly focused on the passing rates. Students' results are scrupulously compared at the interschool, national and even international levels. As Foucault puts forward, the goal of examination is "to classify, to form categories, to determine averages, to fix norms."[26] His statements' potential helps in considering the level of students' achievement as a tool to judge teachers as well. Furthermore, it introduces individuality and the spirit of competition among practitioners. Each teacher is aware how crucial it is to achieve better student results. In other words, educational institutions function in regard to their position in a table of examination results, thus reproducing the controlling practices.

4 DISCIPLINARY POWER AND HIERARCHICAL OBSERVATIONS

Observations are present in teachers' everyday life as "the guarantee" that a teacher can achieve educational aims. Foucault defines the hierarchical observation as "an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible."[27] In addition, they become integrated into teachers' everyday reality. The observer might be a colleague from school, a principal or representative of the Educational Board. An observed teacher is at the same time the "object" of this disciplinary power and the "instrument of its exercise," within a pyramidal structure in which the observers are themselves observed.[28] In similar vein, Deacon notices that power relations are two-sided because "'those who exercise power in the school are caught up and subjected by its functions just as much as those over

whom the power is exercised."[29] Such observations focus on fulfillment of aims, ability to manage classroom discipline, etc. The elements that need to be assessed and judged are often imposed on observers by the policymakers. Foucault describes the birth of "observatories" and their development from the classical age. Apart from the example discussed above, he seems to focus on "the minor techniques of multiple and intersecting observations, *of eyes that must see without being seen*; using techniques of subjection and methods of exploitation, an obscure art of light and the visible was secretly preparing a new knowledge of man."[30]

Unfortunately, a vast array of such techniques is still used in education. Teachers are assigned to a group of students, and therefore they are constantly supervised individuals "by the uninterrupted play of calculated gazes."[31] Therefore, it may be concluded that the surveillance of teachers is being practiced not only by the "outsiders," but especially on an everyday basis by their students. The slightest incompetence is immediately reported to parents or principals. Foucault reminds us of the division of "observatory duties" in the classical age among the best students, called visitors, intendants or admonitors.

Nowadays, those tasks such as taking care of discipline or informing families about interruptive behaviour are mainly ascribed to an assistant teacher. Although such a person has pedagogical functions as well, together with a leading teacher he or she is exposed to mutual observation. There are also minor procedures exposing a teacher to "a single gaze" that serve the same purpose, e.g., supervising children during breaks (teachers are always to stand in the ascribed places to be visible), or installation of CCTV at schools and nearby for safety reasons (in reality, teachers are watched for how they perform their duties during breaks, what time they leave work, etc.). Similarly, as *Discipline and Punish* points out, schools' architecture, number of windows or desk layout enables continuing surveillance of teachers. Foucault understands the means of surveillance as the disciplinary system of power relation, though built of simple instruments.[32]

5 REWARDS AND PUNISHMENT AS MEANS OF PROPER TRAINING

The historical insights into various constraints of power relation in the Polish context are well documented by Śliwerski, who has been researching attempts to create the educational norms and subordinate teachers and schools to achieve political and/or economical goals. In his works he presents his critical perspective or, as he says, "disappointment" about such a situation. His research findings show that the since the fall of Communism, all attempts to reform schools have led to imposing more regulations and expectations.

However, since 1998, a major shift in the understanding examination procedures may be observed. Since that time, the focus has not been placed only on learners, but it mainly become the tool for measuring, assessing, and describing schools' and teachers' effectiveness. It had been done through the introduction of external examinations after each educational stage, and even further division of educational institutions resulted from replacing an eight-year primary school with a six-year school. Therefore, as Śliwerski writes, "every year, the bottom-up energy and creativity of teachers to introduce the pedagogical innovations have fallen to the in favour of obedience to the centrally imposed pedagogues of programmatic, methodological and even organisational change."[33]

"At the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism."[34] *Discipline and Punish* includes many examples that illustrate the micropenalties used to model children's behaviour. While considering the educational context, one must realise that these are also used to "train" teachers. Through punishment, one must understand everything that makes teachers feel uneasy, humiliated or offended. It can be demonstrated in a certain attitude, certain indifference, a question, a humiliation,[35] a public remark, or removal from the position. It was and still is a question of punishing the slightest deviation from the expected behaviour or outcome.

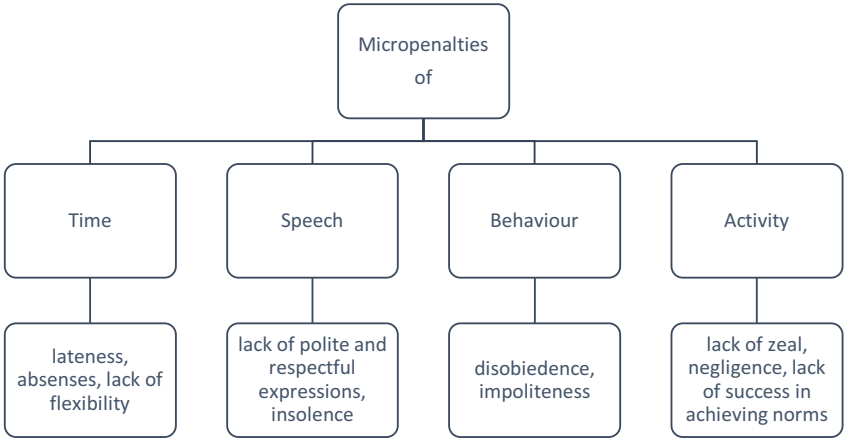

Figure 1. Teachers' micropenalties
Source: Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish, p. 178.*

Foucault underlines that non-conforming behaviour or its unexpected outcome is punishable. The techniques of disciplined punishment must be regulated by procedures and laws, but also by observation technique because they serve corrective purpose. However, punishment is one of the means to arrive at the constituted individual. On the contrary, the other constituent of training is gratification. When applied to teachers, the reward scale is easily noticeable. The educational system from the local level up to national, and recently international, has developed the system of the honorary reward ladder, from school-based privileges to national spectacles with educational officials.

However, it is important to understand that it does not focus on repression, as it encourages competition and hence comparison among teachers. Such a system is not fixed and given, once and for all. It can be always reversed in case of even the slightest deviation from the norm. It functions so effectively that a majority of teachers do not even notice being "trained" in this manner.

Many years after the transformation, Polish schools were and still are fully controlled, and hence paralysed by the power relations. Śliwerski also underlines that education became an instrument or a tool for political manipulation, and thus each change of ruling political party even strengthens the dissolution of good solutions or procedures. Regulations, enforcements, and various often contradictory laws and sanctions ensured that education institutions have adopted an "audit" structure of schooling governed by disciplinary power. Surveillance and inspections are designed to strengthen its compliance. Teachers are required to meet externally applied norms and commands.

6 TEACHERS AUTONOMY IS STILL TO COME

From the above analysis of the educational context, it becomes apparent that according to Foucault's theory of discipline power, little space is left for teachers to fight power relations. For that reason, I argue that the disciplinary techniques used to train teachers lead to further reproduction of school inequality and promote passive citizenship. Last of all, instead of fostering teachers' development, those controlling practices aim at limiting their autonomy to obedience. Therefore, one can still investigate the sense of considering autonomy in the light of socially constrained power relations.

After the extensive literature review, Parker found that "within European and North American philosophy and contemporary social theory, autonomy is a 'vexed, complex and contradictory' concept."[36] Moreover, Parker adds "there is no definitive measure of autonomy"[37] that makes the attempts to analyse the concept itself even more ambiguous. However, the main assumption of such a concept relies on overcoming power relations to free oneself from the domination. Nevertheless, in Foucault's understanding such a consideration is inadequate. First, according to Bourke (et al.),[38] it is worth considering that Foucault does not recognise power as only oppressive in nature, but rather argues that power can be productive in generating different types of knowledge

and behaviour. He prefers to regard power as "a relation in which one guides the behaviour of others. And there's no reason why this manner of guiding the behaviour of others should not ultimately have results which are positive, valuable, interesting and so on."[39] Therefore, his standpoint that "Power is not evil"[40] is the cornerstone of understanding his theory.

Instead of trying to overcome power relations, the question should be how to avoid the domination that subjects teachers to an arbitrary and authoritarian Other. As Foucault puts it, "the problem, then, is not to try to dissolve them [power relations] in the utopia of completely transparent communication but to acquire the rules of law, the management techniques, and also the morality, the ethos, the practice of the self, that will allow us to play these games with as little power as possible."[41]

There seems to be a way out, but the fight against power can no longer be conceived in terms of the fight against a political structure, a dominant social class, etc. No society can free itself from power relations because they are always present. As Foucault maintains, "power passes through individuals it has constituted."[42] Therefore, it may be stated that if power migrates through a body, allowing certain behaviours and discourses, it is the same power that ascribes to that body some degree of freedom. The understanding that power cannot operate without a certain amount of individual freedom may be found in Foucault's works. Hence, it should be acknowledged that teachers' freedom does not end with the choice of teaching methods; they have the potential to make the power relations less dominating. Following Foucault's solution means taking into account a critical stance towards discipline power that constitutes an individual.

7 INSTEAD OF CONCLUSIONS

Education is one of the most important areas in which legitimacy regulates the societal contradictions up to the point where they vanish. Each educational reform recreates education to the extent that it is imposes the norm on all teachers, all parents, all pupils in such a way

that the potential for education is neutralised by a centralised control network, policy, and practices resulting from it. Foucault builds on various procedures in which people, described as "docile bodies," are controlled or influenced until they perform expected behaviour, "the norm." The disciplinary power needs to be considered essentially, as its hidden character makes it dangerous and invisible to individuals. Building on the French philosopher's understanding, no particular person or an institution can be associated with it because it circulates in the networks, whereby it transforms individuals through correct training into obedient and subordinated citizens. The alternative proposed by Foucault is based on opposing domination. It is a "difficult, painstaking development of the ability to distance oneself from those agencies that constantly tend to 'infantilise' people, by treating them if they are children, incapable of thinking and acting as (relatively) autonomous beings."[43] Foucault shed light on the possibility to adopt a radical critical standpoint in thinking and acting towards the dominating discourse. It is a long and probably never-ending practice, as it affects the way people perceive everyday reality.

Education should be a mechanism of social change. Schools have the potential to change from rigid institutions to spaces where conflicts should be recognised and transformed by promoting critical reflection. Therefore, it is scientists' and researchers' responsibility to consider Foucault's invitation, which is the cornerstone in understanding, and hence opposing, the power relations. "What I say ought to be taken as 'propositions,' 'game openings' where those who may be interested are invited to join in: they are not meant as dogmatic assertions to be taken of left *en bloc*."[44] Otherwise, societies will still make "choices [which] are much of the time between 'colours and the brands' are to a large extent illusionary."[45]

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A MIX THAT WORKS FOR SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT

TEACHER LEARNING AND SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

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Keywords: school development, teacher learning, innovation, knowledge-sharing, school leadership, Hungary.

Abstract. Educational research has examined the magic of successful schools from different angles. Past research and meta-studies considered factors that best contribute to student outcomes, including both teacher efforts and connections with school leadership. Other studies examined successful curriculum implementation as an important element of school development, and still others indicated aspects of knowledge creation and sharing as an essential contribution to the inner functioning of schools as learning organisations. This paper rests on the assumptions that each of these components plays a role in school development, and that depending on the contextual milieu and the analytical standpoints, a mix in which one component might be get added more than another can provide a good framework for successful school development. The model presented here includes teacher learning and school leadership, accompanied by knowledge-sharing and curriculum interventions, as four jars of ingredients that prove important for a successful school in the 21st century. A case study will examine the application of this model to developing better understanding of four exceptional schools in the Hungarian school system, with the hope that concluding thoughts will open discussions and possibilities for further studies needed in this field.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Rooted in a collaboration initiated and inspired by a European Doctorate in Teacher Education (EDiTE) Virtual Seminar, this paper is a result of joint efforts to create a model for school development. It is an exploratory pre-study undertaken by the authors as an opportunity to develop a working framework that includes such elements as teacher learning, school leadership and management, knowledge-sharing and implementation of curriculum interventions. As it is in its early stage of development, the model presented in this article in its raw form is underpinned by some of the corresponding theories in the respective fields.

Apart from developing a model, the collaboration opened the possibility of analysing two country cases through the lens of this school development framework. The case featured in this paper will be based on empirical data collected from the principals of four innovative schools in Hungary. The other country case, presented in the accompanying Gregorzewski and Kovacs[1] article, analyses the German School Award and German School Academy by examining an essential interaction primarily between school leadership and knowledge-sharing.

In its conclusion, this paper brings forward ideas gathered through the case analysis and comments on the overall use of the school development model in its present form. The authors also examine the ways forward by reflecting on possible elements contributing to the model.

2 FRAMEWORK FOR SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT

There are number of ways to observe and analyse a school as both an institution for learning and a working organisation. Development associated with schools greatly depends on the perspective taken when doing such an analysis. For instance, if observed as an institution for learning, a school will be evaluated mainly for its contribution to student outcomes. Hattie's[2] meta-study gives a good overview of what works in terms of student learning, classically measured through standard outcomes. This can be, and quite often is, taken as an indicator of good

school performance. Furthermore, as institutions for learning, schools may be considered from the perspective of how well they generate knowledge internally. This perspective connects to the ways teachers learn and share their knowledge, but also to how the institution functions. For instance, Cochran-Smith and Lytle[3] have argued for three different and distinct types of knowledge teachers generate in their practices. In addition, David Hargreaves[4] has called attention to elements that are important for establishing a knowledge-creating school, while Andy Hargreaves[5] has made a great contribution to the importance of professional learning communities.

Through the aspects of the internal knowledge creation, schools may also be observed as working organisations. The successful functioning of a school from this perspective has been analysed through elements of leadership and management, and how these contribute to both student outcomes and smooth organisational performance. In studies carried out by Marzano et al.[6] and Louis et al.[7], the connection between leadership and student learning was strongly emphasised, while in the same fashion, David Hargreaves[8] argues that it is necessary for school leaders to know what their in-house capacities are if they are to create knowledge-oriented institutions. Resnick et al.[9] state that it is most necessary to have leadership distribution for schools to move from being traditional to becoming more open and transformative. The ideas of school development, therefore, are strongly connected to school's abilities to adapt, internalise and create innovations, especially in terms of curriculum interventions. This provides an additional frame for observing schools as working organisations. Snyder et al.[10] argue that through the curriculum enactment perspective, teachers and students contribute to evolving curricular practices, and it can be further debated that a school's capacity to change and advance in light of the social and technological turbulence that surrounds it is one of distinct measures of successful school development.[11, 12] In other words, while student outcomes might matter in the world of persisting standardised testing, school-based leadership elements, teacher curricular practices and advancements in knowledge-creation and -sharing play

an important role in schools' capacity to make a difference. This idea has been re-emphasised by Scheerens,[13] who argues that school effectiveness is a matter of student achievement as much as school responsiveness to the community and the teacher's satisfaction.

The above discussion has led the authors to sketch an idea of a school development model by putting the mentioned frames into work, as presented in Figure 1.

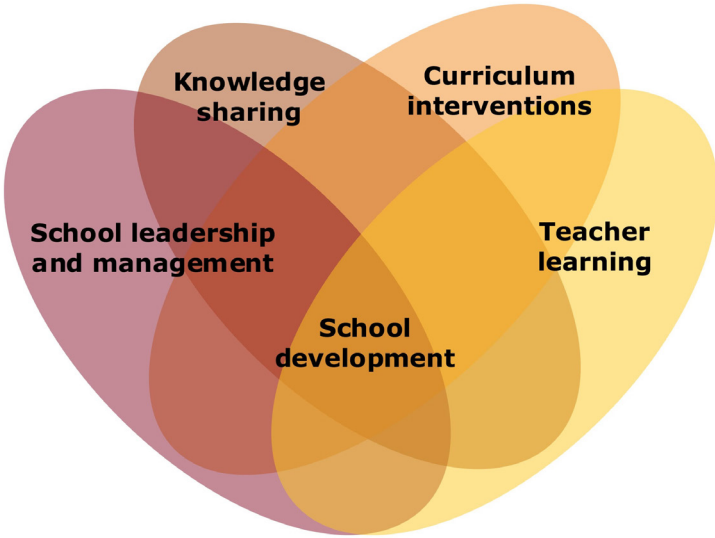

Figure 1: School Development Model

As previously mentioned, this model is a work in progress and the authors are aware that other important elements may need to be included or further explored. Next to this, it is also interesting to think about different intersections that each of the current elements in this framework might mean for school development, and how they all interlink in several ways in addition to the main cross-section in the middle.

2.1 School leadership and management

To give a brief overview, the model for successful school development will define the term leadership as "being visionary, motivational, inspi-

rational and innovative."[14] The differentiation between management and leadership as a Yin-Yang-Model[15] will be also taken into consideration, as well as the idea that leadership goes beyond a mere managerial competency and opens up a dimension of being a social activity that "enables others to rise to their individual challenges and meet them with the necessary measures."[16] In Gregorzewski and Kovacs,[17] the model further elaborates on leadership's taking a more comprehensive approach embedded in personal mastery; it also includes the perspective of leading towards the emerging future. Next to this, Halász[18] reminds us that it has become obvious that leadership matters in the development of a school, as a growing amount of evidence supports. Day et al.[19] have also provided valuable input in terms of phases of school success and layered development, each of which demands a different approach to leadership.

In addition, the model will tend to look at the school's capacity towards competence leadership, defined by Ryymin and Silander[20] as "a process that supports the organisation's primary task, in which a strategy is defined based on goals and implementation in order to develop the shared competence capital."[21] It is necessary to mention that the primary task of schools and educational institutions should be (societal) development, and leadership needs to be taken as a tool for transformation of pedagogical operational culture.[22] Furthermore, in perceiving long-term goals, Biesta[23] argues that social-developmental role of education can be seen through an intersection of socialisation, qualification and subjectification. Yet, seen from a narrower perspective, achieving the primary goal of education also happens through improving the students' outcomes – which is also a core focus of the EDiTE network.[24] By translating the above-mentioned into a competence, leadership will be conceptualised as a reflection of an attitude to life that is resonant, creative and corresponding.[25]

2.2 Teacher learning

Following this path of thought, teacher learning needs to be embedded deep into a school's organisational milieu and must be taken

not as an option, but as a moral duty of the educational professionals.[26] Teachers need to know how to work with others, with different types of knowledge, technology and information, and how to work with and in society[27]. The change of mindset for the teaching professionals also comes from the fact that learning to teach is not a prescribed set of lessons that happens at one time with a determined finish, but rather continuing process throughout one's career.[28]

Forms of learning that are comprehensive and that embrace cognition as well as emotion have been penetrating academic discussions for some time.[29] This idea connects to the idea that teaching should resonate with not only the experiences gained as part of the lecture in the classroom, but also with those outside the school, making a complete and coherent picture of learning. Bakkens et al.[30] argue that, to reach meaningful outcomes, teachers need to engage in active and self-regulated learning in which they will be in control of what they learn and how the process unfolds. In doing so, experimentation and reflection on one's own practice has been noticed as two of the most common effective activities teachers in knowledge-intensive schools acquire as part of their learning and development.[31]

In literature, David Hargreaves[32] suggests that a teacher should be allowed to "tinker" and fully participate in the knowledge-creating mechanisms within the school. In other words, tinkering gives permission to do haphazard trial and error, and experiment by engaging in activities collectively, systematically and explicitly. The core of the knowledge-intensive experience thus becomes sharing of teachers' practices among themselves and making the tacit knowledge more explicit, alongside developing the collaborative aspects of teacher communities with plentiful options for learning by doing.[33]

2.3 Knowledge-sharing

Knowledge-creation and -sharing between educational professionals at the school level has received a lot of attention in recent years. Today, more than ever, teachers are required to acquire new knowledge to

enhance learning mechanisms in their classrooms and achieve effective student outcomes.[34]

Furthermore, as finding solutions to problems is one of the most recognisable features of being a professional,[35] it is inevitable to consider that irrespective of the surrounding conditions, teachers find ways to embrace their professional duties, and to generate and share knowledge using different mechanisms. Yet teachers' knowledge is largely tacit and embedded in their engagement experiences[36, 37, 38] heavily incapacitating the sharing processes. Cochran-Smith and Lytle[39] classify three types of knowledge in teachers' scope of practice.

Knowledge *FOR* practice	Knowledge *IN* practice	Knowledge *OF* practice
Classical explicit knowledge	Tacit/implicit knowledge	Implicit knowledge
Declarative and easily shared	Usually unattainable	Rarely considered
Serves to improve practice	Serves for doing the practice	Serves teachers to teach well
Created, stored and shared by institutions concerned with teacher learning	Embedded in the teacher's daily work; created by the teacher, usually not shared in a framed way	Created by and among teachers in conditions in which the classrooms and schools are considered as opportunities for knowledge production

Table 2: Cochran-Smith and Lytle typology of teacher knowledge

Recently, attention has been given to the new institutional mechanisms of creating and sharing knowledge through meso-level learning ecosystems, first introduced by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that involve networks of schools and teachers.[40] As a prerequisite, schools need to convert into professional learning communities,[41] and for this to happen, school leaders and administrators need to "understand the deep principles that anchor PLC work," and not alienate the teachers from it.[42]

These horizontal perspectives in knowledge-sharing find their roots in concepts of learning in communities, and they thrive in occasions where organisation of work is based embraces distributed forms of leadership.[43] That said, it is implied that the knowledge-sharing happens not only within the school but also between schools.

2.4 Curriculum interventions

It has long been understood that larger developmental interventions, especially those that carry innovative features, are successful as far as they understand and appreciate the micro level. In other words, a localised adaptation of the intervention needs to happen for the change to be ingrained in a school setting.[44] Inevitably, it is an interaction between the intervention's proposing new ways of working and the professionals' capacity to embrace the intervention as a possibility. This capacity may be illustrated as an idea of a school as a learning environment.

That said an important element in absorbing change in schools, whether it comes from the government or a third party, is teachers' behaviour towards it. In curriculum development, building on pre-existing polarised ideas of fidelity and adaptation, Snyder et al.[45] developed a three-faceted examination of the perspectives teachers assume when it comes to implementation procedures.

Fidelity perspective	Mutual adaptation perspective	Curriculum enactment perspective
Produced by experts and specialists for teachers to implement through given instruction		Formulated through "evolving constructs of teachers and students"[46]
Heavily structured approach Teacher's role: passive recipient who is/will be trained to transmit content	Teachers given instruction on how to implement content May be altered during the procedures Involves a compromise between the developers and the implementers	Curriculum provided by an external body/ institution No strict instruction The syllabus and the material are considered as tools for both teachers and learners when they engage in enacted classroom experience.

Table 3: Snyder et al.'s three perspectives on implementation of curriculum interventions

It is also valid to say here that the difference between intended and implemented curriculum[47] does not necessarily mean either high or low level of school development, especially given that each school has its own cultural setting and specific organisational context. It has also been noted through recent empirical research that development interventions come in a rather complex, indirect and non-linear relationships with other aspects surrounding knowledge-intensive schools.[48] Thus, the authors found it important to connect the implementation of the innovative intervention with an adequate form of leadership that supports teacher learning and creates space for knowledge to be created and distributed.

3 CASES ON SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT

In the last two decades, the Hungarian education system has been subjected to many targeted development initiatives. The sustainability of these innovations was questioned in the recent research,[49,50] and the ImpAla research results in particular showed that development interventions have reached a critical number of Hungarian schools in which the impact can be clearly observed.[51]

The cases here present the analysis of the data collected from four highly innovative schools that have benefited from previous development interventions and managed to integrate the best of sometimes short-lived initiatives and funding. Furthermore, these four schools have also invested school-level efforts to develop additional practices and provide good student learning outcomes and a fruitful working environment for the teachers. All four schools are EDiTE Hungarian partner schools,[52] which is also one of the reasons they were selected for this study. They are featured in this study for their outstanding practices in school leadership and management, teacher peer-to-peer learning systems and diversification of school responsibilities. Two of the four schools have also been portrayed as innovative learning environments in an OECD project.[53, 54]

The four schools are integrated primary and lower secondary schools, and they operate in specific socio-economic environments. They are all maintained by public/government funds, but some also receive small contributions from parents. Two of the schools are based in Budapest, while the other two are village schools, one south and the other east of the capital. The selection of these schools also took into consideration the different target groups they work with; hence one school works with around 70% Hungarian Roma population, and one has a Special Educational Needs (SEN) integrated programme with around 30% of the pupil population differently abled. The schools ranged from about 200 to 800 pupils, with teaching staffs of 15 to 65. The interviewees were all school principals with work experience in managerial positions ranging from 15 to 40 years. By selecting four schools that have different ranges

and work with different populations, in different surroundings (urban and rural), and using different innovative methods and approaches, the authors managed to get a good grasp of data representing Hungarian innovative schools.

In regard to the research methods, a qualitative approach using semi-structured, open-ended written interviews was employed. The interview guide was translated from English to Hungarian to better capture the answers of the interviewees. The four school leaders were asked through a written form about the characteristics of successful schools and the ways to make them sustainable. Apart from these general questions, the four principals shared their opinion on three other categories of questions: about school-level innovations, teacher involvement and challenges in Hungarian education system today. The data from the interviews was analysed following the theoretical ideas that support the school development model. Particular attention was given to the aspects that inform school development and support further alterations for the model and a base for further empirical investigation.

4 CASE ANALYSIS

The following section opens a brief analysis of the data collected through the interviews with the four school principals by using the school development framework suggested at the beginning. The elements of the suggested model will be considered separately and also in terms of what they mean when they are in a cross-section to each other.

The ways these four schools function are in many ways similar, even though the development innovations they employ differ in variety of teaching methods, classroom cultures and levels of inclusion.[55] The fact that the schools operate under the same education system as the rest of the Hungarian schools does make them stand out, and the specific sustainability element includes the fact that the innovations implemented at the school level are based on a joint decision among all school staff members. The process of implementation was informed by conscious planning and runs within a structure that employs continu-

ous monitoring, development, analysis, evaluation and a possibility for a further change, as one of the interviewees summed up.

The above noted gives a perspective into how important it is to modify the curricular intervention to localised needs[56] and to do so according to the primary task of the educational institution.[57] As Ryymin and Silander[58] also state, a school strategy needs to be outlined through its goals and implementation, and it has to include the idea of developing shared competence capital. This way the institution is a self-monitored, self-sustained, growing organism. That said, it is evident that curriculum interventions are a significant factor in school development, and that in addition it is rather a matter of how they are perceived and observed that makes the difference, as noted above.

One of the interviews suggested that to make a school a successful organisation, both the leadership and the teachers need to assume roles. In terms of the school leaders, these include careful planning of the school strategy and providing visible opportunities for strategy implementation. In such a case, planning happens at the institutional and individual levels, with a good overview of human resources. This process connects to the idea of leaders as visionary and innovative, with an idea that the collective is made of individuals with capacities, needs and potentials.[59] In this sense, being visionary is connected to the ideas of school strategy and seeking the next practice rather than the best practice, to optimise the system.

As for teacher roles, the data indicated that all teaching staff members need to be well informed about the strategy's programme and implementation. Next, during implementation, teachers need to indicate any possible corrections and improvements. Finally, each teacher needs to assume responsibility for internal knowledge transfers, and while the knowledge-sharing needs support from school management, the teachers are the ones who carry the quality of such a mechanism. This idea was supported by the views shared in another interview stating the importance of promoting team spirit and using "the power of the community to retain positive beliefs and positive behaviours associated with it." The

responsibility and the initiative for learning and knowledge-creation is an inevitable trait of the 21st-century professional, and in the schools featured in these interviews it is a leading feature of teachers.[60] Tapping into the power of the school collective unlocks the doors to the "knowledge of practice,"[61] which is thus created by and among teachers. Yet, as the interviewees noted, teachers are required to assume an active role and engage in self-regulated learning, which will give them control of the processes and outcomes.[62] Here it is visible how intertwined the four dimensions of the model are; it is not enough to have only distributed leadership platform, but also the concepts of knowledge-sharing among school staff members as well as a strong component of teacher learning. The fact that everyone understands and accepts an implementation indicates how closely these elements are tied to one another.

Further ideas on what makes a school function well, in the experience and opinion of one principal interviewed, was its approach to the problems. He mentioned that when problems first appear, it is necessary to react to them in a timely manner, and they should be tackled parallel to the school's general development, not as a separate segment. Yet, "next to the constant evolution, it is important to have a safe environment and constant maintenance of quality."

One of the first interviews brought up the sole component of leadership: "The head of the school is important, her/his character, attitude, mentality. They are important because the rest of the school, and particularly teachers, will follow this mindset, so it is necessary to set a good example." In the words of this school principal, if a teacher is committed to change but does not receive adequate support from the school leadership, the change will be short-lived or completely unsuccessful. Supporting this finding, Lohmann[63] states that the influence of school leadership is particularly effective when the school leader develops a special mindfulness for the needs, developments and drivers of the school's teaching staff.

Admittedly positive influence from the school leadership was a recurring element in all the interviews; yet the structure for

collaboration and knowledge exchange was also give great significance. In all the interviews, the element of collaboration among teachers was one of the most essential features of success. The four schools selected for this case all have a strong tradition of knowledge-sharing among their teachers through organised observations and feedback. As one interviewee mentioned: "The reason [our school] works well is that teachers collaborate, support one another and often join teamwork and projects." Another school leader connected this idea to teachers' "being pleased with how they work and teach, and feeling good about it." She mentioned an attitude that problem-solving only makes the community stronger. Indeed, teachers create vast implicit knowledge in and of the practice.[64] To access and disseminate this body of tacit know-how, a school needs to be/become a strong professional learning community.[65]

Furthermore, all interviewees agreed that high levels of teachers' quality of work, satisfaction and willingness to collaborate and learn does not come out of nowhere. Indeed, for some school principals in this study, it was evident that one of the negative features of education in Hungary comes from having ill-set, underdeveloped initial teacher training. It is very difficult to integrate a new graduate into a school system that expects teachers to be lifelong learners and collaborators in and outside the classroom, to experiment and share with students and with colleagues. As one school leader mentioned, "The main obstacle for teachers is the change of mindset." To connect what was mentioned to literature on teacher learning, Cochran-Smith and Demers[66] clearly point out that teacher learning is a continuum that must not stop with initial teacher education, and this notion has been proven to exist in the four interviews. However, in the words of one of the interviewees, "self-improvement is often impeached and limited by financial reasons and by the burnout caused by heavy workload," and while it is important to raise the internal curiosity for innovation, it is also necessary to have a safe environment for professionals.

These challenges in schooling and education, along with resistance to change, have been captured by Resnick et al.:[67] "Nowhere is the challenge

of innovation greater than in the education sector, where centuries-old practices of teaching are embedded in political and organisational structures which are resistant to new ideas – even in the face of growing evidence that traditional ways of working are not 'paying off.'" Therefore, examples such as the four schools in Hungary that maintain professional learning communities and where knowledge is created and shared need to emerge to the surface as the "new normal."

5 CONCLUSIONS

With the attempt to understand the functioning of successful schools, this paper has dived into a field of school development from four different aspects: school leadership and management, teacher learning, knowledge-sharing and curriculum interventions. The authors were keen to look at both the theoretical groundwork and empirical evidence, with the aim of presenting a mix that works. Yet, by entering the great scopes and plethora of both literature and practical examples, it became evident that this is only the beginning of a much longer journey.

It is in the realisation of work such as this that brings the understanding of the complexity and unpredictability of school development. As the paper presents a sketch of a model-in-progress and a multifaceted case study, further exploration is indeed needed at both levels. For instance, the model for school development misses clearly addressing the distinctions between macro- and micro-level perspectives of schooling, as well as the internal and external dimensions of functioning. Thus, the model in its current stage incorporates one external element from a macro level (curriculum interventions) and three internal elements, two of which are on a micro level (school leadership and teacher learning) and one that spans micro, meso and macro levels (knowledge sharing). Next to this, the countless interlinks that the model might impose among the four aspects of school functioning are still a grey area in need of further examination. Equally, the richness of the empirical case in this paper demands more space for analysis and discussion. The four exceptional

schools presented in this paper have many things in common with the knowledge-intensive environments explored in recent Hungarian studies, and leadership and teacher learning, along with horizontal cooperation play a significant role in their success.[68] In addition, the schools do not only satisfy the perspective of student outcomes, but also contribute to the satisfaction of the teacher collective, both found to be important elements of school effectiveness.

Further research and conceptualisation are needed to propel this model as a robust framework for analysing individual school cases in respect to their development. Therefore, this paper is a baby step in a toy store of school effectiveness and successful school development.

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A MIX THAT WORKS FOR SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP AND KNOWLEDGE SHARING

Malte Gregorzewski[1] and Helena Kovacs[2]

Keywords: school development, school leadership, knowledge sharing, German School Award, German School Academy, FieldTransFormation 360.

Abstract. This exploratory pre-study originates from intensive discussions before, during and after two virtual seminars held within the framework of EDiTE at the beginning of 2017. The authors teamed up to cast light on the interplays of school development, school leadership, teacher learning, knowledge sharing and development interventions. The process of collecting and collating what is known from different positions and perspectives propelled and stimulated ideas that there are, indeed, as the title says, mixes that work. In particular, this article focuses on a unique, non-governmental initiative, the German School Award and the German School Academy, as a case illustrating the pivotal interplay of school leadership and knowledge sharing for advanced school development.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Research on school leadership is a continuing and still rising topic[1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6] in educational research, especially in investigating the relationship between successful school leadership and student outcomes like Marzano et al.[7], Louis et al.[8] and Hattie[9, 10]. This exploratory pre-study draws attention to a non-comprehensive framework[11] of school development in general, pointing out the strong ties among school development, school leadership, teacher learning, knowledge sharing and

development interventions in particular while following Hattie[12], who states that "there is an urgent need for leadership literature that says more about educational matters and the role of leaders in putting in place high-impact practice, building collaborative expertise and seeking and privileging successful teaching that leads to maximum student growth and understanding." Throughout this paper, emphasis is put on a unique, non-governmental initiative, the German School Award, established in 2006, serving as a case to illustrate the pivotal interplay of school leadership and knowledge sharing for advanced school development. Furthermore, an innovative way to assess the personal mastery of school leaders is briefly introduced: FieldTransFormation 360.[13, 14]

2 FRAMEWORK FOR SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT

Kovacs and Gregorzewski[15] introduce in more detail the exploratory and non-comprehensive framework for school leadership and the research model as shown in Figure 1. The framework arguably consists of four pillars briefly described below. Analysing two (country) cases, the authors show how this framework is reflected in innovative schools in Hungary[16] and in a unique, non-governmental initiative in Germany. In this article, they argue that one of the mixes that work for school development consists of effective school leadership and knowledge sharing.

The term "school leadership" will be associated throughout this study with "being visionary, motivational, inspirational and innovative,"[17] dealing with emerging future possibilities[18]. In recent academic discourse, leadership has sometimes been differentiated from management – for instance, by Schratz[19] introducing the Yin-Yang Model of Leadership and Management. Schley and Schratz[20] add that "competency in management is easier to acquire than the capability of leadership (...) Rather it is a social activity, which should enable others to rise to their individual challenges and meet them with the necessary measures." The innovative model FieldTransFormation 360 [21] goes beyond this dichotomy by

representing a creative, resonant and co-responding attitude towards life[22], thus making it possible to comprehensively describe one's own personal mastery while introducing the four quadrants – strategy, creativity, identity and reason(ing) – providing a more systemic and comprehensive approach to school leadership.[23]

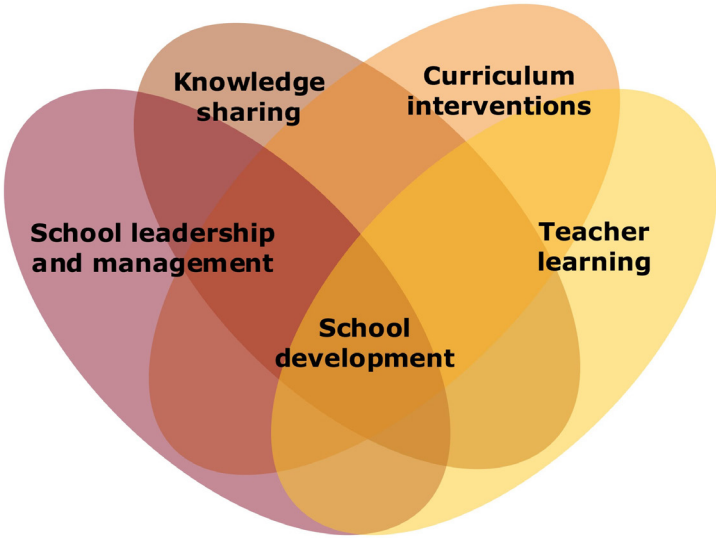

Figure 1: School Development Model

FieldTransFormation 360, integrating and translating knowledge from different academic disciplines to the field of (school) leadership, might be also interpreted as the "inner field"[24] from which school leaders are operating and aiming at the *Personal Mastery* of school leaders – reflecting on one´s actions with regard to context, time and values while contextualizing them; in other words, having an active knowledge of one's own competences with regard to possible shifts towards development and stability as well as content and relationship. Therefore, this model for school leadership "includes a [f]ocus on values and meaning, but also aims to improve efficacy and quality."[25] Scharmer[26] developed Theory U for leading towards an emerging future; as the U process might happen

at the macro, meso and/or micro level, it can be understood as a useful tool to frame the proposed model on leadership. Scharmer and Käufer[27] clearly state that an effective leader has to develop an understanding of the "inner field as the internal space where every activity´s origin lies."[28]

Teachers today need to embrace a plethora of skills and knowledge to keep up with the changes that society reflects in the classroom. Hence, Kwo[29] believes that continuous teacher learning is no longer merely an option, but a core trait of the craft. Especially in the most dynamic working environments that embrace innovations, changing the "kernel practice" and not being a passive recipient of order that needs to be delivered,[30] must be closely connected to teacher learning. Since teachers are so precious in classroom procedures, they need to be allowed to "tinker" to better their practices and create possibilities for knowledge development and sharing.[31]

Knowledge sharing, as another key mechanism of school development, is a debating field that is not often easily instrumentalised. Since school professionals' knowledge is largely tacit and embedded in experiences of their engagements[32, 33, 34] the sharing processes can be heavily incapacitated. Recently, attention has been given to the new institutional mechanisms of creating and sharing knowledge through meso-level learning ecosystems that involve networks of schools and teachers.[35] As a prerequisite, a school needs to convert into a professional learning community[36] and for this to happen, school leaders and administrators need to "understand the deep principles that anchor PLC work," not alienate the teachers from it.[37]

Finally, to be able to understand school development, it is important to grasp how change happens and how developmental interventions and innovations become embedded in the existing systems. It was discovered that in the process of embracing suggested reforms and initiatives, it is pivotal for a macro-level intervention to be flexible to local needs and traditions.[38] That said, an important element in absorbing change, regardless of whether it comes from the government or from a third party, is the school collective's behaviour towards it. In additional, change stands

a better chance of gaining school ownership in the perspective in which the implementation process is enacted through curricular activities, and the proposed syllabus is used as a tool for engagement in the classroom.[39]

3 CASE ON SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT

An excellent case to elaborate on the research above outlined framework is the German School Award.[40] The Robert Bosch Foundation GmbH, together with the Heidehof Foundation, established the award in 2006 as a quality label for "outstanding schools" within Germany's education system. The competition is based on a multi-stage application procedure and an extensive understanding of education reflected in six quality criteria – academic achievement, approach to diversity, quality of instruction, responsibility, school culture and school development – that are considered key criteria strongly recognized by school practitioners and academics. Schools successfully applying for the German School Award need to be rated highly by a pool of experts in all six criteria and assessed as outstanding in at least one.[41] Dennis Shirley[42] describes the German School Award as a "network driven by educational professionals who want to rethink and recreate schools. These are educators who don't wait for government to act and they don't model everything they do on successful businesses. They understand the science of teaching and learning, and they exercise the courage and savoir-faire to lead the profession themselves. The six quality areas of the prize encourage local creativity and innovation and they do so in the small-scaled, humanistic laboratories of democracy that are our schools. They enable innovation but they also uphold traditional democratic values of education for the public good."

But the award is only the one side of the coin. Knowledge sharing (and teacher learning) is, on the other side of the coin, the main issue tackled by this non-governmental initiative, which therefore created the German School Academy. The academy, was established as an in-house academy of the Robert Bosch Stiftung within its section "Improving the quality

of schools," teaming up with the German School Award program in 2007 and became an independent Berlin-based institution in 2015 while still being funded by the Robert Bosch Foundation and the Heidehof Foundation. Its mission is "to spread the models of outstanding school operations from approximately ten years of the German School Award throughout the German educational landscape. To accomplish this goal, the Academy maintains, coordinates, and moderates a network of dedicated school administrators and teachers with experience in enacting reforms. With the support of academics and other experts, the Academy refines successful concepts from actual school operations and organizes advanced training seminars focused on real-world situations. As a result, the Academy offers schools the opportunity to learn from and with the best."[43] Therefore, the German School Academy offers services "toward all schools in Germany as well government agencies, teacher training institutes, municipalities, and private school operators. The Academy makes materials on excellent school operations available, invites interested parties to discuss experiences, provides advice on topics related to school and teaching development, and organizes innovative advanced training measures as well as extensive school development programs."[44]

This mission suggests a strong focus on continuous teacher development. To have the six quality criteria of the German School Awards at a high standards level, teacher learning needs to become part of the new "kernel routine."[45] In the 21st century it has been recognised as common knowledge that to achieve student outcomes that fit ever more diversified classrooms with an appropriate quality and model of instruction, teachers and school leaders need to see teacher learning as a continuum.[46] Presumably the outstanding schools of the German School Awards would have this principle as a very strong element in their overall setting for school development.

So far, the German School Award and the German School Academy are a unique and highly innovative approach to tackling the overall issue of school development and improvement in Germany. Still, there is a large research gap, as very little research has been done analysing

school leadership behaviour amongst schools recognized by the German School Award, and especially about school leadership and its impact on student learning at these schools.

4 CASE ANALYSIS

This analysis is based on thorough desk research done with extensive and rigorous analysis of documents available both online and offline: the book series "Was für Schulen!" and websites about the award,[47, 48, 49] as well as its newsletters and reports. Furthermore, the authors draw on insights from being professionally engaged with the Robert Bosch Foundation, where one author served as program officer mainly responsible for planning, organizing, executing and evaluating the German School Award and worked closely with the German School Academy. More than 1 300 schools of all types from all over Germany have participated, with more than 60 award-winners fuelling a nationwide movement for "more successful schools!"[50]

Looking at one of the six quality criteria of the German School Award, Schratz[51] exemplarily points out one important task for the school leadership teams influencing school life in setting up a framework and measures for quality of instruction: seeking out the optimal teachers for their schools.

Pant[52] supports this view while mentioning nine global factors for effective school development where one factor deals with how the actions of school leaders positively affect the classroom instructions. But when it comes to school's ability to act innovatively, he states that resources should be made easily accessible when needed – clearly a task also for a school leadership team. Furthermore, Pant[53] condenses findings of Fullan[54, 55] and Higham et al.,[56] who identified five (more systemic-focusing) actions for effective school leadership: (1) Schools leaders' understanding they are actual change agents and must align their actions respectively, (2) their ability to establish networks and partnerships, e.g., other schools, and oversee them, (3) their willingness to gain experience in leading

challenging schools, having learned to contextualise the work, (4) their decision to actively establish partnerships with schools in socially and economically disadvantaged areas facing particular challenges, and (5) their ability to fully connect and commit to the educational landscape and infrastructure.

However, the question within this first brief, very limited and rather theoretical article arises where school leadership plays an important role within the presented case on the most practical level. For example, by granting her/his seal of approval the principal is not only formally taking overall responsibility but also has the support of the majority of colleagues.[57] As an unsuccessful application might have some counter effects, it is likely that in some cases a decision-making process needs to be set up and "steered." Furthermore, the German School Award is designed as a tool for effective school development;[58] therefore the feedback given by outstanding professionals acting in the award jury and/or pre-jury is essential to fulfilling this goal. In addition, Hargreaves[59] points in his model of knowledge-creating school to the immense necessity of leaders' knowing the intellectual capital of the school they are leading, not only at the individual level, but with the regard of the entire collective. In this perspective, making sure teachers and other professionals working in the school engage in the process of applying for the German School Award makes sense from the human resource management aspects, as well as from the aspect of potentially creating an atmosphere in which different types of knowledge are used, shared and generated.

Furthermore, the German School Awards Academy stands as an example of a possible prototype in which curriculum implementation is assumed from the enactment perspective.[60] Resnick[61] reminds us that for an innovation to be embraced, there needs to be a mechanism of distributed leadership that will allow for creation of learning communities. Understanding the relevance of teacher engagement in the school functioning is an inevitable part of leading a school as a successful learning organisation. The idea that German School Academy invites school professional to learn from and with the best unlocks the potential

to better understand the "knowledge of practice."[62] The schools are referred to as places of intentional investigation and peer-to-peer learning mechanisms, thus enabling the idea that in schools learning is generated through an open-minded, shared experience.

The model of outstanding school proposed by the German School Award also has an important element of diffusion characteristic to the localisation of the interventions discussed by McLaughlin.[63] The learning obtained through RAND analysis gives a perspective on the need for an intervention to be adaptable to local needs and cultures.

Establishing a culture at the individual school to successfully receive and further work with the feedback provided could be named as a task for the school leadership team as well. Still, many aspects of school leadership remain undiscovered. A model put forward by Schratz et al.[64] and Wiesner et al.[65] seems promising: FieldTransFormation 360, to provide evidence-based research results assessing and analysing leadership within these schools.

5 CONCLUSIONS

This article brings forth the theoretical discussions applied to a case that has recently received attention. The analytical model presented here tries to incorporate several aspects of successful school development, such as the importance of teacher learning and knowledge sharing, but also the inevitable presence of top-to-bottom interventions and innovations and changes in how leadership is perceived and assumed.

Still, so far not much is known about leadership in schools recognised by the German School Award, e.g., how these schools' leaders influence student learning. Innovative research methods and approaches, e.g., via applying theoretical research different from the actual mainstream, as Symeonidis and Schwarz[66] did in assessing phenomenon-based teaching in learning in Finland, could lead to deeper insights on how school leadership is performed – and, when analysing the Personal Mastery of school leaders, the abovementioned FieldTransFormation 360, teamed

with Scharmer's[67] Theory U, seems quite promising in acquiring greater knowledge about school leadership and gaining new insights on how school leaders deal with the emerging future.

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GRAMMAR OF SCHOOLING AND AUTHORIAL SCHOOLS IN POLAND

SELECTED EXAMPLES

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Keywords: Grammar of Schooling, authorial schools, transformative education, changes.

Abstract. This article examines the metaphor "Grammar of Schooling,"[1] the firmly rooted rules and methods of schooling that have been commonly used without significant changes in the most public schools since compulsory schooling was established. Pupils, parents, teachers – all of society – perceive the school in this way. If society wanted this paradigm to change fundamentally, it would probably spark a revolution in education. Some minor changes in "Grammar of Schooling" or attempts to change have been carried out in Poland since the Velvet Revolution, mostly depending on the ruling party's existing policy. The article examines how two famous Polish pedagogues, Śliwerski and Łukaszewicz, coped with overcoming "Grammar of Schooling" in the 1990s. Have their democratic changes in schools in the last 27 years been successful?

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1 INTRODUCTION

History has often shown that extensive required changes in approaches to education were hardly sustained – or just fragments were. If changes need to be implemented, it is necessary to ask if the society wants them, what is their aim and how they should be implemented: from the bottom up or the top down. As an elementary schoolteacher, I would obviously urge that teachers have the greatest possible impact, the possibility of self-fulfilment and a certain freedom in their work. Therefore, as a Czech teacher, I have become interested in the "author´s class"[2] described by Śliwerski.

In Poland since the 1990s, these author's classes have appeared as a part of public and private schools. But as early as the 1980s, active intellectuals sought the opportunity to study, learn and draw inspiration from foreign sources, as was strongly reflected in the social sciences and education. This situation has already given birth to ideas of author's classes or schools, emphasising the necessity for the teacher´s freedom. Teachers must not be officials, tied to bureaucratic rules. Instead, they must be free beings with conscience, responsible not to politicians, but to their nation.[3] Have "author´s classes" and authorial schools been successful in disrupting the "Grammar of Schooling"[4]?

Alternative methods or fragments of various alternative schools were inspired by the creators of "other" schools in Poland. Tyack and Tobin describe individual examples of why certain types of new schools "survived" after changing and were accepted by the society, and why others, on the contrary, failed by experimenting with new rules designed by the creators of new systems, then disappeared. Both they and Śliwerski agree it is necessary to inform parents, insiders and the public. It is necessary from the beginning to realise the benefits of these changes, not just criticise their shortcomings. Parents and the public should be involved and inspired to spark new ideas to create community on the basis of shared goals: their children's education, mutual assistance and time pleasantly spent, all current requirements of the rediscovered humanistic approach in schools.

2 "GRAMMAR OF SCHOOLING": THE UNCHANGEABLE TRADITION OF GRADED SCHOOLS

Tyack and Tobin specialise in the history of education and American cultural history. In a 1994 paper, they described reforms in two institutions that endured and in three others where the changes were only transient attacks on the "Grammar of Schooling." Why has it been so stable, and why did most challenges to it fade or become marginalised?

The "Grammar of Schooling" metaphor compares the source of

rooting in school systems to the rules of grammar in language. When people speak, they do not consciously follow the rules of grammar. "Grammars of Schooling" has become so well rooted that it is given as invariable, as a rules. Schools are just like that. A similar structure has grammar in a language that we accept - unconsciously and inadvertently.

The changes driven more recently by the European Union's synchronisation and integration processes, channelled through national governments and adapted by them, pose challenges to school realities and teachers' practices. According to Tyack and Tobin, "[a]lmost any blueprint for basic reform will be altered during implementation, so powerful is the hold of the cultural construction of what constitutes a 'real school' and so common is the habit of teachers in adapting reform to local circumstances and public expectations."[5] How are educational changes implemented (or not), and what is teachers' role in this process? The term "Grammar of Schooling" helps educators understand the nature of educational institutions' resistance to change. Are teachers aware of their traditional way of thinking? And how deeply rooted are the old paradigms in their consciousness? Tyack and Tobin reflect in their studies on the nature of institutional continuity and some policy implications for reform today. They focus on the organisational framework that shapes the conditions under which teachers teach. The creators of the changes have to break the "Grammar of Schooling," perceiving their structure or rules as straitjackets. Now, there have become old-fashioned and they need changes. As an innovative way, they can try:

> to create ungraded schools; to use time, space and numbers of students as flexible resources, and to diversify uniform periods, same-sized rooms and standard class sizes; to merge specialised subjects into core courses in junior and high schools or, alternatively, to introduce departmental specialisation into elementary schools; to group teachers in teams rather than having them work as isolated individuals in self-contained classrooms.[6]

Typically, such innovations have not lasted long. Graded elementary

schools were "new" before the American Civil War. They originated in rural areas but soon spread to the cities because they became very popular. The curriculum is divided into yearlong modules. Students are organized by similar possibilities and age, and are instructed in self-contained classrooms. They are always taught by teachers, who are specialised in particular school subject. Graded schools once represented a big change and progress; now they are so familiar that it is hard to imagine a time when they did not exist, or to conceive of alternatives. They were once a deliberate invention, but that invention spread rapidly across the urban landscape. It promised to make schooling differentiated by pupils' proficiency or age easily replicable as cities swelled, as well as more efficient and equitable.[7] Graded schools have resisted fundamental changes, and in retrospect they also have two educational goals: individual approach to teaching and equal access to education. Incidentally, Polish contemporary education has often emphasised these aims, as it did when graded schools were created – only nowadays it is not easy to realise these aims within the graded school. This template of graded classes has become successful because it ensures greater effectiveness in teaching students. The goal in the past was, and unfortunately still is, effectiveness in the schools. Modern society wants to keep improving. And so there were changes. A common old practice, where one teacher worked in a single class, taught pupils and prepared sets of tasks for them was not enough. Teachers ensured the necessary effectiveness of education by dividing the work of the teacher and assigning him a single grade in which students had to pass through the curriculum. The teacher could then evaluate their knowledge, which they gained at this grade. This way it was achieved that in one class, children were taught the same way, at the same pace and by one teacher on a given subject.

> This seemed egalitarian to the reformers, for schooling was thus supposedly the same for everyone: boys and girls, rich and poor, immigrant and native-born. Administrators, most of them male, divided the traditional curriculum – reading, spelling, arithmetic, writing and

> the rest – into required sequences and supervised the teachers, mostly female, to make sure they were following the syllabi.[8]

Final exams at the end of the school year determined whether the student was able to advance to the next year, to a "higher" level. If he/she was successful, he could move up. Whereas failure meant to be held back. This "Grammar of Schooling" was successfully implemented for more than a hundred years. It created a kind of educational ideology, in which only this set of beliefs is correct. According to the definition of *ideology,* its main features are partiality, oversimplification, emotional expression and adapting to the prejudices of the public.[9] I see these characteristics in education. School culture has changed over time, and it will happen in the future again. In order for the transformation to be carried out freely, it is necessary to solve the problems of education publicly, intensively and continuously. People should clearly define goals and means of education. Only in this way we can create a „real school", improve and constantly innovate current education. The public dialogue should help to identify what is really necessary and possible to change at school.

> Shared beliefs could energise a broad social movement to remake schools. Such change would require reaching beyond a cadre of committed reformers to involve the public in a broad commitment to change, not only questioning what is taken for granted, but also preserving what is valuable in existing practice.[10]

3 EFFORTS TO CHANGE AND ALTERNATIVES

The change or transformation in education has been previously described as a possible change in society. It is addressed in the critical theory of Paulo Freire. He and his successors have tried to explain how school is important to the awakening of pupils' perception of their own uniqueness, but unfortunately, the established "banking system" in the schools – the passive acceptance of knowledge and opinions of others – actually kills this ability in children.

Like pupils in school, people in society take a passive role and live

in a "culture of silence" that is difficult to escape in future life. Freire explains very strongly: people's deepened consciousness of their situation leads them to apprehend that situation as a historical reality susceptible to transformation. Resignation gives way to the drive for transformation and inquiry, over which people feel themselves in control. If, as historical beings necessarily engaged with other people in a movement of inquiry, they did not control that movement, it would be (and is) a violation of their humanity. Any situation in which some individuals prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is one of violence. The means used are not important; to alienate human beings from their own decision-making is to change them into objects.[11]

Teachers are actually victims of "Grammar of Schooling" because most of them have personally gone through this conventional system, obediently attending as pupils and then educated at universities for their future profession in a similar paradigm of traditional schools. Many may have chosen teaching as a profession on the grounds that they recognised this established system, and liked it. This is one reason they should think about changing the current situation. According to Freire's theory, they don't even know they are at a certain stage of oppression and serving the existing system. Freire said schools too often serve the needs of an unjust society instead of the needs of the oppressed students. He emphasised education and literacy on the political, social and economic contexts of his students' lives. He wanted to help students, who, thanks to education, could become independent, active and responsible members of society and, in the future, change it.

Poland has also had frequent changes of government and ministers of education, with negative consequences for society. Teachers' enthusiasm has disappeared since the early 1990s; teachers are tired of the struggle of political parties. Education is even often seen as anti-democratic. As early as 1990, Kwieciński warned against such a phenomenon by saying that "democracy does not create itself. A destruction of the totalitarian system in Poland does not automatically open doors to democracy. The school might become an unconscious or consciously created and

manipulated tool used to inhibit development of the society and prevent its walk towards democracy."[12]

But in Poland alternative schools emerged; there were personalities who tried to implement different types of school successfully and to promote their intentions in the educational system in existing conditions. I chose these two examples because they are connected with early education: "author's class" by Śliwerski, which he taught in the 1990s with his wife, Wiesława, and "Wrocławska Szkoła Przyszłości" ("The School of the Future in Wroclaw"), created by Ryszard Łukaszewicz.[13]

4 CREATING AUTHORIAL SCHOOLS IN POLAND

According to a working definition, "an authorial school" is an educational establishment with its own unique culture. It has been created by its founder or his or her followers on the basis of the original concept – accepted and followed by the teachers, pupils and their parents. This establishment can provide the best learning and long-lasting durable results in the schools.[14] What is the difference between an author's class and an authorial school? Humanistic "authorial schools" (from the word *author*) have spread around the world in the last hundred years. Steiner's Waldorf schools, the Montessori movement and Dalton may be considered authorial schools as movements that combine sound primary features with well-developed implementation strategies, which allow them to adapt to any particular situations over time. Many fragments from these schools could wait for the right time – for social change in post-socialist countries, where new possibilities for democratic education could bring major changes. The implementation of changes for society in the new, unfamiliar terms had not been completely smooth. The pedagogical public – people who were hungry and full of enthusiasm for something new – were disappointed by experimental changes. According to Fiegel, there had to be artists of education who could realise their ideas, dreams and visions. They had relish, courage and perseverance to go against the existing systems, to which society was accustomed, but which seemed boring and bland to innovators.[15] In Poland this new

possibility and these changes in education were called *wyspy* – islands, or exceptions to common schooling. In other words, alternative.

In spring 1990, within democratic changes in society, the teachers and principals in Polish schools received a letter from the Minister of Education, Professor Henryk Samsonowicz, that allowed them freer personal development by creating their jobs – independent, autonomous work in leading pupils. At the same time, the minister appealed to teachers' great responsibility and conscience to best carry out their work. There was an intention to create a permanent alternative education as part of the culture. Śliwerski founded such classes in elementary school in Łódź, where the following important objectives were formulated:

- Allowing maximum development and results for all children regardless of their abilities or cognitive problems.
- Promoting children's autonomy to increase their own responsibility and recognise what they wanted to develop.
- Intensifying the cooperation of parents and grandparents in their children's education.
- Freeing schools from the practices of traditional schools, especially frontal teaching.
- The evaluation system.[16]

The ability to motivate children to work is one of the teacher's most important and most necessary skills, at all levels of education. Truly, the art of teaching means forcing children to work independently, to make themselves aware of the necessity of their actions. Even author's classes must have some basis for the curriculum (program-minimum), which is a prerequisite for successful progress through a given educational system. More than in ordinary classes, author's classes emphasise the pupil's own pace, which must be respected in the evaluation and also subject to consultation with parents, who are in this way drawn into the educational process. Even teachers should be encouraged and motivated to work creatively and develop professionally to be a driving force for change and to envision how schools could look after certain innovations have been implemented.

Łukaszewicz has dreamed about schools outside the mainstream since the 1970s, when he wanted to create the best school in Poland, and he has worked on the "Wrocławska Szkoła Przyszłości" ("The School of the Future in Wroclaw").[17] His project built on ecology and love of nature but also used the metaphor "the world, on the contrary," inspired by the paintings of Bosch and Bruegel. Teaching is conceived very practically: pupils spend time outdoors, in nature, and work (painting, sculpting, playing), also in nature and especially in the creation of the curriculum through long-term projects, even from the earliest age. In the 1980s, Łukaszewicz was doing these ideas mainly as extracurricular activities, and in 1992 he established a school-like experiment.

He developed a model of schoolwork built on three pillars – support, inspiration and supervision – and named his method "Projektowane okazje edukacyjne" ("Educational Opportunities in Projects"). The method is based on practical work, the creative process and sensory perception. In his words: "In 'education in action' we are building a life story, we are traveling and can discover secrets, we experience the world with our senses." He suggested ways to change the quality of thinking, the behaviour of people in general and teachers in particular.[18] Therefore, in his conception, he emphasised the inevitability of personal mastery, but also systemic thinking, a common vision and joint activity.[19] Using these pillars, he created a curriculum and plans for teaching, based on projects. Thanks to this project learning, he proves that schools do not need solid teaching units or learning divided into subjects, which are firmly rooted.

Instead, he emphasises a child's intellectual development in early education and includes three factors in day-to-day activities: the element of entertainment, the element of play and imagination, and the need for perfection. Children need to awaken emotions; school needs to allow them to experience certain phenomena, to free their cognitive abilities. Schools must maximise opportunities for children's individual mental life. Every person should learn how to empathise with others and realise their own responsibility in the learning process.

Łukaszewicz wants to reorganise and realise life, filling it with humanistic ideas. In his educational program, called STOPES (System Treściowej Organizacji Procesu Edukacji Szkolnej, or System of Content Organisation of the School Education Process), he determined the content of curriculum in dialogue with nature. In another initiative, NATURA-my, he crossed traditional school rituals and opened alternative education opportunities for the students, especially self-education, a result of live authentic confrontation "here and now." What does it mean? His foundation has organised outdoor meetings that included children from the Czech Republic, Germany and the Netherlands. Taking as his motto "Peace with nature," he linked the new meaning of ecological education with the global community of young people, and they learned a lot from one another.

5 CONCLUSION

One way to break the "Grammar of Schooling" is by democratising relations among teachers, parents and pupils. Teachers' efforts in ordinary Polish classes are evident. Though limited by time, teachers offer to create social groups with clear objectives. Nowadays, these kinds of activities are among the most important targets in the social sphere. According to Scharmer, a society should make positive change. It needs to abandon its systems' current mode while working as ego-system awareness, and to move the system toward activating generative social fields, meaning "structures of relationships among individuals, groups, organisations and systems that give rise to collective behaviour and outcomes."[20] A professional teacher should always have good intentions toward parents and be open to discussion and communication – a good example of breaking the traditional "Grammar of Schooling," in which the teachers were inviolable authorities. Łukaszewicz destroyed the "Grammar of Schooling" when he reorganised time in his school, where 45-minute blocks on projects were certainly not enough. Pupils perceive time and their work differently when they aren't ruled by bells, stressed by the need to finish all their work in a specified time.

The biggest change that penetrated the mainstream through alternatives in Polish elementary schools (grades 1.–3.) is the system of assessment. The traditional grading system was disrupted, and schools implemented written evaluations. Although in some cases these evaluations may seem questionable because students are assessed with other symbols (letters, percentages, emoticons), teachers' freedom in evaluation is enshrined in the Education Act. Assessment of motivational and informative functions prevails over selective and restrictive functions. Teachers are not oriented towards correcting mistakes, but towards practice in which children learn from their errors, placing responsibility for the results in their hands and gradually awakening in them the acknowledgment that they learn for themselves.

Teachers should be given the opportunity to create modern, contemporary classes. State authority could be limited by basing education on principles of subsidiarity. Then teachers will be self-confident, able to resist political change. They can contribute to long-term educational development strategy and improvement of educational quality by providing high-quality educational offerings, friendly to parents and children.[21] Allowing teachers' creativity could be the best motivation for their work.

Teachers and school directors can react to reality better than a firmly set curriculum allows. The question is whether schools need a central, fixed curriculum or can teach more democratically according to a "minimum curriculum." Parents can freely choose schools according to what important features they offer. In addition, democrats cling to a "minimum curriculum" primarily because they believe that democratic society needs a collective basic culture – a collective "basis of communication" – as a pre-condition for equal human rights[22] According to Kotásek, never before in global affairs has education been so pivotal to individuals and societies, or confronted with such societal crises, as today. "We have many challenges and many problems to overcome, but recognition of problems is part of the solution."[23]

The question arises whether it is possible in the current school and society to unite humanistic ideals and simultaneously focus on

performance and efficiency. Can these two contradictory aims be taught simultaneously in the school? Do we have to prefer one at the expense of the other? Moreover, are these two components interchangeable without harming the student's learning process? Isn't the change in educational approach too late for the student, whose learning process has already been determined by one of the components?

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WHAT IS PEDAGOGICAL SUPERVISION IN EUROPE TODAY?

A STUDY DESIGN THROUGH THE LENS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES, COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE NOTION AND TEACHER PERCEPTIONS

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Keywords: pedagogical supervision, teacher development, lifelong learning, educational policies, Poland, Portugal.

Abstract. Pedagogical supervision in a school context is not a new phenomenon; however, we are still experiencing a wide range of problems with its implementation in everyday school life. Lack of common understanding of what pedagogical supervision really is, and a multiplicity of definitions, forms and approaches, cause confusion and difficulties, especially in the emerging European context, in which the need to transfer, unify and implement knowledge across the European countries is inevitably growing. The literature reports benefits of engaging in pedagogical supervision as a way of supporting and implementing other ideas, such as collaboration among teachers, professional development, self-development and lifelong learning. However, there is a shortage of research on pedagogical supervision that considers the different understandings of the concept, the international contexts, and teachers' perceptions of it. This article views the history and common understandings of the notion of pedagogical supervision, and the importance, value and need for its beneficial practice. It proposes a research framework that promotes a deeper understanding of the concept, processes and factors playing key roles in teachers' perceptions in an international setting.

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1 EDUCATION IN CHANGING EUROPE: THE PLACE OF PEDAGOGICAL SUPERVISION

The world is constantly changing, and so are educational systems. In many cases, even content knowledge is changing, growing, evolving, and demanding that new skills be learned.[1] Thus, it seems obvious that teachers, educators and other stakeholders should constantly compare their knowledge and experience with newly produced knowledge, discoveries and research outcomes. Participation in groups or workshops might be effective but might not be concentrated enough on specific situations of each teacher.[2] This constantly changing situation in educational systems, especially in the European context, means there is a growing need for self-development and lifelong education implementation. As stated in the literature, pedagogical supervision seen as a tool for teacher development and lifelong education implementation[3] seems very promising. Still, there are many obstacles and difficulties of both sociocultural and political nature. In addition, the nomenclature connected with education is considered not clear enough, potentially causing misunderstandings.[4]

In this article, we will create a design for a research for understanding pedagogical supervision. The study considers pedagogical supervision in relation to a broad school context, including its culture and system of working in general, as well as the influence of pedagogical supervision on individual teachers, but also in relation to the relevant European and national legal frameworks.

The review of the academic literature showed that, even though described, there is not much written about newest forms and representations of pedagogical supervision. In most cases, supervisory projects are not seen as an important part of a much larger and very complex school reality. Nowadays, within the emerging European context in education, there is a strong call for implementing and developing the idea of self-education, lifelong learning, and broadly understood collaboration between teachers and all stakeholders.[5] All these values

are perceived as undeniably positive and worthy of implementation; however, in practice the teachers are not as willing to include these values into their everyday workflow as might be expected. Naturally a question arises: why? Brief studies of educational laws in two countries, Poland and Portugal, show that still not much has been done to really implement these ideas and values into the law. In European documents that refer to teachers' education, we may find such keywords as self-development, lifelong education, European context and teacher development.[6] It might look as if those documents are good guidance in the process of solving many problems with which our educational systems are struggling.

However, at this point a question must be asked: if those documents are really providing detailed ways and practical advice that will help to achieve intended goals? Even if – according to the need to respect the independence of each country in the European Union – some level of generality must be maintained, still those documents should provide at least suggestions for concrete solutions. If not, they might remain nothing but an overall wish list without real potency to influence each country's national laws. The same problem might exist on national laws. If lawmakers on national levels will not implement pedagogical supervision in any kind of its representations, it is not likely that it will be implemented only by bottom-up actions taken by teachers or principals. On the other hand, it should be done in a way that will allow the avoidance of omnipresent overregulation, nowadays a common problem that may have equally negative consequences. It is, then, an urgent, delicate and fragile issue to be resolved.

Building on these developments, the design of the proposed study "Pedagogical Supervision in Poland and Portugal: A Qualitative Study of Discourses and Practices in Teacher Development" has been created to investigate the phenomenon of pedagogical supervision from different perspectives. Usually, in similar cases, researchers conduct experiments, based on research or action research. In this study we will try to include a much broader context than usual in the case of social experiments

or other methods with more of a laboratory environment, trying to focus on pedagogical supervision projects as the phenomena occurring in and influenced by very complex school reality. This reality is also heavily influenced and determined by educational law, which designates boundaries, may give or take away possibilities, and may be a burden or helpful tool. From our perspective, that influence is underestimated in common inquiries in the field of pedagogical supervision. Moreover, within the emerging European context, there is a need to build a transnational understanding of these issues.

2 PEDAGOGICAL SUPERVISION: THEORETICAL REVIEW

An observable specific shift led from content-centred teaching to the idea of teaching skills and letting students achieve their full potential. Such an approach produces questions that need to be answered. Most of all, modern science should investigate following areas: "What kind of intentional learning opportunities help teachers acquire and develop their vision, knowledge, practices, frameworks and dispositions they need to promote student learning?"[7] Furthermore, "It also includes studies of what teachers learn from the daily experiment of teaching and from informal interactions with colleagues. Ultimately research on teacher learning must consider how the outcomes of teacher learning contribute to student learning."[8] Also meaningful are questions connected with sociocultural conditions and the fact that teacher education and learning processes are always submerged in culture and depend on historical determinants. As an example from our own experience, in Poland during Communist times, teachers were very often perceived as officials and representatives of the oppressive governmental system, and that fact shaped relations between teachers and society for many decades.

The emerging European context and the meaning of Europeanness seem to be a growing issue in recent years among the authors of scientific journals, and within the European Commission itself. Michael Schratz[9] shows some important competences – reflection and discourse,

professional awareness, collaboration and collegiality, ability to differentiate, personal mastery – to be crucial in terms of achieving a level of professionalism high enough to face the problems and challenges of today's school reality successfully. All those values and competences are very important, but deeper analysis shows a particular pattern. It seems that all responsibility for change rests on teachers' side. From our point of view, this concept lacks the most crucial questions: what would the system/government do to really help teachers face and resolve problems they are struggling with? What will the system/government do to really support teachers in achieving these goals?

The texts written by Schratz also contain information about the growing need for mobility, exchange among teachers from different countries, implementing multilingualism, organising workshops and events, and engaging teachers in their own research and constant development. There is, however, no information about how to secure and provide required resources for teachers to implement all the above mentioned ideas into their workflow. Our own practice shows that the average teacher does not have enough time even to do everything for which he or she is responsible. If teachers don't feel enough support and has to work under pressure and in difficult conditions (lack of money, overcrowded classes, very demanding parents, etc.), most likely they will not willingly participate in additional activities or learn new things.[10] In conclusion: to be a teacher in today's Europe means not only learning more, participating more, etc., but also working in a system that truly provides possibilities to achieve all goals.

2.1 Importance of the history of supervision

Glanz[11] states that the history of supervision is very often underestimated, and to be able to fully understand all the problems and issues connected with this notion, it is not enough to describe briefly the most important moments or changes. He believes the history of supervision should be described and deliberated in its sociocultural context with deep analyses of other historical events or factors that were shaping

reality in the field of education including philosophy, economy or politics. This kind of background knowledge will allow the stakeholders to truly understand the phenomenon of supervision, its strengths and weaknesses, and the possibilities it creates.

2.2 The notion of pedagogical supervision

In the 19th century, supervision in the educational field was understood as equivalent to inspection and used to control teachers' effectiveness.[12] In this case, a hierarchical relationship between supervisor and supervisee was very characteristic and undeniable.[13] Kevin Wilkerson points out that since then new forms and approaches have been invented, and the definition of supervision has become more unclear and fluid compared to the one that existed in the 19th century. In the late 1980s, *peer supervision* was used and described as "a process through which counsellor trainees (or counsellors) use their professional and relationship skills to help each other become more effective and skilful helpers."[14] Wilkerson also mentions another definition from 2001 that indicates that "peer supervision is a learning method involving pairs or small groups of colleagues supervising each other."[15]

At this point, it is noticeable that the certain shift occurred from a more vertical relationship in which an older, more experienced person supervises a less experienced one, to a more horizontal one, in which colleagues supervise one another. Moreover, Wilkerson noticed further problems caused by the fact that other notions like *supervisory consultation* or *peer consultation* were used interchangeably to describe similar processes. Finally, he proposed his own definition: "Peer supervision is a structured, supportive process in which counsellor colleagues (or trainees), in pairs or in groups, use their professional knowledge and relationship expertise to monitor practice and effectiveness on a regular basis for the purpose of improving specific counselling, conceptualization, and theoretical skills."[16]

This definition shows the evolution and direction towards which supervision was developing; however, it is still far from the way the

authors in the field of education understand supervision. In last decade, very often, supervision is even not described as a simple notion, but rather as a complex phenomenon:

> SuperVision, a term that denotes a common vision of what teaching and learning can and should be, developed collaboratively by formally designated supervisors, teachers, and other members of the school community. The word also implies that these same persons will work together to make their vision a reality – to build a democratic community of learning based on moral principles calling for all students to be educated in a manner enabling them to lead fulfilling lives and be contributing members of a democratic society.[17]

This example shows that supervision is no longer seen as a process in which two persons interact to improve one's practicum, but as very complex, long-term process that involves many people and should directly affect not only the teachers, but also students. Here the supervision becomes a mixture of various processes that occur in schools and should be included in day-to-day school reality and workflow as an important factor that will help the school achieve its goals. Interestingly, these goals concern not only the outcomes of students and the level of knowledge they should gain through the educational process, but also goals that reach far beyond, referring to the need to build modern, democratic society. Other authors go even further. In the book *No Caleidoscópio da Supervisão: Imagens da Formação e da Pedagogia* (In the Kaleidoscope of Supervision: Images of Formation and Pedagogy), the authors[18] connect pedagogical supervision with such values such as *critical inquiry, critical intervention, democratisation, dialogicity, participation and emancipation*. Assigning pedagogical supervision implementation to achieve these kinds of values shows how high are the expectations the authors are expressing. Furthermore the authors believe that the following goals may be achieved through the processes of pedagogical supervision:

- Interaction of personal and public contexts, sharing of theoretical and practical knowledge.

- The personal and social construction of theoretical and practical knowledge.
- Transformative and emancipatory orientation of school education and pedagogy.
- Values of a democratic society: freedom and social responsibility.
- A student: critical consumer and creative producer of knowledge.
- A teacher: facilitator of the relation student–knowledge–learning process.
- Knowledge: dynamic, transitory and differentiated construction.
- Focus on learning process: reflection, experimentation, regulation, negotiation.
- Progressive autonomisation of a student/citizen.
- Democratic and informal environment.
- A critical position toward pedagogy, school, society.

The comparison of the picture of pedagogical supervision drawn by Flavia Vieira and co-authors with a description from the 19th century[19] shows a significant difference and a change that has occurred over time. Pedagogical supervision is then seen as a very complex process, not necessarily connected with practises of typical assessment. The above example is also not the only one. As literature shows, in recent decades, many authors developed their own ways of understanding pedagogical supervision and its forms, approaches and methods.

2.3 Pedagogical supervision in literature

Various approaches may be taken to the pedagogical supervision process; however, from our perspective, peer observation is the most popular. "In this approach, observations are always announced. They last for the duration of the teaching hour and constitute one link in a three-part observation cycle, which consists of a pre-observation session with the teacher, an observation, and a post-observation conference."[20] The purpose of the pre-observation meeting is to establish the main focus and rules of future observation. Participants are negotiating which areas are important from their perspective and what are the main issues the

observed teacher is struggling with. It might be connected with students' behaviour, problems with their concentration, methodology of lessons, distribution of time, use of new strategies of teaching, active learning or any other area. The observation process lasts one lesson, after which the supervisor and supervisee are meeting again to share observations and build strategy that will allow the supervisee to improve his or her practice. In the next step, the roles change: the supervised teacher becomes the supervisor, and vice versa.[21]

Pedagogical supervision has also its weaknesses. It is true that teachers need support in their everyday work to improve their level of professionalism and competences, and in this case pedagogical supervision is seems a good solution. Not all teachers are convinced and willing to be supervised because of their own experience or prejudices. If poorly performed, pedagogical supervision may represent a threat to teachers' professional status and even make them lose their self-esteem. This situation might also be caused by the ways supervision was performed in the past, when supervision was indeed an act of assessment, often done by external officials,[22] often in the context of dictatorship. Pedagogical supervision may also represent other problems. For instance,

> It is virtually impossible to capture the essence of the instruction in an objective manner unless the observer & the teacher share at least part of the instructional context that determines the teacher's long-term objectives and day-to-day teaching decisions. Without that context the observer is limited to the 'what' and 'how' of the observed lesson but is unable to access the 'why' without a high degree of speculation and subjective interpretation.[23]

Despite the abovementioned challenges, pedagogical supervision is described as inevitably beneficial to those who participate in the process. "It communicates the high value of professional development and by focusing on reflection, communication, and professional inquiry, it allows both the teacher and supervisor to become not only better at what

they are doing but also to enjoy it more."[24]

Moreover, it is also beneficial to whole school. For the teaching staff, it is important because it gives a lot of information about students and allows teachers to exchange this information more efficiently. It also helps build community and strengthen the teaching team, develop open communication based on trust and create space to share difficulties, challenges and success.[25] As research shows, supervisory programs are developed in many countries and are beneficiary: "Studies conducted in several African countries (Uganda, Ethiopia, Ghana, Tanzania, Guinea and Madagascar) have shown that in-class teacher supervision is an excellent way to improve the quality of both teaching and learning."[26]

For students, the benefits include:

- "Observing the educational needs of students and pupils in the educational process.
- Improving the relationship with the teacher.
- Encouraging positive changes in the lives of students and pupils.
- Observing the developmental needs of students and pupils.
- Tailoring teachers' work to the specificity of the class group."[27]

Considering all these issues from a European perspective, it is worth noting that documents on the quality of education and the training of teachers include supervisory policies and practice guidelines. However, in each country the situation is different. In Portugal, for instance, a decades-old trend emphasized supervision in the initial formation of teachers[28], and also in lifelong teacher training and in the organization and functioning of schools[29]. As some authors point out, supervision serves as a tool for the transformation of the educational system and the construction of democracy.[30] Supervision has a prominent place in Portugal today in the evaluation of teachers and schools. It is also important to study this subject in Poland, but in a first approach we consider that the general understanding there still defines supervision as an inspection.

3 CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE RESEARCH

3.1 Goals and research questions

Considering the literature above, we propose a study design with the following possible aims:

- To describe and comprehend the relationship between Portuguese and Polish educational laws, as well as recommendations from European Union Council, and their possible impact on supervisory projects in progress. The way the law is written and implemented may have a significant influence – positive or negative – on developing and sustaining supervisory projects.
- To clarify and systematise notions connected to pedagogical supervision because of the need to establish common understanding among stakeholders in the European Union.
- To deepen understanding of processes occurring in schools involved in projects with pedagogical supervision on the macro (educational policies), meso (general school performance, level of teaching, student performance, etc.) and micro (individual changes in level of professionalism, relations between teachers, etc.) scales through the lens of specific notions such as lifelong education, teachers' professional development, leadership and professional identity.
- To deepen understanding of a wide range of factors – negative and positive – playing a key role in shaping teachers' approaches (beliefs, predictions, hopes, fears, positive and negative experiences) to pedagogical supervisory projects and how these approaches are changing over time.

To be able to achieve all these aims, the project has four research questions:

- How is the practise of pedagogical supervision defined in educational law in Poland and Portugal and documents provided by the European Union?

- How is pedagogical supervision understood by stakeholders in the European Union?
- How do teachers in primary schools understand the idea of supervision, its variables and possible implications for their work?
- What are the main causes and external and internal factors of the supervision process that contribute to the failure or success from teachers' perspective?

3.2 Methodology

To be able to find the answers in accordance with scientific rigour, we propose the following research framework: First, further literature study on supervision will be conducted, jointly with analysis of Polish and Portuguese educational laws. All documents will be reviewed in terms of used notions, connected with supervision and the ways these notions are understood by the authors of those documents. We will also try to answer the question if and how these documents can influence or change day-to-day school reality. Second, in each country one primary school with a continuing supervisory project will be chosen and treated as a separate case study. We are going to participate in day-to-day school life, accompanying participants (selected teachers, headmasters and coordinators) in their work, observing classes, participating in meetings and activities, and doing informal interviews as well as formal semi-structured interviews.

4 EXPECTED OUTCOMES

Pedagogical supervision is an important part of very complex school reality, especially in the emerging European context. However, despite its grounding in European policy, it lacks common understanding among stakeholders in the European international community. Moreover, this phenomenon is not occurring and influencing the reality of each school alone, but is reaching far beyond school walls, interacting and being influenced by many sociocultural and political factors. From our

perspective, it is then crucial to investigate and describe the phenomenon of pedagogical supervision as submerged and intertwined with these factors, and to enrich the state of knowledge with outcomes of school-based research, which will give the voice to the main actors and stakeholders – the teachers. We hope the proposed research project will allow us to answer different questions and difficulties and bring the common understanding of this idea to the broad European community, making it more suitable for the demanding of modern education in the emerging European context.

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INFORMATION COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY IN TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE FROM A RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

AN ANALYSIS OF CLASS ACTIVITIES AND TEACHER ROLES

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Keywords: ICT, TEFL, innovative techniques, teacher roles.

Abstract. This paper offers an insight into how information communication technology (ICT) is integrated into EFL teaching in school classes. By means of inductive content analysis of online versions of scientific journals on EFL and ICT published in from 2010 to 2016, I attempt to understand the underlying associations between the use of individual ICT and class activities, including teacher roles. In the end, I offer an interpretation as to which ways the processes of ICT integration in EFL helps enhancing learning processes. The main finding, based on research viewpoints, was that ICT in an EFL class situation is associated with innovative changes in teaching-learning processes, as the use of ICT accelerates class dynamism and teacher roles.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Emerging discourses indicates that information communication technology ICT is associated with innovative teaching-learning processes[1] and significance of teacher skills in its integration in the teaching-learning process of EFL[2] as a language of global concern[3, 4] defined for (inter)cultural communicative competence,[5] symbolic competence,

strategic competence[6] and meta-cultural competence[7] over grammatical competence focused teaching. This paper focuses on how scientific journals depict the integration of ICT in real class teaching in EFL, the everyday encounter of teachers.

Despite the large research experience supporting ICT in EFL for communicative approaches,[8] less attention has been paid to the basic but very crucial question i.e. how integration of ICT in real class teaching is developing in EFL. Thus, apart from many uncharted issues, we know relatively little about which individual types of ICT are associated with which types of EFL class activities and, similarly, which types of teacher roles develop with them in real class situations, etc. Research knowledge on such issues is not yet precise.[9] A focused analysis of these dimensions can offer insight as to whether and how using ICT brings innovations in teaching EFL.

In this paper, I build on my PhD research project on ICT in teaching EFL in Czech basic schools. I focus on the e-versions of scientific journals in EFL regarded as the key sources of learning[10] in the digital age. From a research perspective, e-versions of the media allow EFL researchers to communicate by publishing research knowledge[11] pertinent to new techniques of using ICT and thereby influence change. Understandably, an analysis of media communications can significantly contribute to understanding the use of ICT in teaching EFL.

In short, with the identified scope and gaps regarding ICT in EFL, as well as the significance of e-versions of the journals, I attempt to answer the question of how ICT is integrated into class situations in teaching EFL as reflected in EFL journals from 2010 to 2016.

To reach this objective, the analysis in this paper focuses on the types of ICT used, the class activities and purposes in which it is used, and the teacher roles involved. In the end, I offer an interpretation of whether and how the ICT processes may be represented as learning processes[12] in EFL. These were the research questions designed for analysis:

2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How is ICT used in real class situations in teaching EFL in school, as represented in the journals?
2. Which technologies are used in which types of activities, and for which purposes?
3. Which teacher roles are involved when ICT is used in EFL classes?
4. Can the processes with ICT be represented as learning processes in teaching EFL?

3 METHODOLOGY

The research is grounded on the inductive content analysis method,[13] which can be used to analyse media messages of any type. As an advantage, it can also focused both on the message content and on the form and make exhaustive interpretations on a phenomenon. Regarding its disadvantages, such analysis is textual and thematic, and therefore interpretations resemble more with conceptual than objective meaning.[14]

The unit of observation in my research was ICT in EFL teaching. Units of analysis were individual articles focused on teaching EFL with ICT in the journals listed below. A unit of analysis was an article that included an author's name and a headline. Therefore, empirical and review research studies and discussion papers were included, whereas content pages were not. Using the directed qualitative content analysis approach,[15] I designed analytical codes[16] pertaining to the main research aims, which generated a pool of information for qualitative interpretations to answer the research questions.

Since it is always a challenge to reach precision while differentiating findings from the retrieved data set, this study applied a rigorous cyclic interpretative technique of reading and rearticulating of meaning (representational interpretation of a given text, as in discourse analysis) of the text,[17] in which encoding and decoding are the key tools to interpret meanings to be represented under the predesigned thematic

analysers.[18] The applied coding and interpretative methods permitted the material to be sorted out from the data set and the findings stated under the thematic pillars[19] pre-designed to represent the phenomenon, i.e., integration of ICT in EFL class situations. In this way, the represented findings were used as the clues to conclude, e.g., whether and how the ICT implementation in EFL teaching was developing as a learning process. To sort list the relevant research; topic, abstract, keywords, and conclusions of each paper published in the selected journals from 2010 to 2016 were read. The published papers were selected on the basis of these criteria:

The paper could be a review, an empirical research report or a discussion paper. On the content level, the report had to link teaching EFL with the use of ICT. The work had to focus on EFL in schools. Papers that reported on EFL as a professional course and higher education level were not selected in this study. Based on these criteria, n=144 out of 598 papers were selected for analysis. The journals selected were *English Language Teaching Journal* (five articles), *The Southeast Asian Journal of English Language Studies* (two articles), *Journal Computer Assisted Language Learning*[20] (50 articles), *English Teaching Forum* (43 articles), and *Language Learning and Technology Journal* (44 articles), for a total of 144 articles.

4 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section presents the results that address the first and the second main research questions as stated above, using these as the main thematic codes relating ICT integration in EFL teaching:

1. Used individual ICT types.
2. Class activities in which the ICT was used.
3. Purposes of using ICT.
4. Teacher roles.

I begin with the findings and discussions on individual technologies used in EFL classes.

4.1 Individual ICT used in class activities in EFL classroom

The studies articulated these as the main devices such as recording tools, data projectors, computers, multimedia, audio-video devices, mobile phones, tablets, laptops and language robots.[21] The list reveals that both general and smart tools were used in EFL.

Individual types of ICT used in EFL made a long list, but based on the similarities and differences in their technological features, these types were identified such as; *audios and videos; multimedia and presentation technologies; tools-supported software like word processors, spreadsheets, and language software;* and *internet, web-based media as Google, blogs, learning portals, social media, LMS and lab-supplied sources.*

However, on the basis of the types of use and services, the listed technologies could further be represented in more specific categories, such as *general tools; tool- or computer-based software such as word processors and presentation tools; data bases, online web-based media,* and *social media.*

Hereafter, I present the findings relating to the class activities and purposes in which individual technologies were used, the second component of the first research question. In this regard, ICT was used in diverse class activities and for different purposes in different types of EFL instruction: grammar-focused instruction, communicative skills-focused instruction; and instruction focused on integrated and real communication skills.

4.1.1 ICT and class activities in grammar-focused instruction

Of the 144 papers analysed, 22 reported use of these main technologies: electronic *audio-video devices, multimedia projectors, interactive boards and online web sources like Google and YouTube.*

The listed technologies fall into these main categories: general tools, computer- based software, presentation tools, and online search engines[22] used in grammar-focused instruction.

The studies reported these main activities in which the listed technologies were used: presenting lessons, watching films, listening and

drill activities, reading texts and graphic materials, and word meaning and grammar exercises.

Examples:

Use of videos, radio and TV sources for drilling.[23]

In this type of EFL instruction, the main purposes of using the listed technologies were such as; warm-up the class, support intensive linguistic exercises that explicitly focused on lexicons,[24] grammar, syntax, reading, writing, audial components[25] and testing and so on.

On the basis of the reported types of class activities supported by ICT and the represented purposes of their use, it was revealed that the use of general types of ICT as listed above were more explicitly associated with the grammar rules or knowledge of language focused EFL instructions.

4.1.2 ICT and class activities in language functions and skills-focused instruction

Of the 144 EFL lessons analysed, 63 reported these main technologies: general tools and electronic devices as in the lesson stated above, plus online sources like Google, blogs and social media as Facebook and communication tools such as Skype and Twitter.

The listed technologies fall into these all the main categories above, plus social media.

The studies reported the use of ICT in these main activities: class presentations, language skills, vocabulary, grammar-focused games and exercises, and partially media communications.

Examples:

Multimedia used for student presentations;[26] use of mobile games on listening and speaking; and web-sources for referencing.[27]

The studies reported these main purposes of using the listed technologies: exploring information, designing materials, supporting class procedures, facilitating learning and media communications.

Examples:

Teacher-designed lesson using such online sources as computer supported

language writing platforms,[28] *seven modules using web-based and social media communications.* [29, 30]

The above examples of EFL class activities and purposes of ICT use revealed that the use of general tools, tools-based software, presentation tools, online search engines and social media, and communication tools explicitly supported interactive class procedures that considerably resulted into language skills and functions focused instructions. On the basis of this evidence, it could be concluded that the use of the ICT and social media mentioned above is significantly associated with interactive and communicative EFL instruction focused on language skills learning.

4.1.3 ICT and class activities in instruction focused on integrated and real communication skills

Of the 144 EFL lessons, 59 reported these main technologies: *general electronic devices as in other types of EFL lessons plus blogs, clouds, web-quests, Moodle, and social media such as Facebook, communication tools like Skype, Twitter, and institutional learning management system, and lab-supported and -supplied sources*.

The technologies used fall into the categories given above plus web-based learning portals, social media, and system or database media.

The studies reported these main activities in which the listed technologies were used: tasks and project activities; group presentations; peer-based online interactions; and online collaborations with external participants, experts, professional circles of EFL teachers and many more.

Examples:

Web-quests designed with diverse cultural nuances;[31] *collaboration with local experts.*[32]

The studies reported these main purposes of using the listed technologies: exploring information or researching, designing and supporting inquiry and task-based learning, scaffolding learning, and developing learner communications and collaborations.

Examples:

Workshop activities;[33] *use of Facebook, Twitter, e-mail, chat rooms, blogs*

and learning platforms for synchronous and asynchronous communication.[34]

The above examples of reported types of class activities supported by ICT and the represented purposes of their use revealed that use of language software, presentation tools, search engines, web-based learning portals, social media, communication tools, system or database media and technologies explicitly supported interactive, collaborative and experiential instructions which are designed to support integrated and (inter)cultural communicative competence focused learning.

At this level, on the basis of this evidence, it could be concluded that in the use of the listed technologies that emphasised social media, virtual learning portals were significantly associated with (inter)cultural communicative competence-focused instruction in EFL. Hereafter, I present the findings that address the second research question relating to teacher roles in EFL instruction supported by ICT. It was found that in different types of instruction focused on different activities and learning, teachers' involvement varied. Their roles are discussed below.

4.2 Teacher roles in the ICT-supported EFL class: theoretical framework

This section presents findings on EFL teacher roles using a representational typology[35] technique which I constructed for teachers' reported activities and their involvement in class teaching supported by ICT. As can be noted in the section describing class activities and technologies used, teacher or teacher actions make up immanent scope in the entire mechanism. Thus, when it comes to understanding learning processes in any particular pedagogical situation at a point of time or context, prominence of reviewing teacher activities or involvement in the real classroom situations is considerable. In communicating the finding, using rhetorical or representational typology technique as one of the techniques of descriptive presentation[36] as applied in this study is very safe and effective.

Using typology is a safe way to describe phenomenon, but not statutory, as typology allows illustrating the intended meaning by means

of metaphoric comparison, which need not be substantially and literally the same but bear some resemblance.[37] Typology technique can take the form of a literary metaphor, which is still an abstract representation, though the law of conceptual and symbolic matching is maintained. In this work, borrowing the conceptual ideas from both pedagogical literature which compares teacher roles in multiple and various ways, and the other discipline different from pedagogy which the used typologies come from but that retain some kind of illustrative power which might be on the level of conceptual representational similarities, I developed the following typology to describe teacher roles.

Educational literature has numerous postulations that describe teacher styles and roles in diverse ways. Grasha,[38] for example, presents a typology of university teachers that devises five categories: teacher as expert, formal authority, personal model, facilitator and delegator. Wahlstrom and Louis[39] use leadership typology to depict teacher roles in the representational model. Some pedagogical literature also depicts teacher roles not in typology pattern, but literally reporting on the activities likely to be performed by teachers. Tudor's[40] model uses this technique, in which how teachers function in class is detailed.

Apart from referring to the epistemological roots of typology from pedagogical literature as stated, I, too, consulted the basic conceptual literature while inventing the individual constituent terms used in the typology to ensure that the fundamental conceptions on which the typology could be based are representable.

For instance, the term "expert" is conceptualised differently in various academic fields.[41] In psychology, expert means superior performance[42]; in sociology, a group attributes a label "expert" to an individual interested in power or leadership[43]. Similarly, in education, a person who focuses more on distributing knowledge on any subject assuming that she/he is the only know-all person is called expert. And if a teacher constitutes teacher centred class instructions in that students are conditioned to listen to what teacher disseminates, it merely pictures teacher as an expert. For instance, Grasha writes,[44] a teacher is an expert "[w]ho

possesses knowledge and expertise students need, strives to maintain status as an expert among students by displaying distilled knowledge and by challenging students who enhance their competence; concerned with transmitting information and ensuring that students are well prepared."

Similarly, modernised educational perspective conceptualises the teacher as a facilitator and delegator. Grasha[45] names the teacher as a facilitator who is concerned with increasing interactions with students and is willing to develop student capacity to function autonomously.

On top of it all, socio-educational perspective sees the teacher as a relational figure striving to work jointly with students not by displaying authority of knowledge, but by developing socio-constructive skills,[46] and promoting participative relations to construct knowledge from the social truth.[47] Based on this concept of the teacher working jointly with students, I proposed not a typology for the teacher's roles be limited to "facilitator" and delegator, as Grasha does, but a more advanced typology expressed in such roles as collaborator, colleague, even friend for the reported teacher activities. The reason is that EFL teachers did not appear to be only participative but played multiple and more liberal roles as they strived to promote communicative culture between students and teachers, which explicitly gave a multicultural perspective to teaching,[48] as represented in the reviewed research.

In this way, in the following subsection, the findings on EFL teacher roles have been represented in the metaphoric typology for convenience. As discussed above, they are based on diverse pedagogical as well as conceptual assumptions.

4.2.1 Teacher as expert

In the first categories of EFL lessons presented above (grammar-focused), these were the main teacher activities: lecturing, instructing, translating, correcting tasks, dictating, testing, etc.

Examples:

Teacher presented grammar on PPT;[49] teachers corrected student work.[50]

But the studies also showed that when teachers engaged in such

activities as exploring online sources or facilitating students, their roles shifted to participatory roles. For instance, Stockwell reported on the given teacher activities.

Teacher involved in designing, selecting, setting tasks, engaging students, monitoring and evaluating, etc.[51] However, the reported teacher activities as such seemed explicitly limited to delivering information rather than activating students. Thus, in the grammatical knowledge-focused instruction, teacher roles were comparable to expert roles, which in general are categorised as traditional teacher roles when assessed from the reasoning skills-based educational philosophy.[52]

4.2.2 Teacher as director and facilitator

In the second categories of EFL lessons, the main teacher activities were reported as presenting lessons, topic-based instruction, interaction, organising group tasks, facilitating and monitoring tasks, etc.

Examples:

Teacher engaged in interactions;[53] teacher presented lessons on PPT; teacher organised language games using computer.[54]

In some conditions, teachers also participated in media communications with students.

Use of media for communications.[55]

Teachers in general were more actively involved in organising student activities such as language games, conversation exercises and group activities, operating technologies and media-based communications.

With such involvements, teacher activities seemed explicitly concentrated on facilitating communicative skills learning over grammar-focused learning. In addition to usual roles, with the increased media involvement, in the language skills-focused instruction teacher roles were comparable to director and facilitator roles, which are generally flexible teacher roles.

4.2.3 Teacher as Collaborator and Colleague

In the third categories of EFL lessons, the main teacher activities, apart

from usual teacher activities, were reported as organising, facilitating, guiding, scaffolding, and collaborating with students and outer circles.

Examples:

Teacher organised games on cultural-content,[56] web-quest methods,[57] teacher-fostered outside circle collaborations for students.[58]

Apart from the above, most of the studies on these lessons showed that teachers were often more actively involved in organising student activities and media communications, such as student presentations, workshops, video conferences and media communications using online as well as social media beyond class situations, too.

Teachers applied video conferencing, web-based collaborations.[59]

Such teacher involvements explicitly concentrated on incorporating integrated skills learning such as learning to communicate in real situations, online communications, cultural sharing and social learning. Apart from participative task-based involvement of teachers with students, with the emphasised online or web media and social media communications activities that extended teacher involvement beyond class situations, in the integrated or real communication-focused instructions teacher roles were comparable to collaborator, partner, assistant or colleague, as the teacher is by students' side. The, in a real sense, are democratic teacher roles.

5 CONCLUSION

As one of the prioritised discourses, how ICT is integrated into EFL teaching with special reference to the use of ICT in real class situation, this research presents the conclusion in agreement with many previous pedagogical research findings. It is that ICT is associated with innovation in teaching-learning techniques connected with enhancement of skills in teachers, and thereby influence change in pedagogical processes.

It was found that with ICT, the EFL instruction largely built upon real-communication practices that engage learners.[60] When ICT is used, class activities constituted participatory and collaborative learning

processes incorporating peers as well as external participants. Despite some essential ways the lessons differed and so did the use of ICT, a common feature was that across each different situation in which EFL lessons were disseminated, use of ICT influenced the selection of content items and instructional processes. That is, in the construction of EFL lessons, more emphasis seemed to be placed on integration of content with tasks, resulting in integrative learning for which the class activities multiplied and, accordingly, teacher roles became flexible and participative.

Similarly, learning in such processes took place through active participation among students and teachers and, beyond the class, use of online and social media. The outcomes of the processes were that EFL lessons generally built not only on subject specific skills, but also a number of new skills, such as teamwork, social skills and active learning skills that were integrated. The common evidence was that the use of ICT accelerated class dynamism, and so did the teacher roles that contributed significantly to shifting learning focus from grammar to learning of communications, contexts and cultures together with language skills. Thus, with some exceptions e.g. in the grammar-focused lessons (22), the class procedures were more explicitly teacher controlled and a few similar exceptions reported, the other described changes-represented in the functions and integrated skills focused instructions (122) should be treated as solid evidence to conclude that processes with ICT in EFL considerably represent learning processes. Nevertheless, it is also important to note that in class instruction based on limited learning focus, use of ICT was still limited to the stereotypical "more with the same"[61] approach, as noted in a couple of grammar-focused EFL lessons. In these, with ICT, teacher roles failed to essentially change old typologies and traditional roles. Thus it is concluded that ICT in itself is neither ineffective nor effective; instead, it is the teacher whose skills play a significant role in making intelligent use of them.

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A SHORTCUT TO DEMOCRACY

A POLISH CASE

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Keywords: democratisation in education, Polish reforms, teachers.

Abstract. The article focuses on the democratisation in Polish schools 27 years after the fall of communism in Poland. It discusses the context and barriers of school democratisation in Poland. Appearances deceive observers from other countries and legitimise policymakers' unsuccessful enforcement of democratic practices in schools that were supposed to lead to empowerment of school communities, in particular teachers and headmasters. Recent reports and assessments of innovative programs to support schools show that the expected readiness of teachers and headmasters to practice democratic education was an illusion. The failure and weakness of democracy in schools is caused by rapid changes, continuing reforms and the problem of enforcement of democracy by top-down reforms through unacceptable shortcuts, thus creating pseudo-democracy.

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I INTRODUCTION

Polish public schools have never been truly democratised since the country's 1989 transition; nor has democratisation taken place since the 1991 educational reform. Although private schools were allowed to open in 1989, two years later schools were administered by municipal authority (samorządy). Educational enthusiasts – teachers, activists and academics – were involved in starting experimental, democratic or innovative schools, any of which are still operating.

Because of political disturbances, however, the school system was actually decentralised in 1999, when the reform was completed, and

gymnasiums were introduced. Now students attend primary schools for six years (reduced from eight years); three-year gymnasiums were introduced, high schools term was reduced from four to three years.

Meanwhile, barriers against real school democratisation grew: continuing top-down reforms, teachers' unreadiness for liberal democratic processes in school, lack of political will to make education a politics-free zone, and education ministers who reacted to the polls rather than initiating a long-term debate with school communities.[1] The officials were convinced that a democratic system can be enforced through European Union and government projects.[2] Therefore, the ministry focused on full acceptance of neoliberal policies, with little debate or negotiations during the EU pre-accession period. A document from the Chancellery of the Polish Prime Minister stated: "Poland will *fully* accept and implement *complete*[3] acquis communautaire" in education.[4] Testimony from an anonymous witness in the pre-accession meetings shows that it was a general tendency of the Eastern-bloc countries:

> Pre-EU accession meetings focusing on Education revealed a general attitude of total rejection of the past and an uncritical acceptance of the neoliberal encroachment of the European higher education area. What I witnessed was an overenthusiastic urge on the part of former Eastern-bloc countries to implement the Bologna reforms, with little resistance or interrogation from the bureaucrats present at the meetings.[5]

When the Civic Platform party won elections for two terms (2007–2015), surprisingly, former criticism of the 1999 reform to introduce gymnasiums had been replaced by experts' support and enthusiasm. Teachers learned how to work with 13- to 16-year-olds, and the PISA results were more than satisfying and praised abroad.[6] After the Law and Justice party won the 2015 parliamentary election, the government announced it was implementing the pre-1989 structural model of schools[7] and discredited another reform, launched in 2009, that lowered the school entry age from 7 to 6.[8] Thus, after 27 years of attempts to democratise schools,[9] students, teachers and parents have been disappointed again.[10]

The reforms weren't finished by 1999, and back-and-forth structural changes continued. The schools strengthened the old system's values to the extent that there have only been appearances of school *autonomy* – *partnership* among teachers, parents, students, headmasters and authorities – in the last decades. *Diversity* is not valued[11] and quality *debate* is not present, with official debates on the most recent reforms as the most visible examples of imitations.[12]

Consequently, educators have become more and more *disempowered*, and the school as an institution remained *oppressive* for students and teachers.[13] Another disclosed effect of the continuing situation in Polish education is lack of *vision, reflective thinking and learning,* and *sense of community.*[14] Among the programmes' results, teachers and headmasters' attitudes and school culture were also described in two official reports on two government pilot programmes.

2 ILLUSIONS OF DEMOCRATISATION AND GOOD CONDITION OF POLISH SCHOOLS

Elaborating on the popular illusion widely advertised in Poland is the fact that Poland has been praised for "rises in student performance spanning multiple data points and subjects," as a report by McKinsey & Company has shown.[15] Moreover, it is said that Poland has significantly improved in teachers' collaboration and empowerment thanks to the new school-supervision process begun in 2009.[16] However, it must be noted that the results have been achieved by top-down reforms rather than democratic practices evolving from students or teachers' needs. The schools have been democratised structurally, not internally. Thus, Polish schools have teachers boards headed by headmaster, students boards headed by the teacher guardian, parents boards with headmasters as main visitors, and finally school boards that are very rare.[17] Polish schools are achieving better results in world rankings, but not better-quality teaching and learning; they are more productive and efficient, but not democratic and self-empowered.

Therefore, contrary to Schleicher's enthusiasm for Polish innovations in education and contrary to the case study introduced by Mazurkiewicz, Walczak and Jewdokimow contending that "on the micromanagement level, the reform encouraged teamwork, democratisation and transparency,"[18] I argue that they do not reflect school reality and are exemplified in that study and described by critical pedagogues. There are two main reasons for this: *unreadiness* of teachers and headmasters[19] for democratic practices, and *the way* the former Civic Platform *government's project* was implemented according to popular discussions.[20] Another report's example: "In numerous schools where external evaluation took place, the subjects (more often headmasters than teachers) have a positive attitude towards the concept itself, but have reservations about the realisation of the idea in practice."[21]

2.1 Two government projects polish education wasn't ready for

The examples of the programmes described in the Schleicher's report and evaluated in Mazurkiewicz, Walczak and Jewdokimow's case study show the *unreadiness* of school community, in particular among headmasters and teachers, for democratic processes in education. It seems that the school community did not understand the idea and implementation of the models of "external evaluation" ("Ewaluacja zewnętrzna") and "Training system for teachers based on general and comprehensive school support" ("System doskonalenia nauczycieli oparty na ogólnodostępnym kompleksowym wspomaganiu szkół"). The ideas were new, radical and introduced on short notice. Teachers were not consulted on the decision about participation and need for it.[22]

The *repeating pattern* in the first one, was that teachers and headmasters waited in fear for inspectors to visit their school. The inspectors were associated with controllers, stress and unpleasant procedures; paradoxically, teachers complained that they felt uncomfortable and stressed, as they were receiving a grade for the evaluation – the kind of grade teachers themselves use every day in school to assess students. According to the researchers' report, teachers often considered the evalu-

ation process unjust because their work was assessed subjectively.[23]

Apart from the new evaluation strategy, school support and teacher training programs were implemented on a large scale, even though they were pilot programs. Because of bureaucracy, the programme was implemented hurriedly – just for the sake of doing it. For example, numerous workshops for teachers were carried in one year instead of two, and the workshops were often chosen by strangers, who did not know schools well.[24] The educators were the School Organisers of Education Development (SORE – Szkolni Organizatorzy Rozwoju Edukacji) and served as external advisers and coaches. But in practice they lacked such competences as cooperation and trust-building skills, and they were overloaded, responsible for too many schools each. However, instead of helping the school diagnose its problems, plan and implement the support plan, they acted or were considered by the teachers as controllers. All in all, the inspectors arrived with the purpose of helping and evaluating the schools' work, but the teachers and headmasters treated their activities as a threat of school status degradation or meddling with school work and habits. Real cooperation, partnership and debate were not practiced. It many cases, fake school change took place.[25] Teachers have rejected the programmes that were supposed to encourage empowerment, cooperation and school development, not only because they were proposed by the authorities, but because of the attitudes of recipients, who mainly do not believe in reasonable changes.

The 2015 report[26] mentions teachers and headmasters' thoughtless fulfillment of duties and creation of dehumanised procedures: the headmasters do not think about school holistically, and processes, actions, school mission and evaluation conclusions are not interconnected.[27] When encountering opportunities for free trainings tailored to school needs, the headmasters could not define them, took no initiative, and could choose a workshop only when shown a list of topics.[28] In addition, the choice of workshop themes shows a very interesting tendency. The teachers needed to learn about teaching methods, motivating students, and cooperation with parents or other teachers.[29] What is more, the

teachers expected "concrete things," meaning they didn't even want to create anything on their own.[30] The same passivity was present in the networks of cooperation: teachers were interested in the exchange of useful ready-made materials or computer apps for classroom usage. None considered critical thinking, school values, student/parent empowerment or school as a democratic space. The conclusion is that teachers are not ready for such a democratic model, nor did have they had a long-term opportunity to practice it since communism collapsed in 1989.

2.2 A different transition model

Therefore, I argue that teachers and headmasters would become ready and open to the changes if *semi-democratic ways of introducing changes* were used temporally. Semi-democratic methods would require a stronger moderator or facilitator to organise students' and parent's governments to include them and then help them release the full potential of democracy. At the moment school democracy is a paper act:

> The above act [Act on Education] only suggests that they should realise the following goals: make the school provide each student with possibility to develop; and prepare each student to fulfil family and social duties, bearing in mind principles of solidarity, democracy, tolerance, justice and liberty. However, the educational system is centrally controlled, although it is said to be autonomous. Contrary to basic upbringing principles applied in democratic societies, school has become an institution that conforms to the state and its authority, and not to its students, teachers and other local groups.[31]

Thus, smaller steps and slower pace would create a better space for democracy and assure authentic transformation. It is not enough to create a law that allows teachers to use project-based lessons, or their own materials instead of traditional books. To make the changes successful and internalised, teachers need to be offered support, encouraged and made to feel safe to learn in a changing environment, and they need time to practice new solutions and understand new ideas. Such conditions

certainly will not be created through "test-o-mania,"[32] as Polish teachers call the growing number of external tests and teaching exam techniques to rise in school rankings. Similarly, the results of the external evaluation should not serve the Ministry to punish schools or compare them.

Moreover, building teachers' and headmasters' autonomy requires their deeper learning and thinking critically. Using Mezirow's model, such transformations can be achieved gradually: through elaborating on existing points of views, establishing new ones, transforming them and finally transforming the ethnocentric habit of mind.[33] Thus, rapid institutionalised changes can bring regression[34] or teachers' and headmasters' confusion, passives or appearances. Kwieciński notices that radical changes at schools always create dissonance.[35] Polish teachers have been working for 27 years in such a state.

The reforms and programs caused teachers and headmasters to spend years preparing schools for constant changes through creation of documents and procedures; they also tried to foresee what the authorities might expect of them. They did not publicly resist these practices. Bureaucracy and institutional instability prevented teachers from teaching, headmasters from coordinating the schools, and students from enjoying school. As a result, schools participate in various projects, but only for the sake of "doing something," as the two reports on the pilot programmes have shown. Therefore, Polish teachers do not see the point of innovations, learning and cooperating with other teachers. They are often burned out, not engaged or overworked.[36]

These conditions seem important for disempowerment, indifference and acceptance of the *status quo*. This brings a compassionate and extreme example of disempowerment to the discussion to predict the results of such behaviours: the Muselmann at Auschwitz, prisoners who suffered from enormous exhaustion that did not allow them to think, eat or move. They were an anonymous mass, marched in silence, too tired to feel pain or understand. Finally they were just waiting to die in a gas chamber.[37] Their weakness and surrender to conditions provide an extreme analogy to the disempowerment that has overtaken many

teachers and headmasters – disbelief in their own agency and surrender to the authorities because they cannot cope with the barriers.

The structural violence disempowers teachers and school leaders, whose time is consumed by bureaucracy or school maintenance instead of learning, reflecting and acting as teachers or leaders. All structural barriers prevent people from "their potential realisations"; from "what could have been and what is;"[38] from quality teaching; shared values, partnership or collaboration in classrooms and staff rooms; from building a solid foundation for democracy in schools.

It also results in teachers' reluctance to take part in strikes and the lack of general strike for 24 years now. A majority of teachers and headmasters have been educated, worked and lived in the communist era, and thus are easily silenced by a threat of job reductions. They have never made serious objections to the reforms – quick, botched changes in the system every four or five years parallel to the changes of governments and political parties in it. However, the only general strike happened in 1993,[39] when teachers boards in every school voted on whether to stop the strike and have *matura* secondary school-leaving exam. Not all schools joined when the strike was about general reforms and school funding.

3 CONCLUSIONS

Since Poland's 1989 transformation, education has changed mostly from the outside. Through EU funds schools received modern equipment and teachers acquired modern teaching skills, but school has not changed internally.

> The changes taking place in the educational system in Poland over the last 15 years, i.e., since the 1999 reform, are similar to processes that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s in Western countries. They include the economisation of education, the parameterisation and quantification of educational results, as well as the introduction of market mechanisms for managing and financing state-owned schools.[40]

Through top-down reforms, governments' ideas of democracy in education were enforced instead of learning and negotiating democracy in each place.[41] Freedom and autonomy were structurally available but not practiced except in the experimental schools, e.g., Wrocław School of the Future (Wrocławska Szkoła Przyszłości) and Experimental Classrooms (Klasy Autorskie).[42] The way to democratisation in education cannot be a race on a highway. On the contrary, it should enter a slower, bumpy road, but a one that is built and planned by everyone using the examples of truly democratic school projects and learning from their heritage and rich experience. For the last 27 years, Polish governments have tried to take shortcuts to school community empowerment, but democracy cannot be imposed; it must be understood and negotiated. This will be a challenging task, with an additional factor: the present government's nationalistic policies and aggressive attempts to centralise education and return to the pre-democratic era.

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[11] Cervinkova argues that it is connected to homogeneity created throughout the Polish history: Hana Cervinkova, "Producing Homogeneity as a Historical Tradition: Neo-conservatism, Precarity and Citizenship Education in Poland," *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 14, no. 3 (2016): 43–55, accessed March 1, 2017, http://www.jceps.com/archives/3200; Gawlicz and Starnawski describe numerous discriminatory practices and marginalisations present in the educational system: Katarzyna Gawlicz and Marcin Starnawski, *Areas of Discrimination and Marginalisation in School and Preschool Education in Poland*, in *Educational Change and Challenges In Poland and the Czech Republic After 1989,* ed. Marcin Starnawski, Paweł Rudnicki, Mirosława Nowak-Dziemianowicz and Associates (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej), 40.

[12] The author was one of 1840 experts of the current reform. The author set up a Facebook group to communicate with other experts who weren't able to have discussions through official government channels. When the Ministry was informed about the inconveniences of the online platform, and learned that numerous expert Facebook groups were created, one of the ministerial officials forbade the experts to start the groups (a telephone conversation). Finally, when the experts arrived to Warsaw for ministerial consultations, the conclusions at the end of the meetings did not reflect their voices. Some experts later shared their impressions in Facebook groups sugesting that the conclusions had been prepared before the consultations. Then, the national debates were launched, and the critics called them "Ministry officials' talks, not real debates." Among the critics there was Fundacja Przestrzeń dla Edukacji (Foundation Space for Education) which shared their observations, e.g. https://przestrzendlaedukacji.org/2016/02/26/szeroko-zakrojone-konsultacje-z-udzialem-ekspertow-tylko-w-men/

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