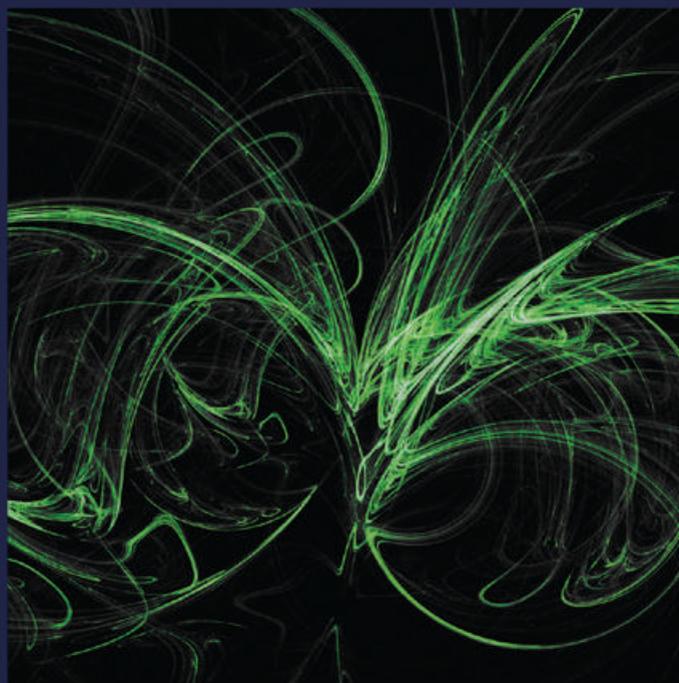


Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik /
Bartosz Hordecki / Tomasz R. Szymczyński (eds.)

In Search of Academic Excellence

Social Sciences and Humanities in Focus (Vol. I)



PETER LANG

Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik /
Bartosz Hordecki / Tomasz R. Szymczyński (eds.)

In Search of Academic Excellence

All texts in this volume give an opportunity to reflect in-depth on the opportunities, challenges and difficulties associated with the continuous transformation of higher education and scientific activities. In this context, the concept of "scientific excellence" has been perceived as a guiding idea in the scholars' efforts. At the same time, it can be seen as an ideal that can never be achieved but towards which one ought to strive persistently. Additionally, the pursuit of perfection is accompanied by paradoxes, which have been pointed out many times in the history of human thought. The volume embodies the belief in the existence of an invisible college understood as a research community embodied by young scientists starting their academic path inspired by recognized professors.

The Editors

Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik - Professor at the Faculty of Educational Studies - FES of AMU - Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Her research focuses on the socialization and selection-stratification functions of education.

Bartosz Hordecki - Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism - FPSJ of AMU in Poznań. He specializes in studies on language politics and policies, political philosophy and political rhetoric.

Tomasz R. Szymczyński - Associate Professor at the FPSJ AMU in Poznań. He concentrates on intercultural political philosophy and methodological proposal of the hermeneutics of multilinguisticity.

In Search of Academic Excellence

Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik / Bartosz Hordecki /
Tomasz R. Szymczyński (eds.)

In Search of Academic Excellence

Social Sciences and Humanities in Focus (Vol. I)



PETER LANG

Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available online at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

The publication was financed by the project "UNIVERSITY OF TOMORROW - integrated development program at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań" no. POWR.03.05.00-00-Z303 /17..

Cover illustration: Courtesy of Benjamin Ben Chaim.

This work has been reviewed by Bogusława Dorota Gołębnik
(University of Lower Silesia).

ISBN 978-3-631-86477-7 (Print)
E-ISBN 978-3-631-86958-1 (E-PDF)
E-ISBN 978-3-631-86966-6 (EPUB)
DOI 10.3726/b19187

© Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik / Bartosz Hordecki / Tomasz
R. Szymczyński (eds.), 2022

Peter Lang – Berlin · Bern · Bruxelles · New York ·
Oxford · Warszawa · Wien



Open Access: This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution Non Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 unported license. To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

This publication has been peer reviewed.

www.peterlang.com

Table of Content

Preface	7
<i>Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik, Bartosz Hordecki, Michał Klichowski, Paulina Pospieszna, Anna Sakson-Boulet, and Tomasz R. Szymczyński</i> Introduction: Reconsidering Ph.D. Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities in Poland: Between Tradition and Innovation	9
<i>Christoph Wulf</i> Education in the Anthropocene: Sustainability, Mimesis, Rituals	37
<i>Paulina Kewes</i> Interdisciplinary Research: Opportunities and Challenges	61
<i>Tom Harrison</i> Educating Cyber-Wisdom: Theoretical Underpinnings and Practical Implications	75
<i>Juan Luis Fuentes, Ángela Sirera, and Paloma Redondo-Corcobado</i> Toward a Civically Engaged Teacher Identity: Qualitative Analysis of a Service Learning Project in Educators Training	83
<i>Radosław Fiedler</i> The Role of Think Tanks in US Policy Toward Iran	109
<i>Agnieszka Cybal-Michalska</i> In the Grip of Science: Youth and Professional Career in the World of Global Change	125
<i>Tomasz Gmerek</i> Educational Research from the Perspective of Comparative Pedagogy	143
<i>Jarema Drozdowicz</i> School and Cultural Assimilation: Dimensions of Assimilation Politics in Education	161

<i>Marcin Gierczyk</i> The Founding and Development of the University of Oxford	181
<i>Anna Sobczak</i> University Social Responsibility and Cooperation with Business	191
<i>Maciej Górny, and Artur Marcin Lorek</i> Forms of Cooperation Between Local Governments and the Implementation of Senior Policy: Case of Metropolis Poznań	207
<i>Krzysztof Grządzielski</i> Mediatization of Contemporary Armed Conflicts and the Importance of Media Coverage: The CNN Effect and the Diffused War Concept	219
<i>Mirosław Jaremba</i> Rohingya Muslims' Ethnogenesis and Their History Until the Fall of Socialism in Myanmar in 1988	235
<i>Marlena Kaźmierska</i> Perception of Own and Another's Medical Condition Among Women Suffering from Endometriosis	247
<i>Alicja Ławiak</i> Adulthood in the Self-Identification of Academic Youth	263
<i>Radosław Trepanowski, Monika Frydrychowicz, Julia Pradelok, Dominika Zysk, and Wiktoria Szott</i> Evolutionary Perspectives on Singlehood: Fear of Being Single, Relationship Status Satisfaction, and Sociosexual Orientation	275

Preface

The concept of excellence can be approached in a similar way as the idea of beauty or good with reference to Plato's school of thought. As such, we need to acknowledge that they are absolute and universal. A standard that cannot be transgressed in any way. We need to, however, make every attempt at capturing it. On the other hand, from the perspective of social constructivism, excellence loses its ahistorical and eternal character. Each time, its meaning, range and even form and shape are conditioned by the current socio-cultural or political contexts. From this vantage point, one can even discern what version of excellence is suppressed by the other(s) in the course of history. At times, this happens gradually, yet sometimes such changes are revolutionary in nature (in such cases, we talk of a groundbreaking change). Here, we can adduce painting, literature, architecture as examples of excellence, as well as the feminine and masculine ideals in a somewhat different context of an ideal character. It should also be borne in mind that, in contemporary times, the idea of excellence is overused in countless presentations and thus loses its impact. It can also be inscribed in PR campaigns as in the notorious commercial slogan: *Porsche: A history of excellence*.

Striving for excellence has always been an integral part of doing research. History of science features various trajectories of shaping and transforming this concept. Here, the idea of a great thinker clashes with the one of an excellently organized research team. Monumental works, on the other hand, can be confronted with publications in renowned, prestigious journals.

With reference to Zbyszek Melosik's work, one can state that two fundamental yet somewhat contradictory ways of perceiving excellence in research coexist with each other. One of them is expressed by a traditional research biography which has been constructed for decades. The other one, in turn, is related to the highest status and reputation. There are researchers who, for decades, have been setting the standards of excellent science and research identity marked by excellent achievements and their professional conduct. The alternative is based on bibliometric markers. Its essence lies in the adaptability to the (frequently altering) criteria and standards, usually imposed, also by state administration, on the researcher community.

It poses certain difficulty to unequivocally support any of these approaches to excellence in research. Therefore, it might be reasonable to treat them as complimentary.¹ However, I tend to think that common features permeate the

1 See Z. Melosik, *Pasja i tożsamość i naukowca. O władzy i wolności naukowca*, Poznań 2020.

two approaches which can be related to the universal, and in a certain sense absolute, vision of research. They are, as per Z. Melosik's words, linked to the passion and commitment as well as the originality of thought, responsibility, and ethics, undoubtedly including innovation, new ideas and discoveries. Excellence is not limited to the most renowned researchers and most groundbreaking discoveries. It can be also seen in the work of junior academic staff, doctoral students, as well as excellent achievements in a limited scope. It needs to be borne in mind that every field of study is characterized by various ways of seeing excellence. Above all this key concept should be perceived not as a destination, but a continuous journey that never ends.

Thus, I am convinced that we need to embrace various, at times contradictory, trajectories and variants in research.

Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik

Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0002-6303-0384, amelka@amu.edu.pl

Bartosz Hordecki, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0002-3852-4155, bartosz.hordecki@amu.edu.pl,

Michał Klichowski, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0002-1614-926X, klichowski.michal@gmail.com

Paulina Pospieszna, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0002-4892-1138, paulina.pospieszna@amu.edu.pl

Anna Sakson-Boulet, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0002-4014-7483, anna.sakson@amu.edu.pl

Tomasz R. Szymczyński, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0002-7935-1350, tomasz.szymczyński@amu.edu.pl

Introduction: Reconsidering Ph.D. Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities in Poland: Between Tradition and Innovation

1. Introductory Remarks

Continuous discussions devoted to the problem of potentially optimal conditions for the development of researchers may be considered as one of the fundamental phenomena of the academic reality both in the past as well in the present. This kind of reflection remains therefore a vital part of the multidimensional considerations about the nature of science, its mission, ideals, aims of academia, and finally about scientific excellence. All these categories have been thoroughly reformulated over the centuries. Consequently, the ideas about the academic arrangements, including the role and duties of young scholars, need to be understood as results of long-lasting and complex processes. However, some general principles emerge as quite solid across centuries. One of them claims that with ongoing studies, a young scholar should prove ability to pose scientifically significant questions and search for valuable answers. In this context, both the institution of the magisterium and the doctorate were created and evolved.

2. General Overview of Doctorate History

Until today earning a doctorate degree is considered a crucial point in young people's academic, social and professional career. Without any doubt, it "represents the attainment of pinnacle It connotes mastery of a discipline area, confidence and agility in the making and reporting of new knowledge in a particular field."¹ Besides, doctorate as a symbol signifies high status and is "universally recognized."²

Jacques Verger reminds us that in Middle Ages, a person with a doctorate was defining as having high competence to teach in connection with "excellence in a given domain"³ understood in the context of mastery in the particular research field. In Middle Ages, the doctorate gave a possibility to be included into "the world of privileged;" it was synonymic with social dignity and nobility.⁴ The term doctor functioned in the twelfth century and perhaps even earlier, and as Jacques Verger states "at that period, it seems to have been merely a term in ordinary usage rather than an official title."⁵

The "doctorate" ceremony itself consisted of delivering a lecture covering the knowledge studied in a given field in the presence of students, doctors and other guests, including those who prayed. It was held solemnly in the Church, and the candidate himself, after being recognized as a master or doctor, received a biretta, gloves and a book. There was no possibility to failure. The duty of a newly promoted doctor was to teach students for at least two years; it was regulated by the statutes of such prestigious institutions like Oxford or the University of Paris.⁶

A doctorate was an expensive project; to obtain it required a lot of time and study and an appropriate financial amount fee. At the same time, there were internal differences in its price, depending on the prestige of this degree related to the possibility of its potential use. Wilhelm Frijhoff gives the example of eighteenth-century France, where the ordinary doctorate, allowing one to practice in a university, wear an academic gown and have one's students, was seven

1 S. Parry, *Disciplines and Doctorates*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2007, p. 3.

2 S. Parry, *Disciplines and Doctorates*, p. 4.

3 J. Verger, "Teachers," in: *History of the University in Europe*, Vol. 1. "Universities in the Middle Ages," H. De Ridder-Symeons (ed.), Cambridge 2003, pp. 144–145.

4 J. Verger, "Teachers," p. 145.

5 J. Verger, "Teachers," p. 145.

6 J. Verger, "Teachers," p. 147.

times more expensive than the so-called small doctorate, which allowed to practice outside the university. In addition, the cheapest and easiest doctorates were offered for foreigners.⁷

The same author also mentions the ceremony of obtaining it in several European countries. The newly nominated doctor had to give a banquet to everyone and to give his new colleagues expensive gifts, including candy boxes, gloves, and even rabbits.⁸ It can be as well also read about the habit of paying for the exam and expensive gifts in the documents relating to other European universities of that period. Thus, in the statute of one of the Middle Age universities, there is a provision that the candidate must give each doctor a box of sweets weighing one pound. In University of Bologna, the number of ducats was determined for each person present during the defense. In Spain, the candidate had to pay bullfight to provide entertainment to the evaluation committee. There were also exceptions to this rule: one poor student per year could be exempted from paying for a doctorate, and the sons and brothers of doctors also received their doctoral degree free of charge.⁹

The doctoral degree was awarded during a public ceremony. Before that, however, the candidate had to demonstrate appropriate knowledge by public discussion, exams, or defending one's own, previously written theses or lectures or their series. The ceremony itself began with a preamble, followed by exhortation, candidate laudation, doctoral oath, ritual holding of symbolic insignia: first an open, then closed book (the first symbolized the meaning of further studies, the second was a symbol of knowledge outside the books) wedding rings as a symbol of marriage with the Muses, presenting gloves and a hat (as a sign of academic freedom). The ceremony ended with the conferment of the academic degree by the competent authority.¹⁰ In some universities, the ceremonies were accompanied by additional rituals of passage linking the doctorate with obtaining intellectual knighthood – receiving a sword, a ring and a ritual bath.¹¹

7 W. Frijhoff, "Graduation and Carieers," in: *History of the University in Europe*, Vol. 2. "Universities in the Middle Ages (1500–1800)," H. D Ridder-Symeons (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 363.

8 W. Frijhoff, "Graduation and Carieers," p. 365.

9 H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895, p. 231.

10 W. Frijhoff, "Graduation and Careers," p. 361.

11 H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 289.

In the Middle Ages, as Jacques Verger indicates, there was a clear division of academic “degrees:” the master’s degree was awarded in the liberal arts, while the doctorate in law, theology, and medicine.¹² Where did the Doctor of Philosophy come from? According to William Clark, it appeared in modern Germany together with the professionalization of science and became a symbol of “transforming academic knowledge” into “the pursuit of research.” “The transformation of the Master’s degree into the Doctor of Philosophy was to symbolize the nineteenth-century professionalization of art and science, the recognition of their equality with the three ancient professional faculties,” which took place at the Philosophy Faculty of the University of Berlin in 1810 on the initiative of Johann Fichte, the then dean.¹³ Along with its regulation, apart from the requirement to pass exams, a written doctoral dissertation appeared, which had to be original.¹⁴ It should be “the masterpiece, would best consist in a writing specimen ... on the basis of this own composition, the candidate will be publicly examined to the satisfaction of his teacher.”¹⁵

The doctorate history can also be perceived through the lens of its varieties diversification and expanding access to this institution. The first doctoral degree was awarded in Paris in 1150.¹⁶ Newly introduced in the nineteenth century, the so-called Philosophical Doctorate (PhD) in the field of science from 1857–1860 and in literary studies in 1868 was awarded at the University of London. The first African American received it at Yale in 1876 and the first woman two years later. In elite British universities it was successively introduced in Cambridge 1882 and Oxford 1917.¹⁷ The doctorate also held a high rank in the interwar period. Today, the number of doctoral degrees awarded annually is enormous.

12 J. Verger, “Teachers,” p. 146.

13 W. Clark, “On the Ironic Specimen of the Doctor of Philosophy,” *Science in Context*, Vol. 5, No.1, 1992, p. 113.

14 W. Clark, “On the Ironic Specimen of the Doctor of Philosophy,” p. 97.

15 Fichte qtd. in: W. Clark, “On the Ironic Specimen of the Doctor of Philosophy,” p. 126.

16 K. Allan Noble, *Changing Doctoral Degrees: An International Perspective*, Open University Press, 1994, p. 8.

17 W. Clark, “On the Ironic Specimen of the Doctor of Philosophy,” p. 97.

3. Doctoral Studies in Poland: The Past and the Presence

Regardless of the significant increase in access to doctoral studies, essence of this practice has also been changing. At the same time, it should be remembered that the processes were strongly connected with the cultural and civilizational background, reflecting global, regional and local specificities to a large extent. Political and ideological solutions applied in different places and at various times strongly influenced the shaping of the idea of the doctorate. Therefore, the history of doctoral studies development can be divided into periods of convergence and divergence. In these periods, academic communities, evolving in different cultural and social conditions, have tended towards more unified or more diversified models of practising science and instructing young researchers.¹⁸

The Polish specificity of understanding the factors that shaped the doctoral studies is significantly connected with the complicated history of Central and Eastern Europe. The partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth resulted in a situation when Poles were forced to develop their scientific interests within three different educational and research systems shaped and developed by the partitioning states i.e. Austria (and then Austria-Hungary), Prussia (and then Germany), and Russia. This meant that Polish scientists adopted diverse but largely incompatible models of organizing academic work, and the remote consequences of this can be observed even today.¹⁹

After World War II, Polish science had to develop within the context of the rigid ideological corset imposed by the USSR and the Polish United Workers' Party. As a result, the freedom of scientific research remained restricted, which was particularly acute in the humanities and social sciences. Despite this, certain areas of research remained free of indoctrination. Within vast areas of history, journalism, pedagogy, philosophy, psychology, sociology or cultural studies, Polish science achieved considerable progress both in conducting research and in popularizing it. Regardless of the limitations, many researchers in the communist period developed original research programs. They created unique

18 B. Lightman (ed.), *A Companion to the History of Science*, New York: Wiley Blackwell, 2020.

19 J. Michalski, B. Suchodolski (eds.), *Historia nauki polskiej (1795–1862)*, Vol. 3, part 1–3, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977; Z. Skubała-Tokarska, B. Suchodolski (eds.), *Historia nauki polskiej (1863–1918)*, Vol. 4, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987.

schools and approaches, strongly influencing their followers. In many respects, the models they proposed remain valid (though often very difficult to follow).²⁰

At the same time, however, after 1989, the systemic transformation definitely changed the contemporary Polish science environment. What is more, for several decades, growing global trends have been observed, which also force a redefinition of the social role of the scientist. The new technological, economic, communication, cultural and socio-political conditions strongly affect the perception of the research centers' tasks, the imagining of the scientific staff structure, and the models of shaping its activity. Doctoral studies remain an important area within which the metamorphosis of scientific practices and procedures in Poland can be perceived, including the expectations directed at young researchers. These processes translate into various initiatives that have led or are expected to lead to institutional reform of the Polish doctoral program.

The last decade of the twentieth century in Poland was marked by a rise in interest in doctoral studies (22,119 doctoral students in 1999), a trend which returned in the period 2008–2013. Over a six-year period, the number of third-cycle students went up by as much as a third (from 31,269 in 2008 to 43,358 in 2013).²¹ The National Representation of Doctoral Students developed a report where it argued that the surge in the number of people commencing doctoral studies in the period concerned was due to the lack of employment prospects for people with university education and the economic slowdown in Poland and abroad, in the wake of the economic crisis. The report also mentioned that research supervisors were in charge of too many doctoral students and were therefore unable to devote enough time to each of them, which had resulted in the erosion of the master – disciple relationship and damaging the quality of academic guidance.²²

Doctoral students have been educated at third-cycle studies conducted by “an authorized university organizational unit, a scientific institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, a research institute or an international scientific institute

20 L. Zasztowt, J. Schiller-Walicka (eds.), *Historia nauki polskiej (1944–1989)*, Vol. 10, part 1–3, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 2015.

21 The number of doctoral students began to drop in 2016. In 2018, there were 39,020 doctoral students in Poland. For more see: Laboratorium Analiz Statystycznych i Ewaluacji, Ośrodek Przetwarzania Informacji – Państwowy Instytut Badawczy, *Doktoranci w Polsce*, Warszawa 2019, p. 2.

22 M. Michalak, M. Dokowicz, *Umasowienie studiów doktoranckich*, in: *Diagnoza stanu studiów doktoranckich 1.0. Najważniejsze problemy*, Krajowa Reprezentacja Doktorantów, M. Dokowicz et al., Warszawa 2014, p. 37.

operating in the territory of the Republic of Poland established on the basis of separate regulations, for which candidates are admitted with second degree qualifications leading to a third-degree qualification.”²³

The doctoral studies have been lasted no shorter than two and no longer than four years and prepared for obtaining a doctoral degree. The regulation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education of 9 August 2017 on doctoral studies and doctoral scholarships²⁴ allowed for the possibility of their extension due to long-term research (for two years) or other reason, including illness for another year. These studies were defined in the act as “enabling the acquisition of advanced knowledge in a specific field or discipline of science, preparing for independent research and creative activity.”²⁵ These studies will expire at the end of 2023.²⁶

In 2019/2020, doctoral schools were established, where education is only full-time and may last from six to eight semesters. They are conducted by a university (as well as an institute of the Polish Academy of Science, a research institute, an international institute, a federation of the above-mentioned entities) having the A, A + or B + category in at least two disciplines.

It is also possible to run a doctoral school jointly by two entities holding at least the B + category. Recruitment to the doctoral school takes place through a competition. Within three months of commencement of education at the doctoral school, a research supervisor is appointed.

Then, they jointly prepare an Individual Research Program, which is a kind of a tripartite agreement between a doctoral student – the supervisor (s) and the director of the doctoral school. The program contains an initial concept of a doctoral dissertation and a schedule for the implementation of individual stages of research and other elements of the doctoral student’s scientific development, including publications and conferences. The Individual Research Program is subject to mid-term evaluation, and doctoral students also present their progress in the implementation of the doctorate during the Doctoral Forum. Both assessments are made by independent experts.

A candidate applying for the award of a doctoral degree is required to have a published monograph or a scientific article in a journal from the list of the

23 art. 2 punkt 10. Ustawa z dnia 27 lipca 2005 Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym,

24 Journal of Laws of 2017, item 1696.

25 art. 2 ust. 1 pkt 10 ustawy z dnia 27 lipca 2005 r. *Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym*.

26 art. 279 ust. 1 ustawy Przepisy wprowadzające ustawę – Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym i nauce.

Ministry of Science and Higher Education / list of publishers prepared by the appropriate minister. In addition, it is possible to prepare a doctoral dissertation on an extramural basis, but then the person submitting it does not have the status of a doctoral student.²⁷

A doctoral dissertation may be in the form of a typescript of a compact monograph or a series of papers published in reputable scientific journals. Since 2017, there has been a so-called implementation doctorate,²⁸ which aims to “create conditions for the development of cooperation between the scientific community and the socio-economic environment, conducted as part of doctoral studies, and to introduce the possibility of educating a participant of doctoral studies in cooperation with the entrepreneur (or other entity) employing him. The competition is announced once a year by the minister responsible for science.”²⁹ It is created under the supervision of two supervisors – an independent scientist coming from a university or institute with the A or A + category and a research tutor – a practitioner or employer from the public sector.

Significant changes in the model of doctoral education in Poland were introduced by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in 2011.³⁰ Then the function of auxiliary supervisor was introduced within higher education reform,³¹ which could be performed by a holder of a doctoral degree in a given

27 Poz. 1789, art. 11, Ustawa z dnia 20 lipca 2018 r. Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym i nauce, Dz. U.2020.85.

28 Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego) z dnia 28 kwietnia 2017 r. w sprawie szczegółowych kryteriów i trybu przyznawania, przekazywania oraz rozliczania środków finansowych na naukę, trybu wyznaczania opiekuna pomocniczego i przyznawania stypendium doktoranckiego w ramach programu “Doktorat wdrożeniowy;” Rozporządzenie ministra nauki i szkolnictwa wyższego z dnia 13 marca 2018 r. zmieniające rozporządzenie w sprawie szczegółowych kryteriów i trybu przyznawania, przekazywania oraz rozliczania środków finansowych na naukę, trybu wyznaczania opiekuna pomocniczego i przyznawania stypendium doktoranckiego w ramach programu “Doktorat wdrożeniowy.”

29 *Doktorat wdrożeniowy.*

30 M. Mościcki, *Istota studiów doktoranckich po reformie z 2011 r.*, in: *Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym. Nowe prawo – aktualne problemy*, ed. J. Pakuła, Toruń: Dom Organizatora 2012, p. 140.

31 Ustawa z dnia 18 marca 2011 r. o zmianie ustawy – Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym, ustawy o stopniach naukowych i tytule naukowym oraz stopniach i tytule w zakresie sztuki oraz o zmianie niektórych innych ustaw [The Law of 18 March 2011 on the Amendment of the Law on Academic Degrees and Title and on Degrees and Title in Art], Dz. U. [Journal of Laws] 2011, No. 48, item 455.

discipline, or a related field. The legislation establishing the function of auxiliary supervisor was intended to help supervisors guide the increasing numbers of doctoral students on the one hand, and to prepare doctors appointed as auxiliary promoters to being independent supervisors in the future, on the other.³² As a result of the reform, the preparation of a doctoral dissertation at Polish universities may be supervised by the research supervisor, the research supervisor and co-supervisor, in the case of doctorates conducted within international cooperation, or the research supervisor and auxiliary supervisor. In 2014, it became possible to appoint a second supervisor in the case of an interdisciplinary doctorate.³³

One of the weaknesses indicated by doctoral students is the lack of the definition of the role of research supervisor.³⁴ Is the same true about the role of auxiliary supervisor? An analysis of the relevant legislation leads to the conclusion that the function of auxiliary supervisor has been addressed to a limited extent in the regulations. The Law of 18 March 2011 on the Amendment of the Law on Academic Degrees and Title and on Degrees and Title in Art indicates the main areas of the auxiliary supervisor's activities, concerning assistance in: "the process of planning and conducting research as well as the analysis of results."³⁵ In the Law of 20 July 2018 – Law on Higher Education and Science, auxiliary supervisors' tasks are stipulated only as concerns giving opinions on a doctoral

32 B. Śliwerski, *Funkcje założone i rzeczywiste promotora pomocniczego w dysertacjach doktorskich*, "Rocznik Lubuski" tom 41, part 2, 2015, pp. 101–102.

33 Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dnia 3 października 2014 r. w sprawie szczegółowego trybu i warunków przeprowadzenia czynności w przewodzie doktorskim, w postępowaniu habilitacyjnym oraz w postępowaniu o nadanie tytułu profesora [Regulation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education of 3 October 2014 on the detailed procedure and conditions for conducting activities in doctoral proceedings, in post-doctoral procedure and in the procedure for awarding the title of professor], Dz. U. [Journal of Laws] 2014, item 1383.

34 M. Dokowicz, K. Kropielnicka, J. Kicielińska, *Analiza SWOT*, in: *Diagnoza stanu studiów doktoranckich 1.0. Najważniejsze problemy*, Krajowa Reprezentacja Doktorantów, Dakowicz M. et al., Warszawa 2014, p. 11.

35 Ustawa z dnia 18 marca 2011 r. o zmianie ustawy – Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym, ustawy o stopniach naukowych i tytule naukowym oraz stopniach i tytule w zakresie sztuki oraz o zmianie niektórych innych ustaw [The Law of 18 March 2011 on the Amendment of the Law on Academic Degrees and Title and Degrees and Title in arts], Article 20.7, Dz. U. [Journal of Laws] 2011, No. 48, item 455.

student's individual research plan which takes place before the plan is presented to the entity running the doctoral school.³⁶

The regulations of some doctoral schools specify the role of the auxiliary supervisor more extensively. On this basis, two approaches to the scope of their responsibilities can be identified. In one of them the responsibilities of the research supervisor are shared by the auxiliary supervisor. This is the solution adopted in the regulations of the doctoral schools at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (AMU) which applies from 1 October 2021. The following responsibilities apply to both the research supervisor and auxiliary supervisor: 1) agreeing the doctoral student's individual research plan and ensuring support in its implementation; 2) ensuring appropriate conditions for the doctoral student to work and conduct research; 3) overseeing the academic development of the doctoral student; 4) giving opinions on the doctoral student's requests regarding their education at the doctoral school; 5) cooperation with the director of the doctoral school; 6) participation in training aimed at improving the supervisor's competences.³⁷

In the other approach, the responsibilities of the supervisor and auxiliary supervisor differ. For example, at the University of Warsaw, the former has influence on the scope of responsibilities of the latter (the regulations of doctoral schools at UW stipulate that "The duties of the auxiliary supervisor include, in particular, the performance of auxiliary activities in the scientific supervision over the doctoral student, as agreed with the supervisor"³⁸). At the University of Gdańsk, the responsibilities shared by the supervisor and advisory supervisor are specified (including providing the doctoral student with the necessary

36 Ustawa z dnia 20 lipca 2018 r. – Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym i nauce [Law of 20 July 2018 – Law on Higher Education and Science], Article 202, Dz. U. [Journal of Laws] 2018, item 1668.

37 *Załącznik do uchwały nr 83/2020/2021 Senatu UAM z dnia 26 kwietnia 2021 r. w sprawie Regulaminu szkół doktorskich Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu* [Annex to Resolution No. 83/2020/2021 of the AMU Senate of 26 April 2021 on the Regulations of doctoral schools at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań], Article 8.10 of the Regulations, <https://amu.edu.pl/doktoranci/przewodnik-doktoranta/rekrutacja/rekrutacja-202122/regulamin-szkol-doktorskich-uam-w-roku-202122> (24.05.2021).

38 *Załącznik No. 1, 2, 3 i 4 do uchwały No. 44 Senatu Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego z dnia 26 czerwca 2019 r. w sprawie uchwalenia Regulaminów szkół doktorskich na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim* [Annex 1, 2, 3 and 4 to Resolution No. 44 of the Senate of the University of Warsaw of 26 June, 2019 on the adoption of the Regulations of doctoral schools at the University of Warsaw], Article 18.2. in every set of regulations annexed to the Resolution.

substantive and methodological assistance in research, consulting with the doctoral student, evaluating the academic development of the doctoral student and preparing opinions on the doctoral student's progress in preparing the doctoral dissertation, assisting the doctoral student in organizing and carrying out internships, and giving opinions on requests submitted by the doctoral student to the Director of the doctoral school³⁹).

It should be noted that not all doctoral school regulations specify the tasks of auxiliary supervisor; for example, these issues are not addressed by the regulations at the Jagiellonian University,⁴⁰ as is the case of current regulations at AMU doctoral schools.⁴¹ With reference to the above examples it can be concluded that the level of detail in the description of the role of the auxiliary supervisor at Polish universities is very diverse. Failure to indicate specific areas of cooperation between doctoral student and auxiliary supervisor could result in the limited role of the latter in supporting the research conducted by third-cycle students; another outcome may involve the supervisor vesting the auxiliary supervisor with tasks not commensurate with their experience.

4. Reconsidering Model of Doctoral Studies in Poland in Light of New Science Internationalization Patterns

In light of the above remarks, institutional changes concerning doctoral studies in Poland constitute a vast field of reflection and activities conducted by the constructors of the Polish academic space. However, institutions, even thoroughly designed, do not translate by themselves into high-quality education and research. If we think about achieving this state of affairs, unique people must use

39 *Regulamin szkół doktorskich Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* [Regulations of doctoral schools at the University of Gdańsk], Article 33, p. 10, <https://sd.ug.edu.pl/sites/default/files/2021-03/Regulamin%20Szkół%20Doktorskich%20Uniwersytetu%20Gdańskiego%20zmieniony%20od%20dnia%2025%20lutego%202021.pdf> (24.05.2021).

40 *Załącznik nr 1, 2, 3 i 4 uchwały Senatu Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego z dnia 24 kwietnia 2019 roku w sprawie: regulaminów szkół doktorskich* [Annex 1, 2, 3 and 4 to Resolution the Senate of the Jagiellonian University of 24 April 2019 on the regulations of doctoral schools], https://bip.uj.edu.pl/dokumenty/uchwaly-senatu/2019?p_p_id=56_INSTANCE_R0Yt03IQxDoc&p_p_lifecycle=0&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=view&p_p_col_id=column-3&p_p_col_count=1&groupId=1384597&articleId=142619520&widok=ogloszenie (25.05.2021).

41 *Regulamin szkół doktorskich Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu* [Regulations of doctoral schools at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań], <https://amu.edu.pl/doktoranci/regulamin-szkoly-doktorskiej> (24.05.2021).

the institutional structure in particular circumstances in response to the specific challenges of their time.

One of the major challenges for Polish universities are connected with changing patterns of a social scientist's career internationalization, observed in last decades in the region of Central and Eastern Europe.⁴² In the area of teaching, profound shifts began in the 1990s shortly after transition and were facilitated by the Bologna Process as well as various opportunities that the membership in the European Union brought, both for students and faculty members.⁴³ The changes were associated with the curriculum development, emergence of new courses and programs taught in English, as well as exchange programs with other European universities. For both domestic and international students, social sciences needed to transform their curricula and programs in order to demonstrate interest in contemporary domestic and global issues. Universities also needed to ensure that BA and MA programs are attractive to international students, thus opening up universities and exposing them to international influences.

These trends intensified recently with the new reform that took place in 2018, stimulating new phenomena not only in teaching, but also in research area.⁴⁴ Although this trend was initiated already in 2009, it was revolutionized with the adoption of new Law on Higher Education and Science, the Act of July 20,

42 D. Crăciun, "National Policies for Higher Education Internationalization: A Global Comparative Perspective," In: *European Higher Education Area: The Impact of Past and Future Policies*, edited by Adrian Curaj, Ligia Deca, Remus Pricopie. Springer One, 2018, pp. 95–106.

43 D. Dakowska, "Competitive universities? The impact of international and European trends on academic institutions in the "New Europe," *European Educational Research Journal* Vol.16, No. 5, 2017, pp. 588–604; S. Tarlea, "Higher education governance in Central and Eastern Europe: A perspective on Hungary and Poland," *European Educational Research Journal* Vol.16, No. 5, 2017, pp. 670–683.

44 A. Curaj, L. Deca, R. Pricopie, *European Higher Education Area: The Impact of Past and Future Policies*, Springer One, 2018; M. Dobbins and M. Kwiek, "Europeanisation and globalisation in higher education in Central and Eastern Europe: 25 years of changes revisited (1990–2015)," *European Educational Research Journal* Vol.16, No. 5, 2017, pp. 519–528; P. Korytkowski, E. Kulczycki, "Examining how country-level science policy shapes publication patterns: the case of Poland." *Scientometrics* Vol. 119, No. 3, 2019, pp. 1519–43; M. Kwiek, "Changing Higher Education Policies: From the Deinstitutionalization to the Reinstitutionalization of the Research Mission in Polish Universities." *Science and Public Policy* Vol.3, No. 5, 2012, pp. 641–654.

2018, also known as the Constitution for Science (KDN).⁴⁵ This reform introduced new rules in the field of education of students and doctoral students, evaluation of scientific activity and development paths of academic staff, as well as strengthening the competences of academic and academic staff at universities, all with the strong emphasis on scientific excellence.

The main aim of the reform is a greater emphasis on internationalization of research in social sciences through scientific collaboration with scholars from abroad. In practice, the new regulations point to the greater participation of employees and doctoral students in international scientific conferences, preparing a grant application and implementation of international projects as well as publishing in internationally recognized journals and publishing houses – especially in English. All of these areas have been recognized as lagging behind these in Western European countries.⁴⁶ Mobility of staff, students and doctoral students were determined as an important element of the internationalization of universities with the belief that mobility of the teaching (and administrative) staff contributes to the development of intercultural communication skills among university employees, which is particularly important in the situation of conducting education in English in a wide range and a large number of foreign students studying at Polish universities. This also means greater networking and research cooperation with the scholars from the West, which for a long time has been neglected,⁴⁷ by means of various fora, including research grants, conferences, workshops, and summer schools.

Moreover, in recent years the performance of social science and humanities disciplines in Poland, measured through journal-level article influence scores, was recognized unsatisfactory.⁴⁸ Thus, the academic community as well as policymakers took a lot of efforts to achieve a greater visibility of Polish research

45 KDN. “Nowe rozporządzenie ws. dyscyplin – to rzetelna ocena badań naukowych.” 2018, available at <https://konstytucjadlanauki.gov.pl/nowe-rozporzadzenie-ws-dyscyplin-to-rzetelna-ocena-badan-naukowych>

46 J. Pohoryles, and S. Cvijetic, Internationalization of Research. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* Vol. 15 No. 4, 2002, pp. 381–388.

47 W. Dobbins and M. Kwiek, “Europeanisation and globalisation in higher education in Central and Eastern Europe: 25 M. years of changes revisited (1990–2015),” *European Educational Research Journal* Vol.16, No. 5, 2017, pp. 519–528; D. Kutsar, and I. Pálné Kovács. SCSS Science Position Paper – Promoting Internationalisation of the Social Sciences in Central and Eastern Europe, 2010, available at http://archives.esf.org/fileadmin/Public_documents/Publications/MOCEE_spp.pdf.

48 S. Jurajda, S. Kozubek, D. Munich, S. Skoda, “Scientific publication performance in post-communist countries: still lagging far behind.” *Scientometrics* Vol. 112, No. 1, 2017, pp. 315–28; C. Schneider, D. Bochsler, and M. Chiru, “Comparative Politics in

outcomes in international peer-review journals. This aim has been induced through various policies, plans, programs, strategies and approaches at various levels of decision-making—national and university levels.

The new requirements within the field of science internationalization became linked with the rules for evaluating scientific achievements and the rules for applying for further academic degrees and titles. In fact, doctoral students have been affected by new changes seriously. The KDN introduced fundamental modifications in the education of doctoral students in the form of doctoral schools, transferring doctoral student education from the faculty level to the university level.

These changes led to linking the performance of doctoral education with the assessment of universities in the area of research quality, thus putting a greater pressure on doctoral students to deliver scientific outputs during their education. Specifically, the researchers' individual research performance became closely linked with evaluation of scientific activity of the disciplines within the university. The most popular indicators that were adopted included: number of articles and scientific monographs published in journals from the first decile and in prestigious publishing houses; percentage of scientific articles in international cooperation; number of scientific monographs in prestigious publications; or research grant activity.

In this context, let us notice that the dominant understanding of three crucial questions evolves for a long time. These are 1) how scientific activity should be characterized, 2) which typology of scientific texts should be proposed, 3) and also what forms of presentation of scientific achievements in a given discipline should be considered preferable.

Back in the 1960s, radically “before” the model of contemporary science became widespread, in his classic work titled “The Structure of Scientific Revolutions” Thomas S. Kuhn already observed that the means of scientific communication are drastically different in natural sciences and humanities.⁴⁹ In natural sciences, the only method of reporting the results of one's research are articles. Books in natural sciences are purely textbooks for students and fresh graduates of a given discipline (writing “scientific” books puts a physicist or a biologist at risk of losing their reputation). In the humanities, a book is the final

Central and Eastern Europe: Mapping Publications over the Past 20 Years.” *European Political Science* Vol. 12, 2013, pp. 127–145.

49 T. S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

effect of studying a given issue, while articles are just an addition to it. Moreover, books give prestige to a humanist.⁵⁰ What about social sciences that encompass educational studies, political science, journalism etc.? According to Kuhn (still in the reality of the 1960s), these sciences are increasingly characterized by the scientific communication typical of natural sciences, i.e., writing short reports by multiple authors and publishing them as articles in renowned periodicals. Although incredibly strong back then,⁵¹ that trend did not lead to the radicalization of communication strategies in social sciences.⁵² In this field, there is still a certain type of egalitarianism with regard to selecting the form of the main report on scientific explorations. One can notice it in degree proceedings where the so-called main achievement is sometimes a book, and sometimes – a series of articles.⁵³ It also applies to the doctorate, which is sometimes a dissertation in the form of a manuscript with the structure of a book, and sometimes – a series of articles (still not frequently in Poland) or (more frequently in Poland) a type of dissertation that describes the content of several papers.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, more recent studies show publication patterns in the social sciences are changing towards publications in journals with greater influence in terms of citation impact, as indexed in Web of Science (WoS) and Scopus, however differences not only between social sciences and humanities but also between disciplines still remain evident.⁵⁵ However, today, universities adjust

-
- 50 Z. Melosik, *Pasja i tożsamość naukowca: O władzy i wolności umysłu*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2019.
 - 51 V. Quan-Hoang, L. Anh-Vinh, L. Viet-Phuong, H. Phuong-Hanh, and H. Manh-Toan, “Making social sciences more scientific: Literature review by structured data,” *MethodsX*, Vol. 7, 2020, 100818. doi: 10.1016/j.mex.2020.100818.
 - 52 T. C. Engels, A. I. Starcic, E. Kulczycki, J. Polonen, and G. Sivertsen, “Are book publications disappearing from scholarly communication in the social sciences and humanities?” *Aslib Journal of Information Management* Vol. 70, No. 6, 2018, pp. 592–607. doi: 10.1108/AJIM-05-2018-0127.
 - 53 Z. Melosik, “Książka jako ‘złoty standard’ w naukach humanistycznych i społecznych,” *Studia Edukacyjne*, Vol. 52, 2019, pp. 7–22. doi: 10.14746/se.2019.52.1.
 - 54 A. Pare, “Re-writing the doctorate: New contexts, identities, and genres.” *Journal of Second Language Writing*, Vol. 43, 2019, pp. 80–84. doi: 10.1016/j.jslw.2018.08.004.
 - 55 M. Jokić, M., Mervar, A. and S. Mateljan, “The development of political science in Central and Eastern Europe: bibliometric perspective, 1996–2013.” *European Political Science* Vol. 18, 2019; P. Korytkowski, E. Kulczycki, “Examining how country-level science policy shapes publication patterns: the case of Poland.” *Scientometrics* Vol. 119, No. 3, 2019, pp. 1519–43; E. Kulczycki, T. C. E. Engels, J. Pölönen, ‘Publication patterns in the social sciences and humanities: evidence from eight European countries,’ *Scientometrics* Vol. 116, 2018, pp. 463–486; M. Petr, C. Tim, E. Engels, E. Kulczycki,

themselves to offer grants, professional training, as well as services to support scholars' research recognition and dissemination. These are perceived as a top priority, so relevant funding is disbursed to allow both young and senior scholars to develop research skills which fits well to the contemporary standards.

In social sciences, a growing influence of natural sciences is also observed as far as the openness of the publication is concerned.⁵⁶ Irrespective of whether it is a book or an article that is published, if the publication is a result of activities financed with public money (i.e., which in fact is the case every scientist's work), it becomes more and more standard to require open access to it, which means that its electronic version has to be available on the Internet for free.⁵⁷ In the case of papers, this assumption is successfully completed and a great increase in "open" articles related to social sciences can be noticed globally. The situation is different when it comes to electronic books. Most often, these are paid, even if they are a grant report, i.e. a book showing the results of a project financed with public money. This problem also pertains to books based on PhD dissertations, where openness should be particularly important (due to the fact that PhD research is always financed by the state). In case of papers in the field of educational or political sciences, it seems even more significant, because their results are of great practical value and many non-scientists are interested in them.⁵⁸ Studies are often conducted for them and – as a matter of fact – using their money (taxes).

Under those conditions, young scientists all over the world more and more frequently aim at having their papers published in open access so that these are available to everyone, for free, in several versions (PDF, HTML), with an option to download high-resolution figures,⁵⁹ with interactive references (that make it

M. Dušková, R. Guns, M. Sieberová, G. Sivertsen. "Journal article publishing in the social sciences and humanities: A comparison of Web of Science coverage for five European countries." *PLoS ONE* Vol. 16, no, 4, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0249879>

- 56 J. I. Fleming, S. E. Wilson, S. A. Hart, W. J. Therrien, and B. G. Cook, "Open accessibility in education research: Enhancing the credibility, equity, impact, and efficiency of research," *Educational Psychologist*. Vol. 56, No. 2, 2021, pp. 110–121. doi: 10.1080/00461520.2021.1897593.
- 57 Z. K. Shinwari, and A. T. Khalil, "Revisiting Open Science from the Perspective of Ethical Standards: Open science and ethics," *Proceedings of the Pakistan Academy of Sciences: B. Life and Environmental Sciences*, Vol. 57, No. 2, 2020, pp. 1–3.
- 58 W. van Dijk, c. Schatschneider and S. A. Hart, "Open science in education sciences," *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2021, pp. 139–152. doi: 10.1177/0022219420945267.
- 59 J. R. Swedlow, P. Kankaanpää, U. Sarkans, W. Goscinski, G. Galloway, L. Malacrida, R. P. Sullivan, S. Hartel C. M. Brown, C. Wood, and A. Keppler, "A global view of standards

possible to visit a website with the version of the quoted paper publicly available). They also aim at making publicly available the research data that were the basis for their analysis along with the publication, so that everyone can verify their conclusions and use the data (acquired with public money) in other studies, e.g., in meta-analyses.⁶⁰

Open science poses, however, a lot of challenges for social sciences. Scientific publishing houses are reluctant to publish books in open access due to the fact that they lose the chance of gaining profit from sales. What is more, many scientists put up resistance, because public access to their work makes them uneasy, as they fear plagiarism or content modification.⁶¹ Yet, the anxiety of publishing houses and scientists is ungrounded. Open books improve the prestige (of the publishing house and scientists), increase the impact factor,⁶² and the main source of income of scientific publishers does not come from the distribution of electronic versions of the books. What is more, the option to make oneself familiar with the content of a book in a PDF file often encourages one to purchase the paper version of it. It is therefore crucial to shape the rationality of scientific openness among young scientists, PhD students in particular, for whom open science should be a standard.⁶³ Science that is not open, transparent and public ceases to be science,⁶⁴ as it does not complete its (key) social function.⁶⁵

for open image data formats and repositories,” *Nature Methods*, 2021. doi: 10.1038/s41592-021-01113-7.

- 60 N. Gonzalez-Gallego, N., and L. Nieto-Torrejón, “Can open data increase younger generations’ trust in democratic institutions? A study in the European Union,” *PLoS ONE*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2021, doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0244994.
- 61 P. Sengupta, “Open access publication: Academic colonialism or knowledge philanthropy?,” *Geoforum* Vol. 118, 2021, pp. 203–206. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2020.04.001.
- 62 E. Aiello, C. Donovan, E. Duque, S. Fabrizio, R. Flecha, P. Holm, S. Molina, E. Oliver and E. Reale, “Effective strategies that enhance the social impact of social sciences and humanities research,” *Evidence & Policy: A Journal of Research, Debate and Practice* Vol. 17, No. 1, 2021, pp. 131–146. doi: 10.1332/174426420X15834126054137.
- 63 S. Leshem, “Identity formations of doctoral students on the route to achieving their doctorate,” *Issues in Educational Research* Vol. 30, No. 1, 2020, pp. 169–186.
- 64 T. E. Hardwicke, J. D. Wallach, M. C. Kidwell, T. Bendixen, S. Crüwell, and J. P. Ioannidis, “An empirical assessment of transparency and reproducibility-related research practices in the social sciences (2014–2017),” *Royal Society Open Science* Vol. 7, No. 2, 2020, doi: 10.1098/rsos.190806.
- 65 L. Tauginiene, E. Butkeviciene, K. Vohland, B. Heinisch, M. Daskolia, M. Suskevics, M. Portela, B. Balazs, and B. Pruse, “Citizen science in the social sciences and humanities: The power of interdisciplinarity,” *Palgrave Communications* Vol. 6, No. 89, 2020, doi: 10.1057/s41599-020-0471-y6(1).

5. Towards a New Model of Doctoral Studies at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

All the above outlined transformations and challenges related to new models of practicing and popularizing science have been the subject of attention of the authorities and employees at universities in Poland. With the changes brought by the regulations of the Constitution for Science, which emphasize internationalization of teaching and research, the universities in Poland needed to adapt its structures and internal strategies to meet new requirements. Thus, many documents, including newly adopted strategy at the level of universities, as well as at the level of their lower units, stress the role of internationalization in many areas e.g. research, teaching, staff development, as well as cooperation with the social and economic actors outside the university.

The new phenomena strongly affected the daily research and educational activities at one of the biggest universities in Poland, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (AMU). AMU adopted many documents that stress the role of new internationalization patterns in many areas e.g. research, teaching, staff policy, as well as cooperation with the social and economic actors outside the university.

At the level of academic governance, paths of scholars' careers depend strongly on the institutional vision and mission influencing research and tutoring practices within particular universities. At AMU, conventionally, those issues are expressed and elaborated in general strategies prepared and adopted by the academic community for ten years period. The last Strategy was adopted in May 2021 and is designed until the end of 2030.⁶⁶ This document indicates various general and detailed operational objectives that reshape expectations regarding the model of doctoral students' scientific development at our university.

The main strategic provisions regarding the position of young researchers at AMU as well as perspectives for internationalization of their research curricula are determined by Operational Objectives No. 1 and No. 2. The first stipulates that AMU is oriented toward conducting scientific research on the highest level. The second determines that AMU is interested in developing education of the highest quality.⁶⁷

66 *Strategia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu na lata 2020–2030* [Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań Strategy for Years 2020–2030], https://bip.amu.edu.pl/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/220041/US-93-2020-2021-Zal..pdf.

67 *Strategia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu na lata 2020–2030* [Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań Strategy for Years 2020–2030], https://bip.amu.edu.pl/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/220041/US-93-2020-2021-Zal..pdf.

The specific objectives within Operational Objective No. 1 that directly concern doctoral students are defined in section 1.7. This part of the Strategy focuses on providing doctoral students with conditions for comprehensive scientific development and shaping their scientific careers. In this context, AMU in the current decade plans to increase the participation of doctoral students in the work of research teams. Moreover, the university intends to develop space for doctoral students' research activities. This goal is to be achieved by: a) increasing the external sources of doctoral scholarships financing; b) developing systems of supporting doctoral students' publications at the level of faculties; c) organizing seminars and summer schools. Moreover, an important task remains the development of doctoral schools stimulating internationalization and quality of education. This objective is to be achieved by: a) developing mechanisms of financing research carried out by doctoral students, b) gaining grants and creating research teams with the participation of doctoral students, c) developing international cooperation with other scientific centres, d) increasing the number of foreign doctoral students, e) encouraging trips within exchange programs.⁶⁸

At the same time, Operational Objective 1.1 focuses on increasing AMU's recognition in the world as a European research university. This task is connected with the internationalization of scientific research and the increase in the number of international teaching staff. In this context, it is also about the intensification of international scientific contacts that the young academic staff should establish and maintain in order to be able to conduct the highest quality research. This phenomenon should be achieved and maintained in two ways. On the one hand, it should be the result of the initiative and passion of a doctoral student or a young researcher. On the other hand, AMU is interested in creating the best institutional conditions for regular, valuable, and fruitful international contacts of young scientists.⁶⁹

Operational Objective No. 2 also includes the question of the internationalization of AMU activities. Among the specific objectives of this part of the Strategy, we can find: a) development of a new educational offer in cooperation

68 *Strategia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu na lata 2020–2030* [Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań Strategy for Years 2020–2030], https://bip.amu.edu.pl/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/220041/US-93-2020-2021-Zal.pdf, Operational Objective No. 1.

69 *Strategia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu na lata 2020–2030* [Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań Strategy for Years 2020–2030], https://bip.amu.edu.pl/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/220041/US-93-2020-2021-Zal.pdf, Operational Objective No. 1.

with foreign partners; b) organizational and financial support of international scientific cooperation for students and doctoral students; c) growing number of visiting foreign lecturers sharing their knowledge and experience with students and doctoral students at AMU.⁷⁰

AMU also aims to provide students and doctoral students with the best possible conditions for education and scientific development. Within the framework of this operational objective, the following tasks are indicated, among others: a) improving the system of tutoring and designing individualized learning paths; b) expanding the offer of interdisciplinary courses.⁷¹

Notably, the Strategy also emphasizes linking education to European values and human rights and the goals enshrined in the university's mission and vision. In particular, this means: a) disseminating knowledge and supporting actions for human rights, civil liberties, democratic society and sustainable development; b) promoting good academic practices, including the pursuit of truth and objectivity, responsibility, respect for diversity of views and academic integrity; c) shaping professional competence as individual and social values.⁷²

The realization of the above objectives requires new formulas and solutions. In the institutional conditions of AMU, the vital space for their search remains the Faculties. However, new institutions have also been constituted last years, including the Doctoral School of Adam Mickiewicz University with its social sciences section. The proper combination of cooperation between these structures should help in undertaking initiatives beneficial for doctoral students in social sciences. Initiatives of this kind should enable the development of interdisciplinary interests and competencies necessary for everybody who wants to contribute to the international research space.

70 *Strategia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu na lata 2020–2030* [Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań Strategy for Years 2020–2030], https://bip.amu.edu.pl/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/220041/US-93-2020-2021-Zal..pdf, Operational Objective No. 2.

71 *Strategia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu na lata 2020–2030*, https://bip.amu.edu.pl/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/220041/US-93-2020-2021-Zal..pdf [Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań Strategy for Years 2020–2030], Operational Objective No. 2.

72 *Strategia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu na lata 2020–2030* [Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań Strategy for Years 2020–2030], https://bip.amu.edu.pl/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/220041/US-93-2020-2021-Zal..pdf, Operational Objective No. 2.

In this context, the international summer school “Scientific excellence – origins, research, results’ and this publication pursued to meet the objectives defined later in the Strategy of our university, fitting well into its new institutional structure. Our initiatives were primarily designed to internationalize the educational and research experience of our doctoral students. When conceptualizing and organizing both initiatives, our first thought was to find the right balance between: a) analysis and interpretation, b) understanding and explaining; c) qualitative and quantitative aspects of scientific research; d) global, regional, national and local aspects of thinking about and doing science; e) lectures and consultative forms of conveying knowledge; f) creativity as well as originality in searching for individual research programs and the sense of belonging to the academic community with rich traditions and strong uniqueness.

6. The International Summer School for PhD “Scientific Excellence – Origins, Research, Results”

The International Summer School for PhD students entitled “Scientific excellence – origins, research, results” eventually took place on October 26–30, 2020. It was organized by the Faculty of Educational Studies and the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. It was mainly devoted to the sources and results of scientific excellence and the methodology of research within social sciences. The initiator and main coordinator of the project, and at the same time the chairman of the scientific committee was Prof. Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik, Vice-Dean for PhD studies and international cooperation at the Faculty of Educational Studies AMU. The organization of the project involved, Dr. Bartosz Hordecki, Prof. Michał Klichowski, Prof. Paulina Pospieszna, Dr. Anna Sakson-Boulet and Prof Tomasz R. Szymczyński. The whole initiative was supported by the Deans of both Faculties: prof. dr. hab. Agnieszka Cybal-Michalska and prof. dr hab. Andrzej Stelmach.

The invitation to deliver guest plenary lectures and conduct original methodological workshops was accepted by professors from renowned foreign research centers, including representing Centre for East European and International Studies (Germany), Hertie School (Germany), University of Mannheim (Germany), European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Germany), Freie Universität Berlin (Germany), University of Madrid (Spain), National Chengchi University (Taiwan), Bath Spa University (UK), Oxford University (UK), University of Birmingham (UK), Saint Louis University (USA), and Polish researchers from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Silesian University in Katowice, University of Lower Silesia in Wrocław as well as the Committee of

Pedagogical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Science. The whole week program additionally included individual consultations with professors and three panels of presentations delivered by PhD students. The event was attended by over 50 doctoral students – representatives of disciplines from the field of Social Sciences: pedagogy, political science, psychology, cognitive science, social geography and law. The meeting was also joined by professors from the Committee for International Cooperation of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a group of doctoral students from Oxford University, recommended by Prof. Paulina Kewes (Jesus College and Faculty of English Language and Literature, University of Oxford). The project was financed by a grant from the National Center for Research and Development.⁷³

The School was inaugurated by the Rector of Adam Mickiewicz University, Prof. Bogumiła Kaniewska, welcoming the invited guests and expressing hope that the International Summer School will not only be a platform for inspiring and substantive discussions, but also the beginning of scientific and academic friendships. Then, during the opening session, the following persons spoke: Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Educational Studies, Prof. Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik, Head of Doctoral Studies at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism Prof. Robert Kmiecik, Vice-Rector head of the AMU Doctoral School Prof. Przemysław Wojtaszek, Dean of the Faculty of Educational Studies Prof. Agnieszka Cybal-Michalska and the Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Prof. Andrzej Stelmach.

It is perhaps important to admit, that initially it was assumed in the categories of obviousness that the whole Summer School project was to take place at one of the centers of the Adam Mickiewicz University, but as unfortunately as it could be, the persistent epidemic threat of COVID-19 forced us firstly to decide to postpone the whole event to October 2020 and afterwards to change the formula of its implementation into the remote mode, which of course due to several reasons turned out to be a demanding challenge. Nevertheless, it should be included here that lively deliberations and inspiring, cognitively interesting discussions lasted from the early mornings to late evening hours. The intensive time of the first edition of the International Summer School has become a reality, as admitted by prof. dr hab. Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik, “the idea of an invisible college – a community of scientists from around the world and young students of science, across national borders and institutional frameworks,

73 International Summer School site: <https://isummerschool.wordpress.com/guest-lecturers/>.

beyond the academic hierarchy.”⁷⁴ Moreover, the interdisciplinary nature of the event drew the attention of its participants to the multitude of ways of thinking about research problems in the field of social, political, economic and cultural sciences. The invited lecturers represented various research approaches, which resulted in a rich subject of the event.

In the very context of this Summer School the idea of internationalization of academic research together with the challenges of interdisciplinary approaches put some interesting light into the methodological status of translation. This ought to be seen as funded without exception on not always clearly articulated assumptions towards the role of language(s) within the frames of academic activities. On the one hand no one wishes to deny that the domination of English language brings a lot of advantages towards the possibilities of mutual cooperation at the international level. In the same time however, it ought to be underlined as well that the academic community should not understand that as clear and final sort of “social contract.” Similar context may be observable directly in the connection between expected from all the researchers linguistic skills and the field of scientific disciplines. Perhaps these two topics may be evaluated more in depth during next edition of our Summer School. It seems possible especially in the light of expressions like that of Agata Trębacz, one of the PhD student participants of the project: “the success of the first edition of the International Summer School, organized in the difficult times of the pandemic, is evidenced by the commitment and satisfaction of doctoral students and researchers at the University.”⁷⁵ Such opinions may perhaps lead the organizers to conviction that this event ought to be present in the schedule of annual initiatives of Adam Mickiewicz University.

7. Conclusions

We hope that our efforts, related both to the organization of the summer school “Scientific Excellence – origins, research, results” and to the publication of this monograph, remain well balanced. We believe that both initiatives provided their participants with an opportunity to reflect in-depth on the tensions and difficulties associated with the continuous transformation of science and higher education in Poland and abroad.

74 An excerpt from an interview given by prof. dr hab. Agnieszka Gromkowska-Melosik for Radio Meteor [access: 29/12/2020].

75 A. Trębacz, Sprawozdanie Międzynarodowej Letniej Szkoły”International Summer School: Scientific excellence – origins, research, results” 26–30 października 2020 roku, *Studia Edukacyjne*, No.59, 2020, pp. 347–351.

In this context, we understand the concept of “scientific excellence” as a guiding idea in our efforts. At the same time, we see it as an ideal that can never be achieved but towards which one must persistently strive. Additionally, we remember that the pursuit of perfection is accompanied by paradoxes, which have been pointed out many times in the history of human thought. Hence, to conclude, following Władysław Tatarkiewicz, we would like to turn the reader’s attention to Empedocles’ remark. There is a claim, according to the philosopher, that true perfection must be imperfect to some extent. This principle is supposed to result from the fact that finite perfection could not improve itself, which would mean that it lacks something, so it is not perfect.⁷⁶

This thought mentioned above, which maintains in its respect to the design of a young scientist’s research and professional paths appears crucial. Doctoral students, undoubtedly, ought to develop themselves and become better and better in searching for answers to the challenges of the contemporary field of higher education. However, it should be acknowledged here as well that it is equally essential not to forget about general self-development, about cultivating personal passions and activities. In more abstract words, combining the best traditions of thinking analytically and synthetically remains essential. It may be understood as a golden formula of the scientific endeavours in every era, as well as at the threshold of the third decade of the twenty-first century.

References

- Aiello, E., Donovan, C., Duque, E., Fabrizio, S., Flecha, R., Holm, P., Molina, S., Oliver, E., Reale, E., Effective strategies that enhance the social impact of social sciences and humanities research. *Evidence & Policy: A Journal of Research, Debate and Practice*, 2021, 17(1), 131–146. doi: 10.1332/174426420X15834126054137.
- Crăciun, D. 2018. “National Policies for Higher Education Internationalization: A Global Comparative Perspective,” In: *European Higher Education Area: The Impact of Past and Future Policies*, edited by Adrian Curaj, Ligia Deca, Remus Pricopie. Springer One.
- Curaj, A., Ligia D., Remus P. 2018. *European Higher Education Area: The Impact of Past and Future Policies*. Springer One.
- Dakowska, D. 2017. Competitive universities? The impact of international and European trends on academic institutions in the “New Europe.” *European Educational Research Journal* 16 (5).

76 W. Tatarkiewicz, *O doskonałości*, Lublin: Instytut Wydawniczy “Daimonion,” 1991, p. 23.

- Dobbins, M., Kwiek, M. 2017. Europeanisation and globalisation in higher education in Central and Eastern Europe: 25 years of changes revisited (1990–2015). *European Educational Research Journal* 16 (5).
- Dokowicz, M., Kropielnicka, K., Kicielińska, J., “Analiza SWOT,” in: *Diagnoza stanu studiów doktoranckich 1.0. Najważniejsze problemy*, Krajowa Reprezentacja Doktorantów, M. Dakowicz et al., Warszawa 2014.
- Engels, T. C., Starcic, A. I., Kulczycki, E., Polonen, J., Sivertsen, G., “Are book publications disappearing from scholarly communication in the social sciences and humanities?” *Aslib Journal of Information Management*, 2018, 70(6), 592–607. doi: 10.1108/AJIM-05-2018-0127.
- Fleming, J. I., Wilson, S. E., Hart, S. A., Therrien, W. J., Cook, B. G., “Open accessibility in education research: Enhancing the credibility, equity, impact, and efficiency of research.” *Educational Psychologist*, 2021, 56(2), 110–121. doi: 10.1080/00461520.2021.1897593.
- Gonzalez-Gallego, N., Nieto-Torrejón, L., “Can open data increase younger generations’ trust in democratic institutions? A study in the European Union.” *PLoS ONE*, 2021, 16(1):e0244994. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0244994.
- Hardwicke, T. E., Wallach, J. D., Kidwell, M. C., Bendixen, T., Crüwell, S., Ioannidis, J. P., “An empirical assessment of transparency and reproducibility-related research practices in the social sciences (2014–2017).” *Royal Society Open Science*, 2020, 7(2): 190806. doi: 10.1098/rsos.190806.
- Jokić, M., Mervar, A. & Mateljan, S. 2019. “The development of political science in Central and Eastern Europe: bibliometric perspective, 1996–2013.” *European Political Science* 18.
- Jurajda S, Kozubek S, Munich D, Skoda S. 2017. “Scientific publication performance in post-communist countries: still lagging far behind.” *Scientometrics* 112 (1): 315–28.
- KDN (Konstytucja dla Nauki). 2018. “Nowe rozporządzenie ws. dyscyplin – to rzetelna ocena badań naukowych,” available at <https://konstytucjadlanauki.gov.pl/nowe-rozporzadzenie-ws-dyscyplin-to-rzetelna-ocena-badan-naukowych>, w szczególności zależności między przyjętą nową klasyfikacją dziedzin i dyscyplin a wcześniej obowiązującym wykazem, oraz porównanie z systematyką OECD <https://konstytucjadlanauki.gov.pl/content/uploads/2018/09/nowy-podzia-dyscyplin-tabela.pdf>.
- Korytkowski P, Kulczycki E. 2019. “Examining how country-level science policy shapes publication patterns: the case of Poland.” *Scientometrics* 119 (3): 1519–43.
- Kozak, M., Bornmann, L., & Leydesdorff, L. 2014. “How have the Eastern European countries of the former Warsaw Pact developed since 1990? A bibliometric study.” *Scientometrics* 102 (2): 1101–1117.

- Kuhn, T. S., *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Kulczycki, E., Engels, T.C.E., Pölonen, J. et al. 2018. "Publication patterns in the social sciences and humanities: evidence from eight European countries." *Scientometrics* 116,463–486.
- Kutsar D. and Pálné Kovács I. 2010. SCSS Science Position Paper – *Promoting Internationalisation of the Social Sciences in Central and Eastern Europe*, http://archives.esf.org/fileadmin/Public_documents/Publications/MOCEE_spp.pdf
- Kwiek, M. 2012. "Changing Higher Education Policies: From the Deinstitutionalization to the Reinstitutionalization of the Research Mission in Polish Universities." *Science and Public Policy* 39 (5):
- Laboratorium Analiz Statystycznych i Ewaluacji, Ośrodek Przetwarzania Informacji – Państwowy Instytut Badawczy, *Doktoranci w Polsce*, Warszawa 2019.
- Leshem, S., "Identity formations of doctoral students on the route to achieving their doctorate." *Issues in Educational Research*, 2020, 30(1), 169–186
- Lightman, B. (ed.), *A Companion to the History of Science*, New York: Wiley Blackwell, 2020.
- Petr, Michal, Tim C. E. Engels, Emanuel Kulczycki, Marta Dušková, Raf Guns, Monika Sieberová, Gunnar Sivertsen. 2021. Journal article publishing in the social sciences and humanities: A comparison of Web of Science coverage for five European countries. *PLoS ONE* 16(4): e0249879. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0249879>
- Regulamin szkół doktorskich Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu* [Regulations of doctoral schools at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań], <https://amu.edu.pl/doktoranci/regulamin-szkoly-doktorskiej>.
- Melosik, Z., "Książka jako "złoty standard" w naukach humanistycznych i społecznych." *Studia Edukacyjne*, 2019, 52, 7–22. doi: 10.14746/se.2019.52.1.
- Melosik, Z., *Pasja i tożsamość naukowca: O władzy i wolności umysłu*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2019.
- Michalak, M., Dokowicz, M., *Umasowienie studiów doktoranckich*, in: *Diagnoza stanu studiów doktoranckich 1.0. Najważniejsze problemy*, Krajowa Reprezentacja Doktorantów, Dakowicz M. et al.
- Michalski, J., Suchodolski, B. (eds.), *Historia nauki polskiej (1795–1862)*, Vol. 3, part 1–3, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977.
- Mikołajczyk, B., Naskręcki, R., "Szkoly doktorskie i ich rola w kształceniu doktorantów," *Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe*, special issue: *Reforma Szkolnictwa Wyższego*, 2(50), 2017, pp. 107–126, doi: 10.14746/nisw.2017.2.5.

- Mościcki, M., "Istota studiów doktoranckich po reformie z 2011 r.," in: *Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym. Nowe prawo – aktualne problemy*, Pakuła J. (ed.), Toruń 2012, Dom Organizatora.
- Pare, A., "Re-writing the doctorate: New contexts, identities, and genres." *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 2019, 43, 80–84. doi: 10.1016/j.jslw.2018.08.004.
- Pohoryles, J. and Sawa Cvijetic. 2002. "Internationalization of Research." *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 15 (4): 381–388.
- Quan-Hoang, V., Anh-Vinh, L., Viet-Phuong, L., Phuong-Hanh, H., & Manh-Toan, H., "Making social sciences more scientific: Literature review by structured data." *MethodsX*, 2020, 7: 100818. doi: 10.1016/j.mex.2020.100818.
- Regulamin szkół doktorskich Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* [Regulations of doctoral schools at the University of gdańsk], <https://sd.ug.edu.pl/sites/default/files/2021-03/Regulamin%20Szkół%20Doktorskich%20Uniwersytetu%20Gdańskiego%20zmieniony%20od%20dnia%2025%20lutego%202021.pdf>.
- Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dnia 3 października 2014 r. w sprawie szczegółowego trybu i warunków przeprowadzenia czynności w przewodzie doktorskim, w postępowaniu habilitacyjnym oraz w postępowaniu o nadanie tytułu profesora [Regulation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education of 3 October 2014 on the detailed procedure and conditions for conducting activities in doctoral proceedings, in post-doctoral procedure and in the procedure for awarding the title of professor], Dz. U. [Journal of Laws] 2014, item 1383.
- Schneider, C., Bochsler, D., Chiru, M. "Comparative Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Mapping Publications over the Past 20 Years." *European Political Science* 12/2013.
- Sengupta, P. Open access publication: "Academic colonialism or knowledge philanthropy?." *Geoforum*, 2021, 118, 203–206. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2020.04.001.
- Shinwari, Z. K., & Khalil, A. T., "Revisiting Open Science from the Perspective of Ethical Standards: Open science and ethics." *Proceedings of the Pakistan Academy of Sciences: B. Life and Environmental Sciences*, 2020, 57(2), 1–3.
- Śliwowski, B., "Funkcje założone i rzeczywiste promotora pomocniczego w dysertacjach doktorskich," *Rocznik Lubuski* Vol. 41, part 2, 2015.
- Tarlea, S. Higher education governance in Central and Eastern Europe: A perspective on Hungary and Poland. *European Educational Research Journal* 16 (5)/2017
- Skubała-Tokarska, Z., Suchodolski, B. (eds.), *Historia nauki polskiej (1863–1918)*, Vol. 4, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987.
- Strategia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu na lata 2020–2030* [Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań Strategy for Years 2020–2030],

https://bip.amu.edu.pl/___data/assets/pdf_file/0009/220041/US-93-2020-2021-Zal..pdf.

- Swedlow, J. R., Kankaanpaa, P., Sarkans, U., Goscinski, W., Galloway, G., Malacrida, L., Sullivan, R.P., Hartel, S., Brown, C.M., Wood, C., Keppler, A. "A global view of standards for open image data formats and repositories." *Nature Methods*, 2021. doi: 10.1038/s41592-021-01113-7.
- Tatarkiewicz, W. *Odoskonołosci*, Lublin: Instytut Wydawniczy "Daimonion," 1991.
- Tauginiene, L., Butkeviciene, E., Vohland, K., Heinisch, B., Daskolia, M., Suskevics, M., Portela, M., Balazs, B., Pruse, B. "Citizen science in the social sciences and humanities: the power of interdisciplinarity." *Palgrave Communications*, 2020, 6: 89. doi: 10.1057/s41599-020-0471-y6(1).
- Ustawa z dnia 20 lipca 2018 r. – Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym i nauce [Law of 20 July 2018 – Law on Higher Education and Science], Article 202, Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] 2018, item 1668.
- Ustawa z dnia 18 marca 2011 r. o zmianie ustawy – Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym, ustawy o stopniach naukowych i tytule naukowym oraz stopniach i tytule w zakresie sztuki oraz o zmianie niektórych innych ustaw [The Law of 18 March 2011 on the Amendment of the Law on Academic Degrees and Title and on Degrees and Title in Art], Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] 2011, No. 48, item 455.
- van Dijk, W., Schatschneider, C., & Hart, S. A., "Open science in education sciences." *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, 2021, 54(2), 139–152. doi: 10.1177/0022219420945267.
- Załącznik nr 1, 2, 3 i 4 uchwały Senatu Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego z dnia 24 kwietnia 2019 roku w sprawie: regulaminów szkół doktorskich [Annex 1, 2, 3 and 4 to Resolution the Senate of the Jagiellonian University of 24 April 2019 on the regulations of doctoral schools].
- Załącznik do uchwały nr 83/2020/2021 Senatu UAM z dnia 26 kwietnia 2021 r. w sprawie Regulaminu szkół doktorskich Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu [Annex to Resolution No. 83/2020/2021 of the AMU Senate of 26 April 2021 on the Regulations of doctoral schools at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań], Article 8.10 of the Regulations.
- Załącznik nr 1, 2, 3 i 4 do uchwały nr 44 Senatu Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego z dnia 26 czerwca 2019 r. w sprawie uchwalenia Regulaminów szkół doktorskich na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim [Annex 1, 2, 3 and 4 to Resolution No. 44 of the Senate of the University of Warsaw of 26 June, 2019 on the adoption of the Regulations of doctoral schools at the University of Warsaw], Article 18.2. in every set of regulations annexed to the Resolution.
- Zasztowt, L., Schiller-Walicka J. (eds.), *Historia nauki polskiej (1944–1989)*, Vol. 10, part 1–3, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 2015.

Christoph Wulf, Freie Universität Berlin

chrwulf@zedat.fu-berlin.de

Education in the Anthropocene: Sustainability, Mimesis, Rituals

Abstract: In the age of the Anthropocene, the conditions, goals, and practices of education need to be fundamentally reexamined. Concern for the future of the planet and the need to act in solidarity across political and cultural boundaries are imperative. In the Anthropocene, the age of humans determining the fate of the planet, the unintended effects of industrialization and modernization are becoming a threatening challenge. These include climate change, the destruction of biodiversity, disturbed biogeochemical cycles, ocean acidification, and the pollution of the planet endangering the livelihoods of humans, animals, and plants. To counteract these disastrous developments, the world community has outlined the vision of sustainable development, which can only be realized through solidarity. Education and socialization are of central importance for this. Research is needed on the role of mimetic, ritual and gestural processes, their potential for change and how they can be used.

Keywords: Anthropocene, sustainability, education for sustainability, future at risk, climate change, biodiversity, pollution, mimesis, ritual, gesture, care.

Firstly, I would like to discuss the challenges of the Anthropocene, the Age of Humans. Today, the human being dominates the planet to such a degree that it makes sense to refer to humans as a telluric power and to call the epoch the Anthropocene. Today's world is characterized by unintended negative challenges of industrialization and modernity. Then, I would like to present strategies for sustainable development and for education for sustainable development. It is very much hoped that these strategies will help us to cope with the negative challenges of the Anthropocene. As an example, I will describe the Strategy of Sustainable Development that the German government is developing. In the second part of my paper I will demonstrate the importance of mimetic processes, rituals and gestures in education and will relate these processes to education for sustainable development.

Anthropocene: The Age of Humans

The term “Anthropocene” first appears in a short, one-page article by Paul J. Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer. The two authors justify the introduction of the term “Anthropocene” to designate a new Earth age by the following man-made changes: management of half the earth’s surface, deforestation, changes in the nitrogen cycle, the increase in *greenhouse gases*, the enlargement of the hole in the ozone layer, and industrial pollution. The term “Anthropocene” is used to make people aware of this new situation. As a result, there have been extensive discussions as to when we might say that the new epoch began, which replaces the Holocene.¹ Even though the criteria are still not absolutely precise and discussion is still going on, it seems possible to identify a first phase of the Anthropocene at the beginning of the Holocene some 12,000 years ago. During this time, the retreat of ice, the warming of the earth, the development of agriculture, the development of trade as well as the spread of humans to more and more parts of the earth took place.

A second phase began with industrialization around 1800, extending into the 20th century. It is the age of great machines. During this time, the world population grew from about one billion to over six billion and the global economy and energy demand increased fifty-fold.

A third phase can then be distinguished. This covers the period between 1945 and 2015. It is characterized by the explosion of the first atomic bomb, the enormous acceleration of life, the associated economic expansion, and the invention and global dissemination of the new media.

The beginning of the fourth phase was marked by the UN General Assembly’s decision on sustainable development goals 2015, which led to extensive corrections of the way humans treat the planet.

The discussion about whether and the extent to which we are in a new age is led by representatives of several sciences such as geology, climatology, biology, paleontology.² Even though the International Union for Geological Science has

1 For details of this discussion see A. Federau 2017, pp. 115–120 and 145. A working group discussed the issue of when the Anthropocene began at the 35th International Congress of Geology at the end of August/beginning of September 2016 in Cape Town, South Africa (Voosen 2016).

2 J. Renn, B. Scherer (eds.), *Das Anthropozän. Zum Stand der Dinge*, Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2015; *Azimuth. Philosophical Coordinates in Modern and Contemporary Age*. Vol. 9/2017, *The Battlefield of the Anthropocene*, eds. Sara Baranzoni and Paolo Vignola; H. Lesch, K. Kampenhausen, *Die Menschheit schafft sich ab. Die Erde im Griff des Anthropozän*, Grünwald: Komplet-Media, 2018.

decided after a long discussion that the current epoch should be still named Holocene, it is quite justifiable from an anthropological and cultural perspective to speak of the Anthropocene in order to characterize the significance of the many and in part highly destructive effects of humans on the planet. In addition to the factors already mentioned, man-made climate change with its pronounced warming of the earth is responsible for this. In addition, there is the enormous number of man-made products that take many years to degrade. These include, for example, the more than 350 million tons of *plastic*³ per year and the *exorbitant* amount of concrete,⁴ which in the last two decades has accounted for half of the total material produced during human history. In addition, there is the destruction of the biodiversity of animals and plants brought about by humans, and the production of trillions of tons of carbon and nitrogen. After the gradual warming of the climate at the beginning of the Holocene about 12,000 years ago, *Homo sapiens* is currently experiencing the next fundamental change in the climate, this time mainly created by the human being.⁵

With this *development* our understanding of nature changes. Research on evolution and hominization has made it clear that human beings, like all living beings, are part of nature, so that our development, hominization, is in principle also subject to the laws of evolution.⁶

For a long time, it was assumed that although human beings are part of evolution, what marked us out especially *was* that our development was only partially subject to the laws of evolution and was essentially determined by culture and education. This separation between nature and human culture cannot be maintained in the Anthropocene.⁷ Humans exert a profound influence on

3 This emerges from a publication by a research group led by R. Geyer from the University of California. According to the study, two million tons of plastics were produced worldwide in 1950 – by 2015 this figure had risen to 380 million tons. According to this research, by 2015 6.3 billion tons of plastic waste had been generated and only 9 % had been recycled. 12 % were incinerated and 79 % ended up in landfill or the environment.

4 According to *Der Spiegel* (2.8.2010), 4.1 billion tons of cement are produced annually worldwide, containing an average of around 60 % CaO. The release of the carbon dioxide bound in the lime, even with optimum process control, results in emissions of at least three billion tons of CO₂ or around 6 % of annual CO₂ emissions.

5 C. Bonneuil, J.-B. Fressoz, *The Shock of the Anthropocene: The Earth, History, and Us*, London: Verso, 2016.

6 C. Wulf, *Anthropologie. Geschichte, Kultur, Philosophie*, Köln: Anaconda 2009 (2. edn.), Reinbek: Rowohlt, 2004 (1. edn.), pp. 27–52; M. Tomasello, *The Cultural Origins of Human Cognition*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

7 N. Wallenhorst, C. Wulf (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'anthropologie prospective*, Paris: Vrin, 2021.

nature. We intervene in it and change it. We become the actors who shape it and influence its dynamics. In the Anthropocene a new relationship has developed between humans and nature.⁸ In the “age of humans,” the domination of nature by humans is the decisive condition of life. Human actions have profound effects on nature, which then rebound upon us. Of central importance is the consumption of nonrenewable resources, which makes it clear that limitless growth endangers the future of life on the limited planet “Earth.”⁹

Everything that lives changes its environment. This applies to plants, animals and humans. According to an *estimate* by Peter Vitousek, humans use between 39 % and 50 % of the land surface for their needs;¹⁰ 25 % of the products of *photosynthesis* are also used by humans.¹¹ Human use of the earth has grown significantly in the last few years.

The global biomass of terrestrial mammals grew so quickly between 1900 and 2000 that there *was* a huge increase *in* carbon. Measured in megatons (in millions of tons) of carbon, the *following* increase occurred: humans in 1900, 13, in 2000, 55; domestic animals in 1900, 35, in 2000, 120; livestock in 1900, 23, in 2000, 80; wild land animals in 1900, 10, in 2000, 5.¹²

According to a UN report for the turn of the millennium, 12 % of bird species, 23 % of mammals, 25 % of conifers, 32 % of amphibians are endangered.¹³ According to WWF figures, the population of marine animals decreased by 49 % between 1970 and 2012.¹⁴ The extinction of living creatures takes place considerably faster in water than on land. Much research has shown that there is currently an extensive extinction of species for which humans are responsible. The central

8 See the 35th International Congress of Geology (see Note 1).

9 C. I. Gil, C. Wulf (eds.), *Hazardous Future: Disaster, Representation and the Assessment of Risk*, Berlin, München, Boston/MA: de Gruyter, 2015; C. Wulf, *Human Beings and their Images. Mimesis, Imagination, Performativität*, London: Bloomsbury, 2022.

10 P. M. Vitousek, H. A. Mooney, J. Lubchenco, J. M. Melillo, “Human Domination of Earth’s Ecosystems,” *Science*, Vol. 277, No. 5325, 1997, pp. 494–499.

11 P. M. Vitousek, P. R. Ehrlich, A. H. Ehrlich, P. A. Matson, “Human, Appropriation of the Products of Photosynthesis,” *Bioscience* 36.6/1986, pp. 368–373.

12 V. Smil, “Harvesting the Biosphere: The Human Impact,” *Population and Development Review* 37.4/2011, p. 619.

13 Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Synthesis*, Washington, DC: Island Press 2005, p. 35 (<https://www.millenniumassessment.org/documents/document.356.aspx.pdf>).

14 J. Tanzer, C. Phua, B. Jeffries, A. Lawrence, A. Gonzales, P. Gamblin, T. Roxburgh, *Rapport Planète vivante océans. Espèces, habitats et bien-être humain*, Gland: WWF International, 2015, p. 16.

reason for this is environmental pollution, whereby humans have a lasting effect on the environment and thus on nature. It extends to the atmosphere, the ocean, the earth's crust (lithosphere), and the biosphere.

In recent years, a systemic way of viewing this has *emerged in* which the complex interactions of the manifold influences of human beings on nature are described. With this approach, bifurcations (forks) can be identified that lead to major changes in the system through small modifications. The formation of the ozone hole and the growing complexity of the effects of carbon and nitrogen on the planet under human influence can also be analyzed and presented from a systemic perspective. This makes it possible to identify several different causes and see how they are interrelated. It can also show the connections between *climate change*, ocean acidification, the use of sprays, the hole in the ozone layer, pollution, the destabilization of major biogeochemical cycles (carbon, nitrogen, phosphorus), freshwater use, and the biosphere.¹⁵

To research the Anthropocene, interdisciplinary cooperation between many sciences is required. This involves examining the effects of man-made objects on the earth. These include, for example, vehicles, houses, cities, road networks, mines, *agriculture* and its influence on the soil, deposits in lakes, rivers and seas, and waste from human labor. In addition, the following have an impact on the earth: (1) waste from electronic devices such as televisions, smartphones, computers, etc., (2) the alteration of the soil by human activity, (3) the approximately 100,000 materials produced from chemical syntheses, of which plastic products make up a large part, (4) the numerous metals produced by humans, such as zinc, titanium, and aluminum, (5) the interference with the structure of life by breeding and genetic manipulation, (6) the disturbance of the global cycles of the atmosphere, (7) the deposits in lakes, rivers and seas, (8) disasters such as volcanic eruptions, nuclear tests.

The commandment of the Christian God that Man should subdue the earth has come about in the Anthropocene, the age of humans. But the unwanted, unforeseen negative side effects of this development are so strong that they destroy the *basis of life* on the planet. Humans have become a mighty telluric force, of which it is not certain whether it can be tamed.¹⁶ Our supremacy and

15 A. Federau, *Pour une philosophie de l'Anthropocène*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2017, pp. 93–102; N. Wallenhorst, *Lanthropocène décodé pour les humains*, Paris: Les Éditions Le Pommier, 2019; C. Wulf, *Human Beings and their Images*.

16 Z. Bauman, *Retropia*, Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2017; B. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993; B. Latour, *Down to Earth: Politics in the New Climatic Regime*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018.

Promethean dominance have become a threat. If we consider the distinction between the *biosphere* (sphere of life) and the *noosphere* (sphere of mind), the enormous boomerang effects of human action thrown back by the biosphere are becoming irrefutable in view of the superiority of the *noosphere* in the age of humans.¹⁷

Objectives of Sustainable Development and Education

In view of this situation, the education of human beings includes dealing with the conditions of the planet and the problems of sustainability. In autumn 2015 the UN community of states adopted 17 goals of sustainable development in New York. The goals of this Agenda 2030 can be assigned to five P-areas:

- “People” (poverty and hunger, living in dignity, equality, healthy environment),
- “Planet” (protection of ecosystems),
- “Peace” (inclusion, peace, justice),
- “Prosperity” (well-being of all people through economic and technical development),
- “Partnership.”

The realization of these tasks should be based on the principles of universality, indivisibility, inclusion, accountability, partnership.¹⁸

The development of this Action Program 2030 is an expression of the global concern of humanity for its future. Education and training are among the most important areas for the realization of this action program. The aim here is *an inclusive, equal, high-quality, and lifelong education and training*. The program is founded on a humanistic vision of education and development based on human rights and dignity, social justice, security, cultural diversity, and shared responsibility. Education and training are seen as common good and fundamental

17 V. I. Vernadsky, *La Biosphère*, Paris: Félix Alcan, 1929; P. Teilhard de Chardin, *The Appearance of Man*, trans. J. M. Cohen, New York: Harper and Row, 1965; J. Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia: A Biography of Our Living Earth*, New York: Norton, 1988; P. R. Samson, D. Pitt (eds.), *The Biosphere and Noosphere Reader. Global Environment, Society, and Change*, London: Routledge, 1999.

18 G. Michelsen (ed.), *Die Deutsche Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie. Wegweiser für eine Politik der Nachhaltigkeit*, Wiesbaden: Hessische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2017; I. Scholz, “Herausforderung: Sustainable Development Goals,” in: G. Michelsen (ed.), *Die Deutsche Nachhaltigkeitsstrategiem*, pp. 23–39; C. Wulf, *Human Beings and their Images*; N. Wallenhorst, C. Wulf (eds.), *Handbook of the Anthropocene*, Basingstoke: Springer Nature, 2022.

human rights; their realization is necessary to enable peace, human fulfilment, and sustainable development.¹⁹

The Declaration and Program of Action recommend the development of a twelve-year public school system. Compulsory schooling with free and good quality education should last nine years and include primary and lower secondary education. It also recommends the establishment of at least one year of free compulsory preschool education, the development of vocational training and adult literacy. Education and training should be inclusive and equal. Inclusive here means not only the inclusion of children with disabilities, but also the rejection and combating of all forms of exclusion and marginalization.

Equal rights of access and treatment in education are the necessary consequences. Especially for girls and women, much remains to be done in many regions of the world. To promote the knowledge and creativity of children and young people, the quality of education and upbringing is to be improved, through improved teacher training for example. Finally, the promotion of education and training should not be limited to the school system. Vocational training and lifelong learning should be developed, and informal and non-formal education promoted. 4–6 percent of the gross domestic product or 15–20 percent of public expenditure should be spent on education. To achieve these goals, an additional 20 billion dollars at least are needed annually.

Sustainability as a “Grand Narrative”

This vision of inclusive, equal, quality and lifelong education and training, with its implications for the education of the subject, serves as a frame of reference for education in world society, which has been agreed upon by the community of states. Compared to earlier times, this development is a step forward. This is true even when one knows how difficult it is to make progress on such broad goals. As necessary as it is to align education and training with these goals, Lyotard’s objection to the “grand narratives” of humanity must be considered.²⁰ Lyotard points out that there is a danger that these “grand narratives” will serve to hide the fact that it is almost impossible to achieve the visions they refer to. But the fact that the mega narratives exist offers a certain degree of “satisfaction.” Just by creating these designs an improvement has been brought about, and through them we know what to strive for and what to do. This criticism cannot be dismissed.

19 UNESCO, *Rethinking Education: Towards a Global Common Good*, Paris: UNESCO, 2015.

20 J.-F. Lyotard, *The postmodern condition. A report on knowledge*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.

It gains plausibility if we analyze the concrete strategies of the action program and come to realize that the differences between the perspectives are difficult to overcome. The fact that the declaration is so visionary tends to obscure the difficulties, which come to the fore when we try to implement individual reforms in a concrete way. The development of a vision and an action program is one thing, but its realization is another, bringing with it new, comprehensive difficulties, which result in the visionary elements getting lost.

These visions recall the great utopias of European history: Plato's *Republic*,²¹ Tommasio Campanella's *Sunshine State*,²² Thomas Morus (More) *Utopia*.²³ Utopias and utopian thinking exert a fascination in the field of education that hardly anyone can escape. They show what would be possible if people were not the way they are, and if utopias could be realized. Utopias tend to limit the diversity of human life in favor of a social order that is regarded as good. The desired development of sustainability is more comprehensive than all the utopias designed so far. If its goals are to be realized, fundamental changes are needed in many areas of society, among which education is of central importance. We might even argue that utopian thinking is necessary to bring about changes. Societies which have no utopian imaginary lose their energy and will not create something new. Indeed an excess of imagination might be necessary to create a meaningful social and individual life.

From Project to Structure: The German Sustainability Strategy 2021

In this context, I will describe the German government's detailed sustainability strategy²⁴ as a case study. There are plans for a decade of action on all levels. In contrast to previous efforts, a comprehensive multidimensional strategy is being developed which takes into account many of the results achieved to date. Sustainable development is considered to be a central task of German policy that must be fulfilled within the framework of the European Union and the global community of states.

Three elements are needed for the strategy to work:

-
- 21 Platon, "Politeia," in: *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 3, Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1958, pp. 67–310.
 - 22 T. Campanella, *Der Sonnenstaat*, Cologne: Anaconda, 2012.
 - 23 T. More, "Utopia," trans. J. P. Dolan, in: *The Essential T. More*, eds. J. J. Greene and J. P. Dolan, New York: New American Library, 1967.
 - 24 Bundesregierung, *Deutsche Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie. Weiterentwicklung*, Berlin: Bundeskanzleramt, 2021.

- areas of transformation,
- commonality,
- enthusiasm.

The following areas of transformation are presented in the first part of the strategy:

- 1) energy system transformation and climate protection,
- 2) recycling management,
- 3) sustainable construction and transport transformation,
- 4) sustainable agricultural and food systems,
- 5) pollutant-free environment,
- 6) human well-being and skills, social justice.

To be successful there is a requirement for the following: sectoral thinking must be overcome, the involvement of social actors, the channeling of finances, the promotion of research, innovation and digital transformation, and international responsibility and cooperation.

In the second part, the sustainability strategy is specified in more detail. The following are named: the central institutions, the structures and responsibilities, the basic features of “sustainability governance” with principles and indicators of sustainability and the monitoring procedures, the program of measures for sustainability, cooperation between the federal and state governments, cooperation on a municipal level, and the involvement of social actors. The aim is to create together a sustainable community.

In the third part of the strategy, the contribution to achieving the 17 goals of sustainable development is presented (no poverty, zero hunger, good health and well-being, quality education, gender equality, clean water and sanitation, affordable clean energy, decent work and economic growth, industry innovation and infrastructure, reduced inequalities, sustainable cities and communities, responsible consumption and production, climate action, life below water, life on land, peace, justice and strong institutions, partnerships for the goals).

Sustainable Development as a Task of Mimetic, Ritual and Gestural Learning

How can sustainable behavior be learned that meets the criteria of openness, freedom and subjectivity? Mimetic, ritual, and gestural learning are three of the many forms of learning which can incorporate sustainability into people's actions and behavior.

Mimetic Processes

Mimetic processes can be understood as processes of repetition, recurrence and returns which are of central importance for the phylogenetic and ontogenetic evolution of humanity. Mimetic processes go in two directions. The first is when we take in and process the outside world in our imaginary and also take these experiences into our bodies. In this case something that can be remembered comes into being, that becomes present when we perform the act of remembering. The second direction that mimetic activities take is from the inner world to the outer. Here the mimetic relationship to our inner images creates the possibility of turning them into reality either now or in the future.²⁵

Mimetic actions are processes of imitation in which the difference between what is being imitated and the act of imitating is an essential part of the repetition.

As long ago as the fourth century B.C., Aristotle emphasized that human beings are the most mimetic animals and take pleasure in mimetic processes. This understanding was preceded by Plato's insight in *the Republic* that education, paideia, and mimesis are synonymous. The term mimesis came to Greece from Sicily—the home of mime.

Plato (2000) and Aristotle (2013) were convinced that mimetic behavior has an irresistible power, i.e. it is driven by a compulsion to repeat. For Plato, this meant that anything that could endanger young people, i.e. a large portion of the literature in which human beings do not behave in line with the moral norms of the Republic, must be excluded from the State. Aristotle concluded from the insight that mimetic processes are extremely difficult to resist that it is necessary to do everything possible to enable human beings to resist the pressures of mimesis.

Wittgenstein drew attention to the fact that we learn to speak in speech and action games in which as children we experience through mimesis how actions and speech are intertwined and have incessantly incorporated this in repetitive acts.²⁶ As children we watch our parents acting and speaking, relate to them mimetically, and in so doing incorporate these processes and render them available to ourselves by means of repetition. These cultural processes are characterized by an interweaving of action and language and are multimodal: they take place in different forms and on different levels. They transport feelings

25 S. Kierkegaard, *Kierkegaard's Writings, VI: Fear and Trembling/Repetition*, ed. and trans. H. V. Hong and E. H. Hong, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

26 L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, The English Text of the Third Edition, New York: Macmillan, 1973.

and express closeness and distance between children and parents without their being aware of it. How actions, speech, and feelings are interwoven can be illustrated by the following example: a small child laboriously learns to eat its food with a spoon and is praised by its parents as it does so. Speech is learned as the child learns how to eat; at the same time the parents' affection for their child is expressed in their acknowledging words. The repetition of these and other similar multimodal situations convey to the child their parents' esteem and love.

It is through mimetic processes that children make their early discoveries of the world. It is not only that children try to become like other people whom they desire. It is also their discovery of the world that is mimetic. These early processes of perceiving the world that are of such central importance in the development of the imaginary are frequently mimetic. In other words, at a very early stage young children develop an active relationship to the world. They adopt relationships to objects which are conveyed to them largely by the people whom they desire to emulate. For example children follow adults' movements when adults give them a bottle filled with tea. They perceive the objects "bottle" and "tea" and the movement of the person they love giving them something to drink. As children mimetically appropriate the way the adults they love give them the tea, they feel and appropriate both the act of giving the tea and also the warmth and caring this expresses, over and above the act of tea giving. As children appropriate the action there is an interplay between the object that quenches their thirst (the bottle) and the child's appropriation of the emotional aspect of the action, the caring. Young children perceive these processes at an early age, and at this point it is the receptive aspect that is dominant. It is the adults who perform the actions and the children who perceive them. A few months later this changes and the active side of perception becomes more important. A child's perception of the world is socially transmitted very early on. Since the medium for this is culture, the child becomes "encultured" while very young. This happens via the movements of persons close to the child. These movements convey meanings, even if these are not yet conveyed in words. Children understand the gesture of someone giving them tea. It contains a meaning, even though this meaning is not articulated verbally. This is because gestures, as nonverbal acts, still convey meaning. What conveys the meaning here is the movement of the body, driven by the senses, which children perceive at a very early age and then repeat, also very early on, in mimetic processes.²⁷

27 G. Gebauer, C. Wulf, *Mimesis. Culture. Art. Society*, Berkeley: California University Press, 1995.

We will now consider the consumer society in which we live. Here we can identify mimetic processes in a non-sustainable society: we all buy things and renew them just for fun. We enjoy the luxury which makes us feel good. We enjoy purchasing things, even if we do not necessarily need them. We do not care if the things we renew are still in good condition or not. Children learn in mimetic processes to behave the same way. If we want to build a sustainable society, we must change our behavior of consumption. Otherwise, due to the power of mimetic processes we will not be able to develop a sustainable society. Despite a rhetoric of sustainable development, the behavior of consumption described here will be a powerful model encouraging us to continue the practices of non-sustainable behavior.

Examples of sustainable behavior are new sustainable ways of using renewable energy and saving energy. Reducing mobility, using collective instead of individual transportation means contributing to sustainable development. Finally, institutions can develop a set of regulations and a code of sustainable behavior. We at the German Commission for UNESCO have implemented this and will be imitated by other institutions.

By assimilating previously experienced sustainable behavior, people acquire the ability to behave in a sustainable way. By mimetically participating in sustainable practices human beings expand their behavior and create new possibilities for sustainable actions. People re-create sustainable situations or behaviors or practices they have experienced in the past and by repeating them make them their own. It is in the confrontation with sustainable situations or practices that they acquire the possibility of behaving sustainably. Outer and inner world continuously resemble each other and can only be experienced in their interrelation. Similarities and correspondences between the sustainable inner and the sustainable outer arise. Subjects make themselves similar to the sustainable outside world and change their behavior in this process.²⁸

Rituals

For the development of sustainable behavior that corrects the negative developments of the Anthropocene, it is not only mimetic processes that are of central importance. Equally important are rituals and ritual arrangements in which subjects stage, perform and repeat sustainable actions and behavior.

28 G. Gebauer et al., *Mimesis. Culture. Art. Society*; G. Gebauer, C. Wulf, *Spiel, Ritual, Geste. Mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt*, Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1998.

In the context of education for sustainable development, rituals have two functions. On one hand, as everyday rituals, rituals can contribute to the development of sustainable behavior. This is the case, for example, when children and young people learn to develop sustainable behavior. Rituals are more than this, however. They always have additional effects that affect young people and cannot be reduced to the promotion of sustainable development. This means that first it is important to identify central areas that are generally important for the use of rituals in education. To this end, I refer to research carried out in the twelve-year Berlin Ritual and Gesture Study, which I led, and which was funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). The study examined the significance of rituals in the four most important fields of socialization — “family,” “school,” “youth culture,” and “media”—in a case study in a primary school in the center of Berlin.

What is a ritual? In international ritual studies there are different definitions and an agreement that different concepts of rituals are possible. To begin with I would like to make a distinction between four types of rituals: firstly, religious rituals which one may also call liturgy – the holy mass, for example; secondly, ceremonies: e.g. the visit of a state president in another country; thirdly, festivals such as weddings or Christmas parties; fourth, everyday rituals.

All approaches to classifying rituals are faced with the fact that rituals are the product of repetitive multidimensional processes of symbolization and construction. The phenomena studied are more complex than the concepts and theories used to describe them. This also applies to the attempt to organize the field of ritual studies by types of occasion and to distinguish, for instance, the following kinds of rituals:

- Rituals of transition (birth and childhood, initiation and adolescence, marriage, death)
- Seasonal rituals (birthdays, days of remembrance, national holidays)
- Rituals of intensification (eating, celebrating, love, sexuality)
- Rituals of rebellion (peace and ecological movements, rituals of youth)
- Rituals of interaction (greetings, taking leave, conflicts)²⁹

Rituals are tied to time and space, and their cultural and historical conditions are embodied in these terms. Different spaces have differing effects on the structure, quality, and style of the rituals that take place within them. Ritual spaces differ

29 G. Gebauer, C. Wulf, *Spiel, Ritual, Geste. Mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt*, p. 130.

from physical spaces. Rituals create ritual stagings, performances, and ritual spaces, using body movements, settings, and symbolic and indexical frames. Rituals and space are not related in terms of subject/object or cause and effect, but interactively. Many rituals take place in the same space and help to change its character. Festivals such as carnival also alter the urban environments of Rio de Janeiro, Oruro or Cologne through repetitive ritual performances. Ritual processions in Rio make it into a carnival city whose citizens accordingly enact and perform the urban space.

Likewise, family rituals transform everyday spaces such as living rooms into festival rooms. This happens, for instance, at Christmas, when living rooms are decorated and made into festive Christmas spaces. This reorganization of space and time is carried out every year when the living room is transformed into a space for celebrating Christmas. In most families, this is done by performing appropriate rituals, the staging of which remains the same and the performance of which varies with each repetition.³⁰ In an ethnographic study carried out at the homes of three German families and three Japanese families, we showed how family members in both countries create contentment and happiness by repeating their Christmas and New Year's rituals every year.³¹

The performativity of ritual repetition brings the body into play, which leads to the development of bodily, sensory experiences.³² Their performativity can be interpreted in different ways. However, even if its interpretation varies, the performativity of a ritual repetition can contribute to the integration of a community.

Mimetic processes also play an important role in ritual repetitions. They relate to previously performed ritual actions, the current repetition of which is the result of a creative, mimetic act of reference, in which not sameness but similarity and difference are engendered. Here we have the diachronic dimension, which is oriented towards the past.

In addition to this, there is also a synchronic dimension of mimesis in repetition which is also important and in which the participants relate to each other in their ritual activities. This mimetic reference to each other is necessary for the

30 C. Wulf, J. Zirfas (eds.), *Pädagogik des Performativen*, Weinheim, Basel: Beltz, 2007.

31 S. Suzuki, C. Wulf (eds.), *Mimesis, Poiesis, and Performativity in Education*, Münster, New York: Waxmann, 2007.

32 A. Michaels, C. Wulf (eds.), *Emotions in Rituals and Performances*, London: Routledge, 2012; A. Michaels, C. Wulf (eds.), *Exploring the Senses: Emotions, Performativity, and Ritual*, London: Routledge, 2014.

staging of the ritual arrangement to be successful in a functional and aesthetic sense.³³

During the performance of rituals, the participants orient themselves simultaneously and directly towards the actions of other participants. They do so largely by means of mimetic processes, using the senses, the movements of the body, and a joint orientation towards words, sounds, language, and music. A ritual can only take place as a structured whole if all actions are successfully coordinated, precisely orchestrated, and adequately embodied. If the interaction is to be harmonious, the ritual activities must be mimetically coordinated with each other. If this is achieved, energies can “flow” between the ritual participants, and this is experienced as intense, pleasant, and bonding.³⁴

In this process, the images, schemes, and meanings that are produced become part of the participants’ imaginaries. At the same time, the movements of the ritual are incorporated into the participants’ bodies, resulting in the development of practical knowledge. Practical sustainable knowledge is *implicit or tacit knowledge* and as such difficult to investigate in research.³⁵ It is a specific form of knowledge, which Gilbert Ryle has called “*knowing how*,” as opposed to “*knowing that*.” With his distinction between “knowing how and knowing that,” Gilbert Ryle drew attention to the fact that there are different forms of knowledge, the practical implementations of which that are referred to as “knowing how” are difficult to research.³⁶ With these methods, the focus is not on the acquisition of factual knowledge which can be expressed linguistically. On the contrary, “knowing how” refers to a skill which enables the person to act and is learned in mimetic processes by relating to the practices of other people. Rituals are an example of this. Rituals and ritual repetitions are not statements, reasons, or explanations. They must be staged and performed. The knowledge required for rituals is a performative, practical kind of knowledge. This differs from the knowledge which is needed to describe, interpret, and analyze rituals. “Knowing how” is thus a practical form of knowledge—a skill which is incorporated and

-
- 33 A. Michaels et al., *Emotions in Rituals and Performances*; A. Michaels et al., *Exploring the Senses: Emotions, Performativity, and Ritual*; C. Wulf (ed.), *Exploring Alterity in a Globalized World*, London, New York, New Delhi: Routledge, 2016.
- 34 M. Csíkszentmihályi, *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety. The Experience of Play in Work and Games*, New York: Harper, and Row, 1975.
- 35 A. Kraus, J. Budde, M. Hietzge, C. Wulf (eds.), *Handbuch Schweigendes Wissen*, Weinheim: Juventa, 2017, 2nd edn., 2021.
- 36 G. Ryle, “Knowing How and Knowing That,” in: *Collected Papers*, Vol. 2, Bristol: Thoemmes, 1990, pp. 212–225.

visible in a person's repetitive performances. Other examples of this knowledge which are expressed as skills include games and actions in sports (e.g., football), dance, music, painting, drama, and performance. Knowing how, i.e. "skills," is also required as a pivotal form of knowledge that is acquired through repetition and used in everyday activities such as driving a car, cooking, using a mobile phone or navigation system. In mimetic processes today, mobile phones, smartphones, and tablets merge with the body and with their assistance our immediate bodily boundaries are expanded.

Practical sustainable knowledge is acquired through repetition of the ritual of sustainable development. The significance of ritual actions for the embodiment of the values, attitudes and emotions of sustainability and the development of practical knowledge lies in the role of repetition, in the creation of this form of knowledge, which is so important for sustainable behavior. It is learned mimetically in body-oriented, sensory processes which enable us to act sustainably in institutions and organizations. This kind of knowledge is an important aspect of practical sustainable knowledge, and it is how sustainability becomes rooted in the human body, enabling us to orient ourselves accordingly.³⁷ Images, schemes and movements are learned in mimetic processes and these render the individual capable of action. Since these repetitive processes also involve sustainable products of history and culture, scenes, arrangements and performances, these processes are among the most important ways of handing down a culture of sustainability from one generation to the next.³⁸

Central Functions of Rituals

The following section will examine the most important findings of the performative approach to ritual research in education, where the focus is on the performative arrangement and the practical and bodily side of rituals and ritualized educational practices. It touches on many forms of theoretical and empirical research and demonstrates the complexity of ritual structures and activities and their great potential for education for sustainable development.

- 1) Rituals create social relationships and social communities. As the social movement "Fridays For Future" shows, the ritual of "demonstration" is of

37 A. Kraus et al., *Handbuch Schweigendes Wissen*.

38 A. Michaels et al., *Exploring the Senses: Emotions, Performativity, and Ritual*; B. Hüppauf, C. Wulf (eds.), *Dynamics and Performativity of Imagination. Images between the Visible and the Invisible*, New York: Routledge, 2009.

central importance for the establishment of the movement. Without the ritualization, the social community of the demonstrators would not exist. The symbolic and performative content of the ritual practice creates and stabilizes the identity of the demonstrators. The ritual of “demonstration” creates a structure in which all demonstrators participate. The ritual structure of the demonstration is both real and rooted in the imaginarity of the participants. It gives the participants a feeling of belonging together. It relates the ritual practices of the demonstrators to each other in such a way that they respond to each other. A community is formed in this ritual activity as a performative community.³⁹

- 2) During the performative arrangement of rituals in education for sustainable development, a new social reality is created. Taking earlier rituals as a basis, every performative arrangement in education creates a new ritual reality and a new ritual community. This ritual community can develop among the children or people who carry out the ritual practices for the first time, but it can also involve a repetition, whereby the community confirms its status as such. The actual performance of ritual practices is essential for the forming of social and educational communities and the development of sustainable behavior. The community expresses itself in the performative style of the performance. The ritual presentation enables the expression of something that cannot be expressed otherwise.
- 3) Performativity yields its full effect in the staging and performative arrangement of rituals in education. (In other words, staging and performative arrangement matter.) The term staging in this case refers to the way in which

39 C. Wulf, B. Althans, K. Audehm, C. Bausch, M. Göhlich, S., T., A., Sting, M. Wagner-Willi, J. Zirfas, *Das Soziale als Ritual. performativen Bedeutung von Gemeinschaft*, Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 2001; C. Wulf, B. Althans, K. Audehm, C. Bausch, B. Jörissen, M. Göhlich, R. Mattig, A. Tervooren, M. Wagner-Willi, J. Zirfas, *Bildung im Ritual. Schule, Familie, Jugend, Medien*, Wiesbaden: Springer, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004; C. Wulf, B. Althans, G. Blaschke, N. Ferrin, M. Göhlich, B. Jörissen, R. Mattig, I. Nentwig-Gesemann, S. Schinkel, A. Tervooren, M. Wagner-Willi, J. Zirfas, *Lernkulturen im Umbruch. Rituelle Praktiken in Schule, Medien, Familie und Jugend*, Wiesbaden: Springer, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2007; C. Wulf, B. Althans, K. Audehm, C. Bausch, M. Göhlich, S. Sting, A. Tervooren, M. Wagner-Willi, J. Zirfas, *Ritual and Identity: The Staging and Performing of Rituals in the Lives of Young People*, London: Tufnell Press, 2010; C. Wulf, B. Althans, K. Audehm, G. Blaschke, N. Ferrin, I. Kellermann, R. Mattig, S. Schinkel, *Die Geste in Erziehung, Bildung und Sozialisation: Ethnographische Feldstudien*, Wiesbaden: Springer, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011.

the ritual scene is set in education for sustainable development. Spontaneous demonstrations are examples of rituals in education in which staging and performance largely coincide. Especially in such cases, the question arises as to who is staging the educational ritual—who is the agent and who is the agency of its performance? Is it a tradition, a group, a person, or a collective imaginary and practical knowledge which emerges from the ritual?

- 4) The bodies of the participants are implicitly involved in the staging and performance of rituals in education for sustainable development.⁴⁰ How do the bodies appear in a ritual? How do they take their place in the scene? What does their arrangement in the ritual tell us about the community, the individuals, and their culture? The movements and practices of bodies require our attention. How is the ritual space measured in terms of bodies and what rhythm do they follow? The distance between bodies and the way they approach each other and keep their distance is significant. What positions do they take? Are they standing or sitting? The figurations of bodies are symbolically coded and are used to communicate messages. The “logic” of the body, its presentation and expression play an important role in the performance of rituals in education. This is especially true for the preconscious perception of bodily expressions, which forms the basis on which the atmosphere of ritual arrangements is sensed. The bodies of other people look at us before we become consciously aware of them and they determine our perception of them in this way. In order for the performance of rituals to result in community-forming processes, children need to experience the flow of energies and force between people—a physical and psychological process which takes place at the outer reaches of our consciousness.⁴¹
- 5) Social hierarchies and power structures are staged and placed in context in ritual performances. Ritual power structures are not always easy to recognize. Judith Butler (1990) has illustrated in several works that ritual repetition is one of the most effective social strategies for establishing and securing power structures in education.⁴² Even belonging to a gender is tied to ritual repetitions, which are required to create our initial identities in this respect. Power issues between the genders and generations are also dealt with in

40 G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*, New York: Basic Books, 1999; C. Wulf, *Anthropology. A Continental Perspective*, Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 2013.

41 C. Wulf et al., *Pädagogik des Performativen*.

42 J. Butler, *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge 1990.

everyday rituals at the family breakfast table; this occurs in a seemingly casual manner that is more effective for its relaxed appearance. Ritual staging and performance allow several matters to be handled simultaneously in education. The coherence of educational settings and communities depends on the distribution of power and therefore the control of this distribution is one of the central tasks of rituals. A stable balance of power is maintained, regardless of whether issues of authority are addressed directly, dealt with in passing, or analyzed in detail. To achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, Sustainable Development Goal 5 must be considered. This aims to eliminate all forms of discrimination and violence against women.

- 6) Rituals play an important role in the treatment and handling of difference and alterity in education.⁴³ In the multicultural context of inner-city schools, they are important for interaction between children of different ethnicities. They support children to approach others with different cultural backgrounds, overcome differences, and live together in harmony. School communities offer examples of both success and failures in this area; the imaginary, symbolic, and performative elements are equally important here.⁴⁴
- 7) The synchronous and diachronic aspects of mimetic processes are vital for the success of ritual practices in education. During the performance of rituals and ritual practices, the participants relate immediately and directly to the actions of other participants. This takes place in a largely mimetic manner, using the senses, the movements of the body, and the common understanding of words, sounds, language, and music. A complete arrangement and complete occurrence of a ritual only takes place when all ritual actions are successfully coordinated and precisely orchestrated. A prerequisite for this is the staging, but the performance itself is the decisive factor, as the ritual actions must be in exact relation to each other. Otherwise the results are farcical, and the ritual is deemed as having failed. Harmonious interaction in education requires that the ritual practices relate to each other mimetically. If this happens, energies can “flow” between the ritual participants and they can be experienced as intensive, pleasant and bonding. Just as in dance or wooing, the rational control of actions also has its limits in rituals. The feeling that a ritual has succeeded only occurs if a mimetically created harmony that is beyond rational control occurs in bodies, movements, and gestures. This

43 C. Wulf, *Anthropologie kultureller Vielfalt*, Bielefeld, transcript, 2006; C. Wulf, *Exploring Alterity in a Globalized World*.

44 B. Hüppauf et al., *Dynamics and Performativity of Imagination*.

mimetic occurrence is the basis for the feeling of belonging and community as well as the experience of the sacred.

- 8) Mimetic processes are also essential because they enable the learning of the practical sustainable knowledge necessary for the ritual practices.⁴⁵ Ritual knowledge, which allows children to develop the skills required for rituals, evolves from real or imaginary participation in ritual activities. Children take part in ritual practices by means of mimetic processes; these processes are corporeal and are independent actions as well as actions which relate to other ritual ceremonies or arrangements. These processes incorporate ritual figurations, scenes, consequences, images, and behavior patterns which are all composite parts of the correct execution of a ritual practice.

Gestures also play a role in the development of a culture of sustainability and in the educational processes required for this. They are significant movements of the body directed towards the addressees, expressing and representing a shared intentionality. They are produced and understood in mimetic processes; in the development of a culture of sustainability, they have considerable significance for human communication. Gestures are performative, i.e. they are staged and performed. By contributing to the creation of common styles of behavior, they contribute to the development of a culture of sustainability. They show something and in doing so show themselves; they are ludic and self-referential. They are closely linked to the creation and transmission of sustainable behavior. In everyday life they can play a role, for example in dealing with food or with waste and refuse. In an educational context, gestures of showing play a significant role in conveying sustainability.⁴⁶

Perspectives

Given the many destructive conditions of the Anthropocene and the desperate attempts of the international community to control them, prevent their expansion and, if possible, reduce them, Education for Sustainable Development is of central importance. Mimetic, ritual, and gestural educational processes play

45 C. Wulf, "Praxis," in: *Theorizing Rituals: Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*, eds. J. Kreinath, J. Snoek, M. Stausberg, Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 395–411; G. Gebauer et al., *Mimesis. Culture. Art. Society*; G. Gebauer et al., *Spiel, Ritual, Geste. Mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt*.

46 *Paragrana. Internationale Zeitschrift für Historische Anthropologie* 27, 1, 2018, Rhythmus, Balance, Resonanz, eds. G. Brandstetter, M. Buchholz, A. Hamburger, C. Wulf; C. Wulf et al., *Die Geste in Erziehung, Bildung und Sozialisation: Ethnographische Feldstudien*.

an important role in its realization. These learning processes are cognitive and performative; they are body-based and sensual and have an aesthetic dimension. With the help of their mimetic, ritual, and gestural character, they aim at the development and incorporation of sustainable behavior. The aim is to relate the learning processes of sustainable development to the subjectivity of the young people and to work through the tensions and contradictions that arise in the process.

References

- Azimuth. Philosophical Coordinates in Modern and Contemporary Age*, V.9.2017, "The Battlefield of the Anthropocene," eds. Sara Baranzoni and Paolo Vignola.
- Bauman, Z., *Retrotopia*. Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2017.
- Bonneuil, C., and Fressoz, J.-B., *The Shock of the Anthropocene: The Earth, History, and Us*. London: Verso, 2016.
- Bundesregierung. *Deutsche Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie. Weiterentwicklung*. Berlin: Bundeskanzleramt, 2021.
- Butler, J., *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Campanella, T., *Der Sonnenstaat*. Cologne: Anaconda, 2012.
- Csikszentmihályi, M., *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety. The Experience of Play in Work and Games*. New York: Harper, and Row, 1975.
- Federau, A., *Pour une philosophie de l'Anthropocène*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2017.
- Gebauer, G. and Wulf, C., *Mimesis. Culture. Art. Society*. Berkeley: California University Press, 1995.
- Gebauer, G. and Wulf, C., *Spiel, Ritual, Geste. Mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt*. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1998.
- Gil, C. I. and Wulf, C. (eds.), *Hazardous Future: Disaster, Representation and the Assessment of Risk*. Berlin, München, Boston/MA: de Gruyter. 2015.
- Huppauf, B. and Wulf, C. (eds.), *Dynamics and Performativity of Imagination. Images between the Visible and the Invisible*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Kierkegaard, S., *Kierkegaard's Writings, VI: Fear and Trembling/Repetition*, ed. and trans. H. V. Hong and E. H. Hong. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Kraus, A., Budde, J., Hietzge, M., and Wulf, C. (eds.), *Handbuch Schweigendes Wissen*. Weinheim: Juventa, 2017, 2nd edn., 2021.

- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M., *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books, 1999.
- Latour, B., *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Latour, B., *Down to Earth: Politics in the New Climatic Regime*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018.
- Lesch, H. and Kampenhausen, K., *Die Menschheit schafft sich ab. Die Erde im Griff des Anthropozän*. Grünwald: Komplett-Media, 2018.
- Lovelock, J., *Ages of Gaia: A Biography of Our Living Earth*. New York: Norton, 1988.
- Lyotard, J.-F., *The postmodern condition. A report on knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Michaels, A. and Wulf, C. (eds.), *Emotions in Rituals and Performances*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Michaels, A. Wulf, C., (eds.), *Exploring the Senses: Emotions, Performativity, and Ritual*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Michelsen, G. (ed.), *Die Deutsche Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie. Wegweiser für eine Politik der Nachhaltigkeit*. Wiesbaden: Hessische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 201.
- Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005). *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Synthesis*. Washington, DC: Island Press (<https://www.millenniumassessment.org/documents/document.356.aspx.pdf>).
- More, T., "Utopia," trans. Dolan, J. P., In Greene, J. J. and Dolan, J. P. (eds.), in: *The Essential T. More*. New York: New American Library, 1967.
- Platon, "Politeia," in: *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 3, Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1958, pp. 67–310.
- "Paragrana. Internationale Zeitschrift für Historische Anthropologie" 27, 1, 2018, *Rhythmus, Balance, Resonanz*, Brandstetter, G., Buchholz, M., Hamburger, A. and Wulf, C (eds.).
- Renn, J. and Scherer, B. (eds.), *Das Anthropozän. Zum Stand der Dinge*. Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2015.
- Resina, J. R. and Wulf, C. (eds.), *Repetition, Recurrence, Returns*. Lanham. Lexington Books, Rowman & Littlefield, 2019.
- Ryle, G., "Knowing How and Knowing That," in: *Collected Papers*, Vol. 2, Bristol, Thoemmes. 1990, pp. 212–225.
- Samson, P. R. and Pitt, D. (eds.), *The Biosphere and Noosphere Reader. Global Environment, Society, and Change*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Scholz, I., Herausforderung: "Sustainable Development Goals," in: *Die Deutsche Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie. Wegweiser für eine Politik der Nachhaltigkeit*,

- G. Michelsen (ed.). Wiesbaden: Hessische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2017, pp. 23–39.
- Smil, V., “Harvesting the Biosphere: The Human Impact,” In *Population and Development Review*, 37.4/2011, pp. 613–636.
- Suzuki, S. and Wulf, C. (eds.), *Mimesis, Poiesis, and Performativity in Education*. Münster, New York: Waxmann, 2007.
- Tanzer, J., Phua, C., Jeffries, B., Lawrence, A., Gonzales, A., Gamblin, P. and Roxburgh, T., *Rapport Planète vivante océans. Espèces, habitats et bien-être humain*. Gland: WWF International, 2015.
- Teilhard de Chardin, P., *The Appearance of Man*, trans. Cohen, J. M. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- UNESCO (2015), *Rethinking Education. Towards a Global Common Good*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Vernadsky, V. I., *La Biosphère*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1929.
- Vitousek, P. M., Ehrlich, P. R., Ehrlich, A. H., Matson, P. A., Human, “Appropriation of the Products of Photosynthesis,” in: *Bioscience* 36.6/1986, pp. 368–373.
- Vitousek, P. M., Mooney, H. A., Lubchenco, Melillo, J. and Jerry, M., “Human Domination of Earth’s Ecosystems,” in: *Science* 277.5325/1997, pp. 494–499.
- Tomasello, M., *The Cultural Origins of Human Cognition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Wallenhorst, N., *Lanthropocène décodé pour les humains*. Paris: Les Éditions Le Pommier, 2019.
- Wallenhorst, N. and Wulf, Christoph, (eds.), *Dictionnaire d’anthropologie prospective*. Paris: Vrin, 2021.
- Wallenhorst, N. and Wulf, C. (eds.), *Handbook of the Anthropocene*. Basingstoke: Springer Nature, 2022.
- Wittgenstein, L., *Philosophical Investigations*, The English Text of the Third Edition. New York: Macmillan, 1973.
- Wulf, C. *Anthropologie kultureller Vielfalt*. Bielefeld, transcript, 2006.
- Wulf, C. “Praxis,” in: *Theorizing Rituals: Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*. Kreinath, J., Snoek, J., and Stausberg, M. (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 395–411.
- Wulf, C., *Anthropologie. Geschichte, Kultur, Philosophie*. Köln: Anaconda, 2. edn., 2009.; Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1. edn., 2004.
- Wulf, C., *Anthropology. A Continental Perspective*. Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 2013.
- Wulf, C., *Das Rätsel des Humanen*. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2013.

- Wulf, C. (ed.), *Exploring Alterity in a Globalized World*. London, New York, New Delhi: Routledge, 2016.
- Wulf, C., *Human Beings and their Images: Mimesis, Imagination, Performativität*. London: Bloomsbury, 2022.
- Wulf, C., *Education as Human Knowledge in the Anthropocene*. London: Routledge, 2022.
- Wulf, C., Althans, B., Audehm, K., Bausch, C., Göhlich, M., Sting, S., T., A., Wagner-Willi, M. and Zirfas, J., *Das Soziale als Ritual. performativen Bedeutung von Gemeinschaft*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 2001.
- Wulf, Christoph, Althans, Birgit, Audehm, Kathrin, Bausch, Constanze, Jörissen, Benjamin, Göhlich, Michael, Mattig, Ruprecht, Tervooren, Anja, Wagner-Willi, Monika, and Zirfas, Jörg (2004). *Bildung im Ritual: Schule, Familie, Jugend, Medien*. Wiesbaden: Springer, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Wulf, C, Althans, B., Blaschke, G., Ferrin, N., Göhlich, M., Jörissen, B., Mattig, R., Nentwig-Gesemann, I., Schinkel, S., Tervooren, A., Wagner-Willi, M., Zirfas, J., *Lernkulturen im Umbruch. Rituelle Praktiken in Schule, Medien, Familie und Jugend*. Wiesbaden: Springer, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2007.
- Wulf, C., Althans, B, Audehm, K, Bausch, C., Göhlich, M., Sting, S., Tervooren, A., Wagner-Willi, M. and Zirfas, J., *Ritual and Identity: The Staging and Performing of Rituals in the Lives of Young People*. London: Tufnell Press, 2010.
- Wulf, C., Althans, B., Audehm, K, Blaschke, G., Ferrin, N., Kellermann, I., Mattig, R., Schinkel, S., *Die Geste in Erziehung, Bildung und Sozialisation: Ethnographische Feldstudien*. Wiesbaden: Springer, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011.
- Wulf, C and Zirfas, J. (eds.), *Pädagogik des Performativen*. Weinheim, Basel: Beltz, 2007.

Paulina Kewes, University of Oxford
ORCID: 0000-0002-0339-9390, paulina.kewes@ell.ox.ac.uk

Interdisciplinary Research: Opportunities and Challenges

Abstract: This essay argues for the importance of interdisciplinary research. It discusses the recent initiatives to foster inter- and trans-disciplinary approaches (EU's SHAPE-ID) and create a collective identity for non-STEM subjects (UK's SHAPE – Social Sciences, Humanities, and the Arts for People and the Economy), and highlights the precarious situation of the Arts and Humanities in the UK. With special reference to early modern studies, it explores the various possible avenues towards mastering the perspectives and methodologies of literature and history, identifies some of the challenges – for instance, the demands on time, and illustrates the value of interdisciplinary research for specific projects.

Key words: interdisciplinary research, non-STEM subjects, humanities, arts, methodologies.

In many ways it would be difficult to imagine *not* doing interdisciplinary research today. Few if any disciplines have remained “pure” in the twenty-first century, and this is as true of STEM subjects (Science, Technology, Engineering, Maths) as of AHSS ones (Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences). Major funding bodies routinely invite applications that cut across traditional disciplinary boundaries, and new initiatives designed to foster inter- and trans-disciplinary cooperation, and build bridges not only within but across subject families, are emerging in the UK and the EU, as well as globally. Take the European Union's generous support of SHAPE-ID, an innovative project seeking to improve inter- and trans-disciplinary cooperation between STEM and AHSS, or the British Academy's promotion of SHAPE (Social Sciences, Humanities, and the Arts for People and the Economy) as both a counterpart and a significant partner for STEM.¹ What

1 The architects of SHAPE (<https://thisishape.org.uk/>) are the quondam and current Presidents of the British Academy: Professors Sir David Cannadine (History, Princeton) and Julia Black (Law, London School of Economics) respectively. Led by Professor Jane Ohlmeyer (History, Trinity College Dublin; Chair, Irish Research Council), SHAPE-ID received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 822705 (<https://www.shapeid.eu/>).

are these ventures' prospects of success? And how might they affect the work of individual researchers?

Awarded €1.5m in December 2018, SHAPE-ID led by Professor Jane Ohlmeyer of Trinity College Dublin aspires to shape “interdisciplinary practices across Europe.” As a principal means to that end, in June 2021 the project launched a dedicated ID and TD toolkit for researchers, research organisations, funders, policymakers and societal partners.² Bringing together universities and institutions from several European countries, the project aims to make a difference to how research is conducted, and foster both dialogue and collaboration across disciplines that typically have little or no contact with one another. The project website, addressed primarily though not exclusively to EU audiences, provides a wealth of material for anyone keen to understand how inter- and trans-disciplinary research works and why it is beneficial.

The British Academy's dedicated website, launched in June 2020, explains that “SHAPE is a new collective name for those subjects that help us understand ourselves, others and the human world around us. They provide us with the methods and forms of expression we need to build better, deeper, more colourful and more valuable lives for all”.^{3,4} The tone is defensive, a sign of how beleaguered practitioners of the non-STEM subjects, especially Arts and Humanities, feel in the United Kingdom these days. It is as if we needed to make a case for our very *raison d'être* again and again and again. There is certainly less funding for us, our public cachet is declining, and, perhaps most importantly, we still lack the sort of collective identity and clout which the STEM family have successfully forged, and from which they benefit at every turn, even more so since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic.

While one could adduce many reasons for this rather sorry state of affairs, including the hostile policies of successive governments, the truth is that in the UK, particularly since Brexit, there seems to be less solidarity, and less ability and willingness to make common cause among those in the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences. This has been evident during the spring and summer of 2021 when several universities decided to shrink or close down entire humanities departments – for instance, Leicester sacked all medievalists in English, Sheffield got rid of archaeology, and so on. But only a handful of colleagues from within the same disciplines tried to stand up for those affected, and even

2 www.shapeidtoolkit.eu

3 See also SHAPE at the British Academy | The British Academy.

4 <https://thisisshape.org.uk/>

there the argument was specific to the case in hand rather than invoking the wider implications for AHSS of such deleterious policies. Without a powerful nationwide campaign supported by academics, students, and alumni across all non-STEM fields, those lone voices inevitably made no difference to the outcome. And that is an indictment not only of administrators and policymakers but also of us – academics in AHSS who increasingly draw on each other's work and collaborate across disciplinary frontiers yet have so far failed to create a distinct intellectual identity for ourselves. Nor have we shown the will to defend our shared goals and interests.

The fate of SHAPE is a case in point. When its launch was announced in the press in June 2020, I was thrilled and decided to find out more about it forthwith. Given that I had just begun convening a series of online discussions “What Really Matters” at Jesus College Oxford together with my fellow-fellow Patricia Daley, Vice-Principal and Professor of the Human Geography of Africa, it was natural that we should devote the next event in the series to SHAPE. Our featured speaker was one of SHAPE's founders, Professor Julia Black, CBE FBA Strategic Director of Innovation and Professor of Law at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Held on Zoom on 17 July 2020, “The SHAPE of things to come,” enabled colleagues from the University of Oxford and further afield to gauge and debate the opportunities offered by SHAPE. Alongside Julia, Patricia, and I, the panel of speakers included: Katrin Kohl, Professor of German Literature, Jesus College Fellow and Tutor in German and Principal Investigator of the AHRC-funded research project Creative Multilingualism; Diarmaid MacCulloch, DD, FBA, FRHistS, FSA, Emeritus Professor of the History of the Church at Oxford and Vice-President for Communications and Engagement, British Academy; Johanna Waters, Reader in Geography at UCL; and Dane Comerford, Director of the IF Oxford: Science + Ideas Festival.

Julia Black began by explaining that the initiative to set up SHAPE by the London School of Economics, the British Academy, Academy of Social Sciences and Arts Council England at the end of June 2020 seeks to reverse the declining value given to social sciences, humanities and arts subjects and level the playing field with STEM subjects by promoting the value of those subjects. And that includes encouraging schoolchildren to choose SHAPE subjects at GCSE and A-level. There is a strong argument, she emphasized, that the study of SHAPE subjects helps children to develop verbal reasoning and critical thinking skills and that these skills are currently undervalued. There is also a drive to motivate undergraduates to pursue SHAPE subjects at university, and for decision makers to recognise the value of research in SHAPE subjects in allocations of grant funding. The panellists tackled some rather big questions, among them: How

can we evaluate the *worth* of research in different disciplines? Is there a feasible “scorecard” and, if so, what might it involve? How can SHAPE transform education and society in Britain? What are the wider global implications of SHAPE?⁵ Attendance at our Zoom event was excellent – we had more than 70 participants; and the tenor of the discussion was both enthusiastic and hopeful. It seemed to us that SHAPE was set to take off.

Alas, although more than a year has passed since its unveiling, SHAPE has not had the sort of far-reaching impact its creators and acolytes have hoped for. The initiative, it is true, has been warmly embraced by Oxford University Press,⁶ but few others have followed suit, and the collective identity for non-STEM subjects remains a mirage. Nor does there appear to have been any direct communication or intellectual or logistical interchange between UK’s SHAPE and EU’s SHAPE-ID, notwithstanding the significant synergies between them. It remains to be seen whether, with Julia Black taking over as President of the British Academy, we might see a fresh drive in favour of SHAPE.

What, then, of the opportunities for interdisciplinary research at a micro-level – for individual students and academics? In the following pages, I address this question with reference to early modern studies, more precisely, the intersection of literary criticism and historical scholarship. In doing so, I draw on my thirty-year academic career in the UK. A literary scholar by training and institutional affiliation with English, I have published extensively within and across the fields of early modern literature and history – political, religious, and intellectual – as well as traditional boundaries of period and language. I have also collaborated with historians and now also political scientists in the UK and elsewhere. These collaborations include the Holinshed Project with Drs Ian Archer and Felicity Heal;⁷ a volume of essays on the vexed question of succession to Queen Elizabeth I co-edited with Professor Susan Doran (for which we co-wrote the Introduction and one chapter);⁸ “Oxford Re-Formed,” an online

5 A recording of #*What Really Matters 3*: “*The Shape of Things to Come*” is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b3s89gKi_gU.

6 See <https://global.oup.com/academic/news/shape?cc=gb&lang=en&>; and <https://blog.oup.com/2021/02/introducing-shape-qa-with-sophie-goldsworthy-and-julia-black-part-one/>.

7 The Holinshed Project produced a parallel-text online edition of the 1577 and 1587 versions of the *Chronicles* (<http://www.cems.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/>) and *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed’s Chronicles*, Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer and Felicity Heal (eds.), Oxford University Press, 2013.

8 *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England*, Paulina Kewes and Susan Doran (eds.), Manchester University Press, 2014; pbk 2016.

exhibition for the Museum of Oxford exploring how religious controversies transformed Oxford's cityscape from the Reformation to the present; and "Opening Oxford 1871-," and a year-long project involving a blog series, and literary and musical events, to mark the 150th anniversary of the act of parliament which removed the last religious restrictions on study and employment at the University of Oxford: both with Professors Susan Doran and William Whyte.⁹ I currently lead a new international, interdisciplinary project "Recovering Europe's Parliamentary Culture, 1500–1700: A New Approach to Representative Institutions" in collaboration with Dr Paul Seaward, Director of the History of Parliament Trust, Professor Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves, Professor of Political Science at the Jagiellonian University in Poland, and numerous other colleagues in the UK and further afield.¹⁰

The scope of my teaching too has widened over the years. As well as teaching English literature from the sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth, I have co-designed and co-taught undergraduate courses with historians for the Joint School of History and English (which I have chaired on three separate occasions – six years in total). I also regularly co-supervise and co-examine undergraduate, Masters, and doctoral theses with colleagues in History. Yet my career trajectory has been unusual and largely fortuitous, and, I suspect, might not be easy to replicate. Tellingly, even as my research profile has evolved, I have been frequently re-described as a historian, for instance, in my Wikipedia entry. Apparently, a literary scholar who brings together the perspectives and approaches of literature and history by default ceases to be a literary scholar.

In studying early modern literature one can hardly avoid engaging with other disciplines. Consider the vastly productive nexus of law and literature or

9 For both projects, see <https://openingoxford1871.web.ox.ac.uk/home>.

10 The project has been awarded a major grant from Oxford University's John Fell Fund for a pilot project comparing the Polish Sejm, the English Parliament, and the Dutch States General (<https://earlymodern.web.ox.ac.uk/recovering-europes-parliamentary-culture-1500-1700-new-approach-representative-institutions>). Between October 2021 and January 2022, we shall be publishing a series of blogs under the auspices of Oxford's Centre for Intellectual History (<https://intellectualhistory.web.ox.ac.uk>) that will encourage people to think about the history of parliaments, diets, estates not simply as pieces of constitutional machinery, but also as complex institutions, communities, cultures and ideas, and to think not just about the differences between the various different instances of these bodies in Europe, but about what is common among them, in terms of practices of political and social association, of political bureaucracy, of corporate privilege, of ritual, and so on.

of religion and literature or of literature and medicine. But perhaps the most compelling interaction ought to be that between literature and history, not least because the latter deepens our understanding of these other fields, whether law, religion, or medicine. This has long been understood by all save a few diehard formalist critics. However, whereas until half a century ago most students and many academics looked for their “history” no further than a handy “Background” to this or that period – Basil Willey’s endlessly reprinted *The Seventeenth Century Background: Studies in the Thought of the Age in Relation to Poetry and Religion* was one such, we now know better. Today’s undergraduates in English are encouraged to pay close attention to the contexts which produced the texts they study. Furthermore, the ready availability of electronic resources such as EEBO (Early Modern Books Online) which provide access to thousands of contemporary printed texts facilitate innovative investigations even at undergraduate level: the extended essays or assignments on Renaissance works, including Shakespeare’s, which today’s students produce can be innovative and thought-provoking. And the powerful contextual-historicist strand in modern literary scholarship underway for more than a quarter century marks a promising rapprochement between literature and history.¹¹ Yet neither renewed sensitivity to the historical circumstances that gave rise to, and were in turn shaped by, imaginative writing, nor a firmer grasp of the work of historians, turns literary critics into interdisciplinary scholars, let alone into historians. It simply makes them better literary scholars.

So how to master the methodologies of more than one discipline, in this case literature and history? Can one teach interdisciplinarity and, if so, how? Institutional frameworks, at least in the British higher education system, militate against it. There also seems a considerable amount of on-the-ground resistance. I still remember the glossy brochure advertising the interdisciplinary MA in Eighteenth-Century Studies at the University of Wales Aberystwyth sent to me when I applied for a Lectureship in the English Department there in 1997. On taking up the post, it transpired that the UWA’s Department of History and Welsh History wanted nothing to do with this MA programme. There was only one student taking it anyway, whom I ended up co-supervising with a colleague in English. And when I ventured to attend a history seminar, I was viewed like an invader from outer space. This was a sobering lesson that there would be no scope

11 For an overview of how early modern literary studies have changed over the past half-century, see my “A World Well Lost?” *ELR* 50 (2020), 76–82. See also my “A Mere Historian: Patrick Collinson and the Study of Literature,” *History*, 100 (2015), 609–25.

for intercourse with historians even though our departments were in immediate physical proximity on the Penglais Campus: literally on adjacent floors.

The relentless pressure to produce a steady stream of highly-rated scholarly publications likewise inhibits efforts to gain authoritative command of another scholarly field. For that takes time, and time is at a premium, especially in the British regime of REF (Research Excellence Framework)¹² that ties government funding to research outputs. Doing proper interdisciplinary research at the intersection of early modern literature and history is neither quick nor easy, and, in extreme cases, might actually hamper one's chance of landing a job because, as those unsympathetic to the cause point out, it blurs one's professional identity. But, to look at the opposite side of the balance sheet, it is also immensely rewarding and enables one to discover new intellectual worlds.

In institutional terms, the obvious route to gaining command of two disciplines is to take a joint degree, such as the one in History and English that we offer at Oxford.¹³ This is a fabulous course, with an interdisciplinary component built into each year of study – something I spearheaded during our major syllabus reform a decade or so ago. In the first year, a series of interdisciplinary classes, each of which is co-taught by a historian and a literary scholar, introduces the students to key methodological questions and theoretical approaches in both disciplines; in the second, the students choose a tailor-made interdisciplinary bridge paper co-designed by colleagues from History and English and produce an extended essay; and in the third, they write an interdisciplinary dissertation under the supervision of a historian and a literary scholar. The finest work produced for this course is of near-publishable quality.

Many if not most HENG students, however, lean towards one or other side of the degree, and show greater aptitude for either literature or history. And, unfortunately, competition to get admitted is far fiercer than for either main school. Each year we accept only *circa* twelve students. Could this be because during the admissions interviews History and English tutors cannot quite agree between themselves on what it is they are looking for in a successful candidate? So, too, the School is onerous to run for individual colleges and the two Faculties, and as a result it remains smaller than it should be. Yet many of us are committed to making it flourish and expand.

12 <https://www.ref.ac.uk/>

13 (<https://www.ox.ac.uk/admissions/undergraduate/courses-listing/history-and-english>)

Naturally, not everyone who studies HENG would aim to pursue an academic career. Many become teachers or lawyers or work in publishing. But the degree does provide a uniquely valuable training for advanced interdisciplinary research. One of our former students, Sophie Pitman, wrote her extended essay on fashion in early modern London for a bridge paper entitled “Representing the City, 1558–1640” which I co-taught with my colleague in History Dr Ian Archer. This was an exceptionally accomplished piece of work which investigated the interdependence of Tudor-Stuart sumptuary legislation; cost, quality, colours and of fabrics; influence of foreign fashions; and literary depictions of dress and dress codes. Awarded a first by Oxford, Sophie went on to do a Masters at BARD in New York and a PhD in Cambridge. Now, following a stint as a post-doctoral associate for a project funded by the European Research Council on “Refashioning the Renaissance: Popular Groups and the Material and Cultural Significance of Clothing in Europe 1550–1650,”¹⁴ she is about to take up the position as the Pleasant Rowland Textile Specialist and Research Director of the Helen Louise Allen Textile Collection at the Center for Material Culture at the University of Madison-Wisconsin.¹⁵ And all that began with an interdisciplinary undergraduate essay!

Sophie is by no means our only success story. Jonathan McGovern, another erstwhile HENG-uin, earned a distinction for his MSt dissertation on counter-insurgency rhetoric in mid-sixteenth century which again Ian Archer and I co-supervised. This became the foundation for his York PhD thesis on “Communication and Counterinsurgency under the Tudors, from the Pilgrimage of Grace to the Northern Rising.” Combining political history with close rhetorical analysis to demonstrate that Tudor councillors and their clients used the printing press and the armoury of rhetoric to condemn sedition for over thirty years, the thesis clearly draws on Jon’s interdisciplinary training at Oxford. His publications, among them several prize-winning journal articles, run the gamut from straight history (a monograph on the early modern sheriffs is forthcoming from Oxford University Press) to interdisciplinary pieces to straight English. Although he is currently a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Department of English, School of Foreign Studies, Nanjing University,¹⁶ I would not be in the least surprised if he were to secure a permanent position in a department of history.

14 <https://refashioningrenaissance.eu>

15 For details of her career, see <https://sophiepitman.com/about>.

16 <https://nanjing.academia.edu/JonathanMcGovern>

And, last not least, Lucy Clarke, who, after winning a first in HENG, completed an MA in Shakespeare Studies at King's College London and the Globe, before returning to Oxford to do an interdisciplinary DPhil thesis "Public Men on Public Stages: The Performance of State Authority by Magistrates in Popular Drama, 1590–1610." Lucy's supremely original and imaginative project draws on social history, performance studies (including practice-as-research), and the law to analyze the actions of real-life magistrates and legal officers (sheriffs, mayors, JPs), in so far as they can be reconstructed from archival sources, alongside theatrical representations of such officials in commercial drama. Again, Lucy, whom I am supervising jointly with another colleague in History, is resolutely interdisciplinary in both her selection of primary materials and methodology. She is equally at home in English as in History, and now that she is nearing submission, we are about to arrange the appointment of examiners from both disciplines.

Yet a joint History and English degree is not a *sine qua non* of doing interdisciplinary research. One can also learn it on the job if one is awarded a doctoral scholarship or a post-doctoral associateship that calls for interdisciplinary methodology. This happened, for example, when the Stuart Successions Project,¹⁷ a collaboration between Oxford and the University of Exeter funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council on which I was a Co-Investigator, advertised two graduate studentships. We invited proposals for a synchronic study of one of the Stuart successions and, second, a diachronic study of two or more Stuart successions respectively. The former, associated with Jesus College, Oxford, was awarded to Joseph Hone, a graduate of Oxford and Exeter University, for a multi-pronged investigation of the last and least well-known Stuart succession, that of Queen Anne in 1702. Joe had been trained in English, but he knew that he had to get up to speed with both history and political thought. Naturally, in supervising him Andrew McRae, Professor of English at Exeter, and I gave him detailed guidance, and he benefitted from attending a range of early modern graduate seminars where he met specialists in a variety of fields. It was Joe's perseverance, commitment, and hard graft, however, that turned him into the stellar multidisciplinary scholar he is today. Joe swiftly converted his DPhil thesis into a splendid first monograph for Oxford University Press, *Literature and Party Politics at the Accession of Queen Anne* (2017), and has since published two further books, *The Paper Chase: The Printer, the Spymaster, and the Hunt for the Rebel Pamphleteers* (2020) and *Alexander Pope in the Making* (2021), and as well as a slew of articles in top literary and historical journals not to mention chapters

17 <https://stuartsexeter.ac.uk/>

in edited volumes. Following a Junior Research Fellowship at Magdalene College Cambridge, he is now safely ensconced at Newcastle University.¹⁸ His work has been winning accolades across the disciplinary spectrum.

Like Joe, Daniel Haywood, a current DPhil student, is conquering new disciplines – textual criticism and editing, history and the law. Dan has been awarded a doctoral studentship to produce the first annotated scholarly edition of the “Treatise of Succession” by the Elizabethan recusant common lawyer Edmund Plowden. Plowden’s tract, a pointed contribution to the controversy over the royal succession and Anglo-Scottish relations and the single most important articulation of the theory of the king’s two bodies in English, was immensely influential in its day. Although the tract survives in several manuscript witnesses, it has never been printed, and as a result remains virtually unknown and understudied. The need for a critical edition was evident, and Professors George Garnett (History: specialist in medieval and early modern history, political thought, and legal history), Lorna Hutson (English: specialist in law and literature, and Anglo-Scottish literary relations), and I bid to the Leverhulme Trust’s “Publication beyond print” scheme for funding for a doctoral award for this interdisciplinary editorial project. Our bid was successful, and we are Dan’s joint supervisors. His first year, 2020–21, was a steep learning curve. With a BA and an MSt in English, Dan has had to acquire a firm grasp of the intricacies of the common law, the dynamics of Anglo-Scottish relations, the politics of the succession, and editorial theory and practice, let alone transcribe and begin collating the manuscripts of Plowden’s “Treatise.” Each of us has been helping him in our respective areas of expertise – he has probably had more contact hours than any other humanities graduates, and it is certainly the only one with three supervisors to his name. It has been heartening to see how much progress Dan has made in less than a year: he is now *au fait* with the methodology and scholarship in all the requisite fields.¹⁹

Unlike my former or current students, when it comes to interdisciplinarity I am an auto-didact. Early on, I simply drew on the work of historians to understand the relevant political and cultural milieu, whether in writing my MA thesis on Black American women writers at the University of Gdansk or my Oxford DPhil on ideas of dramatic authorship, plagiarism, and intellectual property in Restoration England. As I toyed with the idea of writing a book on English

18 For more information on Joe’s work and career, see <http://www.josephhone.com/> and <https://www.ncl.ac.uk/elll/people/profile/josephhone.html>.

19 See <https://www.english.ox.ac.uk/people/daniel-haywood>.

historical drama from the early sixteenth century to the early eighteenth and began exploring the politics of individual plays and civic pageants, my familiarity with modern historical scholarship deepened. But it is only my twin interests in early modern historical writing and royal iconography that led to a more critical engagement with the historiography. On reading lots and lots and lots of public polemic, ephemera, chronicles, ecclesiastical and politic histories, translations, and so on, I came to realize that historians have missed or misunderstood a few things – whether the debt of the Protestant Elizabeth I's iconography to that of her Catholic half-sister Mary I's, or the preoccupation about the royal succession in the most significant Elizabethan translation of a classical historian, Henry Savile's Tacitus of 1591.

Frankly, I could not believe at first that I was noticing something that professional historians had overlooked, and I kept reaching out to expert after expert before venturing into print. I was tremendously fortunate that in both Britain and North America people were so welcoming and so generous with their counsel to this interloper from Eng. Lit., let alone Poland – Sue Doran, Pat Collinson, Paul Hammer, Felicity Heal, Ian Archer, Mark Goldie, Justin Champion, Blair Worden, Arthur Williamson, Alex Walsham, Glyn Parry, Tom Freeman. Indeed, these days my best friends are historians. So too it has been a boon to work at Oxford, with its enormous wealth of seminars in all manner of fields. For a number of years, I co-convened the interdisciplinary seminar on “Literature and History in Early Modern England.” Originally set up in the late 1980s, it is now run by my graduate students. Meanwhile, collegiate structure has meant that there have been plenty of opportunities to catch up with colleagues or meet new people and “talk shop” over lunch or dinner, plotting new courses, conferences, or collaborative ventures.

All this in turn emboldened me to start work on the first scholarly account, from British and European perspectives, of the Tudor succession debate and its impact on public thought and culture. We all know that the problem of the royal succession swayed high politics in the reigns of Henry VIII and his childless children – the evangelical Edward, the Catholic Mary, and the Protestant Elizabeth. Yet the intellectual and cultural significance of the subject, beyond the machinations of the elite, has never been grasped. Disciplinary boundaries, which divide political action from political thought and separate both spheres from imaginative literature, have concealed the scale and intensity of the controversies over the succession and the stimulus they gave to popular political engagement, to innovative political arguments, and to speech and writing across the genres, from polemical tracts and sermons to the plays of Shakespeare.

Contracted to Oxford University Press, *Contesting the Royal Succession in Reformation England: Latimer to Shakespeare* will argue that the convergence of intense dynastic insecurity and religious divisions brought on by the Reformation raised basic questions about the roots of monarchical authority and the power of princes and parliaments over both the succession and religion. It will uncover and explore the vital presence of the succession issue in an unprecedented range of works, polemical, philosophical, and literary, in English, Latin, and several Continental vernaculars. It will demonstrate that dynastic controversy permeated not merely political and religious rivalries but the daily anxieties, the argumentative strife, and the imaginative consciousness of the nation.

Interdisciplinarity is fundamental to the ambition of my project, for which I have been awarded a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowship (2021–24). It brings together the sources, perspectives, and methods of the three disciplines of history, literature, and political theory. Within history it combines three sub-disciplines: political history, religious history, intellectual history. It also crosses traditional boundaries of period and language, and replaces an Anglo-centric approach with a transnational one. I examine manuscript and printed materials across a wide range of media and genres which the modern erection of disciplinary frontiers has tended to separate: formal historical documents such as state papers, legal documents, parliamentary records, diplomatic correspondence; works of political polemic and philosophy; the literary genres of poetry and drama. There are other sources which are familiar to two or all three of the disciplines but of which they tend to ask different questions: sermons, histories, chronicles, libels, translations, proclamations, genealogies, and visual images. Alongside those works in English and Latin, I explore a variety of works in French, Spanish, Polish, and Italian. Contemporaries concerned about the royal succession were interested in the overlapping contents of such sources, not in the generic differences between them. Those differences need attention if the sources are to be properly understood but they should not obscure the common ground.

A telling example is in interpretations of *Hamlet* (c. 1600), a tragedy which famously fuses medieval and Reformation outlooks. Our understanding of the play changes when we relate it to the unfolding succession crisis. Critics do recognize topical resonance in the play. The extinction of the royal house of Denmark is thought to prefigure the extinction of the Tudors. More specifically, the imminent accession of the Norwegian warrior-prince Fortinbras arriving on stage to the sound of cannon – a shadowy figure missing from Shakespeare's Latin and French sources, and often omitted from modern productions – is taken to suggest the enthronement of the first Stuart king, the Scottish James VI/I. However, differences between the two earliest printed versions of the play (1603, 1604/

5) hint at a more complex story. Only the second version, published within the two years following the Jacobean succession and likely to have been revised in response to it, shows Hamlet endorsing Fortinbras by casting his “dying voice” on him. Backed by the Danish Prince, this Fortinbras seems to have a better claim to the throne than his counterpart in the earlier edition, although he must still await a formal election. The two texts’ contrasting representations of the foreign Fortinbras parallel the competing constructions of the foreign James as Elizabeth’s nominee, as a conqueror, hereditary heir, or elected king – and of England as either a hereditary or an elective monarchy – in a variety of hitherto neglected polemical writings, panegyrics, and elegies both before and after 1603. By looking at all these works together, and combining cultural, religious, and historical perspectives, we can see Shakespeare’s changing response to immediate concerns about the succession and to larger questions about foreign kingship, religion, and the union of the crowns which had exercised the English – and the Scots, and the French, and the Dutch – for over fifty years. Converging on a single work, these multiple fields of enquiry will yield insights that consideration of the questions from one would not yield.

The same ambition to benefit from diverse disciplinary perspectives and techniques animates the international project “Recovering Europe’s Parliamentary Culture, 1500–1700.” The project, for which I am the P-I, draws on literature, history, political philosophy, classics, art and material culture to investigate the literary and visual discourses and shared experiences of representative politics across early modern Europe. Historians have long reflected on the diverse representative institutions of different European polities. Our study approaches representative institutions not only in legal-constitutional terms or those of state formation processes, but in terms of political culture. A key goal is to address some of the conceptual and methodological challenges of reconstructing how the parliamentary culture of early modern Europe was expressed in language, writing, images, and symbolic practices, and develop an innovative comparative framework for analysing it.

This is what I and my collaborators hope to accomplish in the near future. We shall be glad to report on our progress if there is a chance. Doing interdisciplinary research may be fiendishly demanding and time-consuming but where would we be without it?

Tom Harrison, University of Birmingham
ORCID: 0000-0002-2767-465X, T.J.Harrison@bham.ac.uk

Educating Cyber-Wisdom: Theoretical Underpinnings and Practical Implications

Abstract: In this chapter I explain how a character-based approach to education for digital citizenship should be prioritised to help children and young people minimise the risks and maximise the opportunities of being online. This requires parents and teachers seek to educate character virtues and cyber-wisdom to flourish in the emerging fourth industrial revolution. In the first half of the paper, I explain why virtue ethics should complement deontological and utilitarian theoretical approaches to digital citizenship. In the second half I briefly sketch out three key components that should be central to educational efforts to cultivate character and virtues in children and young people that help them contribute to human flourishing. These are: i) cyber-flourishing; ii) cyber-virtues; and iii) cyber-wisdom.

Keywords: digital citizenship, cyber-wisdom, utilitarianism, deontology, fourth industrial revolution.

Introduction

Over the last twenty years several authors have written books that argue that adults should trust children to independently live their lives online. For example, in *Growing up Digital*, Don Tapscott predicted a moral panic about the Internet and digital technologies.¹ He wrote, “concerns about the Internet, by cynics, moralists or technophobes, are plain wrong.” Tapscott’s contention was that children are flourishing in the digital world that we should leave them to it. More recently psychologist Jordan Shapiro’s book *The New Childhood* argues that we must rethink our attitudes to technology.² He believes that fear and nostalgia are powerful enemies and stand in the way of our children’s best interests. Likewise, Pete Etchells, another psychologist, has written a biography-cum-video-game-science book making a similar point.³ His book is called *Lost in a*

1 D. Tapscott, *Growing up Digital*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998.

2 J. Shapiro, *The New Childhood*, London: Yellow Kite, 2019.

3 P. Etchells, *Lost in a Good Game: Why We Play Video Games and What They Can Do for Us*, Icon Books, 2019.

Good Game: Why We Play Video Games and What They Can Do for Us. Etchells calls for a more nuanced discussion if we are to ensure the role of technology in our lives is a positive one.

I agree with the general tenor of Tapscott's, Shapiro's and Etchells' arguments. I do not think we should start a moral panic about the impact of current and emerging Internet-connected technologies on children and young people. However, I also disagree with some of their analysis. I do not think we, adults, can stand by and assume everything will be fine. I do not think we can assume that without any education about what it means to be a "good" digital citizen that the "*kids will be alright*."⁴ I believe that we must seek to educate our children with the character and cyber-wisdom to flourish in the emerging fourth industrial revolution.

Why Character Matters

There are three prominent moral theories that have dominated western thought for many centuries and today shape pretty much all of our current understanding of ethics and morality. These are deontology, utilitarianism and consequentialism. These moral theories explain why acting in certain ways are right or wrong and for hundreds of years the deontological and utilitarian traditions have been in the ascendancy. Deontological philosophy is based on the moral principle that it is one's duty to follow rules and guidelines and is most commonly associated with the philosopher Immanuel Kant. A deontological strategy to managing our children's use of the Internet might include restricting their access to smartphones or giving guidance about what games they can or cannot play. If we think of moral motivation in terms of carrots and sticks, this approach is the sticks.

Utilitarian philosophy is based on the principle that the "right thing to do" is the action that brings the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people and is most commonly associated with Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. It requires us to encourage our children to think about the outcomes of their digital actions and weigh up what the consequences of them might be. We can do this by showing our children films about young people who committed suicide after being cyber-bullied or trying to get our children to think about what their

4 J. Katz, *Virtuous Reality: How America surrender the discussion of moral values to opportunists, nitwits and blockheads*, New York: Random House, 1997.

Instagram posts will say about them in the future. This approach might be seen as the carrots.

In dealing with issues such as sexting, plagiarism, cyber-bullying and other similar concerns parents and teachers often turn to deontological and/or utilitarian based strategies. Restricting access or trying to get our children to see the consequences of their online actions are strategies that will help parents to manage the Internet of their children. But they are impoverished strategies, and they are insufficient on their own. This is because they do not seek to help our children to self-manage their own Internet use. One day our children are going to have to do this all on their own. Our job is to prepare them for this time.

There is another problem. The affordances the Internet offers our children makes deontological and utilitarian-based strategies hard to implement. This is because in the cyber-worlds that our children inhabit, rules are hard to establish and uphold, and consequences are difficult to predict. Today, governments, institutions and parents are all struggling to find ways to make rules work in the Internet age. Even companies, worried about how their inventions are being used, are trying to self-regulate. The issue is that the technology is not easy to regulate. Parents might be able to help their children see the consequences of how they communicate face-to-face with their siblings or friends but find it harder to help their children understand that a message or picture they send online might be hurtful. This is why research shows that many children behave differently online: they might bully online but not face-to-face; they might plagiarise from a website but not from a book; they might download an album illegally online but not steal a CD from a shop.

This means we need to consider the moral theory of virtue ethics. My argument is that we can apply deontological and utilitarian strategies to help our children survive in the cyber-world, but we need to apply virtue ethical strategies in our educational approach if we want them to thrive. This means we need to help our children cultivate character and cyber-wisdom – human qualities associated with online flourishing.

Virtue ethics, or an ethical approach to living well that prioritises character, has recently been viewed as a viable alternative to utilitarianism and deontology by many philosophers. The ancient roots of virtue ethics lie in the writings of Plato but are more significantly found in the philosophy of Aristotle, the Greek philosopher who lived between the years of 384BC and 322BC. The core tenets of his virtue theory were outlined in one of his most famous books, *Nicomachean Ethics*. The reason that virtue ethics is somewhat back in favor is in reaction to the failures of deontological or Kantian ethics to do everything that they promise. Academics are also beginning to see how the theory is nicely attuned to helping us understand

the reciprocal relationships between technological structures and human agencies. Virtue ethics is not reliant on predicting the future as it relies on present human conduct. It does not require laws or people to enforce them: it relies on us policing ourselves. Posting the *right* thing on a social networking site is not simply a matter of following the rules nor trying to evaluate the likely consequences, it is a matter of making wise virtuous decisions about what we do and do not post.

Key Components to a Character-Based Approach

In this section I briefly sketch out three key components that should be central to educational efforts to cultivate character and cyber-wisdom in children and young people. These are: i) cyber-flourishing; ii) cyber-virtues; and iii) cyber-wisdom. More about these concepts is explored in two of my previous publications.^{5,6}

i) Cyber-flourishing

Aristotle thought the supreme good for human beings is being in the state of *eudaimonia*; in a state of *flourishing*. It is both complete and self-sufficient as it cannot be bettered it cannot be improved by any other good. *Eudaimonia*, for Aristotle, should therefore be the goal of all individuals. How do we flourish? By living and acting well. The concept of *eudaimonia* is fairly easily transposed for our current purposes as cyber-flourishing.

It is important from the outset to define what sort of flourishing Aristotle was concerned with. My colleague, the renowned philosopher in the field, Kristján Kristjánsson, writes about this convincingly in his numerous papers and book on the theme. Kristjánsson explains that the notion of Aristotelian flourishing rests on the *ergon* argument. *Ergon* might be best translated as function. For Aristotle human function is what we are best at, and functions are fulfilled when they express the proper virtue. Aristotle would argue that what is “proper to each thing’s nature” is “supremely best and pleasantest for it.” This for Kristjánsson means that flourishing is what is intrinsically desirable and involves virtuous, reason-infused activity, suitable and peculiar to human beings, achieved over a complete life.⁷

5 Harrison, “Cultivating Cyber-Phronesis: A New Educational Approach to Tackle Cyber-bullying,” *Pastoral Care in Education*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 2016, pp. 232–244.

6 T. Harrison, *THRIVE, How to cultivate character so your children can flourish online*, London: Little, Brown, 2021.

7 K. Kristjánsson, *Aristotelian Character Education*, London: Routledge, 2015.

One way to think about this definition of flourishing is to consider a common synonym for it: the term happiness. There are two ways we might see happiness: one that is gained from sensual pleasure or what some might call hedonistic happiness and one from a life of the practice of the virtues. Cyber-flourishing is about the latter. It is not about gaining short-term pleasure from, say, beating a friend at the online game *Fortnite* or watching a good film online (although there is nothing wrong with these and the many other pursuits from which we gain pleasure). Cyber-flourishing is something more enduring and takes more work over a lifetime. It is a destination towards which we constantly strive and may, on occasions, lose our way. It comes not from seeking individual gratification, but from thinking about how our actions affect ourselves and others over the longer term. One way to see this clearly might be to consider the different types of friendships our children might make online. Aristotle believed there to be three main types. The first two, for pleasure and utility, might be enjoyable, but they are incomplete as they are extrinsically valuable. These friendships are based on gaining reward for oneself, for example, building friendships on Facebook to look popular. Although they might bring pleasure, they are not complete. The third type might be called character friendships. These are long-term, mutually reciprocal friendships that are not based on extrinsic rewards. A cyber-world that is a flourishing world will contain more of this type of friendship and less of those that are based on reward or utility. We can only truly flourish if those with whom we share our worlds are flourishing too.

ii) Cyber virtues

As we have seen, flourishing for Aristotle was not about a life of sensual pleasure, but about a life of contemplation and the possession and practice of the virtues – or, in the original Greek, *arête*. A person with *arete* is a person of the highest moral effectiveness; they have all the virtues for a good life. Aristotle believed that virtues were “states of character” rather than passions or faculties. Aristotle rejected the idea that virtues are passions, as we are not called good or bad on the ground of our passions. He also rejected the idea that virtues are faculties as we are “not praised or blamed, for the simple capacity of feeling passion. The virtues, for Aristotle, are states of character and we should both be inspired and be educated to develop these for “excellence of character.” Aristotelian character is fundamentally about a state of being, about having the appropriate inner states.

The link between virtues and making good and wise decisions online should be fairly clear. It has also been tested through research. Research by the think-tank DEMOS surveyed nearly 700 young people, to look at how they self-reported

decisions they would make when presented with a scenario as well as how they self-reported their own character strengths and found a relationship between character, online behaviour and decision-making. It asked 16-18-year-olds to self-report on their empathy, self-control, compassion, honesty and civic participation to create a “character score” and found that those with lower character scores have a significantly higher likelihood of engaging in risky or unethical behaviours than those with higher character scores.⁸ For example, they are more likely to say that they have bullied (38 per cent compared with 16 per cent) or trolled someone (22 per cent compared with 10 per cent). As with any research that involves self-reporting on character, it should be taken with a pinch of salt, but it does provide food for thought.

iii) Cyber-wisdom

Phronesis is the third useful concept borrowed from Aristotle and has been referred to in this context as cyber-wisdom. Translations of *phronesis* have included, amongst others, practical reasoning, practical wisdom, good sense, moral discernment, moral insight and prudence. Reading this list, you should get the point: to have *phronesis* is to have a finely honed sense of moral judgment and one that can be directed to any situation. To be practically wise is to do the right thing, at the right time, in the right amount, with the right people (and several more “rights” on top of these). Of course, this is easier said than done, and this is why cyber-wisdom might be viewed as a life-long endeavour for which we need to strive. This means learning from those instances when we miss the mark. In this sense, of all the theories discussed, virtue ethics is perhaps the most accommodating of human inadequacies as it understands that we are fallible, that the dilemmas we face are challenging, that life is complex and that we are unlikely to always succeed in our character endeavours. The key is to try, and to learn from trying. This makes *phronesis* a cognitive or intellectual virtue – it involves us having to think before acting. Through this process our practical wisdom becomes honed and indeed it was Aristotle’s contention that knowing the best course of action would eventually become second nature.

One of the most useful ways to think about *phronesis* is as a meta-virtue. It is the conductor of the virtue orchestra. Our practical wisdom tells us if we are showing too much or too little of a virtue (see the previous section on the golden

8 P. Harrison-Evans, A. Krasodonski-Jones, “The Moral web; youth character, ethics and behavior,” 2018, <https://demosuk.wpengine.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/DEM5689-The-moral-Web-ethics-and-behaviour-on-social-media-170908-WEB-3.pdf>.

mean) and also adjudicates between virtues. As virtues often clash, we have to choose one to give precedence to over the other. Should I be honest or compassionate when my wife is trying on a new dress? Should I be loyal or honest when I find out about a friend's wrongdoing?

So how does the concept of practical wisdom translate to the cyber-world? Well, like *eudaimonia* and *arete*, fairly easily. Children, young people – in fact all of us – face dilemmas online and in other digital spaces daily. Consider this constructed dilemma based on a real-life example mentioned in conversations with various participants in my research:

Jack is late with his homework. He has been asked to write a short essay about the virtue of courage that is to be entered into a national competition. He does some research online and finds a really good short essay. Although he knows he can't copy it all, he knows he will never be able to write anything better. His homework is due in the next morning and it is already late at night.

Even though it might seem obvious to you what you should do if faced with this dilemma, it does require you to think through a clash of virtues. This is an exercise we can also undertake with our children, helping them not simply to reflect on the dilemma, but to make decisions about what to do if they were to face a similar situation. This is the active part being cyber-wise; taking a decision and actually carrying out the chosen course of action. The research undertaken by DEMOS. found that 16-18-year-olds who admit to engaging in risky or unethical behaviour online also demonstrate lower levels of moral sensitivity to others, and have lower self-reported character capabilities. Those who scored "high" on the character scores were more likely to "do the right thing" when faced with a dilemma online – such as being asked to share an explicit image of a classmate. In that example they would be more likely to tell the person to delete the image and give their reason for doing so as wanting to protect the feelings of others. Interestingly, those with a higher character score were also more likely to want to "do the right" thing for unknown others as well as their friends. Some 44 per cent of those with higher character scores said they were motivated by "moral" or "ethical" reasons in deciding what to do in our scenarios, compared with just 23 per cent of those with lower character scores.

Concluding Thoughts

In this short position paper, I have attempted to make the case for virtue ethics as the theory of choice when constructing educational approaches that will make it more likely children and young people will flourish in their cyber-worlds. Central concepts of the theory, namely flourishing, virtue and cyber-wisdom,

are foundations upon which educational approaches to cultivating character and virtue for the Internet age can be built. I have shown the advantages of virtue ethics over philosophical rivals deontology and utilitarianism.

I end by stating that whilst drawing lines of comparison between the three moral theories is a useful intellectual exercise, we also need to think of them in unison when designing practical educational approaches. What is ultimately required is a non-reductionist approach to moral philosophy and a greater recognition of the complexity of life. I believe pluralistic models that integrate, in a non-reductionist way, strong notions of duty, consequence and virtue are therefore preferable to taking any single one on its own at face value. Life, including online life, is not trivial or simplistic, and therefore all tools at our disposal should be used to help make it meaningful. My over-arching call is that the ethics of the fourth industrial revolution should draw as much, if not more, on virtue ethics than deontological and utilitarian ethics.

References

- Etchells, P., *Lost in a Good Game: Why We Play Video Games and What They Can Do for Us*. Icon Books, 2019.
- Harrison-Evans, P. and Krasodomski-Jones, A., *The Moral web; youth character, ethics and behaviour*. Available from <https://demosuk.wpengine.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/DEMJ5689-The-moral-Web-ethics-and-behaviour-on-social-media-170908-WEB-3.pdf>, 2018.
- Harrison, T., “Cultivating Cyber-Phronesis: A New Educational Approach to Tackle Cyber-bullying,” *Pastoral Care in Education*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 2016, pp. 232–244.
- Harrison, T., *THRIVE, How to cultivate character so your children can flourish online*. London: Little, Brown, 2020.
- Katz, J., *Virtuous Reality: How America surrender the discussion of moral values to opportunists, nitwits and blockheads*. New York: Random House, 1997.
- Kristjánsson, K., *Aristotelian Character Education*. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Shapiro, J., *The New Childhood*. London: Yellow Kite, 2019.
- Tapscott, D., *Growing up digital*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998.

Juan Luis Fuentes, Universidad Complutense de Madrid

ORCID: 0000-0002-4326-3324, jlfuente@ucm.es

Ángela Sirera, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

angsirera@madrid.uned.es

Paloma Redondo-Corcobado, Universidad Complutense de Madrid

paloredo@ucm.es

Toward a Civically Engaged Teacher Identity: Qualitative Analysis of a Service Learning Project in Educators Training

Abstract: The aim of this chapter is to analyse the effect of implementing the Service Learning methodology in developing civic skills in university students that are in the process of becoming educators. More specifically, we focus on the following specific aims: 1) Identify the degree of social responsibility developed by the students; 2) analyse the disposition developed towards civic participation; 3) evaluate the bonds established with the education community; 4) discover the sense of belonging generated with regard to the community in which they collaborate, and; 5) understand the influence of these factors on the creation of their teacher identity. A descriptive qualitative methodology based on an ethnographic study was used, and convenience sample was undertaken, which comprises 20 students on the degrees in pre-school education, primary school education, pedagogy and social education at the Faculty of Education, Complutense University of Madrid (Spain).

Keywords: Service Learning, teacher training, teacher identity, civic commitment, social responsibility.

1. Introduction

There is no doubt that identity is a complicated, multidimensional and dynamic concept that refers to different facets of human life.^{1,2} As such, defining it is

1 A. Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, London: Penguin, 2007.

2 A. Maalouf, *In the Name Of Identity*, New York: Arcade Pub, 2012.

no mean feat and the outcomes are often controversial.^{3,4} In recent decades, a combination of factors, which include the development of the welfare state and social rights, a new digital dimension in exercising citizenship⁵ and the all-encompassing effects of globalisation, with the reactive emergence of diverse nationalisms in different parts of the world,^{6,7} has led to a renewed focus on cultural and civic dimensions.⁸ In the strictly education-related area, intense debate has also arisen that has several derivations linked to education regarding the identity of students, especially due to recognition of multiculturalism, although more specifically on the identity of teachers, which involves different derivations that are also not free of controversy.⁹

One of them refers to the specific delimitation of the responsibilities of teachers, whose professionalisation process has fostered a precise description of their duties and tasks, both in the classroom and in the education centre. This description has also been incentivised by a growing demand on the educational institution, which goes beyond what has traditionally been considered as educational or to be within the competences of schools and also includes the social issues of students and of the environment of the education centre itself.¹⁰ As part of this diversification trend of the responsibilities of educational institutions, it is

-
- 3 K. A. Appiah, *The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity*, London: Profile Books, 2019.
 - 4 D. T. Hansen, "Chasing Butterflies Without a Net: Interpreting Cosmopolitanism," *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 29.2/2010.
 - 5 N. C. Burbules, "Like a Version: playing with online identities," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 34.4/2002.
 - 6 J. Conroy, "El Brexit y la alteridad: una modesta reflexión asistemática," in J. A. Ibáñez-Martín y J. L. Fuentes (eds.), *Educación y capacidades. Hacia un nuevo enfoque del desarrollo humano*, Madrid, Dykinson, 2017.
 - 7 M. Hand, "Patriotism in Schools," *Impact. Philosophical Perspectives on Education Policy* 19/2011.
 - 8 M. Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education*, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1998.
 - 9 D. Carr, "Professional and personal values and virtues in education and teaching," *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2006. C. Day, *A passion for teaching*, London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004. C. Higgings, *The Good Life of Teaching*, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2011.
 - 10 K. Kristjánsson, *Aristotelian Character Education*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2015. F. Esteban, J. L. Fuentes, "Swimming against the tide in current educational practice: thoughts and proposals," *The Educational Forum* 85.2/2021. K. Osterman, "Teacher Practice and Students' Sense of Belonging," in: *International Research Handbook on Values Education and Student Wellbeing*, T. Lovat, R. Toomey, and N. Clement (eds.), Dordrecht: Springer, 2010.

worth considering the emergence of the Service Learning methodology, understood as an educational approach that combines academic learning and service to a social need, through an integrated project that enriches both aspects.^{11,12} This conception has several implications. One of the goals of Service Learning is the undertaking of curricular learning in real, more meaningful and contextualised environments that provide a necessary connection between theory and practice.¹³ Additionally, it also enables the promotion of students' civic engagement by establishing bonds with the local community, which enhances the feeling of belonging to it, strengthens the sense of social responsibility, incentivises social entrepreneurship and fosters the civic participation of students.¹⁴ Therefore, this methodology has gradually been incorporated into different stages of the education system, from basic education up to university.

Some authors find grounds to affirm that in recent decades an ethic-civic shift has taken place in education, which makes educators more aware of the important moral dimension of their actions.¹⁵ Said ethical shift in a European context has its roots in the post-1945 moral recovery, in which the old Europe rose from the ashes and on its ruins contributed to the universal recognition of a set of human rights conceived at the same time as being democratic and based on the European identity. Despite the crises that ensued in the final decades of the 20th century, this civic morality appears to have held on to its resilient heritage into the 21st century and, in recent years, it has been given new impetus, a new narrative of civic morality focused more on the present than on the past, with a view towards Europe's relationship with the rest of the world as regards general, ethical and environmental matters, as well as not tolerating racism and xenophobia.¹⁶ In this context, the resurgence of educational concepts like character education is

-
- 11 J. M. Puig, M. Gijón, X. Martín, L. Rubio, "Aprendizaje-Servicio y Educación para la Ciudadanía," *Revista de Educación*, No. Extraordinario, 2011.
 - 12 M. N. Tapia, *La solidaridad como pedagogía. El "aprendizaje-servicio" en la escuela*, Buenos Aires: Ciudad Nueva, 2001.
 - 13 S. Gaston, M. Kruger, "Students perceptions of volunteering during the first two years of studying a Social Work degree," *International Journal for the Scholarships of Teaching and Learning*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2014.
 - 14 A. Furco, S. H. Billig, *Service Learning: The Essence of the Pedagogy*, Greenwich: Information Age Publishing, 2002.
 - 15 J. A. Ibáñez-Martín, *Horizontes para los educadores*, Madrid: Dykinson, 2017. K. Kristjánsson, "Moral education today: Ascendancy and fragmentation," *Journal of Moral Education* 46.4/2017.
 - 16 M. Conway, "The legacies of 1945: The evolutions of European civic morality," *Journal of Moral Education* 50.1/2021.

significant,¹⁷ which, in its current neo-Aristotelian version, has several links to Service Learning.¹⁸ Likewise, it is worth highlighting the recent initiative of the OECD,¹⁹ that introduces among the competences to be evaluated by PISA -along with language, science and mathematics-, a civic capacity as creative thinking, in which, moreover, OECD considers a relevant dimension as the resolution of social problems. As a result, in the educational system of different countries, content has been introduced, both specifically and across the board, relating to the exercising of citizenship, which through mixed results and methodologies, has put the role of schools in current democracies at the centre of debate).²⁰

Furthermore, in the university field, we have also witnessed a process of change linked to the emergence of a third university mission, adding to the traditional ones of teaching and research,²¹ intermixing with them.²² This new goal focuses on the social transfer of knowledge created by higher education institutions, which cannot be of an exclusively self-referential nature, but rather must meet and be geared towards current social demands and in collaboration with social agents.^{23,24}

-
- 17 D. I. Walker, M. P. Roberts, K. Kristjánsson, "Towards a new era of character education in theory and in practice," *Educational Review*, Vol. 67, No. 1, 2015.
 - 18 B. Boston, *Their best selves: Building character education and service learning together in the lives of young people*, Washington, DC: Council of Chief State School Officers, 1997.
 - J. L. Fuentes, E. López-Gómez, "El aprendizaje servicio como estrategia metodológica de la educación del carácter: posibilidades y complementariedades," in: *Hacer la universidad en el espacio social*, C. Naval y E. Arbués (coords.), Pamplona: EUNSA, 2018.
 - R. Shumer, C. Lam, N. Laabs, "Ensuring good character and civic education: connecting through service learning," *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 32.4/2012.
 - 19 OECD, *Creative thinking framework*, PISA: 2021, 2019.
 - 20 E. Arbués, C. Repáraz, C. Naval, "Los alumnos y la educación para la ciudadanía. Primeros resultados," *Revista Española de Pedagogía* 70.253/2012.
 - I. Davie, E. Chong, "Current challenges for citizenship education in England," *Asian Education and Development Studies* 5.1/2016.
 - L. Johnson, P. Morris, "Critical citizenship education in England and France: a comparative analysis," *Comparative Education* 48.3/2012.
 - A. Peterson, "The common good and citizenship education in England: a moral enterprise?," *Journal of Moral Education* 40.1/2011.
 - M. C. Moreno-Gutiérrez, S. Frisancho, "Transitions to democracy: the role of moral and citizenship education in Latin America," *Journal of Moral Education* 38.4/2009.
 - 21 European Commission, *White Paper on education and training teaching and learning. Towards the learning society*, Commission of the European Communities, 1995.
 - 22 Carrion et al., *Green Paper, Fostering and Measuring 'Third Mission' in Higher Education Institutions*, European Commission, 2012.
 - 23 OECD, *Benchmarking Higher Education System Performance*, OECE publishing, 2019.
 - 24 T. Farnell, *Community engagement in higher education: trends, practices and policies. NESET report*, Office of the European Union, 2020.

Up to such point, that is the case, as the term “civic universities”²⁵ is starting to be mentioned, giving a renewed ethical dimension to university training²⁶ and overcoming, at the same time, both the classical perspective that perceives universities only as ivory towers centred on themselves as a condition of the possibility of advancing knowledge, and the reductionist perspective that places higher education at the comprehensive service of the market or dominant financial interests.²⁷

Service Learning, albeit not exclusively, but rather in conjunction with other initiatives, constitutes a reference that makes possible this opening up of universities towards society, while also training their students in character-related civic skills and traits.²⁸ Its growth in Europe is notable and it has taken on an increasingly important role in education faculties, focused on the training of educators.²⁹ As such, it is hoped that future teachers and other professionals in the education field acquire during their university training a concept of civic engagement that has three dimensions: the first refers to the essential condition of university students, members of a community that sees itself as being civically engaged and that recognises a series of inherent responsibilities to its surrounding environment, which calls on them to act. It should be mentioned that this responsibility is not the same for all citizens, but rather entails a greater degree for those who have studied at university, given the higher training received. The second is social responsibility as future teachers, whose task implicates a personal commitment that goes beyond the notion of profession and is placed in the sphere of vocation, with higher levels of delivery, service and care of others, similar to

-
- 25 European Commission, *Communication on a renewed EU Agenda for Higher Education*, Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, 2017.
- 26 C. Caro Samada, J. Ahedo Ruiz, F. Esteban Bara, “Kohlberg’s moral education proposal and its legacy at university: present and future,” *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, Vol. 76, No. 269, 2018.
- 27 R. Pring, *Philosophy of Education: Aims, Theory, Common Sense and Research*, London: Continuum, 2004.
- 28 T. Farnell, *Community engagement in higher education: trends, practices and policies. NESET report*, Office of the European Union, 2020.
- 29 P. Redondo-Corcobado y J. L. Fuentes, “La investigación sobre el aprendizaje-servicio en la producción científica española: una revisión sistemática,” *Revista Complutense de Educación* 31.1/2020. A. Sotelino, E. Arbués, L. García, J. L. González-Geraldo, “Service-Learning in Europe. Dimensions and Understanding from Academic Publication,” *Frontiers in Education* 2021.

other vocations, like nursing and social work, etc.³⁰ The third, insofar as an innovative teaching methodology, is that Service Learning constitutes disciplinary content for future teachers, which trains them to put it into practice with their own students in the course of their profession, thereby instilling once again the civic characteristic into education.

However, the acquisition of civic skills has some significant issues, especially deriving from the ethical dimension, that lie in very different matters of both a theoretic and practical nature. In the latter group, we find those regarding its assessment. Although the curriculum learning of instrumental disciplines has contrasted assessment methods, those relating to training of an ethic-civic nature are still scarcely developed. These methods are fundamentally quantitative or the classical dilemmas arising from the Kohlberg paradigm of moral education. The problems of this kind of assessment lie fundamentally in the self-referential and cognitive nature,³¹ which neither ensures the veracity of the answers due to extensive social desirability³² –which is compounded in cases where teachers have the power to grade said learning–, nor predicts the correspondence between cognition and conduct, leading to the possibility that students sufficiently internalise the civic theoretical content and even recognise the skills required to it into practice, but are unable to develop it in real contexts.³³ In this regard, MacIntyre³⁴ suggests that:

So in calling some particular person brave or generous or just, I will always, if I am giving expression to some tolerably systematic and coherent conception of the virtues, be committed to a particular type of answers to the question: for what reasons did he or she act as he or she did?

As such, it is necessary to develop mixed assessment methods that require a greater level of student implication in the processes of reflecting on and putting

-
- 30 D. Carr, “Professional and personal values and virtues in education and teaching,” *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2006.
- 31 C. Peterson, M. E. P. Seligman, *Character strengths and virtues: a handbook and classification*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- 32 P. D. Crowne, D. Marlowe, *The approval motive: studies in evaluative dependence*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1964.
- 33 J. García-Gutiérrez, J. L. Fuentes, del Pozo (2018), “La promoción de la competencia ética y el compromiso cívico y su evaluación en los proyectos universitarios de aprendizaje-servicio,” in: *Aprendizaje-Servicio: los retos de la evaluación*, M. Ruiz Corbella y J. García-Gutiérrez (eds.), Madrid: Narcea, 2018.
- 34 A. C. MacIntyre, “How to appear virtuous without actually being so,” in: *Education in Morality*, J. M. Halstead and T. H. McLaughlin (eds.), London: Routledge, 1999, p. 3.

into practice the civic behaviour fostered by the Service Learning methodology, as well as on the influence that the social action has on shaping their character.³⁵

In said scenario, the aim of this chapter is to analyse the effect of implementing the Service Learning methodology in developing civic skills in university students that are in the process of becoming educators. More specifically, we will focus on the following specific aims that develop the foregoing: 1) Identify the degree of social responsibility developed by the students; 2) analyse the disposition developed towards civic participation; 3) evaluate the bonds established with the education community; 4) discover the sense of belonging generated with regard to the community in which they collaborate, and; 5) understand the influence of these factors on the creation of their teacher identity, as well as other different factors among them.

2. Method

A descriptive qualitative methodology based on an ethnographic study has been used. A convenience sample was undertaken, given the accessibility of university students participating in the project, which comprises 20 students on the degrees in pre-school education, primary school education, pedagogy and social education at the Faculty of Education – Teacher Training Centre of the Complutense University of Madrid (Spain). The participants were all women, aged 19 to 28 (average age=21.7), that were in the first or second year of their degree studies (72–28 %). They participated voluntarily in the project and in the study, the undertaking of which adhered to the principles of research ethics in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki.

The Service Learning project was conducted during the 2018/19 academic year as part of another more extensive research project in which interdisciplinary teams formed by 20 researchers and from the following three faculties participated: Education, Social Work and Nursing, and Physiotherapy and Podiatry of the Complutense University. In parallel, another five Service Learning projects were conducted in which 80 students collaborated, together with different education and social entities in the fields of infancy and adolescence, women in situations of social exclusion, drug dependency, mental health and disability.

Specifically, the project, the results of which are herein analysed, was conducted with a private subsidised education centre located in a neighbourhood in the

35 J. Arthur, T. Harrison, E. Taylor, *Building Character Through Youth Social Action: Research Report*, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, 2015.

outskirts of Madrid with an ideology based on the Roman Catholic religion. At said centre, all levels of education are taught, from pre-school to further education (*bachillerato*) and it has certain defining characteristics that largely condition the school ethos and the educational action undertaken. Furthermore, 90 % of the families of the students receive social assistance and, in some cases, this is the only family income. The school population is highly diverse, corresponding, at the time of the study, to 27.76 % immigrant pupils, 18.98 % children of immigrant parents, and 15.64 % belong to the gypsy ethnicity. What is more, school performance rates are very low and there is a high level of disruptive behaviour and absenteeism, which coincides with a lack of complementary education, cultural and sporting options in the surrounding area.

The management team of the education centre requested collaboration with the Complutense University to develop an innovative methodology called Learning Communities,³⁶ which aims to involve the educational community in the school centre, with particular focus on schools located in areas of social vulnerability. This methodology involves diverse actions, such as interactive groups, which entails organising the classroom in a different way by putting students in teams of four to five. In these teams, they carry out an activity in a short period of time, around 10–15 minutes. They are supported in each activity by a person unrelated to the centre, fundamentally family, neighbours or members of local entities, who voluntarily collaborate. Their role is to foster the participation of all the students in their team to undertake the activity, enabling positive interaction between them, galvanising the group and helping those finding it more difficult, thereby making it possible to provide more personalised help in an environment of fewer people. After the activity, the students change group, which they do several times throughout the class.

Amid the shortfall of sufficient support received by the education centre, it requested the collaboration of students at the Faculty of Education, which was established through a Service Learning project that entailed weekly attendance to the centre in order to carry out the interactive groups, usually lasting two hours, and participation in monthly seminars at the university. The first part of these seminars was of an informative nature, where the teachers presented the content relating to the activity undertaken at the school centre, according to the study programme of the different degree courses, on subject matters like the reasoning and development of Service Learning, the organisation of Learning

36 C. Elboj, I. Puigdemívol, M. Soler, R. Valls, *Comunidades de aprendizaje. Transformar la educación*, Barcelona: Graó, 2005.

Communities and the ethnographic observation methodology. The second part took place on a quarterly basis and entailed the undertaking of group interviews and semi-structured discussion groups, in which 8–12 students participated, on the undertaking of the service in the school centre and addressing the emerging and problematic needs found, which aimed to promote a collaborative inquiry into authentic and real pedagogical problems.³⁷

Furthermore, together with the discussion groups, the students wrote in a field notebook with the aim of enhancing their learning of the service by reflecting on the practice. According to Dewey,³⁸ “No experience having a meaning is possible without some element of thought.” As such, Service Learning is not only deemed as an experimental activity, but rather that its significance also lies in reflecting on one’s own experience, on its interpretation, reconstruction and organisation, in order to give it meaning, as well as connection with the university training process itself.³⁹ Furthermore, the field notebook was the tool that accompanied the participant observation, which aimed to understand the cultural meanings within the school setting,⁴⁰ via two sections relating to the description of that observed and the interpretation of its meaning,⁴¹ and a third focused on the undertaking of the education action approaches to improve that seen. The first was open to considering general aspects of the context, such as the physical space, the interpersonal relations that took place in them and the work dynamic established. In turn, considering in this first part a more specific description of the aspects related to the participation of the members of the project, the conversations that turned out to be significant, the roles and the problems identified, as well as the solutions applied to them, was also recommended. The second part, of the field notebooks regarded the personal interpretation of that observed in said situation. It was proposed that the interpretation included a critical reflection on the problems found, an evaluation of the solutions considered by the school centre and the degree of attainment of the objectives of the activity.

37 J. Conroy, M. Hulme, I. Menter, “Developing a “clinical” model for teacher education,” *Journal of Education for Teaching* 39.5/2013.

38 J. Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, Project Gutenberg, 1916, p. 112.

39 J. Annette, “Character, Civic Renewal and Service Learning for Democratic Citizenship in Higher Education,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 53.3/2005.

40 B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, London: Routledge, 2014.

41 C. Cerri, “La importancia de la metodología etnográfica para la investigación antropológica. El caso de las relaciones de valores en un espacio asociativo juvenil, Perifèria,” *Revista de Recerca i Formació en Antropologia* 13/2010.

Together with it, other supplementary evaluation instruments were used, the results of which are not provided herein due to a lack of space, which consisted in conducting a quantitative analysis through a questionnaire created and validated ad hoc,⁴² the undertaking of interviews with the teachers at the education centre and an evaluation of the design of the project itself through the category of Service Learning projects.⁴³ As such, progress was sought towards an integrated evaluation model⁴⁴ that would allow for the convergence of multiple and supplementary perspectives on the development of the character traits of the students.⁴⁵

Specifically, the information analysed in this study has been extracted from a total of 142 documents. Additionally, a participant observation was conducted in the school centre by one of the members responsible for the research that allowed the realisation of the activity to be closely monitored. Said documentation was obtained from three different sources:

- *126 field notebooks* used by the students participating in the project.
- *Transcriptions of 4 discussion groups* undertaken on a quarterly basis.
- *Transcriptions of 12 individual interviews* carried out with students who have participated in the project. These interviews were undertaken a month after attendance at the school centre had ended and they entailed 22 questions grouped into 3 categories: curriculum area, personal and social development, and general evaluation of the Service Learning experience.

The triangulation of the information obtained and the analysis of its content has followed an inductive thematic strategy.⁴⁶ The data obtained has been codified and analysed according to the following categories: (1) social responsibility, (2) civic participation, (3) bond with the local community, (4) sense of belonging, and (5) teacher identity, using the Atlas.ti version 8 software.

42 V. León-Carrascosa, S. Sánchez-Serrano, M. Belando-Montoro, "Diseño y validación de un cuestionario para evaluar la metodología Aprendizaje-Servicio," *Estudios sobre educación* 39/2020, pp. 247–266.

43 Grem, *Rúbrica para la autoevaluación y la mejora de los proyectos de APS*, 2014.

44 H. A. Alexander, "Assessing virtue: measurement in moral education at home and abroad," *Ethics and Education* 11.3/2016.

45 T. Harrison, J. Arthur, E. Burn, *Character Education. Evaluation Handbook for Schools*, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, 2016.

46 V. Braun, V. Clarke, "Using thematic analysis in psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3.2/2006.

Furthermore, the research process has been structured into 4 phases, as per figure 1:

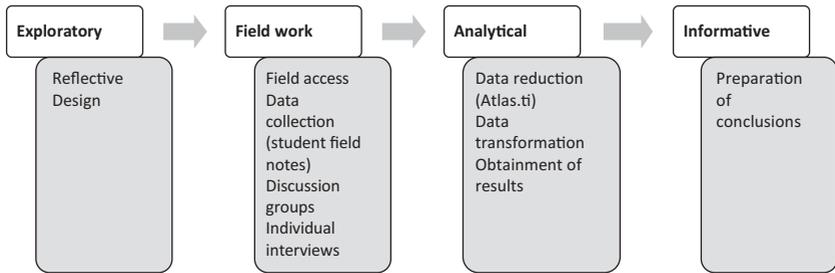


Figure 1. Research process phase

Source: own elaboration.

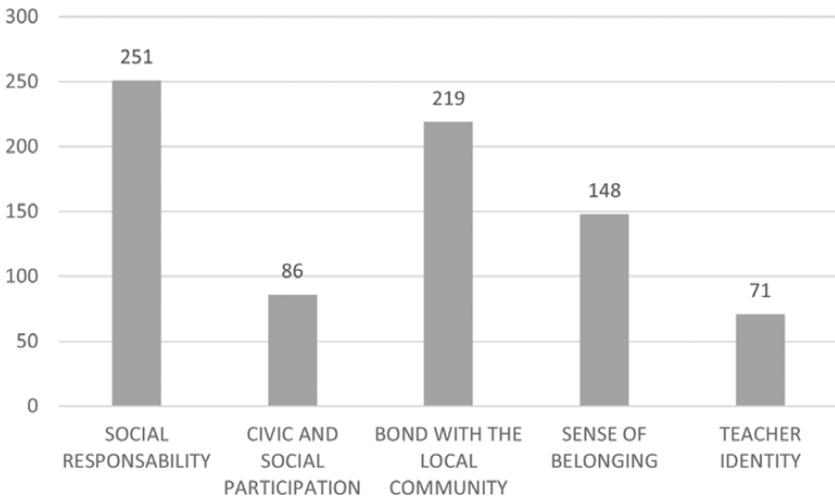


Figure 2. Categories of citation groups

Source: own elaboration.

3. Results

The texts analysed have been segmented into 775 citations grouped into five categories, as per figure 2:

A) Social Responsibility

The results analysed show that the participation of university students in the Service Learning project favours awareness on the need to help others and the social benefit generated. Furthermore, the students see themselves as possible agents of change and as being responsible for the undertaking of actions that enable social transformation. The persons involved stated not only their willingness for it, but also that they gained satisfaction from doing it, expressing their willingness to continue carrying them out and affirming that they generate feelings of well-being in those that undertake it. In this regard, one of the students said: “With this experience, I have learned that I like to help people. It has helped me to realise that we need change and that I want to do my bit. I have realised that I can help more people.”

Furthermore, knowledge of the environment and its needs enables participants on the Service Learning project to be more aware of and more engaged with such needs, helping them to develop the intellectual habits of critical thinking and reflection, as well as the ability to make decisions amid situations of inequality and injustice. The project participants, as observed in the field notebooks and in the individual and group interviews, put into practice values and attitudes of respect, cooperation, justice and fairness, increasing the capacity to act in situations that generate social discontent, while also teaching others to develop them, transmitting and instilling respect among colleagues.

In this way, the responsibility that individuals assume by merely forming part of society adds to the responsibility inherent to their role as a teacher and, therefore, as a member of an education institution, which assumes the possibility of constructing and instigating social changes towards the search of equality and well-being, not just individual, but also social. Students, as future professionals, thereby start to think that their own actions will have an impact on the social environment, not just as an individual belonging to said environment, but also as a professional in the education field, taking on a teaching role and the tasks entrenched in such vocation.

Together with that, being participants in situations of vulnerability, inequality and diversity inside classrooms, allows those participating on the Service Learning project to reflect on and propose action measures to improve inclusion within the education system, such as specific help classrooms, increasing the number of teachers per classroom, language support measures, methodologies adapted to student type, modification of the arrangement of groups, etc., increasing in this way the capacity to analyse and critically review what happens

in today's society and in their professional area in particular. In this regard, one of the students strongly asserted that:

I would consider undertaking a sensitisation project throughout the whole school period. A methodology worked on in such a way that all would be at the same level. It would be interesting for the children with learning difficulties to receive extra support to improve their performance.

B) Civic and Social Participation

The students participating on the Service Learning project show a high disposition towards undertaking actions of civic and social participation within social entities of the relevant context. Even though some of them had previously undertaken such actions, there is a high percentage that express interest, once ended, in continuing to participate in the same project, as well as in other similar actions with highly vulnerable people in situations of inequality.

Participation in the space fosters the development of active participation skills and behaviours, implicitly conveying values of collaboration, respect, empathy and conscious attitude, which are required to carry out the participative action. The students are able to think about others, cooperate and “be part of something,” while also fostering participation in the students with whom they undertake the service and they have an attitude of responsibility to make it materialise, like a right of the students in the interactive groups to quality education. In turn, the university students agree on the demand to create flexible spaces in the university context that enable the students to have a greater level of participation and capacity to act, including making decisions in the planning of the actions carried out in the social setting. One of them clearly expresses it as such:

I had a different perception of what university life meant. People often talk of studying and going out partying...it's what us young people do. But, there are things that aren't as well known, like the undertaking of this type of action. Discovering this project has opened my eyes to a world of possibilities, as a student and future teacher, in which I want to participate and be free to choose, applying what we learn in class.

It should also be mentioned that forming part of this Service Learning project generates positive feelings for the participants, sensations of satisfaction and self-efficiency regarding their own actions, which may motivate a more autonomous and ongoing social action. Furthermore, the good acceptance and gratification by the educational community fosters satisfaction regarding the actions themselves, creating an ongoing cycle and encouraging future social actions to continue. One of the future educators said: “On finishing the activities, almost all the

children in the class thank you and ask you to return. That is very satisfying and you're left wanting more."

C) Bond with the Local Community

The bond established with the local community in the Service Learning project fosters in the participants a sense of specific responsibility with the community, as well as awareness of the needs and problems that surround said community. As such, an additional search for actions to improve the environment arises in the participants. "In the next academic year, I would like to participate in something related to disability. I would like to sign up to a voluntary service in Guzmán el Bueno [an entity close to the university] that works with abused children."

On occasions, said bond provides extensive knowledge on other realities and experiences outside the culture or context of origin of the participants, which helps to break down social prejudices and stereotypes. This increase in knowledge allows views to be changed regarding the social diversity of the community towards a more positive and realistic paradigm. As such, the capacity that social and cultural diversity has to enrich all persons, related or unrelated to a certain culture, that share everyday realities in a close environment, start to be recognised. In this regard, two students said:

I have always lived in a very different neighbourhood to the one the school we collaborated at is in and my own education centre was completely different to what I've seen and experienced here. I come from a comfortable area where the problems are very different to those that the students at this school have. In fact, I find it incredible that that can occur only a few kilometres from my house and the university. It has enabled me to face up to a new and unknown reality that I will most likely experience when I'm a teacher. As such, it has given me the opportunity to discover something very important for my training, which I didn't expect to discover at university.

I have always had the opinion, based on own experience, that people of gypsy ethnicity don't do things because they don't want to, but I have seen at this school that many of those girls have really tried and were putting a lot of work into it. I no longer hold that prejudice.

D) Sense of Belonging

The bond that participating in the Service Learning project has created with the local community implies the development of a sense of belonging to it. Both concepts, although related, do not necessarily appear at the same time. The bond supposes an emotional link between people or groups that does not necessarily require the recognition of belonging to that group, but it can occur precisely with the recognition of the differences between one and the other and the affiliation

to different groups. The participants gradually move away from the perception that they are outside the context in which they undertake the service and adopt a sense of belonging to it, becoming aware of the very space that they have to, and in fact, already, occupy within it, taking shared ownership of it in order to make it evolve through their actions of change. That has two important outcomes: firstly, that the sense of belonging ends up generating in the participants greater personal engagement both in the Service Learning project, particularly, and in their close surroundings in general. Secondly, it avoids patronising attitudes that are susceptible to arise through external intervention from a privileged standpoint, like university, that could change the sense of reciprocal Service Learning in terms of action *in* the community, *from* the community, *for* the community and *with* the community.⁴⁷

The acknowledgement received by the community with which the bond is established, including the management team, families of students, the students themselves, etc., is a key element for the emergence of this sense of belonging. Thus, an example of its development is the school students' identification of the university students as being integrated into their education community, as well as the constant reference in a collective sense of the university students towards the education communication in which they undertake the project. That can be seen in the following statement, which was extensively echoed in different ways by the university students: "They called me "teacher," which is an indication that they saw me as being part of the community."

In fact, the results show the positives of the relationships created, the core elements of which are affection and trust, which arise through regular contact and joint action between the participants and those who initially comprise the community, strengthening and fostering actions of support, collaboration, mediation and dispute resolution, focus on different needs, and implication in the group and in the project, among other aspects.

E) Teacher Identity

The students that participate in the Service Learning project state a confirmation of their choice of university studies and future profession, in other words, their teacher vocation is vindicated. Contact with activities directly related to their future profession, enables the university students to take ownership of their profession, starting to feel like teachers and educators from the first few academic

47 R. Shumer, C. Lam & N. Laabs, "Ensuring good character and civic education: connecting through service learning," *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 32.4/2012.

years of the degree course. Said ownership allows them to clearly recognise the pedagogical knowledge, tools and skills required to undertake the profession, which favours the initiative to continue lifelong learning. Two of the students clearly expressed that as follows:

It has helped me to see if it is really a profession I want to dedicate the rest of my life to. Before, I came to the faculty to study and my fundamental aim was to pass exams. But now I know that there is something a lot more important. Now I feel like a teacher and that, to a certain extent, is overwhelming. However, my experience in the education centre has helped me to realise my responsibility when I go to university to train as a teacher, as that will influence my future and that of my students-to-be, not only in a few years' time when I have my degree, but here and now.

In addition, the development of a teacher identity seems to provide the participants with sufficient confidence to propose improvements in the environment and in their own training, to increase motivation, enhance self-confidence, stimulate the development of the values inherent to professional practice and to give them the opportunity to experience the satisfaction that the profession gives.

The development of a teacher identity allows for reflection on the professional practice itself as regards matters like the stage of education in which they want to undertake their activity, the capacity of self-regulating their own role as teacher between authoritarianism, authority and awareness raising of the need for close collaboration between the school and family. Two students said the following:

I am more critical about my university training, the subjects, teachers and content they teach us, as I am more aware of what I need as a teacher, of when I need to organise the activity and of getting my students' attention in the centre by being direct but not aggressive.

I have always wanted to be a teacher, but I hadn't previously had any experience like this that helped me to confirm what I wanted to be, but at the same time, it isn't as difficult as I thought. Furthermore, it has helped me to discover what I do well and what I need to work on to improve. For example, one thing I know I'll find difficult is having contact with families. I never thought that being a teacher would also entail that task, but it's now something I see as being very important.

However, it is worth mentioning that the contribution of Service Learning goes beyond the identification of the teacher vocation, which could also arise through undertaking normal external practice placement in an education centre. Beyond the importance of this identification, students start to acknowledge the civic commitment of the teacher, not as a theoretical dimension, but rather as a real one, which connects the content of the subjects that comprise the study programme of the university degree course –particularly those referring to the theory and philosophy of education–, with direct and contextualised action,

which is current and needed by the education centre close to the university institution. There are many references as to this regard in the field notebooks and the student interviews. Here are some of the most significant:

When you study in class, in theory and in other subjects, and you ask yourself the question “what does it mean to be a teacher?” A lot of things go through your head. You discuss it with your colleagues, you discuss your experiences, and we analyse texts from different authors and we reach conclusions. But here [in the centre], is where it all seems to make more sense. Here is where you really experience it, not only understanding it, but also feeling it.

The theory is necessary; we have to learn a lot of things, and that’s why we’re here. I believe that activities like this should be compulsory, because they really bring you face to face with the reality we as educators are going to experience and in situations you can’t ignore. Ultimately, it’s our responsibility.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

This study shows the contributions that Service Learning provides university students on education-related degrees and, more specifically, in relation to their civic engagement as citizens, in general, and as educators, in particular. As such, this pedagogical methodology, should be considered as a tool at the service of change and social transformation⁴⁸ for building a fair society and, at the same time, for the character training of young people.⁴⁹ Some of the main results obtained, deriving from the study and the documentation analysed, which may guide future lines of research, are as follows:

- Service Learning favours the development of social responsibility in university students, it prepares them to perceive their environment from a critical and reflective perspective, to implicate themselves and identify problems in it, and to recognise themselves as potential agents of change and improvement. It thereby provides a two-fold connection between theory and practice, thinking and systematic action regarding social issues and the role that their own profession has in a reality that is neither abstract nor simulated, but rather tangible and real. Furthermore, it favours decision making geared towards the search for alternatives of change, which denotes an increase in their social

48 M. García, M. Cotrina, “El Aprendizaje y Servicio en la formación inicial del profesorado: de las prácticas educativas críticas a la institucionalización curricular,” *Revista de currículum y formación del profesorado* 19.1/2015.

49 J. Arthur, T. Harrison, E. Taylor, *Building Character Through Youth Social Action. Research Report*, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, 2015.

engagement.⁵⁰ Our research finds similar results than,⁵¹ who claims times and spaces for ethical deliberation on dilemmas that future teachers face in their early experiences in classrooms, aimed to develop thinking habits in which the artificial distinction between teaching and learning will disappear. In her proposal, students from different universities from UK, Hong Kong and South Africa reorganize their ideas, reflect on their personal experience, and identify “hidden knowledge and feelings that might not otherwise be expressed.”

- Participation in the Service Learning project enables contact with social and cultural diversity, contributes to reducing prejudices and social stereotypes, and allows for greater knowledge to be gained on the needs of the community, fostering a bond and sense of joint responsibility with regard to it. In this regard, the positive two-way relationships established between the university students and the school-centre students, the reciprocal feeling and the personal acknowledgement by the education-centre students towards the university participants, strengthen bonds with the educational community, reaffirm the vocation, increase intrinsic motivation and favour the development of values, abilities, skills and competencies inherent to the holistic development as teachers. These results coincide with other similar studies, such as that of Gaston & Kruger,⁵² conducted in Australia with students of other professions considered to be care-related or vocational, such as social work. Furthermore, in this study, the importance of the undertaking of the service during the first two years of university training is highlighted as a determining factor for self-knowledge and the identification of the preferential professional areas of each student. They are also in line with that found by Arthur, Harrison & Taylor⁵³ in the United Kingdom, in which youths aged 12 to 20 and heads of 21 social institutions participated, as well as research conducted in Singapore with university students focused on personal and academic development.⁵⁴

50 C. Reparaz, E. Arbués, C. Naval, C. Ugarte, “El índice Cívico de los universitarios: sus conocimientos, actitudes y habilidades de participación social,” *Revista Española de Pedagogía* 73.260/2015.

51 J. Orchard, “Moral education and the challenge of pre-service professional formation for teachers,” *Journal of Moral Education* 50.1/2021, p. 110.

52 S. Gaston, M. Kruger, “Students perceptions of volunteering during the first two years of studying a Social Work degree,” *International Journal for the Scholarships of Teaching and Learning* 8.2/2014.

53 J. Arthur, T. Harrison, E. Taylor, *Building Character Through Youth Social Action. Research Report*, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, 2015.

54 R. Shumer, C. Lam, N. Laabs, “Ensuring good character and civic education: connecting through service learning,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 32.4/2012.

- The participation of future educators in Service Learning implies a high degree of satisfaction with the activity, which also coincides with the results obtained by Gaston & Kruger⁵⁵ and Orchard.⁵⁶ In turn, its undertaking fosters actions of social support following the collaboration in the projects, through other social entities largely connected to highly vulnerable contexts. In this regard, we could say that the snowball effect is produced insofar as it enables recognition of the need to engage with the surrounding area, not only on occasions or linked to university recognition, but as the acquisition of a habit of the specific character of the educator. This impulse can be fostered by a sense of belonging with different dimensions, related to the specific community in which the students are engaged and their own profession. Osterman's⁵⁷ analysis (2010) on several quantitative and qualitative studies about sense of belonging in the school, points out some key aspects as: promoting student autonomy, interaction between peers, interpersonal support of teachers, provision of encouragement and feedback to enable them to succeed or high expectations and express confidence in student ability to meet those expectations, which makes they become active members of the school community and the developing of a feeling of we-ness. In this sense, it is worth highlighting the central place that these principles have occupied in our Service Learning project, which may have contributed to the generation of this sense of belonging. Indeed, the trust placed in the students to carry out the service in an environment of special vulnerability, the support provided in seminars by the team of teachers, the moments for discussion and interaction with fellow students, or the creation of spaces for initiative and autonomy, seem to have been important factors in our project as well as in Osterman's work.

Nevertheless, the lack of references to political issues in the analysed texts of the students is also notable. Despite addressing issues related to social participation and even introducing analysis of social problems in some of the seminars, there are few comments on the causes that produce inequalities, the role of the State in them, and student's participation in socio-political

55 S. Gaston, M. Kruger, "Students perceptions of volunteering during the first two years of studying a Social Work degree," *International Journal for the Scholarships of Teaching and Learning* 8.2/2014.

56 J. Orchard, "Moral education and the challenge of pre-service professional formation for teachers," *Journal of Moral Education* 50.1/2021, p. 110.

57 K. Osterman, "Teacher Practice and Students' Sense of Belonging," in: *International Research Handbook on Values Education and Student Wellbeing*, T. Lovat, R. Toomey, and N. Clement (eds.), Dordrecht: Springer, 2010.

movements. These results seem to support what Suissa⁵⁸ raised about the progressive disappearance of the political in educational discourse and are similar to what was found by the study on participation in the community of young Ibero-American adolescents, where the social and the solidarity stand above the political.⁵⁹ A kind of citizenship that points to what Westheimer and Kahne⁶⁰ identify as participatory citizenship, characterized by participation in public issues, but without an explicit critical and political vision of education, democracy and social justice.

- In relation to the education professional profile, in addition to developing in the participants the social responsibility that any citizen must assume as a member of society, they acquire a specific social responsibility as educators, insofar as their professional actions have an impact on social change and improvement through pedagogical actions. The development of this identity is possible not only due to experience, but largely due to the reflection produced on it and its meaning. These results coincide with what Conroy, Hulme & Menter⁶¹ found in an innovative experience at the University of Glasgow, in which factors as professional dialogue on practice, the realization of seminars, the emotional support and the meaningful link between theory and practice made possible a wider development of students' professional identities.
- Lastly, future research should evaluate, on the one hand, the permanency of the capacities developed, and the interests expressed in the interviews and field notebooks of students. Social desirability can be discarded with a new evaluation of the social participation in the following years and during the first years as teachers. Moreover, it would be significant to analyse the effects that the collaboration of university students may have on the expectations of school-centre students and of the educational communities in particular would be appropriate. Awareness of the disposition of university students to participate in Service Learning programmes with vulnerable populations may

58 J. Suissa, "Character education and the disappearance of the political," *Ethics and Education* 10.1/2015.

59 J. L. Fuentes, M. Vázquez, M. Nakano, "La participación de los jóvenes en el entorno social: estudio comparativo entre España, Argentina y Brasil," in: *Participación cívica en espacios socioeducativos. Panorama iberoamericano en un mundo tecnológico*, J. Igelmo y M. R. González (eds.), Madrid: Farenhouse, 2020.

60 J. Westheimer, J. Kahne, "What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy," *American Educational Research Journal* 41.2/2004.

61 J. Conroy, M. Hulme, I. Menter, "Developing a "clinical" model for teacher education," *Journal of Education for Teaching* 39.5/2013.

entail a change in the social perception of young people and of the university, which results in the fostering of inter-institutional collaboration and social cohesion.⁶² Additionally, and most importantly, it may contribute to opening a new and encouraging horizon for children and young people in situations of social vulnerability and for their families, in which school success and university training are simultaneously real possibilities and perspectives committed to their environment.

Notes

We would like to thank the students of the Faculty of Education at the Complutense University of Madrid, who voluntarily and actively participated in this Service Learning project, for their kind willingness to collaborate on the study. We would also like to thank Colegio Bienaventurada Virgen María in Madrid, particularly its management team, teaching staff and students, for welcoming us and facilitating greater contact and collaboration between the university and society.

This research was possible thanks to financial support from the Santander-UCM Research Project Call (*Convocatoria de Proyectos de Investigación Santander-UCM*) granted to the project “The value of civic engagement in the university: design, application and evaluation of an integral service learning programme at the Complutense University” (Reference: PR26/16-13B-1).

References

- Alexander, H.A., “Assessing virtue: measurement in moral education at home and abroad,” *Ethics and Education*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 2016, pp. 310–325.
- Annette, J., “Character, Civic Renewal and Service Learning for Democratic Citizenship in Higher Education,” *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 3, 2005, pp. 326–340.
- Appiah, K.A., *The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity*. London: Profile Books, 2019.
- Arbués, E., Repáraz, C., Naval, C., “Los alumnos y la educación para la ciudadanía. Primeros resultados,” *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, Vol. 70, No. 253, 2012, pp. 417–439.
- Arthur, J., Harrison, T., Taylor, E., *Building Character Through Youth Social Action. Research Report*. Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham, 2015.

62 R. Pring, “The Common School,” *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 41.4/2007.

- Boston, B., *Their best selves: Building character education and service learning together in the lives of young people*. Washington, DC: Council of Chief State School Officers, 1997.
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., "Using thematic analysis in psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2006, p. 77–101
- Burbules, N. C., "Like a Version: playing with online identities," *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 2002, pp. 387–393.
- Caro Samada, C., Ahedo Ruiz, J., Esteban Bara, F., "Kohlberg's moral education proposal and its legacy at university: present and future," *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, Vol. 76, No. 269, 2018, pp. 85–100.
- Carr, D., "Professional and personal values and virtues in education and teaching," *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2006, pp. 171–183.
- Carrion et al., *Green Paper, Fostering and Measuring 'Third Mission' in Higher Education Institutions*. European Commission, 2012. <https://repositorio-aberto.up.pt/bitstream/10216/118583/2/311212.pdf>
- Cerri, C., "La importancia de la metodología etnográfica para la investigación antropológica. El caso de las relaciones de valores en un espacio asociativo juvenil, Perifèria," *Revista de Recerca i Formació en Antropologia*, No. 13, 2010, pp. 1–32.
- Conroy, J., Hulme, M., Menter, I., "Developing a "clinical" model for teacher education," *Journal of Education for Teaching*, Vol. 39, No. 5, 2013, pp. 557–573.
- Conroy, J., "El Brexit y la alteridad: una modesta reflexión asistemática," in: *Educación y capacidades. Hacia un nuevo enfoque del desarrollo humano*, J. A. Ibáñez-Martín y J. L. Fuentes (eds.). Madrid: Dykinson, 2017, pp. 41–52.
- Conway, M., "The legacies of 1945: The evolutions of European civic morality," *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 50, No. 1, 2021, pp. 21–31.
- Crowne, P.D., Marlowe, D., *The approval motive: studies in evaluative dependence*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1964.
- Davies, I., Chong, E., "Current challenges for citizenship education in England," *Asian Education and Development Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2016, pp. 20–36.
- Day, C., *A passion for teaching*. London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004.
- Dewey, J., *Democracy and Education*. Project Gutenberg, 1916.
- Elboj, C., Puigdemívol, I., Soler, M., Valls, R., *Comunidades de aprendizaje. Transformar la educación*. Barcelona: Graó, 2005.
- Esteban, F. y Fuentes, J.L., "Swimming against the tide in current educational practice: thoughts and proposals," *The Educational Forum*, Vol. 85. No. 2, 2021, pp. 114–127.

- European Commission, *White Paper on education and training teaching and learning. Towards the learning society*. Commission of the European Communities, 1995.
- European Commission, *Communication on a renewed EU Agenda for Higher Education*. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, 2017.
- Farnell, T., *Community engagement in higher education: trends, practices and policies. NESET report*. Office of the European Union, 2020.
- Fuentes, J.L., López-Gómez, E., “El aprendizaje servicio como estrategia metodológica de la educación del carácter: posibilidades y complementariedades,” in: *Hacer la universidad en el espacio social*, C. Naval y E. Arbués (coords.). Pamplona: EUNSA, 2018, pp. 53–75.
- Fuentes, J.L., Vázquez, M. y Nakano, M., “La participación de los jóvenes en el entorno social: estudio comparativo entre España, Argentina y Brasil,” in: *Participación cívica en espacios socioeducativos. Panorama iberoamericano en un mundo tecnológico*, J. Igelmo y M. R. González (eds.). Madrid: Farenhouse, 2020, pp. 69–90.
- Furco, A., Billig, S. H., *Service Learning: The Essence of the Pedagogy*. Greenwich: Information Age Publishing, 2002.
- García-Gutiérrez, J., Fuentes, J. L. y del Pozo, A., “La promoción de la competencia ética y el compromiso cívico y su evaluación en los proyectos universitarios de aprendizaje-servicio,” in: *Aprendizaje-Servicio: los retos de la evaluación*, M. Ruiz Corbella y J. García-Gutiérrez (eds.). Madrid: Narcea, 2018, pp. 118–133.
- García, M., Cotrina, M., “El Aprendizaje y Servicio en la formación inicial del profesorado: de las prácticas educativas críticas a la institucionalización curricular,” *Revista de currículum y formación del profesorado*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2015, pp. 8–25.
- Gaston, S., Kruger, M., “Students perceptions of volunteering during the first two years of studying a Social Work degree,” *International Journal for the Scholarships of Teaching and Learning*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2014, pp. 1–18.
- Grem, *Rúbrica para la autoevaluación y la mejora de los proyectos de APS*, 2014. https://www.udc.es/export/sites/udc/ocv/_galeria_down/ApS/Rubrica.pdf
- Hand, M., “Patriotism in Schools,” *Impact. Philosophical Perspectives on Education Policy*, No. 19, 2011, pp. 1–40.
- Hansen, D.T., “Chasing Butterflies Without a Net: Interpreting Cosmopolitanism,” *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2010, pp. 151–166.
- Harrison, T., Arthur, J., Burn, E., *Character Education. Evaluation Handbook for Schools*. Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, 2016. <http://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/1721/character-education/teacher-resources/evaluation-handbook-for-schools>

- Higgings, C., *The Good Life of Teaching*. UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2011.
- Ibáñez-Martín, J. A., *Horizontes para los educadores*. Madrid: Dykinson, 2017.
- Kristjánsson, K., *Aristotelian Character Education*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.
- Kristjánsson, K., "Moral education today: Ascendancy and fragmentation," *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 46, No. 4, 2017, pp. 339–346.
- Johnson, L., Morris, P., "Critical citizenship education in England and France: a comparative analysis," *Comparative Education*, Vol. 48, No. 3, 2012, pp. 283–301.
- León-Carrascosa, V., Sánchez-Serrano, S., Belando-Montoro, M., "Diseño y validación de un cuestionario para evaluar la metodología Aprendizaje-Servicio," *Estudios sobre educación*, Vol. 39, 2020, pp. 247–266.
- Maalouf, A., *In The Name Of Identity*. New York: Arcade Pub, 2012.
- MacIntyre, A. C., "How to appear virtuous without actually being so," in: *Education in Morality*, J. M. Halstead and T.H. McLaughlin (eds.), London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 1–14.
- Malinowski, B., *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Moreno-Gutiérrez, M.C. & Frisancho, S., "Transitions to democracy: the role of moral and citizenship education in Latin America," *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 2009, pp. 391–406.
- Nussbaum, M., *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- OECD, *Creative thinking framework*. PISA 2021, 2019 <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/publications/PISA-2021-creative-thinking-framework.pdf>
- OECD, *Benchmarking Higher Education System Performance*. Paris: OECE publishing, 2019.
- Orchard, J., "Moral education and the challenge of pre-service professional formation for teachers," *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 50, No. 1, 2021, pp. 104–113.
- Osterman, K., "Teacher Practice and Students' Sense of Belonging," in: *International Research Handbook on Values Education and Student Wellbeing*, T. Lovat, R. Toomey, and N. Clement (eds.). Dordrecht: Springer, 2010, pp. 239–260.
- Peterson, A., "The common good and citizenship education in England: a moral enterprise?" *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2011, pp. 19–35.
- Peterson, C., Seligman, M.E.P., *Character strengths and virtues: a handbook and classification*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Pring, R., *Philosophy of Education. Aims, Theory, Common Sense and Research*. London: Continuum, 2004.

- Pring, R., "The Common School," *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 41, No. 4, 2007, pp. 503–522.
- Puig, J. M., Gijón, M., Martín, X., Rubio, L., "Aprendizaje-Servicio y Educación para la Ciudadanía," *Revista de Educación*, No. Extraordinario, 2011, pp. 45–67.
- Redondo-Corcobado, P. y Fuentes, J.L., "La investigación sobre el aprendizaje-servicio en la producción científica española: una revisión sistemática," *Revista Complutense de Educación*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 2020, pp. 69–82.
- Reparaz, C., Arbués, E., Naval, C. & Ugarte, C., "El índice Cívico de los universitarios: sus conocimientos, actitudes y habilidades de participación social," *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, Vol. 73, No. 260, 2015, pp. 23–52.
- Sen, A., *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*. London: Penguin, 2007.
- Shumer, R., Lam, C., Laabs, N., "Ensuring good character and civic education: connecting through service learning," *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 2012, pp. 430–440.
- Sotelino, A., Arbués E., García, L., González-Geraldo J.L., "Service-Learning in Europe. Dimensions and Understanding from Academic Publication," *Frontiers in Education*, 2021.
- Suissa, J., "Character education and the disappearance of the political," *Ethics and Education*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2015, pp. 105–117.
- Tapia, M.N., *La solidaridad como pedagogía. El "aprendizaje-servicio" en la escuela*. Buenos Aires: Ciudad Nueva, 2001.
- Walker, D.I., Roberts, M.P., Kristjánsson, K., "Towards a new era of character education in theory and in practice," *Educational Review*, Vol. 67, No. 1, 2015, pp. 79–96.
- Westheimer, J., Kahne, J., "What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy," *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 2004, pp. 237–269.

Radosław Fiedler, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID 0000-0003-1573-9898, radoslaw.fiedler@amu.edu.pl

The Role of Think Tanks in US Policy Toward Iran¹

Abstract: The purpose of the article is to elaborate on think tanks' influence on shaping the US policy regarding Iran. Two trends are outlined in connection to the proposed goals. Furthermore, it is discussed how think tanks are positioned in the US political system from the perspective of elite, institutional and pluralistic theories.

Keywords: think tanks, Iran, the USA, policy, influence, decision-makers.

Introduction: The Conflicting US–Iran Relations

Iran was a strategic US ally until 1979. Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi and the US, administrations from President Dwight Eisenhower to Jimmy Carter treated Iran as a vital partner whose military capabilities could effectively deter the Soviet Union's possible intrusion in that region. As an anchor of stability, the exchange was conducted due to the following pattern: Iran was the greatest recipient of American military equipment for the oil to the US. American corporations, employees, professionals, and financial institutions had access and privileges to the Iranian economy and crucial sectors. Having multiple interests ties and attaining advantages for both sides it seemed unlikely that Washington and Teheran could completely break down its relations.

However, can be indicated at least three factors, which were in 1979 decisive to great and nasty divorce between the US and Iran:

The first factor had a historical background. The CIA decided that democratically elected Iranian prime minister Muhammad Mossadegh urgently needed to be removed because his government nationalized Anglo-Iranian Oil Company which was a severe blow for the British and Western economic and financial interests. The CIA orchestrated a coup d'état to depose the Iranian prime minister with the false accusation for the communistic profile of Mossadegh's

1 The paper is the result of research visit within the Bekker Program – the Polish National Agency for Academic Exchange at the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University in New York City in academic year 2019–2020.

government. Operation Ajax had been swiftly conducted and pro-Western shah was restored but in the long-term, it had dramatically decreased the US image in Iran. Until 1953 the US was perceived positively by Iranian elites as a democracy and progressive ideas promotor otherwise to the obsolete Great Britain seen as a colonial power-driven policy at the expense of Iran. Thorough decades had developed the Mossadegh legend as an uncompromised leader and American unexpected and behind the back assault on Iranian democracy. It was one of the dominant narrations amid the 1979 Iranian revolution about the great American treason of Iranian progress and democracy.

The second factor regarded between the US and the shah regime deep ties. The cold war logic was narrowed to other options – shah was a guarantor of stability and bulwark against communism from outside and within the region. Until Jimmy Carter, the US kept a blind eye on Savak's brutal methods employed to silence the opposition. Worth mentioning that in the 1950s General Norman Schwarzkopf Sr. contributed substantially to create Savak.² Washington often used convenient excuses because the shah's great designs related to modernization and westernization were more significant than his faults. The issue of human rights was raised by the Carter administration. The shah was vehemently criticized for too slow and feeble political reforms. Facing the political crisis in Iran in late 1978, Carter miscalculation that political changes in Iran would not imperil US-Iranian relations. The second miscalculation was that moderates would take control and be able to maintain relations with the US. The third miscalculation until October 1978 Carter and his administration were convinced that shah would politically survive the political turmoil in Iran. Since that time the administration was undecided which strategy should be applied as the most coherent and adaptive to the heightened revolutionary dynamic to Iran.

The third factor – Khomeini had not changed his deep anti-American sentiments and a lack of trust in Washington's good intentions. He aimed to expand the Islamic influence on the Iranian revolution. The US was perceived negatively by Iranians and with the slogan, "the shah must go" along with Pahlavi's patron the US as a Great Satan. Deliberately to oust moderates Khomeini provoked the great crisis by taking hostage American diplomats for 444 days. Being

2 A. Saleh Albarasneh, D. Koleilat Khatib, "The US policy of containing Iran – from Obama to Trump 2009–2018," *Global Affairs*, 5/4-5 2009, pp. 369–387; *The International Business Times*, December 28, 2012. Iran's Feared SAVAK: Norman Schwarzkopf's father had a greater impact on the Middle East Affairs. *The International Business Times*.

on collision course with the US substantially helped Khomeini to implement his political vision. From the beginning, the political dynamic in Iran was defined as fierce opposition to the US. Furthermore, the US depicted as the Great Satan was needed to mobilize a more radical course and taking control by Khomeini and his acolytes. In that specific context, the full reconciliation between the US and Iran is almost improbable it would be in contradiction to the foundations of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Khomeini needed confrontation with the US as a turning point to grip the power in Iran.

Through more than four decades regardless of American–Iranian hostility, limited cooperation could be achieved in some areas. The enmity is related to Iran’s regional ambitions that have been evinced through support and coordination of the Shia militias in Iraq, Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas in the Gaza Strip, Houthis in Yemen and Bashar Assad’s regime in Syria. The US decided to contain Iranian regional influence.

Other problems have been caused by the Iranian nuclear and missile programs and human rights violations. Above mentioned issues have been brought to sanctioning the Iranian regime. Since 1979 massive sanctions have been imposed on Iran excluding Tehran from the international financial system, investments, technology and oil markets. The most severe sanctions have been imposed by the United States.³

Regardless of strained Washington-Teheran relations, there have been some possible areas of limited cooperation. For example, Iran for the Reagan administration with its strategic location and the fact it hosts important oil reserves, even a revolutionary Iran was too important to be ignored. Contrary to official policy, the US secretly sold weapons, 100 American-made TOW antitank missiles, to Iran despite the embargo, which resulted in the famous Iran–Contra scandal. The purpose of dealing with Iran was to help the release of American hostages held in Lebanon and to thaw the relations with Iran.⁴

Another example of limited and tactic cooperation was Iranian intelligence assistance in Afghanistan amid Operation Endure Freedom in 2001. US and Iranian interests coincided regarding ousting the Taliban regime from

3 S. Fayazmanesh, *The United States and Iran Sanctions, wars and the policy of dual containment*, New York, London: Routledge, 2008.

4 C. Morgan, “A history of covert action and a promising future,” *The Cohen Journal* 2.1/ 2015, pp. 1–22.

Afghanistan.⁵ Later Iran and the US for a while cooperated in combating ISIS in Syria and Iraq.

Finally, the possibility for limited cooperation was opened by President Obama along with the European Union, China and Russia effectively worked on imposing international sanctions regime on Iran. Particularly American and European sanctions were painful enough to the Iranian economy and finances. More than less united international cooperation and consistent goals to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons had brought Teheran to negotiations with the format P5 plus 1 (United States, United Kingdom, France, China, Russia plus Germany). In 2015 was achieved a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) the deal which limits the Iranian nuclear program under the watchdog of The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).⁶

In 2018 President Trump unilaterally pulled out United States from JCPOA, claiming that the nuclear deal was wrongly constructed because it did not include the Iranian missile program. Moreover, Trump emphasized Iran's regional destructive role and its support for terrorism.⁷ Pompeo the state secretary had laid out twelve demands as the preconditions of dealing with Iran. For Trump and Pompeo, the best option was regime change in Iran done by frustrated Iranians. Therefore, punitive and hard sanctions had been restored and added additional ones. The abusive sanction regime has had two premises: first, isolate Iran and undercut its economy and secondly, sanctions are aimed at third parties merely through raising costs for doing business with Iran. One who decides to invest in Iran concurrently is losing access to American (means global) financial institutions and markets. The sanctions particularly Europeans were excluded from the Iranian market.

The US policy to Iran can be described as a long track of hostility with brief moments for possible cooperation which has never transformed into reconciliation between Teheran and Washington.

5 K. M. Pollack, *The Persian Puzzle, The Conflict between Iran and America*, New York: Random House 2004, p. 346.

6 D. C. Jett, *The Iran Nuclear Deal. Bomb, Bureaucrats and Billionaires*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

7 White House, Statement by the President on the Iran Nuclear Deal, 12 January 2018, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-iran-nuclear-deal/> (retrieved June 22, 2021).

The Role of Think Tanks in the USA: Selected Issues

Think tanks can be defined as organizations that have “policy research functions and policy advisory practices.”⁸ However, it is difficult referring to one definition, because of the complexity regarding the think tanks role in the American political system. One cynical opinion suggested that a think tank might be defined as “an arrangement by which millions of dollars are removed from the accounts of willing corporations, the government, and the eccentric wealthy and given to researchers who spend much of their time competing to get their names in print.”⁹ The above quotation touches on one of the issues related to financing sources essential for think-tanks activity. The case of external and domestic financing raises the question of how does it sway the think tank profile?

Theoretical models are seeking to define the think tanks place in the political system and their influential role on the decision-making processes. Joseph G. Peschek enlists three approaches applicable to think tanks: the elite, pluralist and institutionalist theories.¹⁰

The elite theory derives from the seminal book of C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*. The book was written in the mid of 1950s and the author noticed the cold war developed the role of the military sector, as he pessimistically called that the American political system was being controlled largely by the military-industrial complex.¹¹ The American elite theory was continued by G. William Domhoff highlighted the triumph of corporate rich consist of large banks, corporations, agribusinesses, and commercial real estate developments that dominate the American economy and government.¹² Think tanks in the elite theory are the instruments deployed strategically in the service of a ruling class. This theoretical approach provides well-known wisdom that with the right connections think tanks will be able to influence policy. Additionally, as revolving doors concept think tanks provide elites to public institutions and vice versa. As Donald

8 D. Cadier, M. Sus, “Think Tank Involvement in Foreign Policymaking in the Czech Republic and Poland,” *The International Spectator* 52.1/2017, pp. 116–131.

9 R. Weaver, “The Changing World of Think Tanks,” *Political Science & Politics* 22.3/1989, pp. 563–578.

10 J. G. Peschek, “Think Tanks in America,” *New Political Science* 39.1/2017, p. 161–163.

11 C. Wright Mills, *The Power elite*, 1956.

12 G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America? The Triumph of Corporate Rich*,” New York: McGraw-Hill Education 2014.

E. Abelson observed “unfortunately, it offers little insight into how this will be achieved.”¹³

In the opposite to elite theory – pluralists arguing that no single type of actor dominates the policy process, but if anybody does, it is the state (elected officials), not corporations or interest groups.¹⁴ In that approach political system is responsive to the preferences of numerous channels at different levels, including think tanks and a group of interests. However, there are some limits that the power of money sets competition within a marketplace of ideas in which anybody is unable to dominate the system.¹⁵ The major deficit of that approach is not related to an assumption that all groups are capable to influence decision-making but rather to inadequate tools to explain why some groups can do more than others.¹⁶ Another major deficiency ensues for the concept of the state which is prone to the influence of different actors and plausible in certain circumstances balancing between political chaos and corruption.

Third, institutionalists underline the impact of structural environments in which think tanks are embedded, the rules and norms that shape their behaviour, and the organizational arrangements that defined the way of their response. The scientific literature provided detailed studies on institutional histories of think tanks. The main disadvantage is that besides institutional history, these analyses provided little explanation on the issue of why particular think tanks have played a major role in shaping specific politics and decision-making.¹⁷

Donald E. Abelson features the following generations of think tanks in the US:

1. The first major wave of foreign policy think tanks in the United States began to emerge in the early 1900s. Their foundation was related to desire, intellectual needs and necessary funds of leading philanthropists and intellectuals secured to create institutions where scholars and leaders from the public and private sectors could meet and discuss world affairs. It coincided with the rising U.S. role in international relations and idealistic conviction the new world could serve as a model worth following. Several notable institutions were established: the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1910),

13 D. E. Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter? Assessing the Impact of Public Policy Institutes*, 2nd Edition, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 101.

14 N. Polsby, “Tanks but No Tanks,” *Public Opinion* 1983 (April/May), pp. 14–15.

15 D. E. Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter?*, 2nd Edition, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009, p. 189.

16 D. E. Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter?*, p. 102.

17 D. E. Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter?*, p. 105.

by Pittsburgh steel baron Andrew Carnegie; the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace (1919), created by former President Herbert Hoover;” and the Council on Foreign Relations (1921). The latter one typically in that time evolved from a monthly dinner club to the most prestigious think tank in the world.¹⁸ Two other think tanks, the Institute for Government Research (1916), which later merged with two other institutes to create the Brookings Institution (1927), a Washington icon, and the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (1943), a highly respected conservative think tank, would in time begin to focus considerable attention on a wide range of foreign policy issues.¹⁹

2. The second generation arrived aftermath of World War II with the advent of the growth of the United States and, the need for expertise became critical for running foreign policy and faced the cold war with the Soviet Union. Therefore, the RAND Corporation was created in May 1948 to promote and protect U.S. security interests during the nuclear age.
3. The third generation was related to the rise of advocacy think tanks. In combination with the research methods and expertise and aggressive marketing techniques, advocacy think tanks were aimed at influencing foreign policy. Unlike the think tanks from the early 20th century, advocacy institutions were reluctant to become be a part of debates – they preferred to be more efficient to influence decision-makers and have an impact on their foreign and national policies. The following were examples of such impact-profiled think tanks: the Center for Strategic and International Studies (1962), the Heritage Foundation (1973), and the CATO Institute (1977).
4. The fourth-generation legacy-based are think tanks created by the former president’s intent on leaving a lasting legacy on foreign and domestic policy. They produce a wide range of publications, hold seminars and workshops, and conduct research in various areas. Exemplification of legacy-based think tanks like Carter Center in Atlanta and the Washington, D.C.-based Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom.

Howard J. Wiarda elaborates on the way in which think tanks engage in communication with policymakers, the wider public and the media. This point is significant since the visibility of a think tank warrants well-allocated financial

18 E. Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy*, Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989.

19 D. E. Abelson, “Think Tanks and U.S. Foreign Policy: A Historical Perspective,” in: *An Electronic Journal of the U. S. Department of State* 7.3/2002 (November), pp. 10–11.

support, as well as the opportunity to recruit new funders. As he highlights there are various methods of communicating with the public:

- Lunches, seminars, dinners.
- Television and media, the use of social media such as Youtube, Facebook, Instagram and other related opportunities.
- Public appearances participating in numerous conferences, seminars, expert panels and delivering a guest lecture.
- Access to policymakers – the experts can have access to decision-makers as well as government officials and people in positions with authority.
- Congressional testimony. Think tank scholars often know personally the congressional staffers who schedule hearings or are known to those staffers.
- Government experience think tanks generate the employment of senior officials, policy consultants or former policymakers.
- Studies and publications. Publications, papers and expertise can be placed in open access and subscribers receive a new publication alert.²⁰

Think tanks raise awareness, explore problems, search for solutions, educate the public and, above all, seek to influence policymakers, for instance in signalling the need to take action change or develop an existing policy.

Think tanks, like corporations in the private sector, have to compete in a market where ideas, like merchandise and other consumer products, are aggressively marketed. Think tanks do not have to worry about quarterly profits and losses like corporations, but they do have to compete among themselves and other idea promoters to attract the attention of key stakeholders.

Although a generally beneficial part of the role, the problems that take the credibility out of think tanks are dark money and maintaining a rigid profile, however difficult it is to defend. Significantly, think tanks are expected to disclose their donors transparently. The most common approach, however, is for think tanks to provide a list of all major donors grouped into categories based on the size of the financial contribution each donor makes. For example, the Center for Strategic and International Studies has donor categories of \$5,000 to \$99,999, \$100,000 to \$499,999, and \$500,000 and above.²¹

20 H. J. Wiarda, “The New Powerhouses: Think Tanks and Foreign Policy,” *American Foreign Policy Interests* 30.2/2008, pp. 110–111.

21 Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Our Donors*, 2021. <https://www.csis.org/programs/support/our-donors> (retrieved June 22, 2021).

The authors Eli Clifton and Ben Freeman provided examples of foreign donor funding of think tanks: “In 2019, leaked internal documents exposed the United Arab Emirates’ funding relationship with the Center for American Progress, raising questions about whether this support influenced CAP’s response to the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, the Saudi journalist (and Washington Post columnist) assassinated in Istanbul in 2018. CAP subsequently ended its funding relationship with the UAE. As documented by one of this paper’s authors, Eli Clifton, from 2007 to 2015 the Heritage Foundation received at least \$5.8 million from a Korean weapons manufacturer whose autonomous weapons system was promoted by Heritage experts.”²²

Pennsylvania researchers found that in 2014 the number of new tanks fell for the first time in 30 years. One reason is that donors now prefer to give grants to specific projects rather than pour money into just thinking. Another is the increasing competition. Professional consultancies such as McKinsey publish a lot of intellectual work, and members of opinionated “advocacy organisations can be more persuasive interlocutors than balanced think tanks. So some centres are changing the way they think about themselves. The Pew Research Centre describes itself as a “fact tank,” focusing on information rather than policy recommendations. In contrast, the Sutton Trust calls itself a “do tank,” putting its own recommendations into practice.”²³

Think tanks, like corporations in the private sector, have to compete in a market where ideas, like merchandise and other consumer products, are aggressively marketed. Think tanks do not have to worry about quarterly profits and losses like corporations, but they do have to compete among themselves and other idea promoters to attract the attention of key stakeholders.

Think Tanks on Iran: Between the Twin Opposites of Finding a Deal and Changing the Regime

In 2018, President Trump had unilaterally withdrawn the US from the nuclear deal (JCPOA) on Iran. Under the JCPOA, the United States and five other world powers had agreed to lift economic sanctions on Iran in exchange for restrictions on the Iranian nuclear program. Trump re-imposed U.S. sanctions in 2018,

22 E. Clifton, B. Freeman, “Restoring Trust in the Think Tank Sector,” *Quincy Brief* 12/ 2021 (May), pp. 7–8.

23 “The Economist explains: What do think-tanks do? The rise, and slight decline, of the mysterious outfits quoted in newspapers and magazines,” *The Economist*, <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2017/01/05/what-do-think-tanks-do>.

severely damaging the Iranian economy and provoking Iran to ramp up its nuclear research. The Trump administration insists that the goal is a better deal, although former administration officials say that the true objective was to bring down the Iranian government.²⁴

Proponents of a tighter policy on Iran have even believed that Washington needs to go further and hasten the collapse of the dictatorship of the ayatollahs. The Foundation for Defense of Democracies and the American Enterprise Institute are aggressively campaigning for military escalation and a tightening of sanctions.

Since the global pandemic of the Covid-19 virus began, a group of US think tanks have aggressively lobbied the Trump administration to escalate militarily against Iran and tighten US sanctions. These actions are being taken despite warnings that such sanctions will worsen the lethality of the Iranian outbreak, which is one of the worst in the world. The think tanks spearheading these efforts – the Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD) and the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) – have been steadily publishing statements, research papers, videos and media appearances since the crisis began. They are not shouting into the wind, but speaking directly to an administration that has proven itself willing to act on their words.²⁵

The FDD, which was established after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, has long been Iran-obsessed and vocally against the JCPOA. The FDD strives to highlight its public profile with the claim that its primary mission is the old-fashioned American ideal of defending democracy.²⁶ Mark Dubowitz is the executive director of FDD. Dubowitz has long tried to argue that US democracy promotion is compatible with his militaristic, “pro-Israel view of US foreign policy. In early 2018, however, Dubowitz abruptly departed from his apparent “defense of democracy” when he asked his followers on Twitter to discuss his proposition that: “Unfortunately, democracy has been a disaster for minorities in the Middle East – and not just for minorities. So have brutal authoritarians. This

24 <<https://nationalinterest.org/blog/skeptics/did-donald-trump-miss-his-chance-better-iran-deal-163353>> (retrieved June 22, 2021)

25 “Right-Wing Think Tanks Are Using Covid-19 To Push War with Iran,” <https://inthesetimes.com/article/22487/think-tanks-fdd-aei-iran-sanctions-coronavirus-war-trump-pompeo-covid> (retrieved June 22, 2021).

26 M. Sahimi, “Neocons in the Age of Trump? The Case of the FDD and Iran’s “Fake Opposition,” February 19, 2020; <https://militarist-monitor.org/neocons-in-the-age-of-trump-the-case-of-the-fdd-and-irans-fake-opposition/>.

third way (“inclusive authoritarianism”) may be a better alternative. I said a more “inclusive authoritarianism” *might* be a better alternative. Tolerant, respectful of individual liberties and minority rights and pro-American.”²⁷ Specifically, he pressed for sanctions intended to inflict domestic hardship and turmoil on Iran and argued against adjusting U.S. legislation to facilitate the importation of sanction-exempt American medicines.²⁸ “Political and economic isolation is designed to nurture Iran’s convulsive internal contradictions,” Dubowitz wrote in a 2011 *Weekly Standard* article co-authored by his FDD colleague Reuel Marc Gerecht. “The problem is time: Can we put enough pressure on [Iranian Supreme Leader Ali] Khamenei and his pretorians to either break the regime or make the supreme leader believe that the nuclear program actually threatens his rule?”²⁹

The opinions articulated there by Dubowitz and his associates appeared detached from the reality, notably, since Iran had agreed to nuclear program constraints in the JCPOA and more access to nuclear installations for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspections.

Similar to the FDD, AEI’s advocacy of the sanctions on 2 April 2020, Kenneth M. Pollack, AEI’s scientist-in-residence, echoed FDD’s words, speculating on whether the massive suffering caused by Covid-19 might hasten the end of the regime: “While Covid-19 seems unlikely to be the trigger for the fall of the Islamic Republic when the history of the regime is finally written, it may very well be that we will look back on this crisis and say that it helped hasten its end.”³⁰

John Bolton has been the most vocal supporter of regime change in Iran for years. In fact, in 2018, he was appointed as President Trump’s security adviser. He has been very active and has an extensive record as a professional politician. Formerly a neoconservative and a supporter of invading Iraq, he served as the US ambassador to the UN and was also involved in the presidential and Congressional campaigns seeking funding from Political Action Committees. He has spoken in front of groups, has published, and has spoken more than once

27 M. Dubowitz, Twitter, March 6, 2018, <https://twitter.com/mdubowitz/status/971219570374729728?lang=en>. (retrived June 22, 2021).

28 M. Dubowitz; https://militarist-monitor.org/profile/mark-dubowitz/#_ftn17 (retrieved June 22, 2021).

29 R. M. Gerecht, M. Dubowitz, “The Logic of Our Iran Sanctions,” *Weekly Standard*, January 3–10, 2011, http://www.weeklystandard.com/print/articles/logic-our-iran-sanctions_524860.html?page=2 (retrieved June 22, 2021).

30 K. M. Pollack <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/04/02/coronavirus-pandemic-iran-regime-change-revolution/>> (retrieved June 22, 2021).

before the Heritage Foundation's conservative think tank.³¹ The very reason why Bolton has been the most formidable opponent of the nuclear deal with Iran is that as a security adviser for the Trump administration from 2018–2019, he co-shaped the policy towards Iran. In the book *The Room Where It Happened: A White House Memoir* he outlines his exact positions regarding Iran. Relaxation with Iran such as the nuclear deal only strengthened the ayatollahs' regime and threatened US allies in the region.³²

A contrasting position is adopted by the think tanks which consider that it is possible to have a nuclear agreement and co-operation, albeit limited, with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The spokeswoman of the agreement with Iran is Barbara Slavin acting director of the Future of Iran Initiative at the Atlantic Council's South Asia Center. She is the author of a book about Iran–United States relations.³³ Barbara Slavin repeatedly points out that the JCPOA with Iran only opened a window of opportunity for cooperation with Iran, which was denied by Trump's withdrawal from the deal. She has been very critical of the policy of maximum pressure, arguing it only hardens Iran's position and has also greatly weakened the camp of Iranian reformists.

Similar to Barbara Slavin on seeking an agreement with Iran, the Quincy Institute postulates by returning the US to the JCPOA. Full name: The Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft was founded in 2019 is to promote ideas to redirect American foreign policy from endless wars around the world.³⁴ Especially in the Middle East, robust diplomacy in search of international peace by promoting more dialogue so-called negotiations instead of wars, similar to Iran negotiations with the Obama administration which resulted in the USA lifting all sanctions against Iran.³⁵ Trita Parsi is co-founder and executive vice president of the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft, and founder and former president of the National Iranian American Council. He regularly contributes to articles and makes television appearances commenting on foreign

31 J. R. Bolton, "To Stop Iran's Bomb, Bomb Iran," *New York Times*, March 26, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/26/opinion/to-stop-irans-bomb-bomb-iran.html> (retrieved June 22, 2021).

32 J. Bolton, *The Room Where It Happened: A White House Memoir*, Simon&Schuster, 2020

33 B. Slavin, *Bitter Friends, Bosom Enemies. Iran, the U. S., and the Twisted Path to Confrontation*, St. Martin Press, 2007.

34 The initial budget of this institution; Includes half a million dollars from the Soros Foundation (George Soros) And the Cook Foundation (Charles J. Cook).

35 <https://quincyinst.org/> (retrieved June 22, 2021).

policy. He is the author of the books *Treacherous Alliance*, *A Single Roll of the Dice* and *Losing an Enemy*. In *Losing an Enemy* he has analyzed in detail the whole process of the extremely complicated international negotiations that led to the Vienna Agreement on July 14, 2015.³⁶

A revolving door example is Robert Malley formerly involved in various think tanks, and more recently he was President and the CEO of the International Crisis Group. That think tank was founded in 1995 as an international non-governmental organization by a group of prominent statesmen who despaired at the international community's failure to anticipate and respond effectively to the tragedies of Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia.³⁷ Previously Robert Malley was a Special Assistant to former U.S. President Barack Obama as well as Senior Adviser to the President for the Counter-ISIL Campaign, and White House Coordinator for the Middle East, North Africa and the Gulf region. Previously, he served as President Bill Clinton's Special Assistant for Israeli-Palestinian Affairs.³⁸ Most importantly, Malley served as a special envoy on Iran (2013–2015) in the Obama administration and was the main negotiator in each of the various rounds culminating in the JCPOA agreement in the year 2015. While describing the negotiating daunting challenges, Malley subsequently wrote in *The Atlantic*, "The real choice in 2015 was between reaching a deal that constrained the size of Iran's nuclear program for many years and ensured intrusive inspections forever, or not getting one, meaning no restrictions at all coupled with much less verification."³⁹ As of 2021, he again serves as the special envoy on Iran in the Biden administration. It is therefore not surprising to find the International Crisis Group arguing for the talks to be continued, even when the ultraconservative Ebrahim Raisi has won the 18 June 2021 presidential election in Iran: "Engaging the new Iranian government would also likely better serve the interests of the Iranian people, who will be facing a system that cares more about its own survival than their needs and grievances. Confronting the Raisi administration through extra pressure would further weaken Iran's middle class, which has suffered much under

36 T. Parsi, *Losing an Enemy: Obama, Iran, and the Triumph of Diplomacy*, Yale 2017.

37 *Preventing War: Shaping Peace*; <https://www.crisisgroup.org/who-we-are> (retrieved June 22, 2021).

38 R. Malley, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/who-we-are/people/robert-malley-0>

39 R. Malley, R. Gordon, "Destroying the Iran Deal While Claiming to Save It," *The Atlantic* 2018; <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/01/trump-iran-deal-jcpoa/551066/> (retrieved June 22, 2021).

U.S. sanctions, as well as Iranian government repression, but remains the best hope for positive change in the country's future."⁴⁰

Conclusions

Think tanks in the USA are performing an essential function on the one hand providing expertise and on the other hand, as part of a revolving door, recruiting experts from the world of politics and vice-versa. The realm of think tanks intermingles with the realm of politics, and sometimes they succeed at influencing the policies and the decision-making processes.

What course to follow in the US policies on Iran is playing an integral on the agenda of a wide range of different think tanks in the USA. The selected ones in the piece are not exhaustive, there is a much larger number, but the two positions do reflect the proposals in the articulation of Washington's goals towards Iran.

One position consistently advocates for regime change in Iran. Think tanks are proposing a variety of means to achieve such a change: to support the regime's opponents, to contain Iran, to sanction and exert constant pressures on Tehran, and even earlier they considered a military invasion. Those who advocate such an approach argue that, for structural reasons, it is impossible to come to even a partial accommodation with the Islamic Republic of Iran, so that a breakthrough is possible after the fall of this political regime.

The second position is connected with the conviction that despite significant differences between the US and Iran, it is possible to find common ground for cooperation and even reach a partial agreement, if necessary, on the nuclear issue. According to supporters of this approach, the Iranian nuclear program is an area where negotiations with Tehran can be conducted. Iran stays with its civil nuclear program, and the US lifts sanctions in return. For example, Barbara Slavin believed that if cooperation was satisfactory within the framework of the nuclear order, further areas of cooperation could be opened, such as human rights, the missile program and Iran's regional policy. It is difficult to find confirmation for Slavin's arguments since the agreement has already been weakened after less than three years by Trump's unilateral withdrawal from the JCPOA.

Politics from the crisis to limited co-operation are also being co-shaped by the think tanks. This includes not only the institutional aspect but above and

40 A. Vaez, N. Rafati, *Engaging Iran Remains Vital after Presidential Elections*. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iran/engaging-iran-remains-vital-after-presidential-election> (retrieved June 22, 2021)

beyond this, the influential figures who hold opinions that reflect one or the other approach.

The American political system provides the opportunity for think tanks to influence and be visible amongst decision-makers. Therefore, the most prominent think tanks are located in Washington. The proposed approaches towards Iran will still oscillate between seeking at least a modest form of cooperation and stubbornly trying to bring about political change in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

References

- Abelson D., "Think Tanks and U.S. Foreign Policy: A Historical Perspective," *An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State* 7.3/2002 (November), pp. 10–11.
- Abelson D., *Do Think Tanks Matter? Assessing the Impact of Public Policy Institutes*. 2nd Edition. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007, p. 101.
- Albarasneh A. S., Khatib D. K., "The US policy of containing Iran – from Obama to Trump 2009–2018," *Global Affairs*, 5: 4–5, 2019, pp. 369–387; *The International Business Times*, December 28, 2002.
- Bolton J., "To Stop Iran's Bomb, Bomb Iran," *New York Times*, March 26, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/26/opinion/to-stop-irans-bomb-bomb-iran.html> (retrieved June 22, 2021)
- Bolton J., *The Room Where It Happened: A White House Memoir*. Simon&Schuster 2020.
- Cadier D. M. Sus, "Think Tank Involvement in Foreign Policymaking in the Czech Republic and Poland," *The International Spectator*, 52(1), 2017, p. 116–131.
- Clifton E., Freeman B., "Restoring Trust in the Think Tank Sector, May 2021," *Quincy Brief*, No. 12, 2021, pp. 7–8.
- Domhoff G. W., *Who Rules America? The triumph of corporate rich*. New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2014.
- Fayazmanesh S., *The United States and Iran Sanctions, Wars and the Policy of Dual Containment*. New-York, London: Routledge, 2008.
- Gerecht R. M., Dubowitz M., "The Logic of Our Iran Sanctions," *Weekly Standard*, January 3–10, 2011. http://www.weeklystandard.com/print/articles/logic-our-iran-sanctions_524860.html?page=2 (retrieved June 22, 2021).
- Jett D. C., *The Iran Nuclear Deal. Bomb, Bureaucrats and Billionaires*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Lagemann E. C., *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989.

- Morgan C., "A history of covert action and a promising future," *The Cohen Journal*, 2(1), pp. 1–22, 2015.
- Parsi T., *Losing an Enemy. Obama, Iran, and the Triumph of Diplomacy*. Yale, 2017.
- Peschek J. G., "Think Tanks in America," *New Political Science*, 39: 1, 2017, pp. 161–163,
- Pollack K., *The Persian Puzzle, The Conflict Between Iran and America*. New York: Random House, 2004, p. 346.
- Pollack K. <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/04/02/coronavirus-pandemic-iran-regime-change-revolution/>> (retrieved June 22, 2021)
- Polsby N., "Tanks But No Tanks," *Public Opinion*, April/May 1983, pp. 14–15.
- Slavin B., *Bitter Friends, Bosom Enemies: Iran, the U.S., and the Twisted Path to Confrontation*. St. Martin Press, 2007.
- Weaver R., "The Changing World of Think Tanks," *Political Science & Politics*, 22(3) 1989, p. 563–578.
- Wiarda H. J., "The New Powerhouses: Think Tanks and Foreign Policy, American Foreign Policy Interests," *The Journal of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy*, 30: 2, 2008, pp. 110–111.
- White House, *Statement by the President on the Iran Nuclear Deal*, 12 January 2018. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-iran-nuclear-deal/> (retrieved June 22, 2021)
- Wright Mills C., *The Power Elite*. 1956.

Agnieszka Cybal-Michalska, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID 0000-0001-7470-1473,
agnieszka.cybal-michalska@amu.edu.pl

In the Grip of Science: Youth and Professional Career in the World of Global Change

Abstract: This article presents a discourse about the way of creating a scientific workshop on the example of own research about youth and professional career. The purpose of this article is to draw attention to the numerous transformations taking place in the contemporary reality, including in the world of work, which influence people's professional career, the significance attributed to it and the success achieved through it. In her article, the Author indicates that the questions about meanings and the term "career" are really topical these days. In this context, she emphasizes the necessity to look for answers about possibilities and subjects' abilities to plan and create their career paths, as well as to shape their own work identity (in their careers). This strand becomes particularly consequential in the context of young people who are "on their way" to their careers. The way metaphor shows a perspective, in which individuals have their past stories, but also the stories ahead of them. Moreover, the Author is also interested in seeing career as "individuals' property."

Keywords: career, globalization, academic students, subjective sense of career, career as the property of an individual.

Introduction

Embarking on the path of intellectual emancipation means the endless search for a scientific view of reality and the possibility of self-development. The permanent opportunity to interpret one's own biography as a kind of never-ending story and the awareness that the human being is not yet "finished," that a story awaits him or her, clearly increases. Even more so if one encounters wise authorities on their way, from whom one learns very difficult art of "navigating" scientific and academic life. Experiencing the discourse between I AM of the past, I AM of the present and I AM of the future is above all a special and unique experience of the intensity of the scientific community. The scientific view of reality is an exciting adventure. And I believe that from the permanent insatiability a scientist draws

both the vital force and the meaning of their scientific existence and that one can lose both if one abandons this search. After all, there is no doubt in my mind that the condition of a skilful scientific life is the passion for creation, and thinking which takes paradigmatic codes as its point of reference constitutes its essence. Passion simply “becomes” and, as a self-renewing power, remains a constant and uninterrupted state of insatiability. Thus, the problem under consideration is an attempt to answer the question of how a scientist manages to combine their passion for a scientific view of reality and their liking and enthusiasm for a selected fragment of it. In a way, it is a story about “two” passions. In a place with no limit to creation, at the meeting point of potential and passion, His or Her life career develops. Taking into account the fact that the phenomenon of passion is a renewable energy and it is impossible to interrupt the sequence of changes that has already begun, it will have its part in moulding His or Her identity. It is not uncommon, I am an example of this, that an investment in passion goes hand in hand with questions about oneself, which means that by speaking about passion, one is also, in a sense, speaking about oneself.

I would like my reflection to revolve around one of the areas of my scientific research regarding the issue of youth and professional career in the world of global change, which is the subject of my scientific and research passion.

The Specificity of Globalization

Global transformations of the contemporary world, which are multidimensional in nature and involve almost all aspects of social existence, seem to be inevitable and their complexity is difficult to grasp. Regardless of the differences in socio-cultural and political-economic approaches to the globalization of the world today, globalization is considered an inevitable and irreversible process. We have become globalised, states Z. Bauman, and “being <globalised> means almost the same thing for all those affected by the process.”¹

Accelerated process of globalization,² described as abstract, spontaneous, and rarely as institutionalized and consciously planned,³ reveals the progressing

1 Z. Bauman, *Globalizacja*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 2000, p. 5.

2 The issues of globalization on the political, economic and socio-cultural level were taken up by the author in her earlier works in a much broader scope with an indication of the complexity and determinants of the globalization phenomenon in the work entitled A. Cybal-Michalska, *Tożsamość młodzieży w perspektywie globalnego świata*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 2006.

3 In the literature, globalization has been described as “the result of consciously and deliberately authorized political actions” (H. P. Martin, H. Schumann, *Pułapka*

“social re-stratification” (Z. Bauman), universalization, homogenization, “anonymous panculturalism” (J. Burszta), transculturalism of the modern world (Welsch), but also progressive spatial segregation, separation, exclusion and formation of neo-communities.⁴ The specificity of globalization is not only due to the contemporary global transformation, but also to the wide spectrum of previous historical processes, thus understanding the essence of these dichotomies allows for a multifaceted and more complete understanding of the scope of this concept.

In the opposition to conventional theories of social modernization (especially their “Western-centrism”) and lack of interest in civilizational and cultural diversity, the perspective of viewing the world as a whole was born, the world evolving in “globally” suggested directions. According to M. Golka, globalization has not created the homogenous world and it is unclear if this vision will ever come true. An echo of this opinion can be found in Featherstone’s assertion that the current process of globalization, which contradicts earlier expectations for an increasingly homogeneous world, “leads to an increasing sensitivity to differences.” This process is a consequence of the fact that “flows of information, knowledge, money, goods, people and ideas have intensified to such an extent that the sense of spatial distances that separated and isolated people from the need to take into account all the other entities of social life that make up humanity has been destroyed.” As a result, “we all find ourselves in the backyard of others.”⁵ Globalization, as a phenomenon growing out of the process of differentiation and cultural pluralism of the modern world, is located in the context of deliberations of L. Roniger. According to the author, globalization is “both the diffusion of certain models of economic development, growth, and marketization, and the corresponding adaptation or rejection of cultural patterns of westernization.”⁶ In this context, globalization should rather be understood as a worldwide web of interdependence, affecting individual societies and states so that they are part of a certain whole.⁷ The best-known representatives of this approach, A. Giddens,

Globalizacji, Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie: Wrocław, 1999, p. 13). However, M. Golka adds that it should be assumed that “spontaneous and orchestrated processes intertwine with one another to a varied extent” (M. Golka, *Cywilizacja. Europa. Globalizacja.*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora, 1999, p. 113).

4 Z. Bauman, *Globalizacja*, p. 7.

5 J. P. Kahn, *Culture, Multiculture, Postculture*, London: Sage, 1995, pp. 126–128.

6 P. Starosta, “Globalizacja i nowy komunitaryzm,” *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, No. 3, 2000, p. 48.

7 M. Golka, “Kultura w przestrzeni globalnej,” in: *Społeczne problemy globalizacji*, Z. Blok (ed.), Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2001, p. 79.

A. McGrew and P. Streeten, argue that globalisation understood as interdependence, influence, and intensification of relations between states, is an expression of perceiving the world as a network of interrelations. It is only in this context that we can treat globalization as a whole and indicate its civilization implications. At the basis of A. Giddens' considerations lies the assumption that "globalization is the intensification of social relations on a global scale, which links various localities in such a way that local events are shaped by events occurring many thousands of miles away and influence them."⁸ Specifying the scope of this concept, it should be considered, following A. McGrew, that globalization "consists of the multiplicity of connections and interactions of states and societies that make up the current world system."⁹ Consequently, as L. Roniger points out, globalization is characterized by: "the transnationalization of cultural patterns, the continentalization of economic exchanges, the regional transnationalization, and the increased importance of locality."¹⁰ P. Streeten also draws attention to the aspect of deepening global connections in almost all spheres of contemporary socio-cultural, economic and political life, defining globalization as "the intensification of economic, political and cultural relations across borders."¹¹

The question whether the term globalisation refers to global consequences or global undertakings is not the root of the above statements. The answer is provided by Z. Bauman, who stresses that the ubiquitous term globalization most often refers to global consequences, "yet unintended and unforeseen," and not to global initiatives and undertakings. A consequence of the above mentioned approach is the recognition of globalization as a largely uncontrollable, spontaneous and irreversible process, where it is difficult to determine the state of globalization in the contemporary world, whose fate largely depends on chance occurring at the level of global actions, dependencies and interests. Perspectives on the globalizing world are therefore, difficult to grasp due to their dynamic and constantly evolving character. This view finds contemporary confirmation in the deliberations of Z. Bauman, according to whom "the concept of globalization conveys the indeterminate, capricious and autonomous character of the

8 M. Kempny, "Globalizacja," in: *Encyklopedia Socjologii tom I*, Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, 1998, p. 242.

9 M. Golka, *Cywilizacja. Europa. Globalizacja*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora, 1999, p. 114.

10 P. Starosta, "Globalizacja i nowy komunitaryzm," p. 48.

11 B. Liberska, "Globalizacja – siły sprawcze i mechanizmy," in: *Globalizacja. Mechanizmy i wyzwania*, B. Liberska (ed.), Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 2002, p. 17.

world and its affairs, the absence of a centre, the absence of a desktop operator, a team of directors, a management office. Globalization is another name for “new world disorder”¹² and “refers directly to G.H. von Wright’s <anonymous forces>; forces operating in the void, on a foggy, sinuous, untameable and untraversable <no man’s land>, stretching beyond the reach of anyone’s ability to meaningfully plan or act.”¹³

Contemporary processes of globalization of the world economy make us reflect on the specificity and dominance of global economic transformation. Contemporary globalizing society, tries to respond adequately to the inevitability of the updated fourth wave in economics.¹⁴ The phenomenon of global economic transformation is accompanied by the qualitative nature of changes, which, in addition to the geographical dimension, includes a functional dimension integrating activities dispersed around the world focused on the emergence of the new forms of market economy, new tools for the transmission of information and the development of advanced technologies, new entities of the global economy and new principles and ways of functioning of institutions.¹⁵ Undoubtedly, a component element of the phenomenon of economic globalization, and in particular the development of free market economy, are changes in the work environment, work structure, perception of work, as well as in the sphere of characteristics, meanings and values attributed to work. Processes changing the world of work also concern transformations in the reality of career planning (as an element of general professional development) which is important for the quality of changes in vocational guidance and counselling.¹⁶ Global tendencies and processes of differentiation, multicontextuality, multidimensionality and interdependence of different areas of social life undoubtedly update the problem of planning, management, development and shaping of careers and prompting reflection on the problem of international career as a kind of

12 Z. Bauman, *Globalizacja*, p. 71.

13 Z. Bauman, *Globalizacja*, pp. 72–73.

14 See: J. G. Maree, Z. Pollard, “The impact of life design counselling on adolescents,” *Journal for Psychology in Africa* 19.2/2009.

15 B. Liberska, “Globalizacja – siły sprawcze i mechanizmy,” p. 19. The above determinations were also cited by me in the work A. Cybal-Michalska, *Tożsamość młodzieży*, p. 31.

16 The issues of the career domain addressed in this article are a fragment of the author’s multi-textual treatment of the issue of careers in a world where “careers make careers” undertaken (both in its theoretical and research aspects) in the monograph A. Cybal – Michalska, *Młodzież akademicka a kariera zawodowa*, Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza “Impuls,” 2013.

novelty in the planning of a widely understood career and climbing its steps. Contemporary approach to the definition of career is not limited only to aspects related to the practice of promotion, having a specific profession, the satisfactory professional situation of an individual or the stability of the internal links of the content of the practiced profession. A much broader scope of what the term “career” denotes and connotes includes “in addition to the purely professional situation ... also the level of psychological well-being, understood as the absence of tensions disorganizing the activity of an individual, economic and social prosperity, and a successful family situation.”¹⁷ The essence is the sequential development of an individual (integrally related to the development of his or her career) throughout the individual’s life. In a knowledge-based economy, which consequently determines the knowledge orientation of contemporary society, the key element is the career development of its members. Moreover, the quality of socio-cultural and economic changes will require continuous career management and modification of its individualized paths. In this sense, careers become the “property” of an individual and subjective causality plays a major role in its development.

Career as a “Property” of an Individual

Treating careers as “the property of an individual” (Y. Baruch, A. Bańka), accepts the individualistic assumption about the unique quality of each person’s career because it involves “the accumulation by an individual of a series of unique positions, jobs, posts and professional experiences”¹⁸ and an individual’s responsibility for their own career construction. The property of career is undoubtedly its processual character. In the context of career defined by the adjective qualifier “professional,” the process that an individual undergoes as he or she experiences and practices professional work is indicated.¹⁹ At the same time, as D. Super points out, career, as a string of events that make up the sequence of occupations

-
- 17 A. Bańka, *Motywacja osiągnięć. Podstawy teoretyczne i konstrukcja skali do pomiaru motywacji osiągnięć w wymiarze międzynarodowym*, Poznań–Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Psychologia i Architektura – Narodowe Forum Doradztwa Kariery, 2005, p. 8.
 - 18 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji. Podstawy teoretyczne, konstrukcja i analiza czynnikowa Skali Zachowań Proaktywnych w Karierze*, Poznań–Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Psychologia i Architektura – Narodowe Forum Doradztwa Kariery, 2005, p. 23.
 - 19 Z. Wołk, *Kultura pracy, etyka i kariera zawodowa*, Radom: Instytut Technologii Eksploatacji, 2009, p. 20.

and roles performed by an individual in the course of their life according to their individualized pattern of self-regulation,²⁰ is “an individual’s chance to realize their concept of self,”²¹ which in a direct way accentuates the subjective dimension in the current of reflection on the possible course of a career. This current of inquiry is also reflected in the definitional findings of A. Kargulowa. Their subjective shading allows the author to recognize that the career is “a list of events that constitute a life, a sequence of occupations and other life roles, which together express the attitude to a person, to work in terms of its total development process.”²² As an individual gains experience, the possibilities of designing a career path broaden and take on the characteristics of a holistic approach to it. Theoretical considerations on the “career” proposed by E.L. Herr and S. H. Cramer’s theoretical reflections on the “career” attempt to bring this approach closer. The career, which is unique for each subject (structurally filled with what the individual chose and what he/she did not choose), dynamic and changeable “includes not only the occupation, but also the decisions made before the period of starting work and all the ones taken by an individual after the period of professional activity, as well as the relations of work to other roles played by an individual in the family, in the community, in leisure time.”²³

According to A. Bańka, in the construction of the career treated as the “property” of an individual, it is possible to distinguish several varieties of its approach, pointing to the selected distinctive criterion of the career.

The promotion criterion, which implies combining the development and the implementation of personal career with constant and rapid promotions (usually in status, earnings, prestige, power) is the most common one.²⁴ Emphasizing the length of the ladder of advancement, the essence of a career is assumed to be the length of distance between “the starting point of an individual and the final point.”²⁵ The desire for a career identified with the practice of promotion is the driving force and signpost (provided and derived from the social hierarchy of

20 M. Szymański, *Ścieżki kariery studentów socjologii UAM*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Promotor, 2010, p. 77.

21 A. Miś, “Kształtowanie karier w organizacji,” in: H. Król, A. Ludwiczynski, *Zarządzanie zasobami ludzkimi*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2006, p. 483.

22 A. Kargulowa, *O teorii i praktyce poradnictwa*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2005, p. 21.

23 M. Szymański, *Ścieżki kariery studentów socjologii UAM*, p. 81.

24 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji*, p. 24.

25 H. Worach-Kardas qtd. after M. Szymański, *Ścieżki kariery studentów socjologii UAM*, p. 80.

values) of individual's actions. It is a matter of, as Z. Bauman puts it, the fact that an individual sees for oneself "a place of greater splendour, wealth or power than the one she or he currently occupies. One sees clearly the path that is to lead them to this place and hopes that one will have enough ... strength to pursue it. Thus, one is an ardent defender and supporter of the society in which these alluring places are located and there are paths that lead to them."²⁶ A good example is the category of "career" mentioned by D. T. Hall, which is identified by professional development, involving the need to occupy positions for which there is a path of promotion and it is addressed to professions with high prestige. T. Hall's typology of understanding the career also includes its identification with "advancement," which boils down to the statement that "it is achieved by gaining <<something more>> such as higher and higher positions in the organisational structure, work in the organisation perceived as <<better>>, wider decision-making capabilities or a greater span of authority."²⁷ The exemplification of career in the sense discussed here is realistically increased privilege scope. However, it has its limitations as to the meaning framework of the term "career." The discussed approach, being to a large extent a determinant of the sociological dimension of looking at the career (which identifies professional advancement with social advancement), deprives the individual of the notion of having or developing a career in the case when he or she does not experience professional advancement,²⁸ however it does refer to individual's sequence of experiences.

The criterion of profession, as often as the distinctive criterion of promotion, is associated with "making" a career. Professions that constitute a career (and such professions include the doctor's and lawyer's professions) are characterized by a high status, prestige, power and opportunities for promotion.²⁹ In the distinguished sense, as put by D.T Hall in his typology, the career refers only to "occupations in which the path of professional development is clearly defined, delineated by a succession of positions ... and is carried out through the accumulation of knowledge and skills predetermined by the requirements of the next position."³⁰ The distinguished perspective on career is not free from the suggestion, similar to the previously discussed criterion, that people without a specific

26 Z. Bauman, *Kariera. Cztery szkice socjologiczne*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo "Iskry," 1960, pp. 16–17.

27 A. Miś, *Kształtowanie karier w organizacji*, p. 477.

28 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji*, p. 24.

29 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji*, p. 24.

30 A. Miś, *Kształtowanie karier w organizacji*, p. 477.

social or professional status are not included in the category of careers.³¹ And yet, from a subjective perspective, a career is often “just a record of functions performed and positions achieved by an individual.”³²

The criterion of stability within a single professional field or within closely related fields is the third distinctive criterion for understanding career. Stability, continuity and systematic links in the content of work or activity equals the realization of the career (e.g.: “career as a teacher,” “career as a scientist,” “career as a soldier”) and the lack of these attributes proves the lack of career constitution by an individual.³³ The exemplification of equating the career with the attribute of stability is the definition proposed by A. Poczowski who emphasizes that career consists of “successive posts, related to a specific position in the organizational hierarchy, which an employee occupies during their employment in a given company.”³⁴

The criterion of practicing work has also been recognized and distinguished by D. T. Hall. The career as a feature attributed exclusively to working individuals means “an individual pattern of successively performed work” by an individual in the course of their working life.³⁵ J. Szczupaczyński, without assessing the quality of work performed by an individual or their profession, defines the career as “a sequence of positions and occupations, which an employee occupies and pursues during their employment or during the entire period of professional activity.”³⁶ In the distinguished current of defining the career, the key role is played by defined “in time sequence of consecutive occupational roles, starting from the entry into the labour market and ending at a given point in time or with the exit from the labour market.”³⁷ Similarly, B. Jamka treats career as the property of a working individual, recognizing that it is “a sequence of positions taken by an employee, the works carried out and (or) functions performed.”³⁸ Career is

31 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji*, p. 24.

32 W. Duda, D. Kukla, *Kariera zawodowa wobec postępujących przemian pracy*, Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo im. St. Podobińskiego Akademii im. Jana Długosza, 2010.

33 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji*, p. 24.

34 See M. Szymański, *Ścieżki kariery studentów socjologii UAM*, p. 80.

35 A. Miś, *Kształtowanie karier w organizacji*, p. 477.

36 M. Szymański, *Ścieżki kariery studentów socjologii UAM*, p. 79.

37 K. Słomczyński, *Kariera i sukces. Analizy socjologiczne*, Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2007, p. 21.

38 B. Jamka, “Planowanie kariery pracowników,” in: *Zarządzanie zasobami ludzkimi w firmie*, M. Rybak (ed.), Warszawa: Główna Szkoła Handlowa, 1998, p. 142.

a quality of every working individual and constitutes a record of his or her professional work.³⁹

Contemporary approach to the definition of career is not limited only to aspects related to the practice of promotions, having a specific profession, the satisfactory professional situation of an individual or the stability of the internal links of the content of the practiced profession. Much broader scope of what denotes and connotes the term “career” includes “in addition to the purely professional situation ... also the level of psychological well-being, understood as the absence of tensions disorganizing the activity of an individual, economic and social prosperity, and a successful family situation.”⁴⁰ Contemporary approaches to careers emphasize the importance of activities not directly related to work, such as leisure activities, recreation, education, and family roles, which are associated with employment.⁴¹ This less restrictive approach to defining the “career” emphasizes the importance of constructing (rather than choosing) a career to project the quality of life.⁴² The career, as defined by D. T. Hall, is a sequence of individual experiences (understood as “the formation of individual’s internal processes, such as: pursuits and aspirations, satisfaction, self-image, attitudes towards work under the influence of changing roles”)⁴³ related to the professional role that makes up one’s work life story. As A. S. King (1999) puts it, “the psychological strength of one’s own identity, insight and persistence in pursuing career goals represent the main components of motivation and “dedication” (understood as commitment – A.C-M) to one’s career, as well as cooperation, and cohesiveness ... in an organization.”⁴⁴ An individual as an entity gives specific personal meanings to the selected elements of reality thanks to their ability to read cultural codes, creates their own individual history and has a story ahead of them. One constructs their own life and also personal career “through identification (assigning meanings) with their own professional behaviour and numerous experiences in workplaces,”⁴⁵ also giving meaning to the context in which these

39 M. Szymański, *Ścieżki kariery studentów socjologii UAM*, p. 78.

40 A. Bańka *Motywacja osiągnięć*, p. 8.

41 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji*, p. 26.

42 J. G. Maree, “Brief Overview of the Advancement of Postmodern Approaches to Career Counseling,” *Journal for Psychology in Africa* 20.3/2010, p. 362.

43 A. Miś, *Kształtowanie karier w organizacji*, p. 477.

44 B. Adekola, “Career planning and career management as correlates for career development and job satisfaction. A case study of Nigerian Bank Employees,” *Australian Journal of Business and Management Research* 1.2/2011, p. 104.

45 J. G. Maree, “Brief Overview of the Advancement of Postmodern Approaches to Career Counseling,” *Journal for Psychology in Africa* 20.3/2010, p. 363.

experiences occur. The acceptance by an individual of the responsibility for seeking the meaning of their role in the practiced profession, which Ch. Handy, the author of the work entitled *The Age of Paradox*, sees as originating in such aspects as: direction (the individual's feeling of acting for a good cause), continuity (the individual's belief in the survival and continuation of the fruits of their labour) and connection (participation in a community with which one identifies oneself and co-creates), is a lifelong process and a lifelong learning task.⁴⁶ The British scholar adds that "meaning will come to those who develop their own sense of direction, continuity, and connectivity"⁴⁷ with what they professionally practice. The essence is the sequential development of an individual (integrally connected with the development of their career) during the whole individual life. Not coincidentally, taking into account the cognitive practice in constructing a model of career counselling, V.G. Zunker attributes the key role in designing a life integrated with career construction to the following: the individual's perception of success, their motivation to work, the individual's need for inner satisfaction, the roles undertaken, the quality of relationships with other life partners, and the developmental and contextual changes.⁴⁸ In this view, as emphasized by min. J. H Greenhaus, "career" is seen as "a pattern of work-related experiences that binds and guides the basic direction of an individual's life."⁴⁹ In this sense, following J. Arnold, we can say that "a broad view of career assumes that it is a sequence of employment positions, roles, activities and experiences"⁵⁰ acquired by an individual during the lifelong development.

The way of perceiving and understanding the phenomenon of career treated as the "property" of an individual can be specified by referring to different criteria of recognizing the phenomenon of career. For this purpose, it is worth referring to the opinions and normative assumptions of academic youth about career. As an indicator of different approaches of the researched group of university students to the subject of career, we can point to the selected distinctive criterion of the career.⁵¹

46 D. Piotrowska (translation), "Wstęp," in: *Zarządzanie karierą*, K. Borowiecka-Strug (ed.), Warszawa: Wydawnictwo. Studio EMKA, 2006, p. 11.

47 J. Bilos, "Modele kariery XXI-go wieku," in: *Zarządzanie karierą*, J. Bilos, T. Brown, R. M. Saunders (eds.), Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Studio Emka, 2006, p. 30.

48 J. G. Maree, "Brief Overview of the Advancement of Postmodern Approaches to Career Counseling," *Journal for Psychology in Africa* 20.3/2010, p. 364.

49 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji*, p. 24.

50 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji*, p. 24.

51 The study was conducted in 2012. A total number of 352 students were included in the study. The subjects of the study were academic youth in their final years in the

Opinions of Academic Youth About Career

For the surveyed group of academic youth, the “career” implies above all (38.4 %), combining the occupational development with constant and rapid promotions. The criterion of profession received a slightly lower percentage of indications (22.9 %) than the distinctive criterion of promotion. Academic youth, accepting the criterion of promotion as a career determinant, directs their attention to its symptoms, which by definition include the length of the promotion ladder. The career identified with the practice of promotions as signposts for the activity of the subject, derived from the hierarchy of social values, received by far the most indications. Considering the variable such as “the field of knowledge studied” ($\chi^2=31,442$; $df=20$; $p=0,050$), only in the case of students representing technical sciences did this criterion receive the second highest number of indications. In this sense, it can be considered that the greatest defenders of the vision of society, in which an individual sees the place to which he or she is aspiring, the place with an increased range of privileges (most often with a higher status, higher salary, prestige or power) are students representing the field of social sciences (pedagogy) (50.5 %), legal sciences (law) (34.4 %), humanities (history) (34.8 %) and medicine (medicine) (32.5 %). In these groups of the surveyed young people, the discussed approach was the first in terms of the number of indications in the reflection on the possible varieties of capturing career. Thus, it can be concluded that the discussed criterion, equating career advancement with social advancement, in the case of this group of surveyed students will be associated with depriving the individual of having or developing a career unless he or she

transition from education to the labour market. The respondents represented three universities: Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Karol Marcinkowski Medical University in Poznań, and the Poznań University of Technology. Thus, the surveyed academic youth represented various fields of study. These included, Social Sciences, with majors in Education and Special Education, Humanities, majors in History, Legal Sciences, majors in Law, Medical Sciences, majors in Medicine, Technical Sciences, majors in Automation and Robotics, Computer Science and Electrical Engineering. In order to get to know the explored issue of career, perceived from the perspective of academic youth being in the period of double transition: from youth to adulthood and from academic education to the labour market, the method of diagnostic survey and questionnaire technique were used. In quantitative research, in order to identify and capture relationships between variables, specific statistical procedures were selected and applied. The one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure was used to estimate the statistical significance of differences in means across multiple comparison groups.

experiences promotions. Thus, the group of academic youth in question strongly leans toward the sociological (particularly the functional-structural perspective) dimension of career recognition. However, for students of legal sciences (28.1 %) and medical sciences (28.9 %), the category of “career” is also often, in addition to its identification with the need to occupy positions for which there is a path of promotion, associated with a path of professional development addressed to professions with high prestige. For students representing these majors, the high percentage of indications (placing this criterion in second place) is not surprising. Undoubtedly, professions constituting a career and associated with “making a career” include the occupation of a lawyer and a doctor. They are characterized not only by high status, prestige, power, but also opportunities for promotion. As for students representing the field of technical sciences, the criterion of profession received the largest number of indications (32.4 %). However, it is noteworthy that the support for the promotion criterion, implying the combination of the realization of a personal career with promotion, also received a high percentage of indications (29.4 %) among students of Poznań University of Technology. However, in the case of this group of students, both criteria may exemplify the view that the career refers to those professions in which the path of professional development is defined and marked by successively higher positions. Thus, one may risk a statement that for this group of the examined young people, those who do not have a specific professional status will not be career subjects. In a sense, this challenges the treatment of career as simply the history of positions and functions performed in the course of a subjective professional biography.

For the surveyed academic youth (17.0 %), it is also important to consider in the career something that can be called the psychological well-being of an individual. The distinguished criterion emphasizes, in addition to the situation of professional development, also the importance of activities not directly related to work (e.g. ways of spending free time, successful family, social, economic situation) and indicates the absence of tensions disorganizing all activities undertaken by a subject. The distinguished approach is particularly close to future educators-students representing the field of social sciences (19.2 %). For this group of young people, the criterion of psychological well-being is the second in the total number of indications. A holistic approach to the psychosocial functioning of the human being, characteristic for those studying educational science, is probably important for emphasizing the importance of not choosing a career, but rather constructing it for designing the quality of life. Undoubtedly, this indicates the affirmation of the idea of constructing their own lives, and thus, their personal careers, by giving meaning not only to professional

experiences, but also to the context (other spheres of human functioning) in which they occur.

Characteristic stream of considerations, focused on the possible varieties of capturing the phenomenon of career, constitutes the reference of the surveyed group of academic youth to the criterion of stability (13.0 %). The value of continuity, systematic relationships in the area of the selected single professional field, or fields connected by the industry, is particularly emphasized by those studying humanities (21.7 %) and technical sciences (17.6 %). It is for future historians and engineering students, to a higher rate than in the case of groups of respondents representing other fields of studied knowledge, that the systematic nature and stability of links in the content of work is identified as a career fulfilment.

The criterion of practicing work, treated as an identification of career, was indicated by the group of surveyed academic youth the least often (8.7 %). However, we cannot ignore the fact that for students representing humanities (15.2 %) and legal sciences (15.6 %), the career as an attribute ascribed to working people was indicated much more often than in the case of students representing other fields of knowledge. Thus, it should be concluded that future historians and lawyers are characterized by a strong conviction that the career means a sequence of works performed in the course of a person's professional life and is a record of one's professional work.

Conclusion

In the distinguished mainstream of considerations on potential varieties of recognizing the career as the "property" of an individual, the key role is played by the sequence of occupational roles in the course of human life, referring to the professions characterized by high prestige and opportunities for continuous promotion. There is no significant relationship between the criteria of recognizing the career and such factors as: gender, place of residence, education of parents of the respondents, frequency of experiencing by the respondents the joy of life, evaluation of their life so far, normative orientations (individualism vs. collectivism), pro-development, pro-active or identity styles of the studied group of academic youth. The field of studied knowledge is the correlate of their different beliefs. In conclusion, it should be emphasized that an important element of the distinguished definitions of "career" is their clear subjective, personal shading. "Since the human being has to live in a certain society, they want to take the place of their choice, which is particularly suitable for them,"⁵² as Z. Bauman

52 Z. Bauman, *Kariera*, p. 16.

states. A career is always ascribed to a particular individual, it is their state of possession and it is this state that endows it with specific individual meaning. An occupation, promotion, or professional field are only the contexts within which one's own career develops, which is shared by everyone who works or even (as in the case of the unemployed) seeks employment.⁵³ In this sense, each subjective career has a unique character. This is not surprising, since the individual's dreams, desires, longings, and imaginings make up his or her own, most personal model of a life ideal.⁵⁴ Analyzing the career from the individual perspective, as the "property" of an individual, the actualization of qualities inherent in an individual should be integrated with his or her personality traits and the type of career orientation manifested, which may follow different criteria of its perception. The universal message of the need to activate one's potential is a reflection of the dreams of a new way of being in the world of "limitless" careers.

References

- Adekola B., "Career planning and career management as correlates for career development and job satisfaction. A case study of Nigerian Bank Employees," *Australian Journal of Business and Management Research*, Vol. 1, No.2, 2011, pp. 100–112.
- Bańka A., *Motywacja osiągnięć. Podstawy teoretyczne i konstrukcja skali do pomiaru motywacji osiągnięć w wymiarze międzynarodowym*. Poznań–Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Psychologia i Architektura – Narodowe Forum Doradztwa Kariery, 2005
- Bańka A., *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji. Podstawy teoretyczne, konstrukcja i analiza czynnikowa Skali Zachowań Proaktywnych w Karierze*. Poznań–Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Psychologia i Architektura – Narodowe Forum Doradztwa Kariery, 2005.
- Bauman Z., *Kariera. Cztery szkice socjologiczne*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo "Iskry," 1960.
- Bauman Z., *Globalizacja*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 2000.
- Beck U., *Władza i przeciwwładza w epoce globalnej. Nowa ekonomia polityki światowej*. Warszawa: 2005
- Biolos J., "Modele kariery XXI-go wieku," in: *Zarządzanie karierą*, Bilos J., Brown T., and Saunders R. M. (eds.). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Studio Emka, 2006, pp. 29–38.

53 A. Bańka, *Proaktywność a tryby samoregulacji*, p. 25.

54 Z. Bauman, *Kariera*, p. 18.

- Cybal-Michalska A., *Tożsamość młodzieży w perspektywie globalnego świata. Studium socjopedagogiczne*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 2006.
- Cybal-Michalska A., *Młodzież akademicka a kariera zawodowa*. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", 2013.
- Duda W., Kukla D., *Kariera zawodowa wobec postępujących przemian pracy*. Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo im. St. Podobińskiego Akademii im. Jana Długosza, 2010.
- Golka M., *Cywilizacja. Europa. Globalizacja*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora, 1999.
- Golka M., "Kultura w przestrzeni globalnej," in: *Społeczne problemy globalizacji*, Z. Blok (ed.). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2001, pp. 77–90.
- Greenhaus J. H., Callanan G. A., *Career Management*. Sage Publications, 1994.
- Jamka B., "Planowanie kariery pracowników," in: *Zarządzanie zasobami ludzkimi w firmie*, M. Rybak (ed.). Warszawa: Główna Szkoła Handlowa, 1998,
- Kargulowa A., *O teorii i praktyce poradnictwa*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2005.
- Kahn J.S., *Culture, Multiculture, Postculture*. London: Sage, 1995.
- Kempny M., "Globalizacja," in: *Encyklopedia Socjologii tom I*. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, 1998.
- Liberska B., "Globalizacja – siły sprawcze i mechanizmy," in: *Globalizacja. Mechanizmy i wyzwania*, B. Liberska (ed.). Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 2002,
- Maree J.G., "Brief Overview of the Advancement of Postmodern Approaches to Career Counseling," *Journal for Psychology in Africa*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 2010, pp. 361–367. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2010.10820387>.
- Maree J. G., Pollard Z., "The impact of life design counselling on adolescents," *Journal for Psychology in Africa*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2009, pp. 169–176.
- Martin H.P., Schumann H., *Pułapka Globalizacji*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 1999.
- Miś A., "Kształtowanie karier w organizacji," in: H. Król, A. Ludwiczynski, *Zarządzanie zasobami ludzkimi*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2006, pp. 477–496.
- Piotrowska D. (translation), "Wstęp," in: *Zarządzanie karierą*, Borowiecka-Strug K. (ed.). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo. Studio EMKA, 2006.
- Słomczyński K., *Kariera i sukces. Analizy socjologiczne*. Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2007.

Starosta P., "Globalizacja i nowy komunitaryzm," *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, No. 3, 2000, pp. 47–68.

Szymański M., *Ścieżki kariery studentów socjologii UAM*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Promotor, 2010.

Wołk Z. *Kultura pracy, etyka i kariera zawodowa*. Radom: Instytut Technologii Eksploatacji, 2009.

Tomasz Gmerek, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0002-4952-5559, t.gmerek@amu.edu.pl

Educational Research from the Perspective of Comparative Pedagogy

Abstract: The development of comparative education methodology exemplifies changes in scientific reflection. This chapter considers these changes both from the perspective of the early stages of the discipline and the dynamics of its development in the twentieth century. Initially, the development of comparative education was based almost exclusively on the method of statistical data collection. Comparativists later refined the use of research methods and methodological workshops. Future scholarship has begun comparing educational systems in different countries, making systematic use of the scientific achievements of both pedagogy and related sciences, thus creating new theoretical concepts and research procedures.

Keywords: educational research, comparative pedagogy, methodology, educational systems.

Introduction

Comparative pedagogy is a relatively new field of knowledge. Its main target is collecting, classifying, sorting and analysing data regarding various education systems around the world. The first attempts at “comparing” education systems date back to the Enlightenment. In France, Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris made a proposal for governments to fill out a form about the main aspects of school systems in their respective countries as early as 1817. The forms were then supposed to be compared, put together and published; thus, providing a “norm” to which each nation could compare itself in measuring the “advantages” and “disadvantages”¹ of their respective school systems.

In the late nineteenth century, descriptive comparisons of school systems worldwide started to be made. In many cases, the research content originated from the official statistics of the countries, and usually included basic data such as the number of students, the number of years of education, the drop-out rate, the number of graduates, and also the numbers and kinds of teachers, the

1 G. Z. F. Bereday, *Comparative Method in Education*, New York: 1964, p. 7.

number of school buildings, or data regarding public funding allocated for education. Gradually, these statistics became more comprehensive and systematic and at the same time, comparisons including more and more countries were being published.

Development of Theoretical and Practical Educational Research from the Perspective of Comparative Pedagogy

The International Bureau of Education, established in 1925 in Geneva, launched the process of regular systematization of data about the educational systems in various countries. It is noteworthy that the methods of data collection used these days by institutions in charge of gathering educational data from around the world do not differ significantly from the ones that were developed in the 19th century by Jullien, who is considered as one of the pioneering comparative pedagogues. That is because in most cases the systems rely on the collection of statistical data by the respective Ministries of Education in the researched countries. This data is then systemized and published as international reports.²

Today, there are several institutions active in this field. Different entities – connected via larger organizations (like for example the OECD, UNESCO, NAFTA etc.) – conduct research in the area. These studies are the outcome of the work of many institutions which conduct their research applying a set methodology, and then develop, systemize and publish the data gathered. A good example would be the international research on student competences conducted regularly by the OECD (the PISA programmes), which provides comparable data regarding the abilities and knowledge of students from around the world. Such overviews are done by international organizations to enable the comparison of a number of other factors (including, for example, the differences in the funding schools receive, funds per pupil, the number of students continuing to higher levels of education, etc.).³

The work of the scientists who conduct the so called “country studies” is worth taking notice of as an input to the development of comparative pedagogy. This work – in its earliest forms – can be a result of international travels by researchers, their observations, conversations and studies of different documents. Such semi-diary and semi-reportage descriptions can be considered examples of

2 H. J. Noah, “Comparative Education: Methods,” in: *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, T. Husen, T. Neville Postlethwaite (eds.), Oxford: 1985, pp. 869–871.

3 P. Gorard, E. Smith, “An international comparison of equity in educational systems,” *Comparative Education* 40.1/2004, p. 15.

the first attempts at comparative analysis being more than just collecting statistical data. The trend developed in the late 19th century in England, France, Germany, Russia and the USA; and also later in other countries. Gradually, more and more authors perfected the use of a variety of historiographic methods, documenting techniques, philosophical speculations and pedagogic thinking. Their publications often covered the entire national education systems, its parts, and methods of educating. It is noteworthy that this exact kind of research is still often conducted today. However, the research today is affiliated with the so called “problem solving approach” in comparative pedagogy, which is the analysis of education systems based either on wide correlations, or on one particular question.⁴

According to H. J. Noah and M. A. Eckstein, the development of comparative pedagogy can be split into three predominant phases. Characteristic of the first one was collecting data based on an encyclopaedic and, to some extent, “random” order. The second phase of the development of comparative pedagogy, initiated by M. Sadler and developed mostly by N. Hans and I. Kandel,⁵ emphasized explanations rather than descriptions, and assumed searching for explanations in studies of the historical context regarding the development of education systems and their relation to “cultural forces.” Then, the third phase features a more and more intensive application of the empiric methodology in social science and a significantly larger self-awareness in the use of research processes.⁶

The phases of comparative pedagogy’s evolution that followed (mainly determined by reviews regarding the goals of this field of knowledge) were apparently on the one hand a consequence of the existing ways of describing research being insufficient, and on the other – according to E. H. Epstein – the ideological entanglement of the researchers.⁷ The following phases in which new theoretical proposals emerged were, in a sense, a result of the criticism of the previous state of things.

Rolland G. Paulston divides the development of this area of knowledge since 1950 into three phases. The first one includes the fifties and the sixties. Its foundations were Sadler’s, Kandel’s and Hans’ works which “confirmed the functional paradigm as the predominant method for describing the formation of

4 P. Gorard, E. Smith, “An international comparison of equity in educational systems.”

5 See I. L. Kandel, *The New Era in Education: A Comparative Study*, Boston: 1955, p. 8.

6 H. J. Noah, M. A. Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, New York: 1969, p. 65.

7 E. H. Epstein, “Currents Left and Right: Ideology in Comparative Education,” *Comparative Education Review* 27.1/1983, p. 3.

national and international educational phenomena.”⁸ Multiple centres focused on studying comparative pedagogy were established during this time. Magazines on the topic also began to be published. The period was characterized by a positivist approach to research and an attitude similar to the methods of social science. In particular, as mentioned above, the structural functionalism that was predominant at the time. The scientific methods used included testing hypotheses and the statistical analysis of changes, among other things. They also focused on creating theoretical explanations and generalizations. According to Paulston’s criticism, in this case knowledge had an “orthodox” and “centralized” character – dependent on the “only adequate” accepted procedures and theoretical approaches. In this, the target of the research was very often to draft guidelines for the capabilities of specific practical actions.

It is worth adding that in the late sixties many comparative pedagogues focused their attention on the problems of developing education in the poorest countries and on the theoretical studies on the educational and social changes in developing countries. An example of this approach in comparative studies is found in G. Z. F. Bereday’s concept (Bereday was a scholar of Polish descent: Zygmunt Fijałkowski).⁹ He developed one of the most interesting methodological concepts in the field of comparative studies.

According to Bereday, the most comprehensive comparison scheme consists of several stages in the research process. From this perspective, the comparative analysis includes the following phases:

- 1) the description, which is the gathering and description of data and the analysed pedagogical content;
- 2) the interpretation, being an attempt to assess the pedagogical data based on different criteria;
- 3) the juxtaposition, which is comparing various bits of information on the same phenomenon in different realities, creating comparability criteria and also determining similarities and differences between the systems.

8 R. G. Paulston, “Pedagogika porównawcza jako pole nakreślenia konceptualnych map teorii i paradygmatów,” in: *Spory o edukację. Dylematy i kontrowersje we współczesnych pedagogiach*, Z. Kwieciński, L. Witkowski (eds.), Warszawa: 1993, p. 26. See also R. G. Paulston, “Comparative and International Education: Paradigms and Theories,” in: *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, T. Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite (eds.), Oxford: 1994, p. 923.

9 J. Wojniak, *Szkola-Polityka-Prawo. George Zygmunt Fijałkowski-Bereday i jego wizja edukacji*, Kraków: 2019.

- 4) the generalization, which is the simultaneous comparison of the researched problems and defining general trends and conclusions.¹⁰

It is worth pointing out that Bereday put a specific emphasis on the comparative method, being the systematic collection of data from each analysed country, categorizing it, carefully combining it and producing an outcome in the form of a comparison. These methods can be of a quantitative or qualitative nature.¹¹ In his book describing the comparative method he states that its purpose is “to reflect the differences and similarities between education systems.”¹²

We should also note that, to Bereday, the forming of theories on the relationships between education and society was the main goal of comparative pedagogy. In his view, it was supposed to deliver clear implications for constructing the assumptions of educational policies and creating educational innovation.¹³

The development of comparative pedagogy in the 1970s and 1980s was connected to the appearance of new concepts: ones critical of the approaches predominant in the preceding decades. The emergence of new sociological theories would be one of the most important reasons for the rejection of structural functionalism and the departure from positivist research methods. In the seventies P. L. Berger's, T. Luckman's, L. Althausser's, P. Bowles's, and H. Gintis' work (as well as many other scholars) delivered new contexts for research on the diverse aspects of education and their impact on society. For example, Bowles' and Gintis' radical functionalism along with its Marxist criticism of capitalist society underlined the limitations of structural functionalism in the methods of operation of educational institutions, as well as their ability to influence social change. In the late eighties, on the other hand, R. G. Paulston writes: “a more humanist Marxism, or a more radical humanism, became more and more obvious in the critical research.” The works of J. Habermas, P. Freire, and H.A. Giroux also became the foundation for the development of research in comparative

10 G. Z. F. Bereday, *Comparative Method*, pp. 21–28.

11 G. Z. F. Bereday, “Social Stratification and Education in Industrial Countries,” *Comparative Education Review* 21.2–3/1977, p. 195.

12 G. Z. F. Bereday, *Comparative Method*, p. 5. See R. Pachociński, *Pedagogika porównawcza*, Warszawa: 2007, pp. 24–29.

13 P. G. Altbach, G. P. Arnove, R. F. Kelly, “Trends in Comparative Education,” in: *Comparative Education*, P. G. Altbach, G. P. Arnove, and R. F. Kelly (eds.), New York: 1982, p. 511.

pedagogy. The period of the seventies and the eighties can be thus referred to as “the war of paradigms,” or – as the quoted author puts it – “heterodoxy.”¹⁴

It is worth pointing out that many new research centres working with comparative pedagogy were established during this time. Critical approaches often unmasked the hidden roles education served, the influence of political or educational ideologies on research,¹⁵ or the failures of education reforms. In this context, the rebuffs to educational reforms in Third World countries, which were rooted in the functional perspective of human capital, can be a fitting example.¹⁶

At this point, it is worth mentioning P. G. Altbach's and G. P. Kelly's approach, which fits right into that critical trend of looking for new methodological solutions in comparative pedagogy.¹⁷ It first appeared in response to a wave of decisive criticism of the methods existing at the time, as well as the goals of comparative pedagogy. Notably, it simultaneously was a period of some pessimism in the viewing of developments in this area of knowledge. On the other hand, characteristic of previous decades, there was some significant optimism and the belief that education could be a factor in social change and a driving force for development. Then, education was seen, among other things, as a tool to conquer poverty, boost economic development and create national and political consensus. This line of thinking was questioned in the eighties. As G.P. Kelly points out, “the literature in comparative pedagogy in the sixties was filled with terms like “modernisation,” “development,” “social change,” while “in the eighties there was a shift towards terms like “basic needs,” “employment,” “generating income,” etc.” This, according to G. P. Kelly, is “proof of the disappearance of the illusion of education's role as a factor in change.”¹⁸

Not only were the previous comparison methods, and the object of the comparisons itself, subject to strong criticism in the eighties, but so were also the methods of both data collection and creating theoretical generalizations. P. G. Altbach and G. P. Kelly noted four new challenges against the established research methods in comparative pedagogy.

14 P. G. Altbach et al., *Comparative Education*, pp. 30–31.

15 P. Spaulding, “Prescriptions for Educational Reform: dilemmas of the real world,” *Comparative Education* 24/1988.

16 See Z. Melosik, *Współczesne amerykańskie spory edukacyjne. Między socjologią edukacji a pedagogiką postmodernistyczną*, Poznań: 1995, p. 47.

17 G. P. Kelly, *Comparative Education and the Problem of Change: An Agenda for the 1980's*, UNESCO: 1973, p. 477.

18 G. P. Kelly, *Comparative Education and the Problem of Change*.

The first of these four questioned the nation's/state's role as the sole "parameter" of research in comparative pedagogy. Previously, most research concentrated on nations/states. Usually, education was described as it was in single, specific countries. Researchers generalised about education in countries of similar cultures, history, economics, or political structures. Altbach and Kelly argued that the development of education in specific countries is mostly influenced by outside factors. Thus, they proposed reorienting research towards identifying those external determinants. At this point it is worth noticing that the research conducted from that perspective exposed significant (and growing) disproportions between the development of heavily industrialized capitalist countries and Third World countries. Altbach's and Kelly's theory was thus in fact an indirect criticism of the prevailing international policy. After all, Altbach would claim that national school systems exist within the context of unequal power relations between nations. In his opinion, it was historical conditioning and today's division of resources (including intellectual ones) that caused the economic and educational domination of industrialized western countries. In this context, Altbach attempted to answer the question of how the educational content Third World countries' school systems was generated, controlled and spread by the United States, United Kingdom and France. The perspective of the analysis of "world systems" proposed by P. G. Altbach and G. P. Kelly thus pushes comparative pedagogy to abandon the "nation/state" category, and to instead emphasize the regional variants of education, racial groups, social classes, along with the phenomena that are referred to as "global" today (as well as other features that are not restricted to the category of a "nation").¹⁹ Again, cultural phenomena far exceeding country borders are the starting point for this approach.

Today, research like this is conducted on different scales, even from the perspective of world regions or continents. The work using significant generalizations, attempting to formulate common conclusions for all (or most) countries in a given region or continent are the examples of this kind of comparison. The shared social, economic, cultural or political character of a set of countries can be taken into account in the process of comparing them. For example, the analyses presented by J. Samoff describe education in Africa: through the lens of the shared problems that occur in most of the continent's countries.²⁰ Another

19 G. P. Kelly, P. G. Altbach, "Comparative education: Challenge and Response," *Comparative Education Review* 30.1/1986, pp. 91–93.

20 See J. Samoff, "No Teacher Guide, No Textbooks, No Chairs. Contending with Crisis in African Education," in: *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*, R. F. Arnove and C. A. Torres (eds.), Oxford: 2003, pp. 419–425.

example could be regional studies. In this context, researchers have established categories defining geographical areas (for example Sub-Saharan Africa,²¹ Latin America,²² the Caribbean,²³ the Mediterranean,²⁴ Eastern Europe,²⁵ etc.). Studies in these areas should reflect the variation between the different regions and continents in the context of the development of education, its availability for different social groups, and the challenges typical of each of the regions.²⁶

The second of the challenges is putting into question the “in-and-out” research model, and the studies based solely on quantitative methods. In practice this leads to research reductionism, including focusing research on test results, the number of hours in the classroom, the number of years of education, curriculum analyses, or teacher traits analyses). Conducting analyses in many areas is suggested, for example in teacher-student interactions, the structure of educational institutions, and also, according to the authors, “the life culture” of schools, that includes a significant component for the cultural, social and political results of education.”²⁷

The third challenge set for comparative pedagogy by Altbach and Kelly is accepting other theoretical approaches as fully valid. And although it was A. M. Kazamias and K. Schwartz who first noticed the predominance of the perspective of structural functionalism and postulated accepting other perspectives in comparison,²⁸ Kelly and Altbach backed it shortly after (among other things in his analyses, P. G. Altbach attempted to answer the question of how educational

-
- 21 See J. Moulton, K. Mundy, M. Walmond, J. Williams (eds.), *Education Reform's in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Westport: 2002.
 - 22 See N. P. Stromquist, “What Poverty Does to Girl's Education: the intersection of class, gender and policy in Latin America,” *Compare* 31.1/2001.
 - 23 See A. Hickling-Hudson, “Towards Caribbean “knowledge societies:” dismantling neo-colonial barriers in the age of globalization,” *Compare* 34.3/2004, p. 293, and D. P. Louisy, “Whose context for what quality? Informing education strategies for the Caribbean,” *Compare* 34.3/2004, p. 285.
 - 24 See R. G. Sultana, “Éducation, développement et école de demain en Méditerranée,” *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* 7.1/2002, p. 105.
 - 25 See R. Godoń, P. Jucevičienė, Z. Kodelja, “Philosophy of education in post-Soviet societies of Eastern Europe: Poland, Lithuania and Slovenia,” *Comparative Education* 40.4/2004, p. 559.
 - 26 M. Mason, “Comparing Places,” in: *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods*, M. Bray, B. Adamson, and M. Mason (eds.), Hong-Kong: 2007, p. 95.
 - 27 M. Mason “Comparing Places,” p. 94.
 - 28 A. M. Kazamias, K. Schwarz, “Intellectual and Ideological Perspectives in Comparative Education: An Interpretation,” *Comparative Education Review* 21.2–3/1977, p. 176.

systems serve different social groups in different ways and how social inequalities are repeated on the regional and international level).²⁹

The fourth challenge focuses on introducing new research areas into comparative pedagogy. Altbach and Kelly point out that “until recently, comparative pedagogy was a field that focused mainly on educational development and planning, on the outcome of education in the national context and the analyses focused on various educational systems. Most of that research was based upon structural functionalism or was at its core non-theoretical and descriptive.” According to these comparatists, much more extensive questions should be explored in completely new contexts. They define a few such areas to give examples (women’s studies; research on creating, spreading and applying knowledge; new interpretations of school-society relations etc.).³⁰

The new assumptions of comparative pedagogy formulated by P.G. Altbach and G.P. Kelly became a turning point in the development of this discipline. It is also worth adding that they sparked a debate over the adequateness, essence and goals of comparative pedagogy. As the quoted authors point out, “there were three kinds of responses to these challenges.” The first kind was decisively ignoring them. According to Altbach and Kelly, “this kind of response proves the weakness of comparative pedagogy.” The second type of response “confronts the new challenges and attempts at disproving them.” In this case “scientists argue the flawed nature of the new assumptions and attempt to end the debate they have themselves started.” The third kind of response, on the other hand, confronts the existing challenges by creating completely new types of approaches and research.³¹

In the late eighties, the tendency to leave the “paradigm war” behind in comparative pedagogy strengthened. Such that, as Paulston points out, “few researchers still stand by the orthodox purity and remain within their paradigm and scientific utopias,” although “many continue their one-sided struggle to replace one view of the world with another,” and yet “the fall of theory in social sciences means that no single school of research can now keep up the claim that it has an actual monopoly, or that it can fill the entire intellectual space.” Simultaneously, “an increasing number of researchers see the entirety of functionalist knowledge, positive interpretational or Marxist, as incomplete and problematic.”³²

29 G. P. Kelly et al., *Comparative education*, p. 96.

30 G. P. Kelly et al., *Comparative education*, p. 96.

31 G. P. Kelly et al., *Comparative education*, pp. 99–100.

32 G. P. Kelly et al., *Comparative education*, p. 35.

The recent decades were a period of accepting the complementarity of the separate paradigms. During this time, there was research conducted based around “conventional” functional structuralism, or radically functional theoretical concepts, as well as analysis from the perspective of critical or post-modern concepts. As R. G. Paulston points out, in particular “the appearance of post-structuralism and post-modernism meant that the discourse in comparative pedagogy also entered a discovering process that was accompanied by a fundamental shift in the process of structuring knowledge coming from traditional social science and Marxist science models into the perspectives of linguistic and interpretational humanist science.” As the scholar points out, it is thus the period of “transitioning from the paradigm war to “debating communities,” as using knowledge becomes more eclectic and oriented by the new ideas and knowledge structures, such as interpretation, simulation, judgement and the conceptual structuring on knowledge. Knowledge becomes more and more “textual.” It is seen as a construct using a conventional system of signs to a larger and larger degree”³³

Today, the development of comparative research methodology is increasingly moving towards interdisciplinarity and comprehensiveness in research approaches. This allows their subjective and contextual nature to be noticed.³⁴

Comparative education provides an instrument for analysing educational systems and their parts, across a broad spectrum of issues. The results of comparative analyses provide insights into the entanglement of school systems with social, cultural, economic, and political dependencies. In this context, the thesis – formulated several decades ago by J. Noah – that it is “comparative studies that constitute the most desirable approach to understanding education” seems valid.³⁵

At the same time, the motives for comparisons made at different scales vary significantly. M. Bray distinguished five exemplary categories of people making comparative studies of education.

The first category is parents, who most often compare different schools in search of the institution that will most effectively serve their children’s development. Education policymakers are another category. They make comparisons designed both to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of their own system

33 G. P. Kelly et al., *Comparative education*, pp. 35–36.

34 J. Schriewer, “Comparative Education Methodology in Transition: Towards Science of Complexity,” in: *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, J. Schriewer (ed.), Frankfurt am Main: 2009, pp. 14–31.

35 H. J. Noah, “The Use and Abuse of Comparative Education,” *Comparative Education Review* 28.4/1984, p. 560.

and to apply that knowledge to achieve social, economic, and political goals. A third category is international institutions that monitor the state of education in different countries and provide comparative data to governments and other institutions. The fourth group consists of educational practitioners (including teachers and school leaders) who can compare schools and indicators regarding their own educational activities. The last category includes scholars undertaking comparative studies to develop theoretical models for understanding the principles governing education in different contexts and at different levels.³⁶

Moreover, the goals of comparative research provide evidence of the diversity of applications of analyses conducted within this academic sub-discipline.³⁷ In general, there are four main objectives of comparative education. The first objective of the research is description. It involves characterizing educational systems as well as educational processes and outcomes. The main task is to collect, classify and rank data regarding the education of different nations around the world. The simplest way to describe it is to compare statistical data. The description can cover both the entire structures of educational systems and their individual parts, as well as some selected, very specific problems. At the same time, the comparisons may draw attention to the persistence or variability of a given structure or problem, as well as to the interrelationships of various institutions within the system (for example, the influence of the Church on education). Today, it becomes especially important to analyse the causes and connections of the observed problems. It aims not only at description itself but also at formulating directives for change (relevant from the perspective of educational reform planning).³⁸

The second objective of comparative education is to assist in the development of educational institutions and activities. The essence here is to provide inspiration for the introduction of changes in the structure of education and teaching methods and the dissemination of education. Thus, according to Noah, knowledge of educational problems and solutions abroad is indispensable – in terms of understanding and changing one's own educational system.³⁹ Many countries

36 M. Bray, "Actors and Purposes in Comparative Education," in: *Comparative Education Research*, pp. 15–16.

37 K. Watson, "Comparative Educational Research: the need for reconceptualization and fresh insights," *Compare* 29.3/1999, p. 236.

38 H. J. Noah, "Comparative Education: Methods," in: *The International Encyclopedia of Traditional Systems of Education*, T. Husén and T. Neville Postlethwaite (eds.), Oxford: 1995, p. 870.

39 H. J. Noah, "The Use and Abuse," p. 557.

make changes just by following the example of others, and often such changes are determined by the need to “adjust” structures to the generally applicable model. A good example in this context is Poland, adapting its educational system to the one functioning in many EU countries.⁴⁰ It is worth noting that many times in history such “comparisons” have been taken more literally, almost copying the structures, methods, and sometimes the content and objectives of education from country to country.⁴¹ This historical process can be compared to a “diffusion” of existing educational system models. As a result, new models (specific to a given culture) were created which, further influencing education systems in other countries, underwent further transformations.⁴²

A good example is Japan which, after World War II, to a significant extent adopted the structure and content of the educational system existing in the United States; another good example being socialist countries adopting almost mechanically the educational system of the Soviet Union. Comparisons of educational advancement and development in different countries are also often aimed at introducing educational innovations and the developments in education systems of other countries.⁴³

The third objective of research in the area of comparative education is to analyse the connections that exist both within the educational system and between education and society. For example, methods of teaching, student achievement rates, ways of recruiting and training teachers,⁴⁴ and methods of selecting individuals for successive levels of education are examined. The social role that educational institutions play in the creation and development of national consciousness and the formation of civil society,⁴⁵ and the self-awareness of

40 M. J. Szymański, “Decentralizacja zarządzania oświatą – dylematy holenderskie,” in: *Edukacja wobec zmiany społecznej*, J. Brzeziński and L. Witkowski (eds.), Poznań–Toruń: 1994, pp. 150–151.

41 N. Grant, “Tasks for Comparative Education in the New Millenium,” *Comparative Education* 36.3/2000, pp. 313–315, and L. Tikly, “Education and the new imperialism,” *Comparative Education* 40.2/2004, pp. 187–191.

42 W. K. Cummings, “The Institutions of Education. A Comparative Study of Educational Development in the Six Core Nations,” *Oxford Studies in Comparative Education* 12.2/2002, pp. 130–132.

43 H. J. Noah, “Comparative Education: Methods,” in: *The International Encyclopedia*, p. 870.

44 See H. Kwiatkowska, “Współczesne kierunki przemian w kształceniu nauczycieli,” in: *Realia i perspektywy reform oświatowych*, A. Bogaj (ed.), Warszawa: 1997, p. 131.

45 See K. Przyszczykowski, “Habitus narodowy jako obszar dyskursu edukacyjnego w Niemczech,” in: *Wychowanie obywatelskie. Studium teoretyczne, porównawcze i empiryczne*, Z. Melosik and K. Przyszczykowski (eds.), Toruń–Poznań: 1998, p. 139,

individuals,⁴⁶ are also often analysed, also from the perspective of the processes of constructing ethnic identity.⁴⁷ Research on the relationships between the class structure of society and education,⁴⁸ vertical mobility, opportunities for the advancement of individuals from lower social groups,⁴⁹ and mechanisms for reproducing the social structure are also important.⁵⁰ Such research is often linked to an analysis of the political organization (programmes and objectives) of a given system.⁵¹ It should be added that they essentially use research methods from the borderline of the anthropological, sociological, political, and economic sciences.⁵² The variety of levels of analyses as well as the contexts and spheres in which comparative analyses may be conducted is illustrated by the scheme of comparative analyses proposed by M. Bray and R. M. Thomas. These authors point to the multicontextuality and multilevelness in the sphere of the possibilities of comparing educational phenomena – both from the perspective of the

and K. Przyszczykowski, *Edukacja dla demokracji. Strategie zmian a kompetencje obywatelskie*, Toruń–Poznań: 1999, p. 127.

- 46 See R. Fiala, “Educational Ideology and the School Curriculum,” in: *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective. Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education*, A. Benavot and C. Braslavsky (eds.), Hong-Kong, 2007, p. 15.
- 47 See Z. Melosik, *Teoria i praktyka edukacji wielokulturowej*, Kraków: 2007, p. 141 ff. T. Gmerek, *Edukacja i tożsamość etniczna mniejszości w obszarach podbiegunowych (studium socjopedagogiczne)*, Poznań: 2013.
- 48 See A. Mazurowska-Domeracka, “Rodzice z klasy średniej a wybór szkoły podstawowej w Polsce,” in: *Edukacja i nierówność. Trajektorie sukcesu i marginalizacji*, Gromkowska-Melosik and M. J. Szymański (eds.), Poznań: 2014, p. 293.
- 49 See A. Gromkowska-Melosik, *Elitarne szkolnictwo średnie. Między reprodukcją społeczno-kulturową a ruchliwością konkurencyjną*, Poznań: 2015, p. 17 ff.
- 50 See Vol. Gmerek, *Edukacja i nierówności społeczne. Studium porównawcze na przykładzie Anglii, Hiszpanii i Rosji*, Kraków: 2013.
- 51 H. J. Noah, “Comparative Education: Methods,” in: *The International Encyclopedia*, p. 872.
- 52 See M. Archer, “Sociology and Comparative Education: a reply to Edmund King,” *Comparative Education* 16.2/1980, p. 179; E. King, “Prescription or Partnership in Comparative Studies of Education?,” *Comparative Education* 16.2/1980, p. 185; H. Taba, “Cultural Orientation in Comparative Education,” *Comparative Education Review* 4.3/1963, p. 171; V. L. Masemann, “Culture and Education,” in: *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*, R. F. Arnove and C. A. Torres (eds.), Oxford: 2003, p. 115.

diversity of problems, the scale and location of analyses, as well as their location in relation to specific social groups.⁵³

Making theoretical generalizations is the final objective of comparative education research. Juxtaposing descriptions of the phenomena occurring in educational systems of different countries and their comparison should lead to summaries and conclusions, both in the area of the educational system of one country and for all compared systems. Noah notes that “the task of comparative education is the potential to create generalizations of what we think we know about education.” In this way, as he writes further, “the essence of international comparative work becomes not only the introduction of theoretical models, but in fact also the prevention of excessive generalizations and simplifications resulting from drawing conclusions from the experience of a single country.”⁵⁴ Thus, extensive comparative syntheses are ultimately created. Such comparative generalizations are usually made either in the form of an in-depth analysis of the structure of a country’s education system or “across” – in the form of a problem statement.⁵⁵ It is reasonable to juxtapose these generalized findings with research on the education system in one’s own country.⁵⁶

Conclusion

To sum up, the development of comparative education methodology exemplifies changes in the ways of scientific thinking – both from the perspective of the early stages of the discipline and the dynamics of its development in the twentieth century.⁵⁷ It should be noted that initially the development of comparative education was based almost exclusively on the method of statistical data collection. In the following decades, comparativists refined the use of research methods and methodological workshops. Researchers comparing educational systems in different countries have also made systematic use of the scientific achievements of both pedagogy and related sciences, creating new theoretical concepts and research

53 M. Bray, R. M. Thomas, “Levels of Comparison in Educational Studies: Different Insights from Different Literatures and the Nature of Multilevel Analyses,” *Harvard Educational Review* 65.3/1995, p. 475.

54 H. J. Noah, “The Use and Abuse,” p. 557.

55 H. J. Noah, “The Use and Abuse,” p. 557.

56 See A. Bogaj, “System edukacji w Polsce na tle porównawczym (próba analizy),” in: *Realia i perspektywy reform oświatowych*, A. Bogaj (ed.), Warszawa: 1997, p. 85.

57 B. Holmes, “Paradigm Shifts in Comparative Education,” *Comparative Education Review* 28.4/1984, p. 584.

procedures.⁵⁸ The interdisciplinarity of this field of knowledge is particularly evident in the complementarity of the different paradigms used in the research undertaken in recent decades.⁵⁹ The contemporary methodology of comparative education is constantly undergoing a process of development, drawing on the achievements of many sciences and theoretical concepts.⁶⁰

References

- Altbach, P. G., Arnove, G. P., Kelly, R. F., "Trends in Comparative Education," in: *Comparative Education*, P. G. Altbach, G. P. Arnove, and R. F. Kelly (eds.), New York: 1982.
- Archer, M., "Sociology and Comparative Education: a reply to Edmund King," *Comparative Education* 16.2/1980.
- Bereday, G. Z. F., *Comparative Method in Education*, New York: 1964.
- Bereday, G. Z. F., "Social Stratification and Education in Industrial Countries," *Comparative Education Review* 21.2–3/1977.
- Bogaj, A., "System edukacji w Polsce na tle porównawczym (próba analizy)," in: *Realia i perspektywy reform oświatowych*, A. Bogaj (ed.), Warszawa: 1997.
- Bray, M., "Actors and Purposes in Comparative Education," in: *Comparative Education Research*.
- Bray, M., Thomas, R. M., "Levels of Comparison in Educational Studies: Different Insights from Different Literatures and the Nature of Multilevel Analyses," *Harvard Educational Review* 65.3/1995.
- Cummings, W. K., "The Institutions of Education. A Comparative Study of Educational Development in the Six Core Nations," *Oxford Studies in Comparative Education* 12.2/2002.
- Epstein, E. H., "Currents Left and Right: Ideology in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 27.1/1983.

58 See A. M. Kazamias, K. Schwartz, "Woozles and Wizzles in the Methodology of Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 14.3/1970, p. 255, and A. M. Kazamias, "Some Old and New Approaches to Methodology in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 5.2/1961, p. 90.

59 R. G. Paulston, "A Spatial Turn in Comparative Education? Constructing a Social Cartography of Difference," in: *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, J. Schriewer (ed.), Frankfurt am Main: 2000, p. 297.

60 J. Schriewer, "Comparative Education Methodology in Transition: Towards Science of Complexity," in: *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, pp. 51–52.

- Fiala, R. "Educational Ideology and the School Curriculum," in: *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective. Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education*, A. Benavot and C. Braslavsky (eds.), Hong-Kong, 2007.
- Godoń, R., Jucevičienė, P., Kodelja, Z., "Philosophy of education in post-Soviet societies of Eastern Europe: Poland, Lithuania and Slovenia," *Comparative Education* 40.4/2004.
- Gorard, P., Smith, E., "An international comparison of equity in educational systems," *Comparative Education* 40.1/2004.
- Gmerek, T., *Edukacja i tożsamość etniczna mniejszości w obszarach podbiegunowych (studium socjopedagogiczne)*, Poznań: 2013.
- Gmerek, T. *Edukacja i nierówności społeczne. Studium porównawcze na przykładzie Anglii, Hiszpanii i Rosji*, Kraków: 2013.
- Grant, N., "Tasks for Comparative Education in the New Millenium," *Comparative Education* 36.3/2000.
- Gromkowska-Melosik, A., *Elitarne szkolnictwo średnie. Między reprodukcją społeczno-kulturową a ruchliwością konkurencyjną*, Poznań: 2015.
- Hickling-Hudson, A. "Towards Caribbean "knowledge societies:" dismantling neo-colonial barriers in the age of globalization," *Compare* 34.3/2004.
- Holmes, B., "Paradigm Shifts in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 28.4/1984.
- J. Wojniak, *Szkoła-Polityka-Prawo. George Zygmunt Fijałkowski-Bereday i jego wizja edukacji*, Kraków: 2019.
- Kandel, I. L., *The New Era in Education: A Comparative Study*, Boston: 1955.
- Kazamias, A. M., Schwarz, K., "Intellectual and Ideological Perspectives in Comparative Education: An Interpretation," *Comparative Education Review* 21.2-3/1977.
- Kazamias, A. M., Schwartz, K., "Woozles and Wizzles in the Methodology of Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 14.3/1970.
- Kazamias, A. M., "Some Old and New Approaches to Methodology in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 5.2/1961.
- Kelly, G. P., *Comparative Education and the Problem of Change: An Agenda for the 1980's*, UNESCO: 1973.
- Kelly, G. P., *Comparative Education and the Problem of Change*.
- Kelly, G. P., Altbach, P. G., "Comparative education: Challenge and Response," *Comparative Education Review* 30.1/1986.
- King, E., "Prescription or Partnership in Comparative Studies of Education?" *Comparative Education* 16.2/1980.

- Kwiatkowska, H., "Współczesne kierunki przemian w kształceniu nauczycieli," in: *Realia i perspektywy reform oświatowych*, A. Bogaj (ed.), Warszawa: 1997.
- Louisy, D. P., "Whose context for what quality? Informing education strategies for the Caribbean," *Compare* 34.3/2004.
- Masemann, V. L., "Culture and Education," in: *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*, R. F. Arnove and C. A. Torres (eds.), Oxford: 2003.
- Mason, M., "Comparing Places," in: *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods*, M. Bray, B. Adamson, and M. Mason (eds.), Hong-Kong: 2007.
- Mazurowska-Domeracka, A., "Rodzice z klasy średniej a wybór szkoły podstawowej w Polsce," in: *Edukacja i nierówność. Trajektorie sukcesu i marginalizacji*, A. Gromkowska-Melosik and M. J. Szymański (eds.), Poznań: 2014.
- Melosik, Z., *Współczesne amerykańskie spory edukacyjne. Między socjologią edukacji a pedagogiką postmodernistyczną*, Poznań: 1995.
- Melosik, Z., *Teoria i praktyka edukacji wielokulturowej*, Kraków: 2007.
- Moulton, J., Mundy, K., Walmond, M., Williams J. (eds.), *Education Reform's in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Westport: 2002.
- Noah, H. J., "Comparative Education: Methods," in: *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, T. Husen, T. Neville Postlethwaite (eds.), Oxford: 1985.
- Noah, H. J., "Comparative Education: Methods," in: *The International Encyclopedia*.
- Noah, H. J., "Comparative Education: Methods," in: *The International Encyclopedia of Traditional Systems of Education*, T. Husén and T. Neville Postlethwaite (eds.), Oxford: 1995.
- Noah, H. J., Eckstein, M. A., *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, New York: 1969.
- Noah, H. J., "The Use and Abuse of Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 28.4/1984.
- Pachociński, R., *Pedagogika porównawcza*, Warszawa: 2007.
- Paulston, R. G., "Pedagogika porównawcza jako pole nakreślenia konceptualnych map teorii i paradygmatów," in: *Spory o edukację. Dylematy i kontrowersje we współczesnych pedagogiach*, Z. Kwieciński, L. Witkowski (eds.), Warszawa: 1993.
- Paulston, R. G., "Comparative and International Education: Paradigms and Theories," in: *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, T. Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite (eds.), Oxford: 1994.

- Paulston, R. G., "A Spatial Turn in Comparative Education? Constructing a Social Cartography of Difference," in: *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, J. Schriewer (ed.), Frankfurt am Main: 2000.
- Przyszczykowski, K., "Habitus narodowy jako obszar dyskursu edukacyjnego w Niemczech," in: *Wychowanie obywatelskie. Studium teoretyczne, porównawcze i empiryczne*, Z. Melosik and K. Przyszczykowski (eds.), Toruń–Poznań: 1998.
- Przyszczykowski, K. *Edukacja dla demokracji. Strategie zmian a kompetencje obywatelskie*, Toruń–Poznań: 1999.
- Samoff, J., "No Teacher Guide, No Textbooks, No Chairs: Contending with Crisis in African Education," in: *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*, R. F. Arnove and C. A. Torres (eds.), Oxford: 2003.
- Schriewer, J., "Comparative Education Methodology in Transition: Towards Science of Complexity," in: *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, J. Schriewer (ed.), Frankfurt am Main: 2009.
- Schriewer, J., "Comparative Education Methodology in Transition: Towards Science of Complexity," in: *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*.
- Spaulding, P., "Prescriptions for Educational Reform: dilemmas of the real world," *Comparative Education* 24/1988.
- Stromquist, N. P., "What Poverty Does to Girl's Education: the intersection of class, gender and policy in Latin America," *Compare* 31.1/2001.
- Sultana, R. G., "Éducation, développement et école de demain en Méditerranée," *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* 7.1/2002.
- Szymański, M. J., "Decentralizacja zarządzania oświatą – dylematy holenderskie," in: *Edukacja wobec zmiany społecznej*, J. Brzeziński and L. Witkowski (eds.), Poznań–Toruń: 1994.
- Taba, H., "Cultural Orientation in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 4.3/1963.
- Tikly, L., "Education and the new imperialism," *Comparative Education* 40.2/2004.
- Watson, K., "Comparative Educational Research: The Need for Reconceptualization and Fresh Insights," *Compare* 29.3/1999.

Jarema Drozdowicz, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0003-1060-6324, jaremad@amu.edu.pl

School and Cultural Assimilation: Dimensions of Assimilation Politics in Education

Abstract: In this paper a crucial issue is being discussed which emerges in the context of progressing diversity of the schooling environment, as well the whole public sphere in general, i.e. cultural assimilation. This problem is to be addressed analytically through the means of pedagogical, socio-cultural and geopolitical discourse which prevails today in many Western countries and local debates on the nature of contemporary societies. Thus, we may look at the relation between schools and assimilation processes in its complexity and reveal how individuals objectified in those processes experience various assimilation policies. The politics of assimilation is however closely related to particular forms of shaping and understanding of the category of cultural difference. That link is being investigated in many of its manifestations. This paper takes also the aim to reconstruct the most significant tendencies in the politics of multiculturalism and to highlight the role of pedagogical and educational reflexivity in that regard. The necessity of an interdisciplinary approach is here taken as an important factor not just in the debate on contemporary state and philosophy of diversity, but furthermore – a specific *signum temporis* of modern educational studies.

Keywords: diversity, multiculturalism, cultural assimilation, school, assimilation politics.

Introduction

We may all agree that educational institutions play a significant role in shaping the self not just in the psychological sense but more in a socio-cultural dimension. The individual is being transformed vastly by the schooling experience in that regard and the outcome of that process takes in particular contexts different forms. It comes not as surprise that school is considered often a place where various actions are being undertaken in order to not just contribute to the general development of the subject and its own competences or simply to deliver knowledge, but merely as a tool serving the purpose of transformation of its identity (for example in the cultural dimension). This problem is acknowledged the most in the schooling systems grounded in a specific social and ethnic context in which the relations between the selected groups are based upon a significant

demographic asymmetry and this very asymmetry influences the power relations and the particular political connections on a specific territory. The complex picture of tensions and ethnic conflicts that emerges from this had always kept its own characteristics and dynamics. In this light, the image of the school and the educational models functioning in those societies are making the object of reflection of knowledge domains and disciplines which must come forward not just the complex educational reality but also have to include factors such as the influence of regional and global geopolitics, the quickly changing intercultural relations or all the nuances coming directly from locally grounded cultural contexts. Study on school and schooling systems is clearly dependent in that matter from the application of the interdisciplinary approach. It requires the use of perspectives and research tools from sociology of education, educational ethnography, general and comparative pedagogy etc. This obvious necessity also raises several challenges for scientific disciplines such as pedagogy, sociology or political science in a theoretical and methodological dimension. In the case of an analysis of cultural change processes it seems thus also obligatory to apply an approach which will not just deliver us an insight into the particular transformation processes occurring through schools and curricula but also will deliver an answer how the assimilation and acculturation processes were occurring (and still are on some occasions) in the selected dimensions of public life and how they did influence the shape of the ongoing debates on identity. This remark is related in the first place to the contemporary societies and states in which the forming of modern national identities is a process that recalls the category of cultural difference or is linked to migration. In the USA, Canada, Australia, and countries of Central America, today these debates gain a special significance because the demographic structures of those societies include large native populations, ethnic minorities, immigrant groups or any other group that is defined through differentiation from the dominant ethnic and cultural patterns. Thus, the aim of this chapter is not just to reconstruct the historical relation between particular education systems and the assimilation policy, but rather to highlight the most significant dimensions this process is occurring and where its long-lasting effects may be seen.

Educational Domain and Assimilation

The issue of assimilation processes occurring in close relation to education is not certainly a new problem, nor a question analytically unrecognized before. As suggested above, the research conducted until now on the phenomenon of assimilation is related however in the first place to the change taking place in the

register of identity, which is understood mainly in the category of transformation of self-identification structures regarded in the language of ethnicity. The ethnic dimension remains today in the centre of social orders in which we might still observe the effects of historical processes initiated on the verge of modernity along with the expansion of Western interests beyond the boundaries of Europe. To the direct consequences of the widening of the borders of the Western world we may include thus not just the political domination over the societies inhabiting the New World, sub-Saharan Africa, or south Asia, but also the imposing over them the cultural patterns in the area of language, custom, political and social institutions which were alien to the local specific until then, or material culture and technological solutions previously absent in those societies. This hegemony was not however related to the colonial era alone. As Frantz Fanon observes in his canonic work for the postcolonial critique *Black Skin, White Masks* it prevailed in the form of mental patterns internalized by the former colonial subjects.¹ The subaltern (to use the term coined by Antonio Gramsci and popularized later by Gayatri Spivak) remained thus in its core nature an instrumentalized object to external political factors and historical processes only to be given seldomly its own voice. The emancipatory turn that took place in the second half of the twentieth century in countries like the United States for example, nevertheless let to the expression of several postulates by the representatives of native nations for the gaining of their own sovereignty and recognition.

As Charles Taylor claims, recognition has both – a normative and a psychological significance.² The act of recognition simultaneously establishes the subject, but it also gives it an emotional support that affects the action undertaken by it in a long term. The desire to gain recognition creates in this light a bondage between the act of recognition itself and identity. The latter one would be according to Taylor, an effect of the recognition of subjectivity in a personal sense. Therefore, individuals recognize and are being recognized as independent social, economic and political entities. It is also as well a group fact demanding certain level of interaction of all participants of the situations in which such a necessity occurs. As the Canadian philosopher claims, it happens because human life has fundamentally a dialogical character. The public debates taking place in this context and tackling the issue of sovereignty, selected civic rights or economic

1 F. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, London: Pluto Press, 2008.

2 C. Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in: *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, C. Taylor, K. A. Appiah, J. Habermas, S. C. Rockefeller, M. Walzer, and S. Wolf (eds.), New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992.

rights related to land ownership point out that the problem is today far from reaching a solution. Political recognition is thus not just a legal act, an administrative step nor an agreement between former adversaries, but it is related to the necessity of making an introspective change on a cultural and consciousness level. In that matter the history of relations between the West and the world located under the term of Orient as defined by Edward Said (i.e. not just the historical Middle East, but also everything that is placed beyond the Western realm) is a narrative that reveals many facts linking the striving for recognition with the strategies of copying the white culture by the colonial subjects with the assimilation and acculturation pressure. Therefore, we may highlight in these processes how the contents and the cultural signifiers of the non-Western way of thinking and practices were slowly dissolved in a solution which included a peculiar mix of political dominance, application of raw military force and striking violence, religiously motivated desire to convert the Other, as well more subtle, but nevertheless cruel, patterns of dismantling every single sign of cultural difference. It is not to mention that in the latter case, education and schools were often a very effective instrument of that strategy. This allows us to see cultural assimilation as a process of homogenization of the internal diversity which are normally present in every society into an ideologically constructed monoculture. To put it more simply: assimilation annihilates cultural difference as a category in the prevailing social discourse creating a unified picture of the social order.

The main question that remains to be answered in the attempt of defining assimilation through the notion of cultural difference is the understanding of this term as an operational category. By doing so, we can look at different historical cases of assimilation in a more holistic perspective, highlighting the structural and communicative aspect of intercultural relations. The art of inspiring a dialogue with the cultural Other without the a priori generalization and instrumentalization of the difference that defines otherness is an uneasy task. It requires a large doze of self-motivation in order not to fall victim to the temptation of imposing our own views linked to taming all features which seem to us irrelevant to our own self-perception. The relation between the Other and the Ego may certainly be interpreted on many levels of differentiation. It might be a difference occurring on a visual level of recognition of biological features like race or sex. It also may take form of relations based on cultural differences understood as lifestyles and customs. Finally, it may take the form of a relation emerging on a level of consciousness, in which the Other becomes a part of our own internal world and experience. It falls there into a constant convergency of acceptance and rejection, exclusion and inclusion, or movement and stability. In effect such a situation raises a certain ambivalence in the attitude towards the

aliens. This aspect of difference discourse is being spotted by Julia Kristeva. She claims that “an alien is always elsewhere, a foreigner belongs nowhere.”³ Such sort of uprooting suspending of the status of the Other gives birth to various reactions of people subjected to the mechanisms of alienation. Kristeva sees two basic scenarios for such an answer producing specific forms of otherness. The first one produces the basis for resignation and longing for what is impossible to achieve, i.e. a regaining a feeling of certainty coming from being rooted somewhere. The second one is based on the acceptance of our own otherness in a particular place and to transcend it afterwards. This attitude shapes the optimism typical for many migrants. Those migrants represent in the first place a large dose of faith in the view that their own migration isn't permanent and will end someday. As Kristeva states, today's cultural landscape is being roamed by people looking for a long-lost past or for a better future.⁴ This migration landscape makes however a topography in which cultural difference becomes immanent and present in many areas of social life, where people experiencing migration are becoming the definition of otherness present within a coherent cultural whole.

The notion of topography of otherness in the context of experience is being drawn by Bernhard Waldenfels.⁵ The German philosopher expresses the view that the attitude represented by Kristeva does not fully describe the possible forms the Other may take. According to him, if the relation combining the Other with the Ego interests us, we have to take a look in a phenomenological way not just on the pure form otherness takes, but also its origins. They may be situated in ourselves. It is not a source in a psychoanalytical sense of the term which is making the Ego and the Other equal. This mistake is done by Kristeva according to Waldenfels. It is rather about an intersubjective otherness in contrast to the intersubjective one.⁶ In this light otherness transcends also its sociological understanding as one of the components of social relations. It reaches further, to the internal mechanisms of producing otherness in the process of self-reflection. This process is structurally ordered and is linked to the category of place. An alien place is defined in a topographic meaning, whereas topography is here simultaneously a method and a sort of description presenting the points of departure between the Ego and the Other. A difference is thus revealed between a world of familiarity (*Heimwelt*) and the world of otherness (*Fremdwelt*). Such a differentiation allows

3 J. Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, New York: Columbia University Press 199, p. 10.

4 J. Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, p. 1.

5 B. Waldenfels, *Topografia obcego*, Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, 2002.

6 B. Waldenfels, *Topografia obcego*, pp. 20–21.

us to impose other dichotomies what in consequence creates a subjective dimension to the discourse on difference. Waldenfels attempts to nevertheless highlight a certain way out of this dichotomic thinking, suggesting that under the semiotic perspective otherness becomes ordered in three major pairs of categories: inner-outer, feature-alien and eventually familiarity-difference.⁷ It resembles in large extent a structural order of the social sphere as described by classic structuralism. Waldenfels is interested in the works of Claude Lévi-Strauss only to the point where they deliver an insight into the various social modules' otherness is being put into. In the anthropological perspective otherness plays thus a role of a marker for the boundary where familiarity stops being dominant, and the field is given to the Other. It is important to note that the dialogue between the *Heimwelt* and *Fremdwelt* that occurs on their margins cannot rely solely on contrasting those two worlds, how it was done more than once. It is however required to differentiate the science speaking about the Other within a system of familiarity and its variant dealing with the Other in the context of an environment which is basically alien to us. The latter one would recall the notion of otherness drawn outside familiar categories, that is in a space in which a dominant Western discourse on difference is absent. Such a step allows us to treat difference in its own terms and is by Waldenfels given the name of xenology.

Xenology would therefore be a form of systematic recognition of the Other by doing and would be subjected to the logic of phenomenological epistemology. It would also be a specific science of otherness realized through the sheer experience of it. Xenological inquires seem to be useful in several situations related to acculturation, and in a more specific sense as well cultural assimilation. As Erving Goffmann puts it, the confrontation with otherness becomes often a quasi-cartographic activity.⁸ It causes a compulsive drawing of borders in space and bringing up the identity markers dividing particular systems of values, customs and other social practices. The 1971 experiment conducted by Henri Tajfel, Micheal C. Billig, Robert P. Bundy and Claude Flament showed perfectly how this process is being constructed and how it affects the relations between diverse groups.⁹ As the categorization processes and evaluation of group identity had been revealed during the experiment Tajfel's team came to the conclusion that

7 B. Waldenfels, *Topografia obcego*, pp. 109–110.

8 E. Goffmann, *Piętno. Rozważania o zranionej tożsamości*, Warszawa: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne 2005, p. 33.

9 H. Tajfel, M. G. Billig., R. P. Bundy, C. Flament, "Social categorization and intergroup behavior," in: *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1.2/1971, pp. 149–178.

the basic mechanism of creating group's self-identification is grounded in unification of the worldview shared by group's members and putting it against the worldview of a different group. The conformist attitude of its members favoured this process and influenced the decisions made by the individuals belonging to it. This observation is crucial if we want to understand how the cultural contact creates particular situations in which one group's culture is being assimilated by the other. We can assume in that regard that the clash of worldviews resulting from the contact is combined with the simultaneous processes of categorization, judgment and rejection of the cultural contents not associated with the identity pattern prevailing in the societies crossing the former boundaries. The further clash of powers, resources and the abilities to use them in order to subject the Other to our own will is a political effect of worlds colliding on the level of ontology. The assimilation of one culture by the other can be interpreted in this light as an imbalance of the abilities of one group to put its identity in the center of the dominant identity discourse. Due to that very imbalance cultural difference is being eliminated and perceived as a source of instability to the social and political status quo. On the other hand, we have to be also aware that the issue of dominance and hegemony in relation to identity is nevertheless a very complex phenomenon and must be interpreted through its means of application.

What would make thus cultural assimilation and how is it connected to the space of school? In the broadest meaning of the term under cultural assimilation we understand "a complex of processes emerging from the necessity of change and adjustment of a certain group (less often individuals) to the cultural patterns of another group with the consequence of either a full resignation from the native patterns or their deep revaluation and making them similar to the patterns of the dominant group."¹⁰ Two important premises come out directly of this definition. First, it points out the disproportion in the power relations in the beginning of the interactions between two or more societies in a situation of an intercultural contact. Second, it assumes that the predominance of that group leads inevitably to a complete dissolution of identity structures in the group subjected to the assimilation pressure. Both assumptions are however linked to the statement that assimilation processes are never a phenomenon occurring somehow autonomous, but they always remain a part of a wider process of acculturation (i.e. a process of changes caused by an intercultural exchange of content), and this comes from the immanent consequences of contact situation

10 Z. Staszczak (ed.), *Słownik etnologiczny. Terminy ogólne*, Warszawa–Poznań: PWN, 1987, p. 45.

of two or more cultures. Since cultural assimilation is not a phenomenon that reveals itself in the context of wider transformation processes a key question emerges for the upcoming remarks – how the assimilation processes influence the transformation or the deterrence of native elements in the cultures exposed to those pressures? This question seems to be important in the way it raises the issue of typologies of the phenomenon described here due to the character of factors that initiate assimilation. As Leon Wasilewski points out we must differentiate between spontaneous assimilation (resulting from an unplanned meeting of cultures), and its forced variant which is scrupulously planned by one of the sides of the contact situation. In the latter case we often have to deal with an intentionally designed policy of de-nationalization and social engineering oriented at unification of cultural traits and group identity accordingly with a certain artificially created scheme. This specific kind of assimilation is linked also to the implementation of assimilation policy in particular areas of public life, institutions and in the administrative system responsible for the forming of the core base to this identity.

Schooling and Assimilation Policy: Few Examples

It is not hard to see that the key institutions that have the direct competence to the field described above are associated with schools and other educational institutions in which the identification aspect is being highlighted. Their role in the realization of assimilation policy in particular countries and historical moments was however different. Thus, a question remains open on the responsibility of schooling institutions and all the subjects engaged in assimilation practices taking place in the schooling system. The debates tackling this issue are occurring at the moment not just in countries like United States or Canada, but also in some European countries like Denmark and Norway. They are mostly referred to the problem of systematic violence, nationalistic policy, the role of the Church and sometimes also contemporary consequences of the medical experiments conducted in the not so far past. What combines the mentioned cases is the fact that the problem of assimilation is present here through various forms of forcible imposing of the patterns of the dominant culture. It means a one-sided flow of cultural content from the dominant side with a simultaneous denigration of all signs of identities which differ from it. If such a perspective on cultural assimilation is logically valid in the mentioned cases the picture wouldn't be comprehensive as a whole if we wouldn't include also a slightly different view on the matter. This view is being shared among others by Rodney Park and Ernest W. Burgess who define assimilation as “a process of

mutual combining and merging in effect of which individuals and groups due to common experiences and common history and common sharing of same socio-economic life internalize memory, feelings and attitudes of other individuals and groups.”¹¹ The situation suggested in this place is thus understood as one in which assimilation process, no matter how they are being strictly conducted and controlled by a source of cultural hegemony always leave a trace in the dominant culture as well. It leads finally to a hybridization of cultural identities due to more or less unintentional adaptation and proliferation of content of the cultures affected by assimilation pressures. This type of processes of differentiation of national identities we may observe today in the countries of Latin America, in which native cultures after 500 years of domination of European patterns gain in the last three decades on significance thanks to the indigenous revitalization movements. Thus, on this level of analysis it emerges a necessity of redefining the understanding of the notion of assimilation and again to point out a great level of diversity of forms this phenomenon takes, as well its dependency towards wider acculturation processes. It is possible that a similar move would be necessary in order to understand the notion of culture, which is central to the discussed issue.

It is quite notable that the precarious ambiguity coming from the above questions on the relations between assimilation and acculturation is clearly distinctive for contemporary debates in the field of social anthropology. This view is being shared by a Polish anthropologist Aleksander Posern-Zieliński who claims that as we should not disconnect culture from society we should not also separate assimilation from acculturation because these are the processes of change that are equal to the two basic spheres of human reality.¹² The division between those two terms and treating them as separate ideological beings occurs in effect mostly on an analytical level and is being treated in a large extent as a methodological step. That very kind of reasoning is being shared by notable researchers like Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville Herskovits for example. The latter one claims in that regard that “assimilation is sometimes a phase of acculturation,” i.e. its last stage to be precise.¹³ The a priori assumption that processes

11 R. E. Park, E. E. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Society*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1921, p. 735.

12 A. Posern-Zieliński, “Akulturacja i asymilacja – dwie strony procesu etnicznej zmiany w ujęciu antropologii i etnohistorii,” in: *Procesy akulturacji-asymilacji na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim w XIX i XX wieku*, W. Molik and R. Traba (eds.), Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 1999: pp. 61–62.

13 R. Redfield, R. Linton, M. Herskovits, “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation,” in: *American Anthropologist* 38.1/1936, pp. 149–152.

of assimilation are designed unidirectional to absorb one of the participating cultures leads us to a constataion that the effect of homogenization of identity patterns and lifestyles is a phenomenon somehow natural and occurs often. Nevertheless, reality shows us that the mentioned processes are far more complex and the cultural relations taking place between various groups more often lead to an exchange of selected elements rather than to their total absorption. From a methodological standpoint it also means that cultural assimilation is not to be identified with acculturation, but it rather starts in the moment when acculturation actually ends, and factors are being revealed leading eventually to a scenario in which the disintegration of patterns of one of the communities involved finally occurs. This situation is problematic in the cases when of contemporary multicultural societies in which the rule of cultural pluralism prevails. The revealing of assimilation tendencies in interethnic relations gives in effect birth to a deeply grounded social discontent. It is plausible then to think how assimilation policies were and still are being shaped when it comes to a clash between two or more groups striving very different goals on the plain of cultural orders. It is worth mentioning that according to a typology by Milton M. Gordon we may differentiate in this context three basic types of assimilation policies and ideologies: 1) the concept of angloconformism, 2) the melting pot concept and 3) the concept of cultural pluralism.¹⁴ It is not hard to see that in the north American context this typology might be regarded simultaneously as stages of historical transformation of the policy linked to the category of cultural difference. In other words, it presents a slow progression from traditionally understood unidirectional and politically designed assimilation towards the modern integration policy that is present today in the USA and Canada.

By pointing out the particular contexts of cultural assimilation with the cooperation of schooling systems those two countries deliver us one of the most radical examples of such engagement. The American system of Indian Boarding Schools is in this regard an exemplification having much significance. We may recall the fact that seventeenth century puritanism of the first settlers founded a certain canon of dealing with the native population of North America. The first and relatively peaceful contacts with the Indians changed with time and quickly antagonized the involved parties. Along with the American War for Independence the problem reoccurred in the official debates. The most significant in the matter seem the actions undertaken by George Washington himself

14 M. M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.

with one of his closest allies and later also the Secretary of Defense, Henry Knox. Both politicians raised the question of integration and education of Indians within the emerging at that time American state. Both also agreed in the view that if the native population could fully participate in the new society, it would be able to do so only when it would move closer to the civilizing and axiological paradigm shared by the whites. Washington and Knox formulated a plan for advancing the process of “civilizing” the Indians based on six major points. They had included: 1) application of impartial justice towards Indians, 2) regulation of rules of buying the Indian land, 3) promotion of commerce, 4) promotion of civilizing experiments conducted among native communities, 5) highlighting the role of the president in the receiving of gifts handed out to the Indians, 6) prosecution of people who violate Indian rights. This seemingly noble plan however had been quickly forgotten. The praxis of dealing with the native population in America had shown that political pragmatism had casted over the ideals of the “Founding Fathers.” The picture of the “noble savage” had been thus put aside by the representation of a blood thirsty Indian lurking for the life of the settlers occupying new territories of the ever-moving western boundaries. An important tool of this policy was the 1819 Civilization Fund Act thanks to which the federal government had moved large financial means supporting every organization and society taking care of the education of Indians, however in practice these funds were directed in most cases to missionary schools and religious communities. Knox and Washington were accompanied also by Thomas Jefferson, who in the 1803 speech made to the representatives of the Choctaw nation stated that:

I rejoice, brothers, to hear you propose to become cultivators of the earth for the maintenance of your families. Be assured you will support them better and with less labor, by raising stock and bread, and by spinning and weaving clothes, than by hunting. A little land cultivated, and a little labor, will procure more provisions than the most successful hunt; and a woman will clothe more by spinning and weaving, than a man by hunting. Compared with you, we are but as of yesterday in this land. Yet see how much more we have multiplied by industry, and the exercise of that reason which you possess in common with us. Follow then our example, brethren, and we will aid you with great pleasure.¹⁵

Jefferson’s words would later find a grim reflection in the reality of the boarding schools several decades after. The main value of those schools became hard and mostly physical labor. The institutions based on the first of such boarding

15 <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-17-1803-address-brothers-choctaw-nation>.

schools, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, had the purpose to adjust the native Americans to the life in the industrial period. The subjects taught in those schools were linked to the future workplace of their alumni. These were supposed to be large farms and factories of a rapidly developing America. The Indian was to become the element and subject of an early capitalist machinery, just as anonymous and stripped of native culture as the immigrant crossing in the same time the Atlantic from Europe and Asia. Similar to the thesis found in the analysis made by Max Weber labor was judged here within the framework of values typical to the protestant worldview. It was looked upon as a gateway to salvation shimmering on the edge of the horizon. However, the important difference to the Weberian example is made in this case by the fact that the native population in North America was subjected to a total instrumentalization in the educational process where the school functioned as a stratification tool.

In total, until the mid 1920s 357 Indian Boarding Schools functioned, where in 1925 alone an overall number of 61,000 students in various age was inscribed. The scale of the whole endeavor and the symmetric scale of abuse had been made public with the publication of the Meriam Report in 1928. Since then, the federal government took a closer look at those institutions, although the assimilationist policy present in their functioning still caused systematic outrooting and white-washing of not just the Native Americans, but also all the groups that did not fit the Anglo-Saxon pattern. The Americanization of native population assumed the taking over of the cultural traits typical to the white population not only in the educational sphere, but also it imposed the protestant values to native children. It tackled the structures of power as well as the economic sphere. The Dewey Act introduced in 1887 imposed in that regard an alien to native cultures notion of private property and at the same time making the native understanding and practice of collective management of space and natural resources invalid. The consequences of this document are felt until this very day, especially in the context of widening by the American oil companies of territory claimed as too precious to be left in the hands of the Indians. Real modern ecological, legal and social threats to the status and current situation of Native Americans come from a long lasting and complex marginalization of those communities in the structures of a Western society.

A system of boarding schools similar to the American one was created in neighboring Canada. So called residential schools sprung throughout the whole territory of the Canadian Confederation, although they were established more often in remote areas outside big cities. Financed by the Canadian state but managed in large extent by the Catholic Church those institutions became a place as isolated from the state structures as they were not really controlled by any

of state officials. Just as in the case of the American variant, residential schools did not keep any detailed books on the students taught and occasional visits by the officials usually did not see any anomalies. The angloconformistic assimilation policy conducted in the schools was based on the 1876 Indian Act (synonymous with its American counterpart), as well on previous acts like 1857 Gradual Civilization Act and 1869 Gradual Enfranchisement Act. Just like in the situation in the United States the Canadian system assumed that the educational process, starting with the physical taking of children from native families and handing them out to the residential school, will end finally not simply with the integration of the Indians with the Canadian society, but with the eradication of any signs of native identity and language in the first place. Residential education was judged back then nevertheless as an effective tool serving the purpose of cultural homogenization of the Canadian society which was increasingly diversified due to immigration in the twentieth century. Since the 1950's residential schools managed by the Church started to have financial trouble like the religious societies in charge of some of the schools ending with the filling of bankruptcy by some of them. In effect, several of those schools was overtaken by the government. The form and direction of teaching was however continued with the hope to reach the educational goals set previously. The shock to the public opinion that accompanied the speech made by one of the native alumni in the Canadian parliament that revealed the tremendous scale of abuse during the residential school period presented at the same time the indigenous perspective on the schooling experience and the consequences of application of the Canadian assimilation policy. If since the 1980's Canada is leaving the model of forced assimilation typical to residential schools, we may observe since the 2000s a significant turn in the state policy towards the native population and their uneasy relations with the white majority. The main basis of that change is being made by the process of national reconciliation and giving the indigenous groups the historical agency they deserve.

Certainly, both examples of cultural assimilation through schools do not present the whole picture of the complexity of relations between politics and education. They do however emphasize the key questions that may now be crucial in understanding the current situation and the potential directions of development of the socio-cultural relations in countries where the indigenous population, various ethnic minorities or any other groups historically subjected to assimilation gain today voice in the public debates. The inclusion of those groups and the attempt of reshaping the status quo raises further issues previously either ignored by the dominant groups or openly rejected as a subversion of the existing order of power. Today these issues form a nonlinear narrative and reach

out to the historical sources of oppression which many policies of assimilation are based on. The long lasting systematic oppression. The events at Standing Rock in 2018 and the eruption of the Black Lives Matter movement in 2019 are only few examples of the level of discontent within those groups against the white dominance in America. The common denominator of those phenomena is being shaped by the motoric of resentment related to the troubled past and contemporary interethnic tensions. The source of those tensions is rooted in the lasting policy of forced assimilation into the white culture, where schools and the education system are being blamed as an instrument for imposing the new artificial identity on nonwhite subjects. This policy of “whitewashing” the self is quite common in the postcolonial context. As an example of this mechanism serves the so called *blanquimiento* policy practiced in Central America towards the native and non-Spanish speaking population, especially in countries like Guatemala. It also forms a deeper dimension of assimilation process when we consider the impact of the schooling experience on the psychological construction of the subaltern. The implementation of white mindset into the cognitive structures of people of color distorts in large extent the personality and contributes to a specific way of thinking as described previously by Franz Fanon. Eventually, it was also often inscribed into the colonial sensual discourse based on the notion of desire. The biopolitics of colonialism make in that regard a distinct part of a wider approach to objectification of the nonwhite citizens.

Conclusion

The above combination of various factors in reconstruction of different historical examples of assimilation processes through education opens a debate on the weight of the experience assimilation had brought with for many groups in various social contexts. The schooling experience itself might be thus regarded as an object of study and analysis delivering us an interesting insight how assimilation is being lived through by particular individuals and how this process affects not just the identity, social position but also the individual’s ability to function in the host society as a full member also in a cultural sense. The role of schooling systems in shaping this ability had been explored previously mostly in reference to the marginalization of the alumni of Indian Boarding Schools and similar institutions. Nevertheless, it seems also significant today to bring into attention the impact forced assimilation of children in those schools had on the overall construction of self as a cultural being. The enculturation into the white culture of Native Americans, migrants, Afromericans, Latinos in the United States and Canada, Aborigines in Australia, or the colonial subaltern is therefore not

simply a process of change and transformation of the existing cultural identity into something different and imposed by the oppressor, but a specific formation of human individuals taught specifically to be subjected to complex structures of power. Within those structures they are placed in areas of public life beyond their actual agency. As the pupils of Indian Boarding Schools were slowly stripped of their cultural markers (clothing, language, customs), they gained the persistent impression that Native's are basically unable to contest these actions and are condemned to play the role of the pariah in the rapidly advancing American society. The native pupils on most cases were supposed to be passive "receptables of the language of the colonizer, voiceless and powerless, "tongues" drowned in murky waters of assimilation."¹⁶

It is not surprising that being aware of these limitations some tribal elders welcomed the idea of white education in the first period of the mutual relations in colonial America.¹⁷ With the time passing, the grim perception and lastly the assumed silent acceptance for the conditions surrounding the possible social and economic field of agency of Indians in the United States was incorporated into the imagery of the native population reproduced by the white Americans. The presence of social pathologies in native reservations like high level of alcoholism, huge rate of unemployment, domestic abuse cases and other violent criminal tendencies became a constant companion of representations of the native's trapped in a circle of forceless efforts to join the white society on equal rights. The sad life story of Ira Hayes, a war hero and one of the soldiers who raised the flag on Iwo Jima is an example how this picture was distributed and implemented in the visual discourse in America until at least the 1970s. The rise of various indigenous revitalization movements and the action undertaken by native American activists in recent decades slowly contributed to the change of this unfavorable situation and today we can see how former Indian Boarding Schools turned into centers of native cultural life in many local communities. The schooling experience itself is thus referred to often as "survival" and the shadow it casted over the contemporary native identity is still discussed in public debates in United States and Canada in relation to similar outcome of the education in residential schools. Assimilation through education policy which shaped the functioning of those institutions can be interpreted in this matter as major factor for instigating modern native revival not only in the United States but also throughout the

16 A. V. Katanski, *Learning to Write "Indian:" The Boarding School Experience and American Indian Literature*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005, p. 5.

17 M. Stout, *Native American Boarding Schools*, Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2012, p. xii.

world. As an effect and reaction to oppression those schools produced a specific community of people who share not just the fact of being nonwhite, nonwestern and nonprivileged victims of assimilation pressure, but rather a community of individuals with their own complicated life stories of how they experienced the boarding schools maintaining own dignity and how did they managed to live to tell the story. In this context the recent public testimonies of the survivors of the Canadian residential schools become a turning point in the access of Native Canadians to the cultural mainstream.

Catherine Ramirez is one of the scholars taking note of this assimilation paradox. She claims that the most prolific of the boarding schools – the Carlisle Industrial School – produced “more than claims to whiteness.”¹⁸ It became a hotbed for future pan-Indianism, which is based on a prolific sense of solidarity among all the Native Americans. Following Hazel Hertzberg’s arguments, Ramirez points out several examples of the mentioned form of community. An interesting aspect of the discussed problem is made here by the presence of two main components of the interaction between the receptors and implementors of assimilation pressure, i.e. difference and sameness. In consequence the process had forced the Native Americans to see the relation not just to the oppressors but also to themselves. Various native groups reacted to the schooling experience overcoming the existing tribal differences and cooperated by using similar survival strategies. As students at the Carlisle school, they formed a community. As the platform of community building served arts and crafts or writing thanks to which we can today to have a deeper look into particular student’s perception of how the boarding schools treated and mistreated the indigenous children and youth. Their time at the boarding schools became an integral part of their biographies and despite some animosities between native and non-native groups in general they shared the same position as a result of conquest and enslavement.¹⁹ It becomes quite clear that following this argument we are able to interpret the role of the notion of cultural difference in terms of intersubjectivity. The collective schooling experience of whole generations of people of color, minorities or other groups outside the dominant spectrum is often marked by receiving and resisting cultural assimilation into a white society. The historical contexts of this dichotomy of powerlessness and empowerment are nevertheless a representation of certain traits the intersubjective experience had left in the identity,

18 C. S. Ramirez, *Assimilation: An Alternative History*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2020, p. 52.

19 C. S. Ramirez, *Assimilation*, p. 53.

decision making and worldview of many alumni of such educational institutions. Glimpses of former assimilation policy visible in those areas of life still echo and are open to many local political debates on national reconciliation.

The main dimensions in which cultural assimilation remains today in relation to education are to be today reconsidered under the condition to include the above complexities in our considerations. The discussed phenomena are thus not to be seen solely as a historical fact but more as one of the factors influencing the process of reshaping the identity. The level of influence of the schooling institutions like the boarding schools described above might be certainly debated, however its presence must be acknowledged in current issues involving the indigenous population or particular minorities in the United States for example. In order to understand the point of view in ongoing legal and political activities of those groups we should have in mind that the long-lasting assimilation pressure into the white Anglo-Saxon society is regarded by many of their members as an still open wound that needs to be introduced in a greater extent into the public debate. The inclusion of particular testimonies and life stories of former students at the boarding school system builds at the same time a much larger emancipatory narrative. It addresses the diversity of the contemporary American and Canadian society in a manner which can be explored further in dimensions other than ethnic and intercultural relations. The language we speak of difference and cultural integrity today requires thus a new vocabulary of terms addressing the problem of recognition and subjectivity. In effect of such an approach Taylor's concept of recognition can be widened and transformed onto the field of various forms of difference characterizing also non ethnic groups. The deep multiculturalism that arises from that conceptual step is not founded on non-superficial signs of otherness, but refers to the basic structures of identity allowing us to see beyond ethnicity. That issue is pointed out among others by Will Kymlicka.²⁰ The Canadian scholar expresses the view that many current forms of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism present in the politics and social relations are reduced either to aesthetics or simplified visions of otherness allowed to venture into the Western cultural order. Although the so called 3S multiculturalism (saris, samosas and steel drums) is without doubt a popular approach to cultural difference in countries like Canada or United Kingdom, it reduces difference to forms like exotic cuisine or music and ignores the "difference that makes a difference" (to paraphrase Gregory Bateson). Furthermore,

20 W. Kymlicka, *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*, Migration Policy Institute, 2012.

such superficiality covers the existing inequalities and puts this problem outside the public mainstream. As an answer to these consequences the proposed reconsideration of the way we think of and act upon difference leads inevitably to the redefinition of multiculturalism as a political doctrine. Thanks to change in that regard, we witness also another effect in understanding the concept of multiculturalism itself. There emerges a processual perspective that puts this notion foremostly in the field of human agency. Multiculturalism as agency reflects not only on the existing cultural differences between various groups making the structure of every pluralistic society these days but focuses on actions undertaken by their members with the goal to integrate these groups under a common vision of present and future shape of a much larger community of citizens. It inspires intercultural dialogue by promoting the actual contact and interactions between the groups and by doing so it also changes the nature of that contact. In effect the past assimilation approach that affected that contact is replaced with integration based on the xenological reflection on what and how differences contribute to a modern society.

References

- Adams, David Wallace, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928*. Lawrence: 1995
- Bonell, Sonciray, “Chemawa Indian Boarding School: The First One Hundred Years, 1880 to 1980,” Dissertation. 1997.
- Child, Brenda J., *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940*. Lincoln: 2000
- Fanon, Frantz, *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: 2008
- Goffmann, Erving, *Piętno. Rozważania o zranionej tożsamości*. Warszawa: 2005
- Hoxie, Frederick E., *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920*. Winnipeg: 2001
- Katanski, Amelia V., *Learning to Write “Indian.” The Boarding School Experience and American Indian Literature*. Norman: 2005
- Kristeva, Julia, *Strangers to Ourselves*. New York: 1991
- Kymlicka, Will, *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*. Migration Policy Institute, 2012
- Park, Robert E., Burgess, Ernest E., *Introduction to the Science of Society*. Chicago: 1921
- Posern-Zieliński, Aleksander, “Akulturacja i asymilacja – dwie strony procesu etnicznej zmiany w ujęciu antropologii i etnohistorii,” in: *Procesy*

- akulturacji-asymilacji na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim w XIX i XX wieku*, Molik Witold, Traba Robvert (eds.). Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 1999, pp. 61–62.
- Ramirez, Catherine S., *Assimilation: An Alternative History*. Oakland: 2020
- Redfield, Robert, Linton, Ralph, Herskovits, Melville, “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation,” in: *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38, Issue 1, 1936, pp. 149–152. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1936.38.1.02a00330>
- Staszczak, Zofia (ed.), *Słownik etnologiczny. Terminy ogólne*. Warszawa–Poznań: 1987
- Stout, Mary, *Native American Boarding Schools*. Santa Barbara: 2012
- Tajfel, Henri, Billig, Michael G., Bundy, Robert P., Flament, Claude, “Social categorization and intergroup behavior,” in: *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1 (2) 1971. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202>
- Taylor, Charles, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: 1992
- Trafzer, Clifford E., Keller, Jean A., Sisquoc, Lorene (eds.), *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*. Lincoln and London: 2006
- Trennert, Robert A., *The Phoenix Indian School: The Forced Assimilation in Arizona 1891–1935*. Norman: 1988
- Waldenfels, Bernhard, *Topografia obcego*. Warszawa: 2002
- <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-17-1803-address-brothers-choctaw-nation>

Marcin Gierczyk, University of Silesia, Katowice
ORCID: 0000-0001-6734-2521, marcin.gierczyk@us.edu.pl

The Founding and Development of the University of Oxford

Abstract: The University of Oxford's history, though shrouded in a certain amount of myth and legend, has bearing on its present-day status and prestige. Teasing apart the fact from the fiction highlights how various political and societal decisions influenced the growth of the university and its colleges. Edicts by foreign kings and conflicts between townspeople and students both had bearing on the university and the surrounding town's development. This paper seeks to trace the history of the University of Oxford, highlighting various inconsistencies and inaccuracies in its past in order to arrive at the present day with an understanding the influence history has had on Oxford's current structure and status.

Keywords: University of Oxford, higher education, history, colleges.

Introduction

The history of University of Oxford is rich, colourful, and thus saturated with myths and legends. One of the many questions the reader asks when embarking on any journey in a historical context are the questions: who, where and when? Whilst this section does contain the answers to these questions, one should bear in mind that the answer to *who* is the founder of the University of Oxford or *when* (what year) it was established, and even *where* (why specifically Oxford) is primarily determined by the historical range analysed.

University of Oxford

There are four breakthrough periods in the transformation (reconstruction) of the University of Oxford: The Catholic University, c. 1100–1534; The Anglican University, 1534–1845, The Imperial University, 1845–1945 and The World University: 1945–2015.¹

As James Parker points out, many people seem to unknowingly accept certain myths that are so intertwined with the true history of Oxford, reproduced in

1 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

the literature of various centuries, that without careful analysis it is impossible to determine what is true, or what is myth or legend. As some admit, certain facts, although they definitely appear to be mythical (not confirmed by evidence) should be generally accepted, if only on the grounds that so many writers and scholars in a given generation have unequivocally endorsed and copied them, and therefore should not be set aside completely or negated.²

For example, there are many stories about the creation of the Oxford settlement. Some speak of King Offa of Mercia (757–796), who probably built a river ford there and named it Oxford.³ Another story claims that it was due to King Memphric, who in 1000 BC brought scholars from Greece here, right after the fall of the legendary Troy. And according to the assumptions of the Benedictine monk Ranulph Higden, the University of Oxford was founded in 873 by Alfred the Great, King of Wessex, the Anglo-Saxon monarch famous for his love of education.^{4,5} However, L. Brockliss dismisses this myth, arguing that it has long been known that before the end of the 11th century, Oxford had no colleges and universities, and the existence of the university as a legal entity could not be confirmed until 1214.⁶

Looking at the analyses of the history of the University of Oxford's formation made by more contemporary authors – at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries – we notice that there is no consensus on a specific founder of the University of Oxford, and its creation was largely due to various political situations in the 7th century across different parts of Europe.⁷

Lord Redcliffe-Maud claims that credit for its creation should largely go to the King of France, Henry II, who more than 850 years ago in 1167 decided that Paris is for the French, and thus the University of Paris has no place for the British, or other nationalities.⁸ The consequence of this “order,” which was carried out with full severity, was the expulsion of all “non-French”⁹ from the university, and those who remained were deprived of all benefits.¹⁰ Whilst there

2 J. Parker, *The Early History of Oxford, 727–110*, 1885, p. 1.

3 History of Oxford Cities <http://www.oxford.co.uk/historia/historia-miasta-oxford/>.

4 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 3.

5 J. Parker, *The Early History*, p. 1.

6 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 3.

7 R. Hastings, *The universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. II, Part II, English universities-student life, Oxford: 1895, p. 335

8 L. Redcliffe-Maud, “Oxford and the Collegiate University Idea,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 38.7/1967, p. 373.

9 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 12.

10 R. Hastings, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 335.

is no evidence that masters and scholars expelled or recalled from Paris went directly to Oxford, it is widely accepted that this was the case.¹¹

There is also no agreement as to the exact date of the creation of the University of Oxford; there are two dates, the first being 1165 and the second, 1169.¹² In accordance with what John of Salisbury wrote, many began to agree that the University of Oxford was established more as an idea than an institution as early as 1167 or the beginning of 1168,¹³ and as a legal institution in around 1215,¹⁴ 1215, resulting from certain social situations that followed in 1209.

From the outset, Oxford was a centre of lively controversy with scholars involved in religious and political disputes, and disagreements between students and residents (townspeople). In 1209, as a result of a conflict in the city, some lecturers and students left Oxford, going to Reading, Cambridge, Maidstone and Canterbury, amongst others, whilst others left for Paris, which resulted in the suspension of the university for five years.¹⁵ The conflict was due to the fact that in late 1209, a student living at Maiden Hall – which today resides within the boundaries of New College – killed a woman (presumably his mistress).¹⁶ The murderer escaped, but townspeople took revenge by arresting and hanging two other students living on the property.¹⁷ In response to this execution, part of the faculty and student community, feeling that they would likely receive little support from King John, whose kingdom lay under an interdict, either out of disgust, fear or knowing that their departure would harm the city's economy, decided to leave Oxford.¹⁸

City dwellers and vendors alike, dissatisfied with the steep decline in the number of customers from Oxford traders, were desperate to win back their students. They fell on their knees in front of the papal legate, expressed their deep regret for his restraint and begged him to draw up a settlement that would resolve the conflict with the academicians. The papal legate, Nicholas de Romanis,

11 L. Redcliffe-Maud, "Oxford and the Collegiate University Idea," p. 373.

12 R. Hastings, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 331.

13 D. Phillips, "Clerks of Oxenford: a new history of the University of Oxford," *Oxford Review of Education* 11.1/1985, p. 106.

14 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 3.

15 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 14.

16 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 13.

17 R. Hastings, *The universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 409.

18 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Bishop of Tusculum, on 20 June 1214,¹⁹ in an attempt to solve this problem, granted the university a charter of rights and established the office of chancellor.²⁰ Master Geoffrey de Lucy, who may have been the illegitimate son of the Bishop of Winchester, most likely became the first chancellor in September 1215. Lucy presided over the Oxford Schools for only a few years before becoming a canon in London. This document first mentions the Chancellor of the University, not as an existing officer, but as an appointed one. The earliest date that mentions that the chancellor actually exists is 1221, and he was probably Grosseteste.²¹

Initially, the University of Oxford specialised in law and medicine, and only under the chancellorship of R. Grosseteste (from 1224–25) a theological faculty was established here and there was a clear shift towards natural and exact sciences.²²

This is where the question may arise: why is Oxford the seat of one of the most prestigious universities in the world today, and not another existing city of that period? Several reasons exist: first of all, founders of universities of that time emphasised that the place where this institution was established should be charming, with healthy air, cheap and abundant in food, which was to be beneficial for students.²³ Second, ease of access was important. Oxford was considered a convenient meeting place, both for magnates participating in various City or Parliamentary Councils, and also as a centrally located place, which made it possible to organise meetings of teachers and students from different parts of England. The obvious reason was also that, whilst on the border of the diocese of Lincoln, it was less subject to constant church interference.²⁴ Moreover, Oxford was an attractive city, and scholars from classical times to the present day have always sought to choose places of study with pleasant natural surroundings.²⁵ There is also a lot of evidence that at that time, or before that time, there

19 K. Edwards, *The English secular cathedrals in the Middle Ages: a constitutional study with special reference to the fourteenth century*, 2nd ed., Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976, p. 14.

20 R. Hastings, *The universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 325.

21 “The University of Oxford,” in: *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 3, the University of Oxford*, H. E. Salter and Mary D Lobel (eds.), London: 1954, pp. 1–38. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol3/pp1-38> (accessed 1 May 2019).

22 University of Oxford <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/uniwerytet-w-Oksford-zie;3991460.html>.

23 R. Hastings, *The universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, Vol. I. Salerno. Bologna. Paris, p. 53.

24 R. Hastings, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 325.

25 R. Hastings, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 335.

were schools of great importance in Oxford. One such legend is that Alfred the Great, having met monks on his way in 872, began scientific disputes with them, which lasted several days, and on that debate spot the city called Oxford was built.²⁶ Over the course of the next century, he was considered the founder of the University of Oxford. Here is no doubt that a certain scholastic reputation or tradition of an ancient scholastic reputation may have been one of the reasons that drew the dismissed Parisians to Oxford, rather than to any of the few English cities whose size and circumstances suited them just as well for the sudden admission of a large body of scholars.²⁷

As is the case with other first universities created in different parts of the world, the curriculum at Oxford is impossible to reproduce one hundred per cent before the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is obvious that until the mid-fourteenth century there were clear rules on the number of years of study required to complete the studies, the content of the course and the examination process; however, the written university statutes regarding the organisation of teaching and examination are relatively few.²⁸ As far as we know, the curriculum was based on textual analysis and the lectures fell into two main categories: ordinary and extraordinary. The first, ordinary, concerned a lecture with reference to the obligatory texts discussed in the morning. The second category, extraordinary, concerned the discussion of relevant, but less important, texts discussed in the afternoon.²⁹ “What is evident is that, by the mid-fourteenth century, there were clear rules about the years of study needed to proceed to a degree, the content of the course, and the process of examination.”³⁰

Each lecture consisted of a detailed exposition of a fragment or fragments of a specific text that the lecturer read to the students, which was an essential ritual, as students did not always have their own copies. The lecture revolved around a series of questions in which the lecturer selected a word or phrase from the text and then suggested and indicated several possible meanings. Since paper was expensive, most of the students sat and listened without taking notes. A good memory was essential. This method, specifically related to the “schools” of

26 R. Hastings, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 335.

27 R. Hastings, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 333.

28 G. Pollard, “The Oxford Statute Book of the University,” *Bodleian Library Record* 8 (1967–72), pp. 69–91.

29 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 86.

30 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 87.

universities, became known to later opponents and historians as scholasticism.³¹ In order to complete a bachelor's degree, it was usually required for the student to study under the eye of a master for a set number of years, as well as listen to a variety of lectures on selected texts. Qualifying for an undergraduate degree, then a master or doctor, was much more strenuous, however, and helps explain why so few scholars were ever admitted. In order to advance to the next level, the student had to show his debating skills in many disputes on selected topics with his peers and other masters.³²

Although universities were established all over Europe from the early thirteenth century to the sixteenth century, the University of Oxford remained one of the best known. This was not due to its antiquity, but due to its size and renowned intellectual significance, even if its academic development in the fifteenth century was somewhat tarnished.³³

It was not until March 1251 that the University committed to writing what has since remained a distinctive feature of the Oxford constitution – the requirement that no one should be admitted to a theological license who had not previously been Regent in Arts.³⁴ Less than a century later, Oxford attained prominence over any other place of study and won the praise of popes, kings and sages for its antiquity, curriculum and doctrine. In 1355, Edward III paid tribute to the University for its invaluable contribution to science; he also commented on the services provided to the state by distinguished Oxford alumni.³⁵

In the Middle Ages, studying from books was often a unique luxury for students. The situation changed dramatically after Caxton brought the printing house to England in 1476. Since then, books became a more accessible commodity. During this time, students studied seven basic subjects: grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music.³⁶

On 22 June 1636, new university statutes that would rule Oxford for more than two centuries were convened by four royal commissioners, led by Sir John Coke, chief secretary of state to Charles I. Oxford was in need of reformation

31 R. Southern (with notes and additions by Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward), *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. 2: *The Heroic Age*, Oxford: 1995. At Oxford, the format for arts lectures was prescribed in a statute of 1431: Statuta, p. 236.

32 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 87.

33 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 133.

34 R. Hastings, *The universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 362.

35 Introduction and history <https://www.ox.ac.uk/about/organisation/history?wssl=1>.

36 T. Lambert, *Oxford University in the Middle Ages*, <http://www.localhistories.org/oxuni.html>.

and the new code was intended to promote peace, science and religion, “for these three make up a university.” Coke reminded his audience that the king was the source of honour and justice from which the university derived its privileges, preferences and income. The university had recently received a new royal privilege to protect and expand its corporate privileges; now, in return for such kindness, the king expected obedience to the new statutes.³⁷

By the end of the sixteenth century, the University of Oxford was very different from Universities in other parts of Europe. One of these differences was – compared to other universities – that in English colleges, students were required to live in colleges and study an extended arts curriculum and were thus more or less supervised by their tutors. Meanwhile, in other parts of Europe, lecturers and students could live wherever they wanted, and thus contact with the student was limited to the lectures themselves.³⁸ In the 16th century, humanities were added to the list of compulsory classes. Ancient scholars like Aristotle were considered the supreme authority. Reading their works was aimed at conveying the teachings and explaining the author’s thoughts. But during the Renaissance, a whole new spirit of knowledge took hold of Oxford.³⁹

In 1884, women were admitted to the University of Oxford for the first time, where they were free to attend lectures and sit exams (however, degrees were not awarded until 1920). Residential buildings (dormitories) intended only for women were built, which were later called colleges. Lady Margaret Hall for Women was founded in 1878 by Elizabeth Wordsworth, Somerville College for Women was founded in 1879 by St Hildas College and in 1893 by Dorothea Beale. The University Act of 1854 allowed those who did not belong to the Church of England to study at the University of Oxford. In 1889, Harris Manchester College was moved and changed its location five times before settling in Oxford for good. Kellogg College for Continuing Education was established in 1878. Campion Hall (Jesuit theological college) was established in 1895, named after Edmund Campion, an Oxford fellow from the mid-16th century who converted to Roman Catholicism and became a Jesuit. Ruskin Hall was established in 1899 and was transformed into Ruskin College in 1913.⁴⁰

37 K. Fincham, “Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity,” in: *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume IV Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, N. Tyacke (ed.), 1997.

38 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 324.

39 T. Lambert, *Oxford University in the Middle Ages*.

40 T. Lambert, *Oxford University in the Middle Ages*.

By the end of World War II, the University of Oxford had become a completely different institution than it had been 100 years ago. The number of students increased almost fivefold. In 1945, the university had an undisputed international reputation. The city of Oxford itself had undergone many changes. The city's population more than doubled between 1841 and 1921, from 24,000 to 57,000. But it grew to over 100,000 over the next twenty years, thanks to the rapid expansion of Pressed Steel and the Morris Automobile Plant, which already employed 5,000 people by 1927.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the University of Oxford emerged from WWII with many of its traditional features. Although both the university and its individual colleges expanded, the university's scientific sphere largely drew from its medieval and early-modern heritage. Moreover, the University of Oxford was just as elitist as in the past. Despite efforts to democratise access to Oxford, the vast majority of students still came from wealthy backgrounds.⁴²

Conclusion

Today, the University of Oxford is, next to Harvard University, a symbol of science at the highest level; both of these institutions are an inexhaustible source of excellent alumni who are part of the political, socio-cultural and financial elite. In the case of both of these institutions, however, cultivating tradition is one of their noblest academic goals (of course, in the case of Oxford it is a much longer tradition than in the case of Harvard). Thinking about the greatness of Oxford, we intuitively associate it not only with its current prestige but also with the best models of education and research that have emerged from its centuries-old past. And this article is intended as a small contribution to understanding how contemporary academic excellence is a continuation of excellence that was born many centuries ago.

References

- Brockliss, L., *The University of Oxford: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Crossley, A. (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, Vol. 4: The City of Oxford, 1969.

41 A. Crossley (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, Vol. 4: The City of Oxford, 1969, p. 182.

42 L. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 529.

- Edwards, K., *The English secular cathedrals in the Middle Ages: A constitutional study with special reference to the fourteenth century* (2nd ed.). Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976.
- Fincham, K., "Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity," in: *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume IV Seventeenth Century Oxford*, N. Tyacke (ed.). 1997.
- Hastings, R., *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. Vol. II, Part II English universities-student life. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895, p. 335
- History of Oxford City <http://www.oxford.co.uk/historia/historia-miasta-oxford/>
- Introduction and history <https://www.ox.ac.uk/about/organisation/history?wssl=1> (Accessed July 2021).
- Lambert, T., *Oxford university in the Middle Ages* <http://www.localhistories.org/oxuni.html> (Accessed July 2021).
- Parker, J., *The Early History of Oxford*, 1885, pp. 727–110.
- Phillips, D., "Clerks of Oxenford: a new history of the University of Oxford," *Oxford Review of Education*, 11(1), 1985, p. 106
- Pollard, G., "The Oxford Statute Book of the University," *Bodleian Library Record*, 8 (1967–72), pp. 69–91.
- Pollard, G., "The Oxford Statute Book of the University," *Bodleian Library Record*, 8 (1967–72), pp. 69–91.
- Redcliffe-Maud, L., "Oxford and the Collegiate University Idea," *The Journal of Higher Education*, 38: 7, 1967, p. 373
- Southern, R., (with notes and additions by Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward), *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. 2: The Heroic Age. Oxford: 1995. At Oxford, the format for arts lectures was prescribed in a statute of 1431: Statuta.
- "The University of Oxford," in: *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 3, the University of Oxford*, H. E. Salter and Mary D. Lobel (eds.). London: 1954, pp. 1–38. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol3/pp1-38> (Accessed July 2021).
- University of Oxford <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/universytet-w-Oksfordzie;3991460.html> (Accessed July 2021).

Anna Sobczak, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0002-6174-9045, sobczak.anna@amu.edu.pl

University Social Responsibility and Cooperation with Business

Abstract: The perception of the role of higher education institutions in society has changed in recent decades. A modern university should not only fulfill its main tasks, which are the education of students and scientific research, but also deepen its relations with the broadly understood social environment. In this context, there is a talk about the idea of university social responsibility, the essence of which is to implement the principles of ethics in all aspects of its functioning and comprehensive activities for the benefit of society. The aim of the article is to indicate that cooperation with business is a significant element of the activity of socially responsible universities. The article presents the idea of social responsibility as well as the related tasks of higher education institutions, with particular emphasis on those which concern building relations with business. Moreover, such issues as the third mission of the university and the triple helix model are described.

Keywords: higher education, social responsibility, stakeholders, business, third mission of the university.

Introduction

Today's perception of the institution of higher education differs significantly from the traditional university model, which as Jan Boguski stresses "is associated with a lecture hall filled with students listening to theoretical deliberations of the lecturer."¹ Generally, it can be pointed out that its symbol is the authority of the scientist, as well as general education,² which was aimed at making a young individual a wise, enlightened man – an intellectual.³ However currently society expects that higher education institutions, in addition to fulfilling their

1 J. Boguski, "Od uniwersytetu tradycyjnego do uniwersytetu przyszłości," *Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe* 1.33/2009, p. 30.

2 J. Boguski, "Od uniwersytetu tradycyjnego do uniwersytetu przyszłości," p. 25.

3 Z. Melosik, *Uniwersytet i społeczeństwo. Dyskursy wolności, wiedzy i władzy*, Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls," 2009, p. 62.

immemorial task which is educating students, will cooperate with the social environment and take comprehensive actions for its good.

Social expectations regarding higher education have also changed. As Zbyszko Melosik notes, today a “model of a »specialized pragmatist« graduate, who will easily find a job and will contribute to economic development” is desired.⁴ Supporting this economic and, more broadly, social development is one of the main tasks assigned to a modern university. In this context Marcin Geryk writes as follows:

The university as a leading social partner should be a model of development. With the accumulated potential it should read the expectations of stakeholders associated with its significant role in shaping the directions of development and inspiring its pace. ... Adopting the role of a “model” in terms of research discovery, serving above all the development of the region and the country, but also of the institution educating future staff, is the key role of the university.⁵

Moreover, due to the concept of social responsibility widespread in many fields today, higher education institutions are required to act in accordance with ethical principles. All this refers to the idea of social responsibility of universities that to a large extent determines the way in which contemporary institutions of higher education operate. In this context, Lidia Giuffré and Silvia E. Ratto write about the activities of higher education institutions as follows: “The new role of social commitment in professional practice is a new challenge of the knowledge society and is carried out basing on the principles of University Social Responsibility.”⁶

The purpose of the article is to indicate that cooperation with business is an important element of activities of socially responsible universities. However, before I move on to discuss the building relations of higher education institutions with enterprises, I shall present the assumptions of the concept of social responsibility of universities.

The Concept of University Social Responsibility

It may be pointed out that the term of “social responsibility of universities” has emerged relatively recently. Initially, the idea of social responsibility referred to

4 Z. Melosik, *Uniwersytet i społeczeństwo. Dyskursy wolności, wiedzy i władzy*, p. 62.

5 M. Geryk, *Social responsibility of the university*, Gdańsk: Gdansk Management College – Publishing House, 2016, p. 289.

6 L. Giuffré, S. E. Ratto, “A New Paradigm in Higher Education: University Social Responsibility (USR),” *Journal of Education & Human Development* 3.1/2014, p. 236.

the activities of economic, business entities.⁷ In this context, today one speaks of the idea of Corporate Social Responsibility, also referred to in short as CSR. However, as Archie B. Carrol emphasizes this idea was more often called “social responsibility” than corporate social responsibility in the first works on CSR. As the above-mentioned author supposes, the reason for that could be the fact that at that point corporations did not dominate in the business sector yet, or their importance was not perceived at that time.⁸

In the literature on the subject, Howard R. Bowen – an American economist who lived between 1908 and 1989⁹ is indicated as the person who initiated the contemporary literature on corporate social responsibility.¹⁰ He attempted to define the term of corporate social responsibility in his book “Social responsibilities of the businessman” published in 1953.¹¹ The considerations contained there refer to the then capitalist economic system in the United States, in which there was a predominance of private enterprises.¹² It should also be noted that Howard R. Bowen in his analysis focused only on large American corporations, because as he explains “social responsibilities of ... smaller enterprises would be both useful and important, but it would require special treatment.”¹³

As Archie B. Carrol emphasizes in his work “Bowen argued that social responsibility is no panacea, but that it contains an important truth that must guide business in the future.”¹⁴ Its creator himself pointed out that the term social responsibility refers to the obligations of businessmen (managers and directors of large corporations) to undertake actions that are essential for the implementation of the “objectives and values of our society.”¹⁵ He pays special attention to the social importance of business decisions, about which he writes as follows: “The decision and actions of the businessman ... affect not only himself,

7 See, among others, M. Ławicka, “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższej w Polsce,” *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Humanitas. Zarządzanie* 3/2013, p. 212.

8 A. B. Carroll, “Corporate Social Responsibility – evolution of a definitional construct,” *Business and Society* 38.3/1999, p. 270.

9 A. Acquier, J.-P. Gond, J. Pasquero, “Rediscovering Howard R. Bowen’s Legacy: The Unachieved Agenda and Continuing Relevance of Social Responsibilities of the Businessman,” *Business & Society* 50.4/2011, p. 610.

10 A. B. Carroll, “Corporate Social Responsibility,” p. 269.

11 A. B. Carroll, “Corporate Social Responsibility,” p. 270.

12 H. R. Bowen, *Social responsibilities of the businessman*, New York: Harper & Row, 1953, p. 7.

13 H. R. Bowen, *Social responsibilities of the businessman*, p. 7.

14 A. B. Carroll, “Corporate Social Responsibility,” p. 270.

15 H. R. Bowen, *Social responsibilities of the businessman*, p. 6.

his stockholders, his immediate workers, or his customers – they affect the lives and fortunes of us all.”¹⁶

Undoubtedly, Howard Bowen’s book is a groundbreaking work that laid the foundations for the modern understanding of the functioning of socially responsible enterprises. Therefore, in the opinion of Archie B. Carolla the author “should be called the »Father of Corporate Social Responsibility «.”¹⁷

Presently there is a rich literature on social responsibility, in which one can find many theoretical approaches to the issue.¹⁸ At the same time, today its importance is stressed not only in the functioning of enterprises, but it is believed that all organisations, including institutions of higher education, should act in accordance with its assumptions. Moreover, Amber Wigmore-Álvarez, Mercedes Ruiz-Lozanob and José Luis Fernández-Fernández note that “Social Responsibility (SR) is no longer only a matter of experts and has come to be present in most of the projects and programs of businesses and organizations,”¹⁹ which is definitely a positive phenomenon that can bring many beneficial effects to modern societies.

Moreover, more and more universities are aware of the need to implement the idea of social responsibility in their activities. Shu-Hsiang (Ava) Chen, Jaitip Nasongkhla, J. Ana Donaldson explain that: “University social responsibility can be perceived as a philosophy of a university as an ethical approach to develop and engage with the local and global community in order to sustain the social, ecological, environmental, technical, and economic development.”²⁰

It is also worth quoting the following words of Lidia Giuffré and Silvia E. Ratto at this point: “University institutions as social actors, must act with ethics in the promotion of knowledge transfer to society promoting a global sustainable development.”²¹ Therefore, a socially responsible university can be defined as one that serves the environment by its conscious functioning.²² Thus, the university

16 H. R. Bowen, *Social responsibilities of the businessman*, p. 3.

17 A. B. Carroll, “Corporate Social Responsibility,” p. 270.

18 A. Cybal-Michalska, “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższych,” *Rocznik Lubuski* 41.2/2015, p. 93.

19 A. Wigmore-Álvarez, M. Ruiz-Lozanob, J. Fernández-Fernández, “Management of University Social Responsibility in business schools. An exploratory study,” *The International Journal of Management Education*, No. 20, 2020, p. 1.

20 S. Chen, J. Nasongkhla, J. Ana Donaldson, “University Social Responsibility (USR): Identifying an Ethical Foundation within Higher Education Institutions,” *Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology* 14.4/2015, p. 166.

21 L. Giuffré et al., “A New Paradigm in Higher Education,” p. 236.

22 A. Cybal-Michalska, “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższych,” p. 93.

not only implements the assumptions of social responsibility, but also fulfils the so-called third mission of the university. It refers to activities focusing on the good of the social environment and cooperation with other organisations such as enterprises and non-governmental organisations.²³ Monika Banaś, Franciszek Czech and Małgorzata Kołaczek point out that many experts, especially in Western countries, dealing with research on education, postulate full realization of tasks related to the third mission of the university. These authors explain that it complements the other two missions of the university.²⁴ The first one concerns scientific research, while the second one relates to the education of students.²⁵ The essence of the third mission of the university is perfectly reflected in the words of Abel A. H. Bokhari, who points out that “universities play a broader social role and perform a moral obligation which are represented in giving due attention to social, ethical, economic, political and environmental issues.”²⁶

Thus, the concept of social responsibility of universities, as well as the third mission of the university assume that one of the key tasks of higher education institutions is taking care of proper interactions with the social environment, which includes, among others, other entities, as well as local communities. At this point it is worth referring to the words of Maricin Geryk, who emphasizes that “The quality ... of relations [of higher education institutions with the environment – A.S.] has an extremely significant impact on the quality of social life.”²⁷ It largely depends on whether the university knows the expectations of its stakeholders and whether it undertakes appropriate initiatives to meet them.

The stakeholder aspect is one of the five that appears most frequently in various definitions of corporate social responsibility (the other four are the social dimension, the economic dimension, the voluntariness dimension, the environmental

23 M. Banaś, F. Czech, M. Kołaczek, “Podsumowanie: trzecia misja uczelni i różne drogi jej realizacji,” in: *Współpraca uczelni wyższych i organizacji pozarządowych jako animatorów społeczeństwa obywatelskiego z wykorzystaniem potencjału dziedzictwa kulturowego*, M. Banaś, F. Czech, and M. Kołaczek (eds.), Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2019, p. 399.

24 M. Banaś, “Podsumowanie: trzecia misja uczelni i różne drogi jej realizacji,” p. 399.

25 M. Banaś, “Podsumowanie: trzecia misja uczelni i różne drogi jej realizacji,” p. 399.

26 A. A. H. Bokhari, “Universities’ Social Responsibility (USR) and Sustainable Development: A Conceptual Framework,” *SSRG International Journal of Economics and Management Studies (SSRG-IJEMS)* 4.12/2017, p. 8.

27 M. Geryk, “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni niezbędnym czynnikiem jej rozwoju,” in: *Organizacja w obliczu współczesnych wyzwań*, M. Geryk (ed.), Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Zarządzania, 2010, p. 271.

dimension).²⁸ At this point it is worth referring to the so-called stakeholder theory, which draws attention to their important role in the activities undertaken by organizations. Maricn Geryk, referring to the considerations of J. DesJardins, points out that “The stakeholders theory undermines the commonly accepted and privileged position of shareholders. Now it is not only shareholders who can influence management and expect ethical actions from it.”²⁹ According to it, decisions made by organizations, including universities, affect all stakeholders, therefore they can expect them to undertake socially responsible initiatives as part of their activities.³⁰

The issue of stakeholders is equally important in relation to the idea of social responsibility of universities. The stakeholders of higher education institutions are primarily students who expect high quality education and a “valuable” diploma that will contribute to their social and professional success. However, in addition to the individuals being educated at the university, there are a number of other stakeholders who have specific expectations of higher education. The literature on the subject mentions, among others, university employees, employers, government or local authorities and society in a broader sense.³¹ Whereas the tasks of the university social responsibility include creating an appropriate educational offer, educating students to meet the modern labour market needs, supporting charity initiatives and those related to environmental protection, activities for people with disabilities as well as conducting active research and development activity.³² Moreover, Krzysztof Leja, referring to the analysis of A. Koźmiński notes that “social expectations also concern close cooperation of universities with the economy, so that its effects could be consumed by an average citizen.”³³

28 A. Dahlsrud, “How Corporate Social Responsibility is Defined: An Analysis of 37 Definitions,” *Corporate Social Responsibility & Environmental Management* 15.1/2008, p. 5.

29 J. DesJardins, *An Introduction to Business Ethics*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006, p. 66, cited in: M. Geryk, *Social responsibility of the university*, p. 32.

30 J. DesJardins, *An Introduction to Business Ethics*, p. 66

31 See, among others, A. Cybal-Michalska, “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższych,” p. 92; K. Leja, “Uniwersytet organizacją służącą otoczeniu,” in: *Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni*, K. Leja (ed.), Gdańsk: Wyd. Politechniki Gdańskiej, 2005, pp. 64–65.

32 See, among others, M. Geryk, “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni niezbędnym czynnikiem jej rozwoju,” pp. 277–279; A. Cybal-Michalska, “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższych,” p. 94; M. Geryk, *Social responsibility of the university*, p. 292.

33 K. Leja, “Uniwersytet organizacją służącą otoczeniu,” p. 65.

Therefore it should be stated, as I am convinced of it, that building relationships with business is one of the key initiatives that should be undertaken by socially responsible universities.

The Areas of University-Business Cooperation

In my thinking, three main areas of university-business cooperation emerge. The first one concerns joint research projects, as well as knowledge transfer between universities and businesses, the main goal of which should be to contribute to the development of regions, as well as the entire socio-economic system. The second one can be defined in terms of business participation in educating students for the labour market needs, as well as equipping them with knowledge and skills, which will facilitate their entry into the labour market. The third area relates to joint activities of universities and business in promoting the idea of social responsibility among young people. In the next part of my article, I will refer to the essence of establishing relations between the university and the business sector, as well as describe each of the mentioned areas of cooperation between higher education institutions and business in more detail.

The issue of cooperation between universities and business is increasingly raised in scientific discourse. Special attention is paid to its important role it plays in the economic development of the country in the conditions of high competition related to globalization processes and development of modern technologies. In this sense, building relations between institutions of higher education and enterprises should serve to intensify scientific research and development, increase knowledge transfer and implementation of innovations.³⁴ Anetta Kuna-Marszałek notes that today universities are expected to care about building relations between them and the rest of the economy, especially with business, which will contribute to economic development of regions and countries.³⁵ The author emphasizes that “the expectations as to the nature of mutual relations were significantly expanded, which means that cooperation between science and business is extremely important and becomes an indispensable factor of long-term development of companies and the whole economy.”³⁶

34 D. W. Tumuti, P. M. Wanderi, C. Lang'at-Thoruwa, “Benefits of university-industry partnerships: The case of Kenyatta University and Equity Bank,” *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 4.7/2013, p. 26.

35 A. Kuna-Marszałek, “Budowa powiązań nauki z biznesem – przegląd badań,” *Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu* 315/2013, p. 447.

36 A. Kuna-Marszałek, “Budowa powiązań nauki z biznesem – przegląd badań,” p. 447.

The growing importance of the necessity of cooperation between universities and business is evidenced by the fact that it is also indicated by international organizations such as the European Union and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). These organizations recommend the countries, which belong to them, to strengthen the ties and broaden the cooperation between higher education institutions and the business sector. These issues are also included in the internal legislation of individual member states.³⁷

Although many scientists and organizations emphasize the mutual benefits resulting from the cooperation between business and higher education, which also contributes to the broadly understood social development, it should be mentioned that in the literature on the subject there is also a critical attitude towards this type of cooperation, the aim of which is socially and economically profitable initiatives. Among other things, there is talk about the commercialization of universities and their basic functions – teaching function and research function, which now largely consist of providing products and services for the economy.³⁸ At the same time, as critics emphasize, higher education has lost its former unquestionable value, which today is measured in economic terms. It is assessed taking into account its ability to produce human capital in line with labor market needs and to compete economically on the international arena, while its role in educating citizens for the social good is ignored.³⁹ Critics of higher education and business collaboration claim that the most important task of universities has become producing skilled workers.⁴⁰ They also mention the depreciation of basic research in favour of applied research that can be used in socio-economic practice as a negative effect of university commercialization.⁴¹ The opponents of tightening the bonds of higher education institutions with private enterprises and meeting the contemporary expectations of the social

37 P. Bryła, “Możliwości współpracy polskich uczelni wyższych ze sferą biznesu,” *Studia Edukacyjne* 31/2014, p. 97.

38 See Z. Melosik, *Uniwersytet i społeczeństwo*, pp. 60–63.

39 A. R. Welch, “All Change? Professoriate in Uncertain Times,” *Higher Education* 34/1997, p. 229, cited in: Z. Melosik, *Uniwersytet i społeczeństwo*, p. 63.

40 See E. Garnsey, “The Entrepreneurial University: The Idea and Its Critics,” in: *How Universities Promote Economic Growth*, Y. Shahid, N. Kaora (eds.), Washington: The World Bank, 2007, p. 236.

41 R. H. Brown, R. Clignet, “Democracy and Capitalism in the Academy: The Commercialization of American Higher Education,” in: *Knowledge and Power in Higher Education*, R. H. Brown, J. D. Schubert (eds.), New York–London: Teachers College, 2000, p. 38.

environment also emphasize that it causes an increase in the competition of individual scientific disciplines for external funds,⁴² i.e. not coming from the state budget, but for example from private investors, who often determine the direction of scientific research (or at least part of it) conducted by a given institution.

Undoubtedly, a critical look at the blurring of the divides between scientific activity and the business sector, which manifests itself, among other things, in the commercialization of research, may be an impulse to smooth out some of its negative consequences. However, taking into account all the consequences of the intensification of cooperation between universities and business, it should be stated that it certainly causes many positive effects both in micro terms – for individual persons, and in macro terms – for society and the whole national economy. At this point it is also worth referring to the fact that issues pointed out by opponents of cooperation between higher education and business, such as, for example, commercialization of research, obtaining additional sources of funding and educating students in accordance with labor market needs for specific staff fit into the concept of the so-called “entrepreneurial university.”⁴³ B. R. Clark explains that “enterprising universities exhibit a growth of units that more readily than traditional academic departments, reach across old university boundaries to link up with outside organizations and groups.”⁴⁴ These units deal with, among other things, knowledge transfer, intellectual property development, cooperation with industry or alumni affairs.⁴⁵ It should be noted that entrepreneurial university is also a socially responsible university, which is proved by Aldona Andrzejczak in her analyses. The author stresses that universities are responsible for the development of science, staff education and transfer of knowledge to social life and she clearly indicates that “it is nothing else but the social responsibility of the university that requires the university to become entrepreneurial taking into account the processes occurring in social and economic life.”⁴⁶ This would not be possible, as I will prove in the next part of my article, without establishing comprehensive cooperation between higher education institutions and business.

42 Z. Melosik, *Uniwersytet i społeczeństwo*, p. 67.

43 See, among others, B. R. Clark, *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities. Organizational Pathways of Transformation*, Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited, 1998.

44 B. R. Clark, *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities*, p. 6.

45 B. R. Clark, *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities*, p. 6.

46 A. Andrzejczak, “Uniwersytet przedsiębiorczy i odpowiedzialny społecznie,” *Edukacja Ekonomistów i Menedżerów* 4.38/2015, p. 128.

As mentioned earlier, one of the areas of cooperation between universities and the business sector relates to joint research and development projects, knowledge transfer as well as dissemination and implementation of research results into socio-economic life. The business sector expects universities to carry out research projects which will provide them with positive value, i.e. will bring profits.⁴⁷ It should be emphasized that thanks to this, the industry does not have to conduct research and develop specialist knowledge in-house.⁴⁸ However, it is also beneficial for universities, because they can implement new technology in a shorter period of time through cooperation with business and obtain additional funds for the implementation of further research programs, for example, through the sale of licenses.⁴⁹ Joint initiatives of the business sector and universities contribute to the development of innovation, support competitiveness and national growth,⁵⁰ which is undoubtedly a highly desirable phenomenon from the economic and social point of view. Thus, it can be pointed out that the cooperation between higher education institutions and business and its numerous positive multilateral consequences exemplify an important assumption of the concept of social responsibility, about which Sukaina A. Alzyoud and Kamal Bani-Hani write as follows "One of the major aspects of SR is to create winning situations for an organization and for society at large."⁵¹

In the context of my considerations, it is worth referring to one of the models of knowledge transfer and innovation, which is termed the triple helix model. It concerns the relationship between universities, industry and government.⁵² The metaphor of "triple helix" appeared in social sciences thanks to the works of Henry Etzkowitz and Loet Leydesdorff. It refers to the growing importance of scientific centers in socio-economic development, and the associated with

47 K. Leja, "Uniwersytet organizacją służącą otoczeniu," p. 64.

48 T. Schofield, "Critical success factors for knowledge transfer collaborations between university and industry," *Journal of Research Administration* 44.2/2013, p. 40.

49 A. Kuna-Marszałek, "Budowa powiązań nauki z biznesem," p. 441.

50 T. Schofield, "Critical success factors for knowledge transfer collaborations between university and industry," p. 40.

51 S. A. Alzyoud, K. Bani-Hani, "Social Responsibility in Higher Education Institutions: Application case from the Middle East," *European Scientific Journal* 11.8/2015, p. 123.

52 L. Leydesdorff, H. Etzkowitz, "The Transformation-industry-government Relations," *Electronic Journal of Sociology*, 5.4/2001, <http://www.sociology.org/content/vol005.004/th.html>, (accessed 7 February 2021).

that new interactions with the environment – industry and government.⁵³ Henry Etzkowitz and Loet Leydesdorff explain in their analysis of the triple helix model that “in this new configuration, academia can play a role as a source of firm-formation, technological, and regional development.”⁵⁴ These authors also point out that a single institutional sphere of social reality, such as the industry, is no longer responsible for the growth of innovation, but an important role in this is played by networks between three institutional spheres – university, industry and government, which form a triple helix.⁵⁵ This makes science-based innovation processes possible.⁵⁶

Another form of university-business cooperation as part of realizing the concept of social responsibility of universities concerns the participation of business in widely understood education of students for the labour market needs. This may take place both through conducting part of the classes or additional workshops or training by business representatives, who are practitioners in a given field, and their participation in the creation of study programs.⁵⁷ As a result, it will allow students to acquire knowledge and skills which modern employers expect from university graduates. Such activities of higher education institutions are connected with their responsibility, as Agnieszka Cybal-Michalska puts it, “for creating socially useful didactic offer, built with full awareness of social roles, which graduates will be able to perform in the future.”⁵⁸

Cooperation between universities and business concerning education of students in accordance with the requirements and demands of the labour market may also take place within the framework of the so-called dual studies. They are a combination of theory and practice. Students acquire theoretical knowledge during the classes conducted at the university, while they develop their practical skills in companies, among other things by doing internships there during their

53 A. Olechnicka, A. Płoszaj, “Sieci współpracy receptą na innowacyjność regionu?,” in: *Europejskie wyzwania dla Polski i jej regionów*, A. Tucholska (ed.), Warszawa: Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2010, p. 203.

54 L. Leydesdorff, H. Etzkowitz, *The Transformation-industry-government Relations*, (accessed 7 February 2021).

55 L. Leydesdorff et al., *The Transformation-industry-government Relations*.

56 L. Leydesdorff et al., *The Transformation-industry-government Relations*.

57 E. Hage, S. Tirati, *Cooperation models between the business world and educational providers*, 2013, <http://www.secondchanceeducation.eu/sites/secondchanceeducation.eu/files/008-book-a4-tc2-cooperationmodels-web.pdf>, (accessed 7 February 2021).

58 A. Cybal-Michalska, “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższych,” p. 94.

studies.⁵⁹ This form of dual education is possible when the university cooperates with specific companies in this matter and concludes appropriate agreements regarding the implementation of dual studies. Paweł Drapikowski and Joanna Wesołowska point out that their primary goal “is to shorten the period of professional adaptation and prepare students to perform the tasks of a given position to the full extent right after graduation.”⁶⁰ Usually, after receiving their diploma, students are employed in enterprises where they were gaining their practical skills during their dual studies.⁶¹ Undoubtedly, this is a great advantage for recent university graduates, for whom the transition from education to the job market in many cases is a big challenge. It should be emphasized that universities in this way fulfill their task related to the university’s responsibility for adequate “professional” preparation and support students in their career development. In this context Marcin Geryk, in his analyses writes about “a need and conviction of society that the role of the university is not only to find talent, but also appropriate training and later promotion of talented youth.”⁶²

However, it is worth mentioning that the implementation of the dual studies brings many benefits also to the companies themselves, as well as to the universities. For the former, it is an opportunity to hire new employees (university graduates), who immediately after graduation are prepared to perform professional duties. Thus, they can become part of an efficient working process without any introductory training.⁶³ Thanks to dual studies, companies, especially small and medium-sized ones, have the opportunity to attract young talented people who will strengthen their staff. Moreover, they create their image as an attractive employer in the labour market by cooperating with the university and providing students with opportunities to develop practical skills during internships and trainings led by their experienced employees.⁶⁴ This, in turn, may translate

59 P. Drapikowski, J. Wesołowska, “Studia dualne w Politechnice Poznańskiej – program i doświadczenia,” in: *Twórczość, zatrudnialność, uniwersytet*, M. Wróblewski, M. Czajkowska, and J. Pluciennik (eds.), Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, p. 57.

60 P. Drapikowski et al., “Studia dualne w Politechnice Poznańskiej – program i doświadczenia,” p. 58.

61 P. Drapikowski et al., “Studia dualne w Politechnice Poznańskiej – program i doświadczenia,” p. 58.

62 M. Geryk, *Social responsibility of the university*, p. 296.

63 H. Parlow, A. Röchter, “Cooperation between Business and Academia in Germany-A Critical Analysis of New Trends in Designing Integrated Study Programs Based on E-Learning,” *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 4, No. 9, 2016, p. 1935.

64 H. Parlow et al., “Cooperation between Business and Academia in Germany,” p. 1935.

into increased interest in working for this company among job seekers, including by individuals who constitute valuable human capital. On the other hand, close cooperation with business at universities brings, among other things, benefits resulting from the fact that lecturers have the opportunity to learn about current trends in business and verify the topicality of the content taught in classes.⁶⁵ Moreover, the introduction of dual studies to the educational offer of universities makes it more diverse and tailored to the needs of the labour market. It certainly translates into increased interest in education in such a higher education institution among young people, because, as I mentioned earlier, today higher education is perceived in instrumental categories – it is supposed to equip individuals with practical skills and knowledge useful in the labour market, which in turn is supposed to ensure obtaining attractive, well-paid employment.

The last specified area of university-business cooperation refers to joint activities of universities and business in promoting the idea of social responsibility among young people. Higher education institutions are obliged to disseminate the assumptions of social responsibility among their key stakeholders,⁶⁶ including students. Some of them will hold decision-making positions in organisations in the future, and it is their awareness and knowledge of the idea of social responsibility that will determine the implementation and observance of its principles. Apart from the basic activities of higher education institutions in this area, that should be the implementation of issues related to broadly understood social responsibility in their study programs, additional initiatives may be indicated. They can be undertaken, for example, with non-governmental organizations or specific companies that have extensive knowledge of CSR.

An example of such practices is the “VERBA VERITATIS” competition for the best thesis on business ethics, organized by the Association of Financial Enterprises in Poland and Kozminski University, and additionally supported by entities from the business sector. The organizers of the competition indicated that its purpose: “is to raise the level of knowledge of business ethics, corporate social responsibility (CSR) and corporate governance among young people just entering the labour market, which may constitute their contribution to the building of social capital.”⁶⁷

65 H. Parlow et al., “Cooperation between Business and Academia in Germany,” p. 1936.

66 See P. Wachowiak, “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższych,” in: *Raport “Odpowiedzialny biznes w Polsce 2017. Dobre Praktyki,”* Forum Odpowiedzialnego Biznesu, 2018, p. 14.

67 Związek Przedsiębiorstw Finansowych w Polsce, *O konkursie*, [website] <https://zpf.pl/etyka/konkurs-verba-veritatis/o-konkursie/>, (accessed 13 February 2021).

Conclusion

In conclusion, modern society has increased its expectations from the university. Today great importance is attached to undertaking actions by it which are compliant with the assumptions of the idea of social responsibility that is widely spread today. In order to realise some of them it is very important for the university to build appropriate and permanent relations with business. They bring many-sided benefits both for the parties to the cooperation and for whole society. In this context it should be stated that the social functions of the university have undergone a certain reevaluation in the last decades. Socialization and knowledge accumulation used to be considered the most important. However today among the priority tasks of the university are more and more often those that are connected with the broadly understood activity for the benefit of the social environment.

References

- Acquier, A., Gond, J.-P., Pasquero, J., "Rediscovering Howard R. Bowen's Legacy: The Unachieved Agenda and Continuing Relevance of Social Responsibilities of the Businessman," *Business & Society*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 2011, pp. 607–646, DOI: 10.1177/0007650311419251.
- Alzyoud, S. A., Bani-Hani, K., "Social Responsibility in Higher Education Institutions: Application case from the Middle East," *European Scientific Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 8, 2015, pp. 122–129.
- Andrzejczak, A., "Uniwersytet przedsiębiorczy i odpowiedzialny społecznie," *Edukacja Ekonomistów i Menedżerów*, Vol. 4, No. 38, 2015, pp. 117–130. <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0009.4658>.
- Banaś, M., Czech, F., Kołaczek, M., "Podsumowanie: trzecia misja uczelni i różne drogi jej realizacji," in: *Współpraca uczelni wyższych i organizacji pozarządowych jako animatorów społeczeństwa obywatelskiego z wykorzystaniem potencjału dziedzictwa kulturowego*, M. Banaś, F. Czech, and M. Kołaczek (eds.). Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2019, pp. 397–408, <https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381381529.17>.
- Boguski, J., "Od uniwersytetu tradycyjnego do uniwersytetu przyszłości," *Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe*, No. 1/33, 2009, pp. 25–33.
- Bokhari, A. A. H., "Universities' Social Responsibility (USR) and Sustainable Development: A Conceptual Framework," *SSRG International Journal of Economics and Management Studies (SSRG-IJEMS)*, Vol. 4, No.12, 2017, pp. 8–16, DOI: 10.14445/23939125/IJEMS-V4I12P102.

- Bowen, H. R., *Social responsibilities of the businessman*. New York: Harper & Row, 1953.
- Bryła, P., “Możliwości współpracy polskich uczelni wyższych ze sferą biznesu,” *Studia Edukacyjne*, No. 31, 2014, pp. 95–112, <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2575833>.
- Carroll, A. B., “Corporate Social Responsibility – evolution of a definitional construct,” *Business and Society*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 1999, pp. 268–295, <https://doi.org/10.1177/000765039903800303>.
- Chen, S., Nasongkhla, J., Ana Donaldson, J., “University Social Responsibility (USR): Identifying an Ethical Foundation within Higher Education Institutions,” *The Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2015, pp. 165–172.
- Clark, B. R., *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities. Organizational Pathways of Transformation*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited, 1998.
- Cybal-Michalska, A., “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższych,” *Rocznik Lubuski*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 2015, pp. 89–96.
- Dahlsrud, A., “How Corporate Social Responsibility is Defined: an Analysis of 37 Definitions,” *Corporate Social Responsibility & Environmental Management*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2008, pp. 1–13, <https://doi.org/10.1002/csr.132>.
- Drapikowski, P., Wesołowska, J., “Studia dualne w Politechnice Poznańskiej – program i doświadczenia,” in: *Twórczość, zatrudnialność, uniwersytet*, M. Wróblewski, M. Czajkowska, and J. Płuciennik (eds.). Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, pp. 57–64, DOI: 10.18778/8088-905-7.05.
- Garnsey, E., “The Entrepreneurial University The Idea and Its Critics,” in: *How Universities Promote Economic Growth*, Y. Shahid and N. Kaora (eds.). Washington: The World Bank, 2007, pp. 227–238.
- Geryk, M., *Social responsibility of the university*. Gdańsk: Gdansk Management College – Publishing House, 2016.
- Geryk, M., “Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni niezbędnym czynnikiem jej rozwoju,” in: *Organizacja w obliczu współczesnych wyzwań*, M. Geryk (ed.). Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Zarządzania, 2010, pp. 271–287.
- Giuffré, L., Ratto, S. E., “A New Paradigm in Higher Education: University Social Responsibility (USR),” *Journal of Education & Human Development*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2014, pp. 25–38.
- Kuna-Marszałek, A., “Budowa powiązań nauki z biznesem – przegląd badań,” *Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu*, No. 315, 2013, pp. 439–449.

- Leja, K., "Uniwersytet organizacją służącą otoczeniu," in: *Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni*, K. Leja (ed.). Gdańsk: Wyd. Politechniki Gdańskiej, 2005, pp. 57–72.
- Ławicka, M., "Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższej w Polsce," *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Humanitas. Zarządzanie*, No. 3, 2013, pp. 207–220.
- Melosik, Z., *Uniwersytet i społeczeństwo. Dyskursy wolności, wiedzy i władzy*. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", 2009.
- Olechnicka, A., Płoszaj, A., "Sieci współpracy receptą na innowacyjność regionu?" in: *Europejskie wyzwania dla Polski i jej regionów*, A. Tucholska (ed.). Warszawa: Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2010, pp. 200–214.
- Parlow, H., Röchter, A., "Cooperation between Business and Academia in Germany-A Critical Analysis of New Trends in Designing Integrated Study Programs Based on E-Learning," *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 4 No. 9, 2016, pp. 1931–1938, DOI: 10.13189/ujer.2016.040901.
- Schofield, T., "Critical success factors for knowledge transfer collaborations between university and industry," *Journal of Research Administration*, Vol., No. 44, 2, 2013, pp. 38–56.
- Tumuti, D. W., Wanderi, P.M., Lang'at-Thoruwa, C., "Benefits of university-industry partnerships: The case of Kenyatta University and Equity Bank," *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol. 4, No. 7, 2013, pp. 26–33.
- Wachowiak, P., "Społeczna odpowiedzialność uczelni wyższych," in: *Raport "Odpowiedzialny biznes w Polsce 2017. Dobre Praktyki"*. Forum Odpowiedzialnego Biznesu, 2018, p. 14.
- Wigmore-Álvarez, A., Ruiz-Lozanob, M., Fernández-Fernández, J., "Management of University Social Responsibility in business schools. An exploratory study," *The International Journal of Management Education*, No. 20, 2020, pp. 1–15.
- Leydesdorff L., Etkowitz H., "The Transformation-industry-government Relations," *Electronic Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 2001, <http://www.sociology.org/content/vol005.004/th.html>, (accessed 7 February 2021).
- Hage E., Tirati S., Cooperation models between the business world and educational providers, 2013, <http://www.secondchanceeducation.eu/sites/secondchanceeducation.eu/files/008-book-a4-tc2-cooperationmodels-web.pdf>, (accessed 7 February 2021).
- Związek Przedsiębiorstw Finansowych w Polsce, *O konkursie*, [website] <https://zpf.pl/etyka/konkurs-verba-veritatis/o-konkursie/> (accessed 13 February 2021).

Maciej Górny, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0003-1476-1049, maciej.gorny@amu.edu.pl

Artur Marcin Lorek, Mieszko I College of Education and
Administration in Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0002-3468-7037, a.lorek@wykladowcy.wspia.pl

Forms of Cooperation Between Local Governments and the Implementation of Senior Policy: Case of Metropolis Poznań

Abstract: European societies are ageing, and with the economic development more and more innovative forms of social support are being sought to improve the well-being of individuals. The subject of increasing interest of local authorities is the senior citizen policy, which is to be an answer to, among others, the erosion of family relationships. The aim of this article is to discuss possible forms of cooperation between local governments in the field of senior citizen policy on the example of the Poznań Metropolis.

Keywords: social policy, senior policy, time policy, metropolis, local government.

Introduction

The ageing of society is a well-known and widely recognised problem in Poland. This issue does not only concern the country on a macro scale, but also each of its regions individually. It is also noticeable in the metropolitan area of the city of Poznań.¹

The authors of this publication in December 2020 presented the results of a study on the use of time by seniors in Poznań² during the conference “Social

1 *Polityka Senioralna Miasta Poznania na lata 2017–2021*, 2017, p. 3., <http://mrs.poznan.pl/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Polityka-Senioralna-Miasta-Poznania-na-lata-2017-2021-k.2.pdf> (accessed 27 January 2021).

2 M. Górny, A. M. Lorek, *Prezentacja: Czas w polityce społecznej. Polityka senioralna Miasta Poznania*, 2020, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/347446210_Czas_w_polityce_spolecznej_Polityka_senioralna_Miasta_Poznania (accessed 27 January 2021).

Policy in the 21st century: Cohesion in 3D” (in Polish: *Polityka społeczna w XXI wieku. Spójność w trójwymiarze*). The study focused on the institutional activities of self-government social policy in the area dedicated to the oldest inhabitants of the city and the inspiration for the creation of this article was a discussion conducted during the panel – about the cooperation of local governments of the City of Poznań and neighboring municipalities in terms of a joint offer addressed to people who are in the autumn of life.

It seems important here to point out that already a decade ago there was a strong integration of the area of the Poznań metropolis,³ in particular the area of the city of Poznań together with the directly adjacent, “donut” district of Poznań. This link between the two local authorities has social, economic and political consequences, which are quite simple to predict: municipalities directly adjacent to the nucleus of the metropolis are specific “bedrooms” for him, while having a relatively poor offer of services compared to the central city (including public and social services). This is due m.in differences in the potentials of the different local authorities. The monocentric nature of the agglomeration promotes the phenomenon of exurbanization, that is, the uncontrolled spillage of areas of residence outside the urban unit, while concentrating daily existence in the central center.⁴ This, in turn, requires rational cooperation between local decision-makers from different levels of self-government, as the current territorial system does not seem to meet social needs and expectations in the opinion of the authors of this publication.

For the sake of methodological order, the concept of The Metropolis of Poznań will mean the area comprising the city of Poznań together with the adjacent municipalities, forming the Poznań district and the municipalities of Szamotuły, Oborniki, Skoki and Śrem. It is a scope formally and legally designated as an

3 L. Wojtasiewicz, “Kierunki rozwoju aglomeracji poznańskiej do 2020 roku,” in: *Wyzwania i kierunki rozwoju aglomeracji poznańskiej*, T. Kaczmarek (ed.), Poznań: Metropolitan Research Center AMU, 2010, p. 60.

4 Authors of the diagnosis of the socio-economic and spatial situation of the Greater Poland Voivodeship 2019 in 2015–2017 Poznań has got a decrease in the population by 3.700, i.e. 0.7 %. At the same time, during the same period, the largest population growth was in Poznań county – 15.6000 inhabitants arrived, i.e. 4.3 %. Source: Wielkopolskie Regionalne Obserwatorium Terytorialne, *Diagnoza sytuacji społeczno-gospodarczej i przestrzennej województwa wielkopolskiego 2019*, Poznań: 2019, p. 167. A glaring example is also the municipality of Dopiewo, in which in 2000 lived 10.702 people, in 2010 already 18.290 people to 2020 28.138 people (data from: Local Data Base, Central Statistical Office).

association of local government units.⁵ For the implementation of the research process, an analysis of the existing data (desk research) was used, which takes into account the subjects a: 1) legislation at the state and local level, 2) previous reports and studies dealing with the subject of research and 3) public statistics.

The purpose of this publication is, in connection with the above and reflections, to define a catalogue of services conducive to the well-being of senior citizens, which are available in the Metropolitan of Poznań, as well as to define the forms of cooperation of local governments and the potential of this cooperation in the implementation of the common senior policy.

The article assumes the legal and factual situation on 1 February 2021.

Demographic Situation of Senior Citizens in the Metropolis of Poznań

Seniors represent a significant group of people living in the metropolitan area of Poznań. In 2019, 221.236 people of postproduction age lived in the area, of which 133.189 were in Poznań alone. This represents 21,06 % of the metropolitan population and 24,90 % of Poznań's population.⁶

It should be taken into account that the post-productive age limit is not synonymous with the age at which a person begins to define as a senior. And in this case, it is difficult to reach a consensus about the turning point. However, this does not change the fact that the elderly living in the studied area constitute a statistically significant group, regardless of the methodology of its determination/delimiting.

An important factor that should also be considered in the perception of seniors is the average life expectancy – for Wielkopolan in the period 2000–2018 it increased by 4.3 years compared to men and by 3.8 years compared to women.⁷

5 *Statute of the Association of Poznań Metropolis*, 2017, http://metropoliapoznan.pl/data/stroiny/15/o/4.%20statut%20Stowarzyszenia%20Metropolia%20Poznania_20.12.2017.pdf (accessed 27 January 2021).

6 Data from Polish Central Statistical Office.

7 Wojewódzki Urząd Pracy w Poznaniu, *Srebrna Wielkopolska – aktywność zawodowa osób 50+ i 60+ w regionie*, 2019, p. 17, <https://wuppoznan.praca.gov.pl> (accessed 27 January 2021).

Current Policies and Public Services Dedicated to Senior Citizens in the Metropolitan Area

Considering the monocentric nature of the Poznań Metropolis and the focus of services in Poznań, it seems elementary to start thinking about senior policy, as well as its study, with the question of accessibility. Undoubtedly, providing communication and then an attractive network of connections, both in terms of frequency, speed of travel and its cost allows the inhabitants of the agglomeration to use the goods offered in a given space. After the issue of communication accessibility, it seems that the next step should be to ensure the consistency of services of a homogeneous standard in the area of impact of Metropolis. As Marta Zaręba points out, according to Polish Central Statistical Office data:

People aged 65 years and over are less likely than those aged 16 and over to take advantage of the cultural offer: cinemas, theatres, museums. The percentage differences between the indications of these two groups reach a value of several percentage points, and when going to the cinema, the difference is as much as 33 percentage points (82% of seniors have never or almost never attended film screenings compared to 49% of people aged 16 years and over ... Seniors are less likely to leave their place of residence, 29% of them declared departures, compared with 44% of those aged 16 and over.⁸

Reducing communication exclusion is important not only for cultural and educational services, but also for the proper health care of senior citizens. Considering the disappearance of multigenerational families managing together and the fact that highly specialised medical services are usually concentrated in the provincial cities to which Poznań belongs, ensuring efficient public transport is essential to ensure adequate well-being for seniors.

a. Collective Public Transport

The task of organizing efficient and standardised public transport in Poznań and neighboring municipalities is carried out by the Municipal Transport Board in Poznań (*Zarząd Transportu Miejskiego w Poznaniu*, ZTM). This entity, which is organizationally subordinate to the City Hall of Poznań, is the organizer of bus services of a suburban and local nature, as well as trams (in Poznań). These services are, in turn, outsourced to municipal carriers, but in the territory under the organisational competence of ZTM there is a single fare (as a rule, there are some exceptions, however, they are marginal). Therefore, there is a uniform ticket

8 M. Zaręba, "Aktywne starzenie się jako priorytet działań samorządowych," in: *Biuletyn Wielkopolskiego Regionalnego Obserwatorium Terytorialnego*, No. IX, 2018, Poznań, p. 10.

offer addressed to seniors (including both statutory and local allowances): 1) free transport for persons over 70 years of age, 2) 50 % relief for pensioners, persons receiving a pre-retirement benefit or pre-retirement allowance, 3) a special Senior Ticket for persons who are over 65 years of age and reside in Poznań or a municipality covered by an inter-municipal agreement, and account for personal income tax at the tax office established in the City of Poznań (regardless of whether they make income).⁹

The second key entity that has the potential to transport in a uniform standard is the Greater Poland Voivodeship Railways (in Polish: *Koleje Wielkopolskie*), which carry out transport within the Poznań Metropolitan Railway (in Polish: *Poznańska Kolej Metropolitalna*). In the case of railway communion organized within the framework of the Poznań Metropolis, there is also a range of reliefs available for which can be classified as seniors: 1) 37 % relief for pensioners, 2) Ticket 60+ entitled to 25 % relief for persons over 60 years of age for a single ticket and 10 % discount for a season ticket, 3) honoring tickets ZTM Poznań, of a periodic nature, network for the city zone, namely the city of Poznań.¹⁰ It is worth noting here that this is an initiative organized by the Association metropolis Poznań, which is an important point of reference for the problem raised in this article.

b. Services Offered by the City of Poznań

Speaking about the range of services offered to senior citizens in Metropoly, it should be borne in mind that most of them are organised by individual municipalities on their own. A detailed, but inexhaustible catalogue of benefits for seniors provided by the City of Poznań was presented by the authors of the article elsewhere,¹¹ therefore, it should be mentioned here only that it covers the range from providing the oldest inhabitants of the city with free home repairs, cleaning windows, organizing the tombstones of loved ones, to podological services, providing books from the city library to houses, or transporting by taxi. All mentioned services are free of charge for Poznań seniors.

9 Resolution No. XXIV/449/VIII 2020 of the Poznań City Council of 10th March 2020 on the establishment of exemptions and reductions in fares for local collective transport.

10 *Koleje Wielkopolskie*, www.koleje-wielkopolskie.pl (accessed 27 January 2021).

11 M. Górny, A. M. Lorek, "Czas w polityce społecznej. Polityka senioralna miasta Poznania," in: *Determinanty wykluczenia społecznego. Innowacyjne metody inkluzji społecznej*, K. Hajder, D. Tobolski, and S. Kubat (eds.), Adam Mickiewicz University Press, 2020, pp. 123–126.

c. Project “Active Seniors in the Poznań Metropolis and Kalisz-Ostrów Agglomeration”

The project “Active Seniors in the Poznań Metropolis and Kalisko-Ostrowska Agglomeration” (Aktywni Seniorzy w Metropolii Poznań i Aglomeracji Kalisko-Ostrowskiej; hereafter: Active Seniors Program) was implemented under the Government Program for active ageing of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy in 2018. Its aim was to activate the seniors of the Poznań Metropolis and the Kalisz-Ostrow Agglomeration by raising civic awareness, promoting volunteering and improving communication competences. As the Institute for Activity Development Foundation (Fundacja Instytut Rozwoju Aktywności) – coordinator of the project – points out:

The basis for preparing the assumptions for the project was a survey conducted in 23 local governments of the Poznań Metropolis and in the local governments of the Kalisz-Ostrow Agglomeration among the officials responsible for the implementation of senior policy. During the project, 43 two-day workshops were held (one meeting each in each local government of Poznań and in each local government of the Kalisz-Ostrow Agglomeration). The workshops were personalised and adapted to the needs of the municipality, moderated by specialists who understood the needs of seniors and had experience in the process of senior participation, which allowed in a short time to develop concrete recommendations suitable for implementation in a given local government.¹²

It seems valuable to point out that the Active Seniors Programme was implemented throughout the Poznań Metropolis (and the Kalisz-Ostrow Agglomeration, which, however, remains outside the subject of this study) and in this case it is one of the diagnosed exceptions in terms of comprehensive actions of a uniform standard offered equally to seniors living in the Metropolis. According to the research team, this is a very desirable action, but as a one-off project it remains symbolic. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the immediate consequence of the project was the signing on 18 December 2018 by the President of the Board of the Poznań Metropolis Association, Mr. Jacek Jaśkowiak, of a declaration of cooperation in the field of senior policy.

The Metropolis of Poznań was the first metropolis in Poland to join the local authorities, which together would like to work to develop the best possible solutions in the field of senior policy, conducive to creating an environment that is friendly to the elderly, while

12 Fundacja Instytut Rozwoju Aktywności, *Aktywni Seniorzy w Metropolii Poznań i Aglomeracji Kalisko – Ostrowskiej*, <http://instytutrozwoju.edu.pl/aktywni-seniorzy/> (accessed 27 January 2021).

ensuring the conditions for decent aging in health and maintaining as much activity and independence as possible.¹³

d. Municipal Senior Councils

The municipalities of the Metropolis are appointed as advisory bodies of the senior councils. Unfortunately, such collegiate bodies are not present in all local governments, they can be found m.in. in Poznań, Oborniki, Suchy Las, Swarzędz. By their very nature, however, they are entities which operate in areas limited by the territorial scope of municipalities. During the conducted studies, researchers were also not able to find relevant evidence of structured cooperation between them within the metropolitan area. In principle, this may provide space for further action.

e. Universities of the Third Age

An interesting example of caring for the well-being of people in the autumn of life are universities of the third age (in Polish: *uniwersytety trzeciego wieku*, UTW). These are specific educational institutions aimed at improving the quality of life of older people by providing them with a wide range of both intellectual and physical activities, combined with an attractive social form. In the Metropolitan area, they can be found in individual municipalities, as are the councils of senior citizens, but they are not universal institutions. UTW services can be used for example in Poznań, Luboń, Swarzędz or Oborniki. It should be pointed out that it is usually not the municipalities that organise this form of activity, but usually the third sector operators (NGO's).

f. Section Summary

The dispersion of activities and the lack of coordination seem to be the main problems to overcome in ensuring a coherent senior policy in the area of The Metropolis of Poznań in the light of the above issues. Similar projects implemented separately and consequently of different standards, sectoral organization of services and benefits for the oldest within narrow specializations (such as public transport), or the instability of the actions taken are shortcomings that

13 Podsumowanie projektu "Aktywni seniorzy w Metropolii Poznań i w Aglomeracji Kalisko-Ostrowskiej," 2018, <http://metropoliapoznan.home.pl/senior/index.php/2019/01/11/podsumowanie-projektu-aktywni-seniorzy-w-metropolii-poznan-i-w-aglomeracji-kalisko-ostrowskiej/> (accessed 27 January 2021).

decision-makers must not forget. It is important to bear in mind the relatively deeper sensitivity to inequalities in accessibility among older people, which can create a sense of injustice. At the same time, the efforts made by the municipalities of Metropolis to improve the well-being of senior citizens, who, in the face of limited cooperation in the field of social policy, have to undertake alone and within the limits of their ownabilities.

Forms of Cooperation Between Local Authorities and Its Potential

Among the forms of cooperation of local governments acceptable in the territory of Republic of Poland, there are several within the defined boundaries of the Poznań Metropolis, specified for various types of public services. For example, indicate m.in. that:

- public transport is handled by the Municipal Transport Board (ZTM) in Poznań, which as a transport organizer cooperates on the basis of contracts with municipal enterprises, such as the Municipal Transport Company (Miejskie Przedsiębiorstwo Komunikacyjne) in Poznań, the Municipal Services Company (Przedsiębiorstwo Usług Komunalnych) in Komorniki, the Department of Public Transport in the Suchy Las (Zakład Komunikacji Publicznej), thereby organizing the transport of passengers throughout almost the entire Metropolis;
- The Inter-Municipal Association “Waste Management of the Poznań Agglomeration” (Związek Międzygminny “Gospodarka Odpadami Aglomeracji Poznańskiej,” ZM GOAP) is an institution established to coordinate the reception and management of municipal waste in the Metropolitan Area. The original assumption, however, deviates from reality, since ZM GOAP does not territorially cover the entire area examined and, moreover, in no way shows any connection with the subject matter of the study – it does not provide, for example, reductions in municipal waste management fees for seniors;
- Association Metropolia Poznań (Stowarzyszenie Metropolia Poznań, SMP) – has the widest scope of activity, which also includes social policy and is indicated explicitly in the statute of the organization.¹⁴ It also territorially covers

14 *Statute of the Association of Poznań Metropolis*, 2018, § 11, point 7, http://metropoliapoznan.pl/data/strony/15/o/4.%20statut%20Stowarzyszenia%20Metropolia%20Poznania_20.12, (accessed 27 January 2021).

the scope of the direct metropolitan influence of Poznań as the heart of the agglomeration.

In addition to being an association of local governments, SMP also plays an important role as an intermediary institution for the Greater Poland Regional Operational Programme 2014–2020 in the implementation of Integrated Investments. Thus, it had at its disposal a large amount of funds – about 200 million euros.

The statute of SMP points out that the aim of this organization is to “promote the social development of the agglomeration and the cooperation of municipalities and counties in this regard.”¹⁵ On the other hand, the detailed list of ways of achieving the objectives set out indicates a.o. to inspire actions that enable the agglomeration to be effectively managed and to inspire and undertake joint initiatives aimed at the cultural and social development of municipalities and counties.¹⁶ It appears, in view of the above regulations, that the joint implementation of social policy and, consequently, of seniority may be the subject of action by the SMP.

Interestingly, the aforementioned social problems concerning the Metropolitan Area have also been diagnosed in the Development Strategy of the Poznań Agglomeration (*Strategia Rozwoju Aglomeracji Poznańskiej*): “Social policy is implemented at the municipal level, provided by the labour office, family assistance centers and community assistance houses at the level of the counties. At the agglomeration level, there are no mechanisms for coordinating social policy.”¹⁷ In the same place, the authors of the document also point out that one of its objectives is to carry out an active, and importantly, co-ordinated policy towards people with disabilities, the poor and the elderly. Among the proposed actions, in the light of the problem taken in this article, it seems interesting to be marked with the number 4.6. 2. Activation of the elderly and single people: “A network of active senior clubs providing physical rehabilitation while being able to participate in educational activities (e.g. IT, preventing electronic exclusion), cultural, tourist and recreational activities. Organization of specialized care services with an expanded scope, increasing the number of places in day and 24-hour care facilities, strengthening volunteering in the provision of services to seniors.”¹⁸

15 *Statute of the Association of Poznań Metropolis*, § 10, point 1.

16 *Statute of the Association of Poznań Metropolis*, § 10, points 2 and 7.

17 *Strategia Rozwoju Aglomeracji Poznańskiej*, Poznań: Centrum Badań Metropolitalnych UAM, 2011, p. 116.

18 *Strategia Rozwoju Aglomeracji Poznańskiej*, p. 117.

In view of the above, it can be alleged that 10 years have passed since the acceptance of the Strategy, during which both certain conditions for the functioning of the Metropolis and political factors have changed. However, in the light of research on the implementation of senior policy in Poznań, it has been observed that its implementation by the City of Poznań has been developing continuously for more than a decade, despite a political change in the position of the mayor of the city in 2014. It also pointed to the specific maturity of the City Hall and the sustainability of certain values in achieving strategic objectives.¹⁹ What seems functionally important, the President of the Metropolitan Council is the President of the City of Poznań, while his deputy is the Starosta of the Poznań District. However, it is difficult to answer the question of why, despite the legal application of the Development Strategy of the Poznań Agglomeration, the above-described objectives, including in particular coordination of activities, are not being pursued. The very implementation of the project “Active Seniors in the Poznań Metropolis and Kalisz-Ostrow Agglomeration” does not wear out both the needs and opportunities in pursuit of the goals set.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Coordination of joint projects in the field of social policy, including senior policy at the level of the Poznań Metropolis seems to be a specific organizational weakness in the opinion of the research team. Efforts and actions taken by communes in the field of ensuring high quality and accessibility of public services for older people should be clearly assessed positively, however, taking into account the metropolitan context of the functioning of these local self-government organisms, a definite direction in which they should follow is the joint coordination of the implemented tasks. As infantile as it may sound, it is difficult to understand the inequalities in the privileges held between people who live next to each other, spend time together and do not see any differences, but are separated by an invisible border of registration in the two municipalities. There are many such cases in the Metropolis, only to indicate the intertwining of the borders between Poznań and Luboń, Poznań and Suchy Las, Poznań and Swarzędz.

19 M. Górny, A. M. Lorek, “Czas w polityce społecznej. Polityka senioralna miasta Poznania,” in: *Determinanty wykluczenia społecznego. Innowacyjne metody inkluzji społecznej*, K. Hajder, D. Tobolski, and S. Kubat (eds.), Adam Mickiewicz University Press, 2021, p. 121.

Forward-looking planning of activities together with budgeting, moving away from ad hoc and one-off (project) actions for long-term cooperation and providing stable services is undoubtedly a challenge. Local policymakers should therefore consider the legal options for regulating cooperation in the field of seniority, but also look at soft solutions, e.g. inspired by the open method of coordination (OMC), which is successfully used by the institutions of the European Union²⁰ and increasingly implemented in various national actions.

As regards cooperation tools, it is worthy to use the intermunicipal agreement (*porozumienie międzygminne*) as a means of responding to the contemporary problems affecting senior citizens. Yes, it involves regulating costs and administrative burdens. On the other hand, the networking of the social institutions of the Metropolis and joint participation in costs can be a means of safeguarding public services at a high level of quality, but also of a uniform standard and accessibility. Harmonisation measures will certainly have an impact on reducing feelings of inequality, reducing exclusion (communication, education, cultural, etc.) and fostering a sense of subjective well-being. Of course, goodwill at the political and administrative level is a key factor in both a soft solution (open method of coordination) and a hard one (inter-international agreement).

Taking into account the prospect of a longer term of office is not a difficult challenge. It is easier to see and assess infrastructure investments for the inhabitants of the municipality than to pay attention to social, soft-based activities. However, it is undeniable that seniors are in a good psychophysical condition to their activities in local life, including, for example, powering the market with their qualifications, competences, or maybe simply or with their hands ready to go. In light of the current macroeconomic situation, the very low unemployment in the Metropolis and the shortage of human capital is perhaps a rather persuasive argument for the common concern for the oldest.

References

Fundacja Instytut Rozwoju Aktywności, *Aktywni Seniorzy w Metropolii Poznań i Aglomeracji Kalisko – Ostrowskiej*. <http://instytutrozwoju.edu.pl/aktywni-seniorzy/> (accessed 27 January 2021).

20 The OMC is a specific form of governance in which binding legal remedies do not work and which does not require a change in existing legislation in a given political and administrative ecosystem. It is based primarily on the common identification and the common adoption of methods and tools for achieving these objectives and the exchange of best practices (through: EurLex).

- Górny, M., Lorek, A.M., "Czas w polityce społecznej. Polityka senioralna miasta Poznania," in: *Determinanty wykluczenia społecznego. Innowacyjne metody inkluzji społecznej*, K. Hajder, D. Tobolski, and S. Kubat (eds.). Adam Mickiewicz University Press, 2021, pp. 109–134.
- Górny, M., Lorek, A.M., *Prezentacja: Czas w polityce społecznej. Polityka senioralna Miasta Poznania*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/347446210_Czas_w_polityce_spolecznej_Polityka_senioralna_Miasta_Poznania, 2020 (accessed 27 January 2021).
- Koleje Wielkopolskie, www.koleje-wielkopolskie.pl (accessed 27 January 2021).
- Podsumowanie projektu "Aktywni seniorzy w Metropolii Poznań i w Aglomeracji Kalisko-Ostrowskiej." <http://metropoliapoznan.home.pl/senior/index.php/2019/01/11/podsumowanie-projektu-aktywni-seniorzy-w-metropolii-poznan-i-w-aglomeracji-kalisko-ostrowskiej/>, 2018 (accessed 27 January 2021).
- Polityka Senioralna Miasta Poznania na lata 2017–2021. <http://mrs.poznan.pl/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Polityka-Senioralna-Miasta-Poznania-na-lata-2017-2021-k.2.pdf>, 2017 (accessed 27 January 2021).
- Resolution No. XXIV/449/VIII 2020 of the Poznań City Council of 10 March 2020 on the establishment of exemptions and reductions in fares for local collective transport.
- Statute of the Association of Poznań Metropolis. http://metropoliapoznan.pl/data/strony/15/o/4.%20statut%20Stowarzyszenia%20Metropolia%20Poznania_20.12.2017.pdf, 2017 (accessed 27 January 2021).
- Strategia Rozwoju Aglomeracji Poznańskiej*. Poznań: Centrum Badań Metropolitalnych UAM, 2011.
- Wielkopolskie Regionalne Obserwatorium Terytorialne, *Diagnoza sytuacji społeczno-gospodarczej i przestrzennej województwa wielkopolskiego 2019*. Poznań: 2019.
- Wojewódzki Urząd Pracy w Poznaniu, *Srebrna Wielkopolska – aktywność zawodowa osób 50+ i 60+ w regionie*. <https://wuppoznan.praca.gov.pl/documents/161065/2074094/Srebrna%20gospodarka%20na%20wielkopolskim%20rynku%20pracy%20-%20aktywność%20zawodowa%20osób%2050%2B%20i%20osób%2060%2B%20raport%20pełny%202019/2c538703-c6e2-41cd-ae7e-6782dd18321e?t=1593601783000>, 2019 (accessed 27 January 2021).
- Wojtasiewicz, L., "Kierunki rozwoju aglomeracji poznańskiej do 2020 roku," in: *Wyzwania i kierunki rozwoju aglomeracji poznańskiej*, T. Kaczmarek (ed.). Poznań: Metropolitan Research Center AMU, 2010, pp. 57–72.
- Zaręba, M., "Aktywne starzenie się jako priorytet działań samorządowych," in: *Biuletyn Wielkopolskiego Regionalnego Obserwatorium Terytorialnego*, No. IX (2018), Poznań: 2018, pp. 9–12.

Krzysztof Grządzielski, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0003-4823-1564, krzysztof.grzadzieski@amu.edu.pl

Mediatization of Contemporary Armed Conflicts and the Importance of Media Coverage: The CNN Effect and the Diffused War Concept

Abstract: International conflicts are today a media events which are subject to significant transformations and the process of mediatization. Since the war in Vietnam, the importance of information warfare has been growing steadily, and the transmission of news from areas of military operations has evolved, especially in the way of reporting war events, as well as in relations between politicians and the military with journalists. This article deals with the importance of media coverage for armed conflicts, taking into account the impact of media coverage in the process of shaping political and military decisions. The concept of the CNN effect and the diffused war paradigm, not well known in the polish literature on the subject, were discussed. The analysis also considers the importance of new media and the evolution of their role in creating the image of conflict in the mass media, including traditional media.

Keywords: armed conflict, war, media, war coverage, diffused war, CNN effect, mediatization.

Introduction

At the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first century, international conflicts have become media events, and the manner of relations in media coverage largely creates their image in the eyes of the international community. The transmission of news from the regions of military operations underwent significant changes and the process of evolution, especially in the way of reporting war events, as well as in the relations between politicians and the military with journalists. Contemporary armed conflicts have become significantly politicized as relations between the government and the media have become more complicated because of efforts to gain support from the public and legitimize hostilities. Decision-makers often distract the journalists from undesirable issues that may trigger criticism by pointing to others that are much more attractive events to the

media. A dominant role played, and still plays in the ongoing, armed conflicts, The United States and Great Britain.¹ There are also supporters of the thesis that today media has become an instrument of war, and that success in a conflict consists in convincing national and international public opinion as to the purpose, and above all, the reason for the participation of the country's troops in an armed conflict.²

In scientific publications related to the role of the media in the modern world, media are often referred to the "fourth estate" or "fourth power." Tomasz Goban-Klas emphasizes that when order and social stability are threatened, through war, unemployment, economic crisis or terrorism, the media have the greatest impact. People's dependence on the media is also growing.³ During the time of crisis, the mass media becomes the primary source of information, ratings, tips and knowledge about the world for the audience. In turn, the way they present events may have an impact on the perception of specific information. However, the term "fourth power" in the context of the media is also understood to mean a controlling function and the possibility of exerting an influence on political elites and decision-making centers. How can the media coverage of global information networks change the course of political events and what impact do mass media have on society and politics? These questions have been asked by many political and media scientists since the beginning of the 1990s, studying the decision-making processes, preceding military and humanitarian interventions made by Western countries. Global media can not only be the driving force of international politics but have also gained the status of a significant actor in international political communication. Researchers are trying to determine to what extent the government sets the agenda of the media and influences the media content, and on the other hand, what is the scope of the media's influence on the activities of the government. In modern society, the interaction of politics and public opinion are often described as a relation, and the actions of politicians are influenced not so much by the existing public opinion as by the fear of its possible reactions.⁴

1 K. Grzędzielski, "Ewolucja kontroli nad mediami masowymi w kontekście tworzenia przekazu medialnego podczas wybranych konfliktów zbrojnych przed II wojną w Zatoce Perskiej," *Refleksje*, No. 21, 2020, pp. 9–24.

2 K. Payne, "The media as an instrument of war," *Parameters*, 2005, pp. 81–82.

3 T. Goban-Klas, *Media i terroryści. Czy zastraszą nas na śmierć?*, Kraków: 2009, p. 98.

4 P. Robinson, *Media as a Driving Force in International Politics: The CNN Effect and Related Debates*, <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/09/17/media-as-a-driving-force-in-international-politics-the-cnn-effect-and-related-debates/>.

Many theories have been developed to explain the motivations of authorities, sending their troops to extinguish a conflict or provide humanitarian aid, in a corner of the world, far away from their borders.⁵ One of them is the concept of CNN effect, which is used to analyse cases of media influence on decisions in international relations. Its key theoretical assumptions will be presented in the context of armed conflicts. The emergence of modern media has resulted in access to an increasing number of potential recipients, and contemporary mass media influence the mediatization of the public sphere, with particular emphasis on politics. Armed conflicts are also subject to this process, which, according to some researchers, necessitates the introduction of a new paradigm of war. In this context, an interesting concept of diffused war created by A. Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin will be presented. A research question should be asked whether we can talk about conflicts or mediatized war today, mainly due to the evolution of the influence and role of the mass media and what are the consequences of that situation?

Influence of Media Coverage on Political and Military Decisions: The CNN Effect

War is an undeniably attractive topic for journalists. It may be confirmed by the fact that it corresponds with most of the twelve criteria in the well-known classification of journalistic quality of the event by Johann Galtung and Mari Ruge. Among them there are, for example, such features as emotional threshold, frequency, significance, intensity or appeal to the elite and outstanding individuals or to powerful states and nations.⁶ In times of mediatization of international conflicts, mass media and journalism play an important role, because even a very distant conflict can engage the emotions of viewers, listeners or readers if it is presented in an attractive way. Moreover, the media and journalists may be responsible for the success of the peace process or contribute to the aggravation of the conflict. Radosław Sajna recalls two different attitudes of journalists towards conflicts, which were distinguished in 2006 by Johan Galtung using the terms “peace/conflict journalism” and “war/violence journalism” – journalism focused on peaceful conflict resolution versus journalism focused on war and violence. In the first case, reporters should give an opportunity to speak to all

5 W. Rodak, “Efekt CNN: wpływ mediów na interwencje zbrojne Stanów Zjednoczonych w Afganistanie, na Haiti i w Liberii,” *FEPS Working Papers* 8/2008, p. 2.

6 T. Goban-Klas, *Media i terroryści*, pp. 90–95.

parties involved in the conflict, focus on the effects of violence during the conflict, point out the lies, suffering of civilians and people responsible for this violence, as well as those who work for peace and create peaceful initiatives. The second mentioned attitude assumes that journalists and the media indicate only their own victims of the conflict, and violence and lies only among their opponents. War coverage are reduced to storytelling in the context of “us” versus “them.”⁷ Eytan Gilboa concludes that the choice of one of these models is an ethical issue, although the latter dominates, resulting from the way of creating media coverage in the areas of armed conflicts.⁸ However, contemporary media coverage of armed conflicts is so significant that it inspired researchers to discuss the types of war journalism and their ethical implications, as well as the legal issues associated with being a war correspondent.⁹

When it comes to assessing the possibility of the media exerting a real influence on the issues of international relations, opinions among researchers are divided. One of the views is based on the assumption that the media play or potentially can play an active role, indirectly influencing the decision-making process in international politics. Others claim that most often the decision-making centers in the field of internal and foreign affairs treat the media as a propaganda tool. These are used by the authorities to gain the support of their own social opinions and of other countries for the intended or conducted activities on the international arena. The third opinion boils down to the claim that governments do not have the ability to fully implement their intentions on the international arena, so the media cannot boast of significant effectiveness in influencing events taking place on the international scene.¹⁰ How does the concept of the CNN effect relate to these three approaches? Its name is associated with the activities of the Cable News Network (CNN) television station, founded in 1980 by Ted Turner. It was the first station to start broadcasting news programs around the clock.

7 R. Sajna, “Media i dziennikarstwo na rzecz pokoju w obliczu współczesnych konfliktów zbrojnych,” in: *Konflikty i spory międzynarodowe. Tom 1*, R. Łoś (ed.), Łódź: 2010, p. 67.

8 E. Gilboa, “Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis,” *Marquette Law Review* 93.1/2009, pp. 101–102.

9 See more: K. Grządzielski, “Legal status and scope of protection of war correspondents in armed conflicts in the light of international law – review of selected legal acts,” *Refleksje* 18/2018; M. Hodalska, *Korespondent wojenny. Ofiarnik i ofiara we współczesnym świecie*, Kraków: 2006.

10 K. J. Stryjski, “Media masowe wobec konfliktów międzynarodowych,” in: *Świat i Europa we współczesnych stosunkach międzynarodowych*, M. Orzechowski and E. Brzuska (eds.), Łódź: 2011, pp. 192–193.

Five years later, it began broadcasting internationally on CNN International. The rapid expansion of CNN is the result of the use of satellite and cable technology and coverage of international events, introducing a new quality to global news journalism, such as breaking news or numerous live reporting from reporters.¹¹ Within one decade it became the most important news television in the world, and the beginning of the CNN effect concept is most often seen in the events related to the bombing of Baghdad in 1991. Then the station became a kind of diplomatic channel between George Bush and Saddam Hussein, who used it to communicate by issuing a statement.¹²

Therefore, what is the CNN effect and what is its dimension? According to the definition of Steven Livingston, who was one of the first researchers to describe these concepts, it is about the impact of global media reporting live events on the diplomacy and foreign policy of the state.¹³ After conducting research related to the role of the mass media during the US humanitarian intervention in Somalia in 1993, he identified three main aspects regarding the CNN effect, indicating that the media can: accelerate the decision-making process in politics, be an obstacle to achieving political goals or act as an agent agenda making the issue a foreign policy priority. The author claims that the mass media did not play a decisive role in bringing about the intervention in Somalia, because the news about the situation in this country appeared as a result of the actions of politicians who wanted to disseminate information from this region of Africa. The US authorities decided to intervene under pressure from public opinion, as well as journalists emphasizing the negative political consequences for the government in the absence of intervention. However, a direct example of the impact of the media coverage on politicians was a report broadcast on CNN showing the unsuccessful mission to capture Somali military commander General Adid. Eighteen soldiers were killed, 75 were injured and the bodies of those killed were desecrated. Then the Bill Clinton administration decided to withdraw from Somalia. Military commitment to provide humanitarian aid was considered a defeat of US foreign policy.¹⁴

11 Dobkowska M., "Efekt CNN a interwencja humanitarna w Somalii. Wpływ mediów na politykę zagraniczną," in: *Dyplomacja publiczna*, B. Ociepa (ed.), Wrocław: 2008, pp. 282–283.

12 E. Nowak, "Ustanawianie agendy medialnej i politycznej. Interakcje i zależności," *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze* 3–4/2011, p. 57.

13 S. Livingstone, "Clarifying the CNN effect: an examination of media effects according to type of military intervention," *Research Paper*, 1997, p. 1.

14 S. Livingstone, "Clarifying the CNN effect," pp. 2–8.

S. Livingstone, analyzing the influence of CNN on international politics, also compiled the relation between various types of conflicts, the state's attitude towards media and how they work. He showed media effect, which is weak in long-term conflicts based on the accounts of regular correspondents. If there are no important events or aggravation of hostilities, e.g., during military peace-keeping or stabilization missions, the interest of the mass media gradually fades away from the moment when hostilities are announced or have just started.¹⁵ A good example is the fact that the American society were informed about the conflict in Kosovo not until March 2, 1998. CNN, ABC, NBC, and CBS devoted a total of 3 minutes and 30 seconds to the topic. From then until March 20, 1999, the four major TV giants spent over 1061 minutes in total, accounting for 3 % of the evening news programme. It is recognized that the CNN effect has undoubtedly contributed to a large extent to the perception of events in Kosovo by the modern world. He also played a significant role in the diplomatic activities undertaken by politicians in relation to Yugoslavia and Kosovo.¹⁶ Throughout the 1990s, the prevailing view was that media coverage can and often have a decisive impact on the course of events and the decision-making process in international politics, in particular during armed conflicts or humanitarian crises. Authorities were convinced that they generally harmed the rationality of political decision-making, mainly by introducing an emotional factor related to drastic images as well as public fears or sympathy for the victims of wars, disasters or crises. It was also emphasized that journalists cannot be considered only as entities reporting on the course of the public debate, but as active and influential participants of the debate.¹⁷

A modified definition of the CNN effect was given in 2002 by Piers Robinson, who came to the conclusion that this is the influence of the media coverage, mainly news television describing the international crisis, on the policy of Western countries in relation to this crisis.¹⁸ His model of interaction between

15 S. Livingstone, "Clarifying the CNN effect," p. 12.

16 A. Malinowski, "Wpływ efektu CNN na odbiór wydarzeń w Kosowie i przygotowania NATO do wojny z Jugosławią w 1999 roku," *Media, kultura, komunikacja społeczna* 5/2009, pp. 225–226.

17 E. Nowak, "Relacje mediów jako czynnik interweniujący w stosunkach międzynarodowych," *Politeja* 1/2011, p. 272.

18 P. Robinson, *Media as a Driving Force in International Politics: The CNN Effect and Related Debates*, <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/09/17/media-as-a-driving-force-in-international-politics-the-cnn-effect-and-related-debates/>.

media and politics assumes that: the influence of the mass media is more likely when the government or political elites are not decisive and inconsistent with policy directions, media coverage is critical of the current policy on a given issue and when dramatic images of victims suffering from failure of making decisions about the intervention are shown.¹⁹

Thus, conflicts within the political elite, their indecision, make media actions possible to exert pressure on taking, stopping or directing political action through intense media coverage. Then the CNN effect may occur, which means the participation of the media in shaping a certain aspect of policy. It can take many forms, depending on the extent to which the media influence and control political action. We can indicate the so-called strong and weak CNN effect. The first assumes that media coverage is a form of pressure and is a sufficient or necessary factor to make a decision that would be different if the media were not interested in a given topic. In turn, the second type is indicated when the CNN effect enables, accelerates or facilitates the taking of a political decision, however, a given decision would be made anyway.²⁰ An example of a weak “CNN effect” is the US decision to intervene in Liberia in 2003. Bush administration did not agree on the line of conduct in the face of the crisis, and he himself was not a topic that attracted media attention. The same situation was in 2004 during the intervention in Haiti.²¹

In 2016, Eytan Gilboa, Piers Robinson et al. published an article entitled: *Moving Media and Conflict Studies beyond the CNN effect*. The researchers conclude that the CNN effect was a useful tool for understanding the effects of global television and news on post-Cold War armed conflicts. At present, however, there are deficiencies in research paradigms regarding the media-armed conflict relationship. Large changes in communication, the speed with which information about events can reach an international audience, the spread of new media, the phenomena of disinformation and fake news have an impact not only on how the media relates to conflicts, but more broadly how public opinion and politicians understand, interpret and react in conflict situations. According to the authors, the growth of the media, combined with the development of

19 E. Nowak, “Ustanawianie agendy medialnej i politycznej. Interakcje i zależności,” *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze* 3–4/2011, p. 58.

20 E. Nowak, “Relacje mediów jako czynnik interweniujący w stosunkach międzynarodowych,” *Politeja* 1/2011, pp. 276–277.

21 W. Rodak, “Efekt CNN: wpływ mediów na interwencje zbrojne Stanów Zjednoczonych w Afganistanie, na Haiti i w Liberii,” *FEPS Working Papers* 8/2008, pp. 31–33.

information technology, creates significant uncertainty and potential liquidity, greater than ever before, in the interaction of media, conflict and authorities.²²

Armed Conflict in a Mediatized World: The Diffused War Concept

Information warfare has continued growing in importance since the Vietnam conflict. Developing means of communication are changing the way information influences, and armed conflicts are more and more often distinguished by information and disinformation struggles.²³ Jerzy Jastrzębski distinguishes three variants of communication through which informing about the course of conflicts depending on their type, as well as the type and degree of interference in the media system: communication as a tool of war, communication as ignoring and concealing, and communication as an instrument of peace.²⁴ The most frequently indicated case is the first one, and examples of the implementation of such a model include the intervention in Iraq in 2003. At that time, a special dimension was the media preparation of a politically and image-related military operation. The introduction of the embedding system in military-journalists relations meant in practice the militarization of reporters by including them in military units and making the controversial armed conflict presented in the American media largely as the U.S. authorities wanted.²⁵ The second model predicts that the mass media distances themselves or distances themselves from difficult or poorly identified situations.²⁶ A good example here may be the wars in Africa or Asia, which are considered by publishers of news websites as unattractive for potential media recipients,

22 E. Gilboa, M. G. Jumbert, J. Miklian, P. Robinson, "Moving Media and Conflict Studies beyond the CNN effect," *Review of International Studies*, 2016, pp. 18–20.

23 P. Daniluk, "Współczesne wymiary konfrontacji informacyjnej," *Rocznik Bezpieczeństwa Międzynarodowego* 2/2014, p. 49.

24 J. Jastrzębski, "Wojna i media," in: *Wojna w mediach*, B. Piątkowska-Stepaniak and B. Nierenberg (eds.), Opole: 2007, p. 41.

25 See more: B. Odorowicz, "Embedding – współpraca za cenę ograniczeń. Wojskowa koncepcja relacjonowania wydarzeń ze strefy konfliktu zbrojnego przez reporterów wojennych w świetle dokumentów brytyjskich i amerykańskich," *Rocznik Bezpieczeństwa Międzynarodowego* 2010–2011; H. Brandenburg, "Embedding journalists as a superior strategy to military censorship," *Journalism Studies* 8.6/2007; K. Tuosto, "The "Grunt Truth" of Embedded Journalism: The New Media/Military Relationship," *Stanford Journal of International Relations* 2008 (Fall/Winter).

26 J. Jastrzębski, "Wojna i media," pp. 42–44.

unless they concern, for example, deposits of strategic raw materials or areas ensuring military control of regions important from a political point of view. Very often such news in the European and American media are concise. The third model, on the other hand, assumes the contribution of the media to the restoration and maintenance of peace. The specific nature of the media coverage may indirectly lead to attempts at peaceful resolution of the conflict, as in the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or exert pressure on political decision-makers and on public opinion, as was the case with the Vietnam War. The analyzed aspects relate to traditional media. Today, however, new media are of great importance in the field of information warfare, but it should be remembered that the Internet has become a new field of information confrontation since the war in Kosovo in the 1990s. It is often called the “first Internet war” during which networks for disseminating information, propaganda, demonizing opponents or using various hacker attacks on individual websites or even NATO servers.²⁷

Mediatization of contemporary conflicts is still an ongoing process, having many dimensions, however, the history of war correspondence and the evolution of the methods of creating media messages and their meaning allow to distinguish the waves of mediatization of war. Tomasz Goban-Klas points three. The first began with the Crimean War in 1853 and the arrival of war reporters and photographers. The beginning of the second is dated to the period of the Vietnam War, and it was strengthened by the operation “Desert Storm” in 1991, when television began to use satellite links on a massive scale, providing live broadcasts from conflict zones. At that time, thanks to the air raids of the American air force, CNN gained great popularity, although its photos did not reflect the true face of the Iraqi operation – basically no human or material losses were mentioned. The second wave has some common features in relation to the first one, as traditional mass media remain essential, however, mediatization in the second wave is largely based on the experiences of the largest television stations and the creation of 24/7 news channels. The media message gains, in addition to the national reach and character, also a global dimension with its consequences.²⁸ The third and the latest wave of mediatization of the war relates to the world of the Internet and social media. The recipient of the media is currently focusing

27 Szurmiński Ł., “Wojna w Internecie – jej formy i przebieg na przykładzie konfliktu zbrojnego w Kosowie,” in: *Re: Internet – społeczne aspekty medium*, Warszawa: 2006, pp. 263–264.

28 T. Goban-Klas, *Wartki nurt mediów*, Kraków: 2011, pp. 328–330.

on the image of military operations, subconsciously disregarding precise and specific information.²⁹ It can therefore be concluded that the power of persuasion belongs primarily to the image, and this dominates the new media. The mass media, including the new media, not only show the war being waged, but in some ways change it. It is important that mass media penetrate deeply into every day and social life, which disrupts the existing division of the sender and recipient, as well as the producer and consumer. Krzysztof Miller explains that since the intensive use of new media in media messages, a crisis has come to the editorial offices: why should they send a photojournalist or a journalist with an image operator to the conflict area, if thousands of local residents already have cells, internet and lightning speed data transmission? The film with the captured Gaddafi was sent to the world and was broadcast by all news TV stations. There are no longer races for news between correspondents.³⁰

Mediatization of modern war is conducive to manipulation and various types of hoaxes. Confusion and, above all, disinformation within the so-called information management in armed conflicts increases the feeling of being lost or misunderstanding of reality and events happening by media recipients. Moreover, according to British scientists – Andrew Hoskins and Ben O’Loughlin – these ambiguities and the interpenetration of the media and war now create relations between them that correspond to the nature of distributed war – diffused war.³¹ Wskazują, że termin ten odnosi się on do konfliktów zbrojnych, w których mediatyzacja umożliwia rozproszenie przyczynowych relacji pomiędzy działaniem a skutkiem, co powoduje jeszcze większą niepewność w trakcie podejmowanych decyzji przez polityków. They indicate that the term refers to armed conflicts in which mediatization enables the dispersion of causal relations between action and effects, which causes even greater uncertainty in the decision-making by politicians. Currently, the relations in the triad: government, military and public opinion are much faster, more unpredictable, and force the search for new ways of managing information during the war. Authors distinguish three axes of the new diffused war paradigm: mediatization of war, the creation of more dispersed causal relationships between action and effect, and

29 L. Iwulski, “Triadyczne ujęcie ponowoczesnej wojny, mediów i polityki,” in: *Wojna w mediach*, W. Piątkowska-Stępniaak and B. Nierenberg (eds.), Opole: 2007, p. 216.

30 D. Kowalska, W. Rogacin, *Korespondenci.pl. Wstrząsające historie polskich reporterów wojennych*, Warszawa: 2014, p. 117.

31 A. Hoskins, B. O’Loughlin, *War and Media: The Emergence of Diffused War*, Cambridge: 2010, p. 2.

greater uncertainty of decisions for military strategists and politicians in the conduct of war. Importantly, what is important is the question of their degree or modulation, and not the presence or absence of a given axis in the event of an armed conflict. As the authors write, the mediatization of war assumes that the mass media have become a tool in modern armed conflicts, as are journalists and media workers who are often manipulated by the military, especially as part of the embedding system introduced in Iraq in 2003. Not only is the role of the image in the media message important, but also the way in which the media is controlled and from whom they receive information. Modern technology and new media mean that the tension among the rulers is growing so that their flow can be controlled as much as possible, which is becoming less and less possible. What is more, modern war is broadcast in various forms – from classic news, live coverage, documentaries and other journalistic forms in traditional media, to podcasts, tweets, posts, blogs and many other modern forms. The second axis of the scattered war paradigm indicates that the multitude of images and words in the global media has unpredictable consequences. The old patterns of informing about the war and its events during the evening TV news have changed significantly. Traditional media are now eager to use images from the Internet and social media, which causes unpredictable reactions, e.g., public opinion. Photos from the execution of Saddam Hussein or from the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, where American soldiers beat, tortured and sadistically abused Iraqi prisoners, unexpectedly appeared on websites, and later spread to global and national media causing controversy and numerous discussions. The third axis of the paradigm under discussion relates to military capabilities and political decision-makers to make decisions with some degree of uncertainty about their outcomes in armed conflicts. The risk, largely due to media coverage and its reception by the public opinion, as the researchers emphasize, is an element that has been analyzed widely in decision-making bodies since 1990 and that the greatest attention was paid to its elimination at all costs when flexible action is also needed in the face of already revealed dangers. This risk or uncertainty increases with the increase of information from various sources that do not provide us with cognitive comfort, creating the phenomenon of information overload. In a mediatized war, information leakage has significant, although not immediately obvious, consequences.³² An example is the operation of the WikiLeaks portal, which in 2010 revealed a number of secret materials, including

32 A. Hoskins et al., *War and media*, pp. 3–37.

90,000 confidential documents regarding the operations of the coalition troops in Afghanistan, which show that the soldiers are helpless and are engaged in an increasingly ruthless fight, almost 400,000 documents from Iraq from 2004–2009 prepared by American military, 260,000 secret reports of American diplomacy or a film from the camera of a helicopter during the fights against Baghdad, in which pilots are seen shooting at a group of men believed to be rebels, killing 12 people with hidden joy during an interview, including two Reuters employees.³³

Accordingly, the key question to be asked is when did the emergence of diffused war start? As it was mentioned, Tomasz Goban-Klas distinguishes three waves of mediatization of armed conflicts, while Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin indicate two, assuming that the Vietnam War marked the beginning of the first wave due to the role played by television during it. In this phase of mediatization, large media organizations, mass audiences, and a handful of international news agencies dominated, and the media coverage was easier to control or predict. Diffused war appeared now in transition from the first to the second phase of mediatization, but its appearance, according to the authors, is fluid and difficult to pinpoint precisely. They recognize that the second wave is the stage when new media and alternative media, e.g. civil media, appeared, there was competition on the information market, dispersion of media messages and the public, liquidity in relations between the government, the military and the public, as well as unknown and unpredictable risks in the context of armed conflicts.. What's more, politicians and the military anticipate and shape media reports about their actions, and the basic questions no longer concern how the media show the war, but how the war is designed for, media use and how the sources of information about the war change.³⁴ Another argument in favor of introducing a new paradigm is the fact that armed conflicts have become mediatized today, as the practices of war and the experiences of combatants and victims take the form of constant recording of events by the media, broadcasting and archiving of media messages. Mediatization of conflicts also breaks the linear, cause-and-effect model of the first phase, when it was believed that the flow of information could be managed by states or global media corporations. However, politicians, military decision makers, and the media themselves are adapting to changes and

33 M. Zawadzki, *Wojna w Iraku na WikiLeaks*, http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,8561808,Wojna_w_Iraku_na_WikiLeaks.html?disableRedirects=true.

34 A. Hoskins, B. O'Loughlin, *War and media. The emergence of diffused war*, Cambridge: 2010, pp. 16–19.

new technological trends. The challenge for scientists is to create a methodology for analyzing media messages regarding the war in the Internet era, when traditional media intertwine with new media.³⁵

Summary

Undoubtedly, international conflicts are today a media event that have undergone significant transformations in the last dozen or so years. Media coverage from the regions of military operations is still subject to significant changes and the process of evolution, especially in the way of reporting war, as well as in relations between politicians and the military with journalists. Since the Vietnam war, the importance of information warfare has been growing steadily. The way conflicts are reported in the media largely creates their image in the eyes of the international community. As shown in the analysis, contemporary armed conflicts undergo a process of mediatization, which entitles us to conceptualize a new paradigm of war. The development of new media is the next stage in the evolution of the role and influence of mass media on contemporary armed conflicts by changing the way of reporting events and creating new forms of media coverage. However, the concept of CNN effect does not give an unambiguous answer to the question whether media coverage causes or accelerates conflicts, or vice versa. The influence of the media is often indirect and difficult, even impossible to grasp.

The area of international relations has become even more unpredictable and spontaneous in the era of global communication. In a mediatized war, the leakage of information has significant, though not immediately obvious, consequences. There is greater uncertainty for military strategists and politicians to act in conflict. Immediate communication is a key reason why politicians do not have time to think long about the solution to a situation before media audiences or users of social networks know about it. Media relations are a factor that interferes both in the process of shaping attitudes within public opinion, and, consequently, in the process of making political decisions. As it has been shown, the armed conflicts have undergone the process of mediatization through 24/7 news TV stations, and the new media mean that it continues in a completely new dimension, in which traditional media intertwine with the new ones. One should be aware of

35 T. Goban-Klas, "Walka i terroryzm w zmediatyzowanym świecie: nowy paradygmat rozproszonej wojny," in: *Metodologia badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, P. Sienkiewicz, M. Marszałek, and H. Świeboda (eds.), Vol. 2, Warszawa: 2011, pp. 171–179.

the unprecedented opportunities and threats posed by the dynamic development of means of communication, which at the same time constitute a powerful means of information and manipulation. Indicating the importance or the role of media coverage in armed conflicts is difficult and requires an interdisciplinary approach of both communication and media sciences and international relations studies.

References

- Brandenburg, H., "Embedding journalists as a superior strategy to military censorship," *Journalism Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 6, 2007.
- Daniluk, P., "Współczesne wymiary konfrontacji informacyjnej," *Rocznik Bezpieczeństwa Międzynarodowego*, No. 2, 2014.
- Dobkowska, M., "Efekt CNN a interwencja humanitarna w Somalii. Wpływ mediów na politykę zagraniczną," in: *Dyplomacja publiczna*, B. Ociepka (ed.). Wrocław: 2008.
- Gilboa, E., Jumbert, M. G., Miklian, J., Robinson, P., "Moving Media and Conflict Studies beyond the CNN effect," *Review of International Studies*, 2016.
- Gilboa, E., "Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis," *Marquette Law Review*, Vol. 93, No. 1, 2009.
- Goban-Klas, T., *Media i terroryści. Czy zastraszą nas na śmierć?*, Kraków 2009.
- Goban-Klas, T., "Walka i terroryzm w zmediatyzowanym świecie: nowy paradygmat rozproszonej wojny," in: *Metodologia badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, P. Sienkiewicz, M. Marszałek, and H. Świeboda (eds.), Vol. 2, Warszawa: 2011.
- Goban-Klas, T., *Wartki nurt mediów*. Kraków: 2011.
- Grządzielski, K., "Ewolucja kontroli nad mediami masowymi w kontekście tworzenia przekazu medialnego podczas wybranych konfliktów zbrojnych przed II wojną w Zatoce Perskiej," *Refleksje*, No. 21, 2020.
- Grządzielski, K., "Legal status and scope of protection of war correspondents in armed conflicts in the light of international law – review of selected legal acts," *Refleksje*, No. 1, 2018.
- Hodalska, M., *Korespondent wojenny. Ofiarnik i ofiara we współczesnym świecie*. Kraków: 2006.
- Hoskins, A., O'Loughlin, B., *War and media. The emergence of diffused war*. Cambridge: 2010.
- Iwulski, L., "Triadyczne ujęcie ponowoczesnej wojny, mediów i polityki," in: *Wojna w mediach*, W. Piątkowska-Stępniać and B. Nierenberg (eds.). Opole: 2007.

- Jastrzębski, J., "Wojna i media," in: *Wojna w mediach*, B. Piątkowska-Stepaniak and B. Nierenberg (eds.). Opole: 2007.
- Kowalska, D., Rogacin, W., *Korespondenci.pl. Wstrząsające historie polskich reporterów wojennych*. Warszawa: 2014.
- Livingstone, S., "Clarifying the CNN effect: an examination of media effects according to type of military intervention," *Research Paper*. 1997.
- Malinowski, A., "Wpływ efektu CNN na odbiór wydarzeń w Kosowie i przygotowania NATO do wojny z Jugosławią w 1999 roku," *Media, kultura, komunikacja społeczna*, No. 5, 2009.
- Nowak, E., "Relacje mediów jako czynnik interweniujący w stosunkach międzynarodowych," *Politeja*, No. 1, 2011.
- Nowak, E., "Ustanawianie agendy medialnej i politycznej. Interakcje i zależności," *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze*, No. 3–4, 2011.
- Odorowicz, B., "Embedding – współpraca za cenę ograniczeń. Wojskowa koncepcja relacjonowania wydarzeń ze strefy konfliktu zbrojnego przez reporterów wojennych w świetle dokumentów brytyjskich i amerykańskich," *Rocznik Bezpieczeństwa Międzynarodowego*. 2010/2011.
- Payne, K., "The media as an instrument of war," *Parameters*. 2005.
- Robinson, P., *Media as a Driving Force in International Politics: The CNN Effect and Related Debates*. <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/09/17/media-as-a-driving-force-in-international-politics-the-cnn-effect-and-related-debates/>.
- Rodak, W., "Efekt CNN: wpływ mediów na interwencje zbrojne Stanów Zjednoczonych w Afganistanie, na Haiti i w Liberii," *FEPS Working Papers*, No. 8, 2008.
- Sajna, R., "Media i dziennikarstwo na rzecz pokoju w obliczu współczesnych konfliktów zbrojnych," in: *Konflikty i spory międzynarodowe. Tom 1*, R. Łoś (ed.). Łódź: 2010.
- Stryjski, K. J., "Media masowe wobec konfliktów międzynarodowych," in: *Świat i Europa we współczesnych stosunkach międzynarodowych*, M. Orzechowski and E. Brzuska (eds.). Łódź: 2011.
- Szurmiński, Ł., "Wojna w Internecie – jej formy i przebieg na przykładzie konfliktu zbrojnego w Kosowie," in: *Re: Internet -społeczne aspekty medium*. Warszawa: 2006.
- Tuosto, K., "The "Grunt Truth" of Embedded Journalism: The New Media/Military Relationship," *Stanford Journal of International Relations*. Fall/Winter 2008.
- Zawadzki, M., *Wojna w Iraku na WikiLeaks*. http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,8561808,Wojna_w_Iraku_na_WikiLeaks.html?disableRedirects=true.

Mirosław Jaremba, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0003-3730-6372, mirjar@amu.edu.pl

Rohingya Muslims' Ethnogenesis and Their History Until the Fall of Socialism in Myanmar in 1988

Abstract: The question of the ethnogenesis of the Rohingya is an arguable one. Many researchers claim that Muslims first appeared in the Arakan state in Myanmar as early as the eighth century AD. However, the Myanmar government believes that they were economic migrants who came to this territory when Myanmar was a colony under the rule of the British Empire. The following article will give information regarding the genesis of the appearance of the Muslims in the state of Arakan, as well as of their later history. In addition, there will be an outline of the history of the Rohingya after gaining independence by Myanmar, and of the times of socialism and the isolation of Myanmar. The goal of the article is to present the state of the research and the facts regarding the ethnogenesis and history of the Muslims in Burma up until the end of the socialism era in the year 1988.

Keywords: Myanmar, Rohingya, muslims, U Nu, Ne Win.

1. Introduction

This article outlines the fate of the Rohingya Muslim ethnic group. The history of the largest group of Burmese (Bamars) is inextricably linked to the Rohingya, which is both ethnically and religiously different. These differences and the desire to dominate over other groups have led to the outbreak of conflict between the two groups. This chapter will also show the Rohingya's ethnogenesis and the most important events to 1948. The ethnic origin of the Rohingya is an important argument in the conflict with the Bamars. The events since independence (1978–1992) and the socialist period (1962–1988) will then be discussed.

The main venue of the Rohingya drama is the state of Arakan (Rakhine), where most Muslims live and where the oppression of the Bamars is taking place. Rakhine State is located in the western part of Burma, on the Bay of Bengal. The area of Rakhine is about 36 thousand square kilometres. The most important city is Sittwe. Rakhine is not a raw material-rich territory and industry focuses mainly on rice and cotton. An extremely important branch of industry is fishing,

which is mainly dealt with by Rohingya¹. At the time of the Burmese census in 2014, approximately one million people declared to be part of the Rohingya, representing 31 % of the Rakhine population. It is impossible to estimate the exact size of the Rohingya population, as they are treated as stateless² by the Burmese Department of Population.

2. The Rohingya Ethnogenesis and Their Fate until 1948

The beginning of the history of Islam in Rakhine should be seen in the 8th century. Before 788, Arab Muslims began arriving on the Indian Peninsula and in South-East Asia, trading. Gemstones, cotton and spices were very popular. The Arabs were involved in trade and shipping, so they quickly managed to conquer the Indochinese Peninsula and monopolise trade between East and West. One of the expeditions, described by medieval Arab geographers, was to conquer the lands of Jazirat al-Rahmi (in other sources they appear as Rahma)³.

The word *rahma* in Arabic means “blessing.” Other forms have subsequently emerged, such as *roang*, *rohang*, *roshang*. These terms used to be called Rakhine State. The territory on the Bay of Bengal was named after the blessing of Allah and still functions in a somewhat distorted form today. Scientists in the 9th and 10th centuries placed the Rahmi kingdom between the Bay of Bengal and the Strait of Malacca⁴. One researcher, Sulaiman al-Tajir, a ninth-century Muslim merchant and geologist, noted the presence of permanent Muslim trading communities along the Bengal coast from the mouth of the Meghna River to Cox Bazar in Akhbar al-Sin wa’l-Hind, which refers to the Bengal coast as Ruhmi⁵. The name *Arakan* is used today. A 14th century scientist, Muhammad Ibn Batutt, gave this area the name *Arakan* in his notes, which derived from the Arabic word *al-Rakun*. Later researchers used similar terminology, such as *Arkhang* or *Rakhine*, which meant “land of peace.” The final form of the name took during the British colonisation and the strip of western territory of the Indochinese Peninsula was called the state of *Rakhine*.⁶

1 *Arakan*, <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Arakan;3870619.html>, accessed: 08.09.2017.

2 R. Blomquist, R. Cincotta, “Myanmar’s Democratic Deficit: Demography and the Rohingya Dilemma,” <https://www.newsecuritybeat.org/2016/04/myanmars-democratic-deficit-demography-rohingya-dilemma/>, accessed: 08.09.2017.

3 M. A. Tahir Ba Tha, *A Short History of Rohingya and Kamas of Burma*, Chittagong: 2007, p. 8.

4 M. Yunus, *A History of Arakan: Past and Present*, Chittagong: 1994, pp. 10–11.

5 K. A. Leitich, *Decoding the Past: The Rohingya Origin Enigma*, Oxford: 2014, pp. 10–11.

6 M. A. Tahir Ba Tha, *A Short History*, pp. 8–9.

There are many ethnic groups in this part of Burma, of which the Rohingya is one of the most numerous. The next largest group is the Buddhist Araqanians (Rakhine). There are many other ethnic groups, such as Kamis and Chin, but they are not as numerous as those mentioned above and do not have as much influence on what is happening in the region.⁷

The name Rohingya comes from the word *Roshangee* or *Rohai*. Both terms meant a person who lives in the old Rakhine.⁸ Michal Lubina brings up two theories about the origin of the Rohingya. According to the first one, they are descendants of Muslims living in Rakhine. In the ninth century, Arab traffickers came to South-East Asia and became involved with local women. As a result of the mixing of ethnic groups and cultures, a new language was created, which was a mixture of Bengali, Arabic, Urdu and Persian. However, the only theory accepted by the government in Burma is that the Muslims came to Rakhine during the reign of the British Empire.⁹ According to historians, in 788 the first Muslims arrived in South-East Asia. The then ruling Chandra dynasty founded the city of Wesali, which became the most important port in that part of the continent. Although the Chandra dynasty practiced Buddhism, by creating a port city, it allowed the Arabs to reach this area and pass on new religious thought.¹⁰

The times of the Chandra Dynasty were a period of good coexistence between Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims. The period was interrupted by the Mongol invasion and the fall of the ruling dynasty in 957. The reign of the Mongols brought social and cultural regression. Over time, they assimilated with the local population. The Mongolian period caused the disappearance of the Hindu population, which resulted in the clarification of two groups: the Buddhist Rakhine (Maghs) and Muslim Rohingya.¹¹

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Bengal, which was the western border of Muslim expansion, was Islamised. Until 1430 Bengal's influence on Rakhine was small. In the 30s of the fifteenth century there were changes. The ruler of Rakhine, Naramaikla, fled to Bengal from the growing power of Burma. There he received the necessary help, including the army to recover Rakhine. After regaining his former lands, he created a new capital, Mrauk-U, which survived until 1785. A mosque was built in Sandikhan, which has survived until today. As

7 M. Yunus, *A History of Arakan*, pp. 10–11.

8 M. Yunus, *A History of Arakan*, pp. 10–12.

9 M. Lubina, *Burma: Centre Versus Peripheries*, Krakow: 2014, p. 49.

10 A. Ullah, *Arakan before 1000 AD*, <http://www.rvisiontv.com/arakan-1000-ad/>, accessed: 11.09.2017.

11 M. Yunus, *A History of Arakan*, p. 19.

a token of gratitude, Rakhine was placed under the authority of Muslim Bengal. The Rakhine rulers were eager to accept Muslim titles despite the Buddhist character of the kingdom. According to Aman Ullah, there were mass migrations of Muslims to Rakhine in the early 17th century. At the same time, Muslims began to perform increasingly important functions in the state apparatus. They were not only involved in shipping, but also took up the positions of doctors or advisors to the most important state representatives. Muslims living on the Bay of Bengal (including Rohingya) often had a great musical and poetic sensitivity.¹²

The first half of the eighteenth century was a period of chaos and power struggles between King Sanda Wizaya and the Kamans. The power struggle ended with the entry of Burmese King Bodawpaya into Rakhine in 1794, who incorporated these lands into his kingdom of Ava. The Burmese king destroyed everything that was associated with Islam. Many of the Muslims were taken prisoner and sold or forced to work. As a result of the brutal actions of King Ava, the Muslims (Rohingya) had to flee from Rakhine. Bengal and, in particular, the Chittagong district of today's Bangladesh, has become the target of their migration. Chittagong was at that time under British protectorate, which exacerbated Burmese-British relations.¹³ An example of the brutality of King Bodawpaya is quoted by Kazi Fahmid Farzan. It tells the story of around 3000 Muslim slaves who worked on the reconstruction of Lake Meiktila and went missing. Similar practices could be found in the last decade of the 18th century.¹⁴

Shortly afterwards, in 1824, there were fights between Burmese and British armies. The following year both Rakhine and Burma were taken over by the British. Law and order prevailed in the country. The stable situation favoured the return of Muslims. From southern Chittagong, Muslims began to return to their homes in Rakhine after 30–40 years of wandering.¹⁵ The British colonisers had a plan for the mass repatriation of Muslims. As a result of their escape from Rakhine, the fertile land lay in stagnation and there was no one to deal with it. The British encouraged the Muslims to settle as widely as possible in the area. Tempting were also wages, which were much higher than those in Bengal. The colonisers improved the infrastructure that allowed and facilitated internal trade.

12 A. Ullah, "Moshe Yegar and Muslim Settlement in Arakan," <http://www.rvisiontv.com/moshe-yegar-muslim-settlement-arakan/>, accessed: 12.09.2017.

13 R. Marzoli, *The Protection of Human Rights of Rohingya in Myanmar: The Role of The International Community*, Rome: 2014/15, pp. 25–26.

14 K. F. Farzana, *Memories of Burmese Rohingya Refugees: Contested Identity and Belonging*, New York: 2017, pp. 43–44.

15 M. Yunus, *A History of Arakan*, pp. 52–53.

The flow of people from Chittagong was so significant that the population in the cities increased and the economy revived. The Muslim population increased by 155 % between 1872 and 1911. The huge increase in the number of migrants from Chittagong was due to the British policy of increasing rice production, for which there was great demand on the international market.¹⁶

The good situation was not long gone and only covered economic issues. There were ethnic problems in Rakhine, and more specifically, there were conflicts between Muslims and Burmese. At the beginning of the 20th century, organisations of young Buddhists were established. Under the guise of promoting Buddhism, they preached nationalist and anti-Muslim slogans. In the 1930s, the *Dobama Asiayone* association was established, which worked to liberate itself from the British protectorate and create an independent Burma. The representatives of the organisation, Thakini, in addition to the slogans for independence, preached hatred of the Muslims. Thakini have been gaining more and more power in Burma and have shown dislike towards the Muslims.¹⁷

Military operations during World War II also took place on the Indochinese Peninsula. In 1942, power struggles between Great Britain and Japan took place in both Rakhine and Burma. Sympathy and antipathy also manifested among the local population. The Muslim Rohingya supported the British and the Buddhist Rakhine supported Japan. Regular fights took place on both sides between 1942 and 1993. In the end the Muslim Rohingya fled to the north and the Buddhist Rakhine fled to the south.¹⁸

The biggest massacre took place on 28 March 1942, when the Rohingya murdered around 20 000 Rakhine Buddhists. Burmese nationalists killed around 5 000 Muslims. Both sides committed murder, torture and rape.¹⁹ The MUNLawS report presents other facts about the massacre in Rakhine. During the fighting in Burma, Japan was taking over more and more of Rakhine territory, forcing the British to retreat to Bangladesh. The British government has equipped the Muslims militarily to fight the Japanese. However, the Muslims have focused on demolishing Buddhist temples, villages and fighting the Burmese.²⁰

16 A. Chan, "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)," *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research* 3.2/2005, pp. 398–402.

17 M. Yunus, *A History of Arakan*, pp. 53–54.

18 International Crisis Group, *Myanmar: The Politics of Rakhine State*, Brussels: 2014, pp. 3–4.

19 C. Lignelli, "Who Are the Rohingya?," <http://thepolitic.org/who-are-the-rohingya/>, accessed: 14.09.2017.

20 MUNLawS, *The Situation of Rohingya in Myanmar*, Ljubljana: 2016, pp. 4–5.

3. Rohingyas after Burma's Independence (1948–1962) and During Socialism (1962–1988)

After the end of the war and Burma's liberation from Japanese rule in 1945, the Buddhist section of the population began to preach slogans for independence. The demand for the United Kingdom to leave the country was increasingly bold. In 1945, under pressure from Burmese nationalists and international actors, the British decided to withdraw from Burma. General Aung San of the Burmese National Army has declared his willingness to create an independent Burma with the cooperation of many ethnic groups living in the country. The Panglong Agreement was signed in 1947. One of the points of the agreement was the principle of equality between all ethnic groups and granting them autonomy within the Union of Burma. Shortly afterwards, General San and his colleagues were murdered. Despite this, work continued on the constitution, which was finally introduced on 2 September 1947. At the beginning of January 1948 Burma gained its independence and freed itself from British protectorate.²¹

The origins of an independent and sovereign state are linked to the regulation of many legal areas, including citizenship. According to the constitution, citizens could be people who are:

- a) had parents belonging to the indigenous people of Burma;
- b) They were born in Burma and one of the grandparents came from an indigenous ethnic group;
- c) have lived in Burma for two generations, and the person and his parents were born in Burma;
- d) were born after 4 January 1948 and one of the parents was born in Burma²².

The Citizenship Act of 1948 provided for the recognition of eight ethnic groups as indigenous and the granting of civil rights. The Rakhine Buddhist living in Rakhine were recognised as indigenous groups. It is worth noting that Muslim Rohingya were not included. There was a legal loophole in the law, thanks to which ethnic groups living in the Union of Burma before 1832 had greater civil rights.²³ Several amendments were made, thus amending the Citizenship Act in

21 International Human Rights Clinic at Harvard Law School, *Crimes in Burma*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 7–8.

22 International Crisis Group, *Myanmar: The Politics of Rakhine State*, pp. 9–10.

23 S. Cunningham, "Do Myanmar's Rohingya Really Need Citizenship Now?" <https://www.forbes.com/sites/susancunningham/2015/07/04/do-myanmars-rohingya-really-need-citizenship-now/#17b402eb49e0>, accessed: 18.09.2017.

1960. Attempts were made to prevent the migration of people from Bengal, so the people of Burma were required to register within a year of the amendment. Those who registered were given identity documents. Thanks to the amendment, many Rohingya registered, which consequently allowed them to vote in the 1948–1962 elections. In the late 1950s, the Rakhine Buddhist party, which was in parliament, was against the recognition of the Rohingya. In 1960, power and thus attitudes towards Muslims changed. Minister U Nu ordered the creation of a special mission in the provinces inhabited by the Rohingya, which met with their approval. Muslims were conscripted into the units that were to keep order, which improved security in the region. A great success for the U Nu Government was the recognition of the Rohingya as an indigenous people of Burma.²⁴

Burma's early years of independence were full of conflicts, not only because of issues of citizenship, but also because of the desire to separate from Burma and the creation of Mujahedin²⁵ units. As long ago as 1945, attempts were made to unite all Muslim societies into one organisation – the Congress of Burmese Muslims – but politicians decided not to take responsibility for the Muslim community. They tried to persuade the British people to grant them autonomy within Rakhine and to treat them as a completely separate ethnic group, not Burmese. The Burmese general, Aung San, promised them that he would make efforts to grant them rights. However, at the Fang Long conference in 1947, only Rakhine Buddhist Rakhines were invited from Rakhine and handed over to Burmese ethnic groups. Seeing no chance either of Britain helping or creating an alliance with the new Burmese authorities, the Rakhines decided to seek a solution from Mohammad Ali Jinnah, an activist for Pakistan's independence.²⁶ Muslim society has asked Jinnah to join northern Rakhine to eastern Pakistan (today Bangladesh). Jinnah has reached an agreement with Aung San and has not agreed to such a solution, not wanting to worsen relations between the two countries.²⁷ This attempt has led the government in Burma to look at Rakhine Muslims as separatists who threaten the unity and territorial integrity of the country and

24 M. A. Tahir Ba Tha, *A Short History*, p. 25–27.

25 The word *mujahedin* comes from Arabic and means *holy warrior*. Mujahedin are people who fight the infidels and take part in jihad, or holy war. They demand the introduction of Sharia, or Islamic law. They believe that death in the name of faith (e.g. in wars), will lead to their salvation. *The Arabs: Encyclopedic Dictionary*, M. Dziekan (ed.), Warsaw: 2001, p. 283.

26 M. Yunus, *A History of Arakan*, pp. 62–63.

27 R. Marzoli, *The Protection of Human Rights*, p. 35–36.

want to fight against the Burmese. As a result, the Muslims went underground and started to form battle cells, calling themselves *Mujahedin*.²⁸ Uncertainty and fear during the formation of the new state began to arouse interest in the Rohingya in other actions to enforce their rights. A group of Muslims decided to use forceful methods. The result was the Mujahedin movement formed by Jafar Hussin, sometimes called Jafar Kawal. He was a poet, singer and valiant warrior trained by the Japanese. He attracted many Muslims with his charisma and called for sacrificing his life in the name of faith and freedom.

The main aim of the Mujahedin was to create an autonomous state of Arakistan. The first target was the city of Ngapruchaung and its surroundings. The aggression took place on July 19, 1948. As a result of the attack, many Rakhine ethnic groups fled the region. In June 1949 conflicts broke out in southern Rakhine, which allowed the Mujahedin to gain more influence in the region. As a result, the government in Rangoon set up special units to suppress the uprisings and get rid of the Mujahedin. As a result, Muslims, women, children and religious authorities died, and over 50 000 fled to eastern Pakistan.²⁹

The Arabian Mujahedin has acted not only by force but also politically. The *All Arakan Muslim Conference* was held on 15–16 June 1951. The main demands were to create a free Muslim state and to defend areas of Muslim life (social, cultural, legal, ethnic). Mujahedin was perceived as a political movement, which intensified the unrest on the part of Rakhine. In 1954, the government in Rangoon, in agreement with the authorities of eastern Pakistan, launched the “Monsun” action to eliminate the Mujahedin. Many of them were caught and killed. Four years later, the government of Nu Nu introduced an amnesty for the fighters and many of them benefited from it. At the beginning of July 1961, the vast majority of the Mujahideen gave up, but the reluctance of the Buddhist Rakhine against the Muslims increased. It emerges from numerous statements made by Muslims at that time that few Rakhines supported the Mujahedin, often even cutting themselves off from them.³⁰

In the years that followed, the new authority led to a deepening of the conflict. In 1962 a military coup d'état took place in Burma and the new government was

28 K. Maung Saw, “Islamization of Burma Through Chittagonian Bengalis as “Rohingya Refugees,” http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs21/Khin-Maung-Saw-NM-2011-09-Islamanisation_of_Burma_through_Chittagonian_Bengalis-en.pdf, accessed: 20.09.2017.

29 T. Gibson, H. James, L. Falvey (eds.), *Rohingyas: Insecurity and Citizenship in Myanmar*, Songkhla: 2016, pp. 67–72.

30 T. Gibson et al., *Rohingyas. Insecurity and Citizenship in Myanmar*, pp. 67–70.

headed by Ne Win. The military junta aroused anxiety among the Muslims. As a result, the *Rohingya Independence Force* (RIF) was established in 1963 to fight against the junta's rule. Reports indicate that there were clashes between the two groups. Ten years later the RIF became the *Rohingya Patriotic Front* (RPF). The new Patriotic Front sought to create an independent Muslim state. In addition to the above, there were several other partisan groups. Some of them demanded an independent Muslim state, while others postulated slogans such as freedom of religion or political rights. However, according to Andrew Selth, the Muslim militias established since the early 1960s were small and ineffective. Muslim groups also cooperated with other militias, such as those fighting for the liberation of Rakhine or communist parties. Muslim partisan groups struggled with financial problems and sought help from Muslims in the Middle East. They often resorted to jihad, which increased Islamophobia among Buddhists. The RPF was also seen by the government in Rangoon as a terrorist cell.³¹

Dissatisfaction with the current situation has led to movements against the ruling government. The actions of the new government against the Muslims after the 1962 coup caused unrest on the part of the Rohingya. The Citizenship Act of the 1950s allowed Muslims to apply for citizenship. After 1962, earlier promises were dropped, and they were denied civil rights. In 1974, a law was introduced requiring citizens to have registration cards. The Rohingya could only obtain foreign cards, which were practically useless due to their incomprehensibility to the state apparatus.

The 1982 law introduced by General Ne Win made it almost impossible for the Rohingya to acquire citizenship. There is a provision in the law that requires confirmation of residence on Burmese territory since 1948. Few Muslims had such documents and the state administration concealed Rohingya identification cards. What is more, Ne Win has openly admitted that he will not allow citizenship to be granted to people who threaten the security of Burma. He guaranteed that their right to life and legal residence would be guaranteed. As a result, the Rohingya became stateless and could not benefit from education or the judiciary.³²

The situation in Burma and the position of the Muslims have been exacerbated by events in Bangladesh. The struggle for independence took place there from 1971 to 1973. As a result of the war, the population fled en masse, including to Rakhine. It is estimated that around half a million refugees from Bengal arrived

31 A. Selth, "Burma's Muslims: Terrorists or Terrorised?," *Canberra Papers on Strategy & Defence* 150/2003, pp. 14–18.

32 A. K. Lowenstein, *Persecution of the Rohingya Muslims: Is Genocide Occurring in Myanmar's Rakhine State? A Legal Analysis*, Yale: 2015, pp. 6–8.

in Burma. These events have increased resentment towards the Muslims and, as a result, action against them has intensified.³³

The wave of migration from Bangladesh was followed by the “Dragon King” action in 1978. It was an action against illegal immigrants. The army committed rape and torture. As a result, 200,000 Muslims, including Rohingya, fled to Bangladesh.³⁴ Several months after their escape, the Rohingya were forced to return. They were obliged to do so by the Burmese and Bangladeshi authorities. On their way back, several thousand repatriates died, mainly from malnutrition and related diseases.³⁵

4. Summary

The article reflected on the ethnogenesis of the Muslims in Rakhine State and their subsequent history. Among the many works you can find information about the appearance of Muslim merchants in Rakhine State as early as in the eighth century A.D. This already shows that Muslims have lived in the territory for centuries. This already shows that Muslims have been living in that territory for centuries. Therefore, the repression of the Burmese Government against the Rohingya Muslim minority is unfounded and should not take place. Taking away their civil rights and committing violence against them is a clear violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since Burma has become an independent state, the resentment and violence against the Rohingya Muslims has increased year on year. It was during the reign of the British Empire and up to 1988 that the key to what acts of aggression continue to this day. Therefore, the article focused on that period to show how aversion to the Rohingya Muslims was born.

References

- Blomquist, R., Cincotta, R., “Myanmar’s Democratic Deficit: Demography and the Rohingya Dilemma,” <https://www.newsecuritybeat.org/2016/04/myanmars-democratic-deficit-demography-rohingya-dilemma/>, (accessed: 08.09.2017).
- Chan, A., “The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar),” *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2005.

33 MUNLaws, *The Situation of Rohingya in Myanmar*, paragraph 6.

34 B. Zawacki, “Defining Myanmar’s Rohingya Problem,” *Human Rights Brief*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 2013, p. 18.

35 Medicines Sans Frontiers, *10 Years for The Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh: Past, Present and Future*, Geneva: 2002, p. 10.

- Cunningham, S., "Do Myanmar's Rohingya Really Need Citizenship Now?" <https://www.forbes.com/sites/susancunningham/2015/07/04/do-myanmars-rohingya-really-need-citizenship-now/#17b402eb49e0>, (accessed: 18.09.2017).
- Farzana, K.F., *Memories of Burmese Rohingya Refugees: Contested Identity and Belonging*. New York: 2017.
- International Crisis Group, *Myanmar: The Politics of Rakhine State*. Brussels: 2014.
- International Human Rights Clinic at Harvard Law School, *Crimes in Burma*. Cambridge: 2009.
- Leitich, K.A., *Decoding the Past: The Rohingya Origin Enigma*. Oxford: 2014.
- Lignelli, C., "Who Are the Rohingya?" <http://thepolitic.org/who-are-the-rohingya/> (accessed: 14.09.2017).
- Lowenstein, A.K., *Persecution of the Rohingya Muslims: Is Genocide Occurring in Myanmar's Rakhine State? A Legal Analysis*. Yale: 2015.
- Lubina, M., *Birma: centrum kontra peryferie*. Krakow: 2014.
- Marzoli, R., *The Protection of Human Rights of Rohingya in Myanmar: The Role of The International Community*. Rome: 2014/15.
- Maung Saw, K., "Islamization of Burma Through Chittagonian Bengalis as "Rohingya Refugees." http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs21/Khin-Maung-Saw-NM-2011-09-Islamanisation_of_Burma_through_Chittagonian_Bengalis-en.pdf, (accessed: 20.09.2017).
- Medicines Sans Frontiers, *10 Years for The Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh: Past, Present and Future*. Geneva: 2002.
- MUNLawS, *The Situation of Rohingya in Myanmar*. Ljubljana: 2016.
- Rohingyas. Insecurity and Citizenship in Myanmar*, T. Gibson, H. James, and L. Falvey (eds.). Songkhla: 2016.
- Selth, A., "Burma's Muslims: Terrorists or Terrorised?" *Canberra Papers on Strategy & Defence*, No. 150, 2003.
- Tahir Ba Tha, M.A., *A Short History of Rohingya and Kamas of Burma*. Chittagong: 2007, p. 8.
- Ullah, A., "Arakan before 1000 AD." <http://www.rvisiontv.com/arakan-1000-ad/> (accessed: 11.09.2017).
- Ullah, A., "Moshe Yegar and Muslim Settlement in Arakan." <http://www.rvisionntv.com/moshe-yegar-muslim-settlement-arakan/> (accessed: 12.09.2017).
- Yunus, M., *A History of Arakan: Past and Present*. Chittagong: 1994.
- Zawacki, B., "Defining Myanmar's Rohingya Problem," *Human Rights Brief*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 2013.

Marlena Kaźmierska, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0003-0497-057, markaz3@amu.edu.pl

Perception of Own and Another's Medical Condition Among Women Suffering from Endometriosis

Abstract: About two million Polish women suffer from endometriosis. It is one of the most common causes for fertility issues and it is estimated that over fifty percent of women who are ill do not even realize this fact. Suffering from a condition with a wide spectrum of symptoms influences the patient's perception. To verify how experiencing endometriosis influences patient's perception a diagnostic survey has been conducted (n=156). The most important conclusions from the research are as follows: women perceive endometriosis negatively, and the disease does influence personality changes, identity changes and the change in social roles. The article presents the most important information on endometriosis as well as potential factors determining how the self and the disease are perceived. The research uses the sociological, psychological and pedagogical perspectives for the patient's status. The suggestions have been made how to help spread awareness and ensure acceptance for the patients within these perspectives.

Keywords: endometriosis, perception, stress, chronic sickness, experience of endometriosis.

Introduction

Endometriosis is officially a chronic disease. As the symptoms are non-specific, this condition is not easy to diagnose, and it usually takes a long time before a patient gets her diagnosis. Still, not many women realize that both the diagnosis itself and the very experience of one's disease will have a heavy influence on their life in its many dimensions. Some of them will become – to a greater or smaller extent – a part of the community of those diagnosed with endometriosis and will claim the status of an “endo-woman.” The purpose of this article is to demonstrate the results of the diagnostic survey about how endometriosis influences the perception of self and the perception of the illness.

Endometriosis: Afflicting 200 Million Women

Endometriosis is defined as:

the presence of a tissue similar to uterine endometrium that is located in places other than physiologically appropriate (i.e., uterine endometrial cavity), most commonly in the pelvic cavity, including the ovaries, the uterosacral ligaments, and the pouch of Douglas. These endometrial heterotopic islets contain glands and stroma and are functionally capable of responding to exogenous, endogenous, or local hormonal stimuli.¹

As a term, “endometriosis” may be defined differently, for example:

endometriosis is an estrogen-dependent chronic disease, characterized by the presence of endometrial-like tissue, glands and stroma outside the uterine cavity. It represents one of the most common gynecological diseases and is characterized by progressive and invasive growth, response to hormonal stimulation, and tendency to recurrence.²

Due to the direct correlation of the endometriosis implants growth with the ovarian steroids production.³

It is estimated that 1.5–2 million women suffer from endometriosis in Poland.⁴ There are about 200 million suffering from it in the whole world.⁵ Endometriosis affects 10–15 % of all women of reproductive age and 70 % of women with chronic pelvic pain. For many of these women, there is often a delay in diagnosis of endometriosis resulting in unnecessary suffering and reduced quality of life.⁶ According to Passar and others,

a most women with endometriosis report the onset of symptoms during adolescence, early referral, diagnosis, identification of disease and treatment may mitigate pain, prevent disease progression and thus preserve fertility. “Barriers to early diagnosis include

-
- 1 P. Ación, I. Velasco, “Endometriosis: A Disease That Remains Enigmatic,” *International Scholarly Research Notices*, Vol. 2013, pp. 1–2.
 - 2 S. Sourial, N. Tempest, D. K. Hapangama, “Theories on the pathogenesis of endometriosis,” *International journal of reproductive medicine*, 2014, p. 77.
 - 3 F. Di Guardo et al. “Management of women affected by endometriosis: Are we stepping forward?,” *Journal of Endometriosis and Pelvic Pain Disorders*, Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 77.
 - 4 This is estimation based on: Stanowisko Zespołu Ekspertów Polskiego Towarzystwa Ginekologicznego dotyczące diagnostyki i metod leczenia endometriozy (Ginekol Pol., Vol. 83, No. 11/2012, p. 871) by Wielkopolskie Towarzystwo Onkologii Ginekologicznej.
 - 5 <https://endometriosis.org/news/support-awareness/world-endometriosis-organizations-weo-represents-200-million-with-endometriosis-globally/> (accessed 6 March 2021).
 - 6 P. Parasar et al., “Endometriosis: Epidemiology, Diagnosis and Clinical Management,” *Current obstetrics and gynecology reports*, Vol. 6, No.1, 2017, p. 35.

the high cost of diagnosis and treatment in adolescent patients and presentation of confounding symptoms such as cyclic and acyclic pain.⁷

What is more, the presentation and evolution of the disease vary: “in some cases, the disease can persist as a minimal or mild disease, or the disease can also disappear. Other cases can show severe symptomatology because of invasion and tissue infiltration, growth of endometriomas or “chocolate cysts,” severe pelvic adhesions, or pelvic blockage that can affect other organs.”⁸

Endometriosis often can present without symptoms, and therefore, it frequently goes unnoticed in a diagnosis. The primary symptom of endometriosis is pelvic pain, often associated with menstrual periods. Although many experience cramping during their menstrual periods, those with endometriosis typically describe menstrual pain that is far worse than usual. Pain also may increase over time.

Common signs and symptoms of endometriosis include: abnormal menstrual bleeding (including metrorrhagia and menorrhagia), dysmenorrhea, dyspareunia, and chronic non-menstrual pain chronic pelvic pain, catamenial pneumothorax, hemothorax, hemoptysis, chest pain, lung nodules, rectal bleeding with pain, cramping, alternating constipation and diarrhea, reduction of fertility,⁹ infertility, fatigue, diarrhea, constipation, bloating or nausea, especially during menstrual periods.¹⁰ Rare symptoms of endometriosis include chest pain or coughing blood due to endometriosis in the lungs and headache and/or seizures due to endometriosis in the brain,¹¹ painful urination, or bloody urine (particularly during menstruation).¹²

Endometriosis is most often treated by gynecologists, but since the condition does not only affects the reproductive organs, it also requires professional diagnostics and the help by other specialists: urologists, endocrinologists, gastroenterologists, proctologists, surgeons, cardiothoracic surgeons, pulmonologists, psychiatrists, anesthesiologists, or pain medicine specialists.

7 P. Parasar et al., “Endometriosis: Epidemiology,” p. 35.

8 P. Ación, I. Velasco, “Endometriosis: A Disease That Remains Enigmatic,” *International Scholarly Research Notices* 2013, p. 7.

9 F. Di Guardo et al., “Management of women affected by endometriosis: Are we stepping forward?,” *Journal of Endometriosis and Pelvic Pain Disorders*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2019, p. 78.

10 <https://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/149109#symptoms> (accessed 20 January 2021).

11 https://www.medicinenet.com/endometriosis/article.htm#what_are_the_signs_and_symptoms_of_endometriosis (accessed 20 January 2021).

12 <https://www.medicinenet.com/endometriosis/article.html> (accessed 17 January 2021).

Factors that Influence the Meaning Assigned to the Medical Condition

It cannot be denied that suffering from a medical condition changes a person and gives entirely new meaning to different areas of life. The altered perspective influences how we perceive reality and assign new categories of meaning. Taking on a new social role – that of being a patient – makes one assume new tasks and a different place in the social structure. Janowski notes that in 2006, a research conducted on a group of 203 patients showed that people suffering from a medical condition can assign these categories to the condition:

- A threat: the illness is perceived as a life event that disrupts the previous or current state of safety and balance. It threatens to upset the patient's life and force them to modify any plans. It causes anxiety and fear for the patient's health and a possible downgrade in the social hierarchy.
- A benefit: the illness is associated with certain advantages connected to suffering from the particular condition. The patient can "earn" to be justified in their own or the others' eyes or be relieved from duties or responsibility. Other advantages may involve a feeling of gratification brought by the attention, kindness and care from others, or even financial benefits like a pension or compensation.
- An obstacle or a loss: the illness is seen as something putting limitations in all life aspects. It limits the possibilities previously available, plans and hopes for the futures, independence or the quality and frequency of social interaction.
- A challenge: the medical condition is perceived as a difficult situation or one of different difficult situations. The patient uses all their mental resources and motivation to fight the disease off as the enemy, adjusting their strategies as the illness progresses.
- Harm: the illness is treated as a random life event that is unfair and harmful for the patient. The person perceives it as misfortune or punishment they did nothing to deserve. It is difficult for the patient to make any sense of the suffering they are subjected to.
- Value: the medical condition has positive connotations because of its potential to completely change one's outlook on life. The patient can appreciate what value there is in life and in health and search for the meaning there is to life itself.
- Meaning: it is a control subscale that shows how significant of a life event the disease is for the patient. A high score in the subscale shows that the medical condition is a serious disruption of a patient's life balance and is a difficult

situation that requires one to use entirely new adaptive strategies. A low score may suggest that the illness is relatively unimportant for the patient and is perceived as an episode with not much significance.¹³

Suffering from endometriosis has an enormous impact on the patient's relations with their family, their partner, and their friends. On one hand, the "endowomen" need help and care; on the other hand, they often suffer from excessive guilt and feelings of being inadequate. It is caused by their inability to participate fully in family and social life because of physical pain, feeling depressed or health crises. The pain and illness strip them of their humanity, and they are unable to have their basic needs met. It often happens that they do not realize what exactly is wrong with them. The women frequently feel misunderstood by their loved ones and choose to suffer alone, building up a wall between themselves and everyone else.

According to Seligman and Maier, an important factor leading to alienation, depression and emotional pain is what they describe as acquired helplessness. Gawlikowski believes that it is caused by the long diagnostic process and ineffective treatment of endometriosis, which causes anxiety and the lack of certainty. Acquired helplessness is triggered by shocking stimuli (endometriosis itself, pain, other symptoms, stress, etc.) and the impossibility to avoid these stimuli. Whatever actions the patient takes with the help of medical specialists does not bring relief or any improvement.¹⁴ Under these circumstances, the woman often stops seeking any real help. Suffering from endometriosis, she feels that she has lost her health, her money, and a part of herself – which impacts her behavior and her actions.

Factors that Influence the Perception of the Self and Endometriosis

An illness is a complex situation in a patient's life on many a level. Endometriosis affects the quality of life and fertility. It changes one's perception of reality surrounding her and of herself. The patient often feels depressed and/or anxious.

13 K. Janowski, *Osobowościowe uwarunkowania radzenia sobie ze stresem łuszczycy*, Lublin: POLIHYMNIA, 2006, pp. 102–103.

14 I. Gawkowski, "Choroba ciała, która zatruwa duszę," *Charaktery ekstra*, Vol. 4, 2019, pp. 28–29.

Research¹⁵ shows that inflammatory diseases are a cause of mood disorders, and that in the case of endometriosis a correlation have been observed between immunopathological factors and mood swings, anxiety and a patient's mental well-being.¹⁶ What is more, by affecting the nervous system, immunological factors can lead to changes in a patient's behavioral patterns, including feeling depressed, exhaustion, or changes in dietary and sleep habits. Those can all have a negative impact on social life. Nasyrov's research¹⁷ indicates that since endometriosis is a psycho-neuro-immunological condition, it can worsen one's perception of the symptoms and cause depression and distress in the patient.

Denne's research¹⁸ also shows how endometriosis (an unpredictable disease when it comes to how it develops and the patient's future) and its symptoms greatly affects the patient's sex life and procreation. What cannot be ignored is the woman's experience with medical care prior to being correctly diagnosed. If a patient has spent many years on trying to find the cause of her ailments or has faced indifference in her doctors, it has a negative influence on her mental health. Doctors who tend to neglect the patients pain symptoms or even suggest they are not real and faked have played a part in delaying the correct diagnosis of endometriosis.¹⁹

Results of a study conducted in 2012–2014 suggest that even asymptomatic endometriosis influences the perception of a patient aware of her condition. The woman feels like the very core of her identity as a woman is threatened by the disease. Further analysis suggests that knowing of this chronic condition

-
- 15 J. Steiner et al., "Severe depression is associated with increased microglial quinolinic acid in subregions of the anterior cingulate gyrus: evidence for an immune-modulated glutamatergic neurotransmission?," *Journal of neuroinflammation*, Vol. 8, 2011, p. 94.
 - 16 R. F. Nasyrova et al., "Psychoimmune Interactions in Women of Reproductive Age with Endometriosis," *Bulletin of experimental biology and medicine*, Vol. 152, 2011, pp. 93–97.
 - 17 F. Siedentopf, et al., (2008). "Immune status, psychosocial distress and reduced quality of life in infertile patients with endometriosis," *American journal of reproductive immunology*, Vol. 60, No. 5, 2008, 449–461.
 - 18 E. Denny, (2009). "I never know from one day to another how I will feel: pain and uncertainty in women with endometriosis," *Qualitative health research*, Vol. 19, No. 7, 2009, pp. 985–995.
 - 19 L. Manderson, et al., "Circuit breaking: pathways of treatment seeking for women with endometriosis in Australia," *Qualitative health research*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 2008, pp. 522–534.

correlates with feeling depressed and having lower self-esteem. The woman might feel inadequate, "incomplete" or "different."²⁰

According to Bellweg, other factors that might influence the perception of the disease and of the self include information chaos, misconceptions, the taboo surrounding the disease, the lack of the correct diagnosis or incorrect or random treatment.²¹ Another study revealed how having some negative experiences with healthcare workers influences the perception of the disease. What has been noted was the unwillingness to hear the patient out when it comes to her anxiety, having no time to answer her questions, and suggesting that the symptoms are either something completely normal or something ridiculous. An important factor is also the difficulty of reaching a specialist who understands endometriosis and what it entails to suffer from it. The experiences while the patient is in her teens are also crucial: her symptoms might have been ignored or the doctors might not have believed that a teenage girl could suffer from this condition.²²

Other factors influencing the proper perception of one's disease is the popular misconception spread by family members, doctors, teachers or friends that the symptoms are simple what every woman must naturally suffer.²³ Another research may suggest the cause:

-
- 20 F. Facchin, "Impact of endometriosis on quality of life and mental health: pelvic pain makes the difference," *Journal of psychosomatic obstetrics and gynaecology*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 2015, pp. 135–141.
 - 21 From: M. Moradi et al., "Impact of endometriosis on women's lives: a qualitative study," *BMC women's health*, Vol. 14, 2014, p. 123.
 - 22 M. Moradi et al., "Impact of endometriosis on women's lives," p. 123.
 - 23 Read more in: (1) K. Ballard, K. Lowton, J. Wright, "What's the delay? A qualitative study of women's experiences of reaching a diagnosis of endometriosis," *Fertil Steril*, Vol. 86, 2006, pp. 1296–1301; (2) H. Cox, L. Henderson, N. Andersen, et al., "Focus group study of endometriosis: struggle, loss and the medical merry-go-round," *Int J Nurs Pract*, Vol. 9, 2003, pp. 2–9; (3) E. Denny, C. H. Mann, "Endometriosis and the primary care consultation," *Eur J Obstet Gyne Reprod Biol*, Vol. 139, 2008, pp. 111–115; (4) E. Denny, "Women's experiences of endometriosis," *J Adv Nurs*, Vol. 46, 2004, pp. 641–648; (5) E. Denny, "'You are one of the unlucky ones: delay in the diagnosis of endometriosis,'" *Divers Health Soc C*, Vol. 1, 2004, pp. 39–44; (6) E. Denny, "'I never know from one day to another how I will feel: pain and uncertainty in women with endometriosis,'" *Qual Health Res*, Vol. 19, 2009, pp. 985–995; (7) A. Fauconnier, S. Staraci, C. Huchon, et al., "Comparison of patient-and physician-based descriptions of symptoms of endometriosis: a qualitative study," *Hum Reprod*, Vol. 28, 2013, pp. 1–9; (8) J. A. Gilmour, A. Huntington, H. V. Wilson, "The impact of endometriosis on work and social participation," *Int J Nurs Pract*, Vol. 14, 2008, pp. 443–448; (9) A. Huntington, J. A. Gilmour, "A life shaped by pain: women and endometriosis," *J Clin Nurs*, Vol. 14,

there are more women (91 %) than men (57 %) who have ever heard that such a condition exists. There are more men (57 %) who stated that they do not know the symptoms of endometriosis than there are women (22 %). 55 % of male respondents could not name any methods of treatment while 26 % of female respondents were able to. The most important conclusion is that there is a significant lack of awareness and knowledge of the disease in a large part of society. The gender disproportion when it comes to social awareness of endometriosis symptoms may lead to social isolation that a patient faces for many years. Women who have some knowledge of endometriosis have an increased chance of a correct diagnosis, the source of their symptoms and starting treatment earlier.²⁴ Researchers (De Graaff et al.; Sepulcri and de Amaral)²⁵ conclusively show the correlation between being mentally unwell and endometriosis. It is chiefly caused by the negative effects brought by living with a difficult chronic condition.

This can all cause stress. Research conducted by Donatti and Lilian's team proved that 62.2 % of the afflicted must additionally cope with heavy stress.²⁶ This can in turn lead to chronic stress and the exhaustion of a patient's mental and physical resources. Women confirm that endometriosis negatively impacts their social life. It can be caused by the lack of understanding and support, or the

2005, pp. 1124–1132; (10) G. Jones, C. Jenkinson, S. Kennedy, "The impact of endometriosis upon quality of life: a qualitative analysis," *J Psychosom Obstet Gynaecol*, Vol. 25, 2004, pp. 123–133; (11) L. Manderson, N. Warren, M. Markovic, "Circuit breaking: pathways of treatment seeking for women with endometriosis in Australia," *Qual Health Res*, Vol. 18, 2008, pp. 522–534; (12) M. Markovic, L. Manderson, N. Warren, "Endurance and contest: women's narratives of endometriosis," *Health (NY)*, Vol. 12, 2008, pp. 349–367; (13) K. Seear, "The etiquette of endometriosis: stigmatisation, menstrual concealment and the diagnostic delay," *Soc Sci Med*, Vol. 69, 2009, pp. 1220–1227; (14) K. Seear, "Nobody really knows what it is or how to treat it: why women with endometriosis do not comply with healthcare advice," *Health Risk Soc*, Vol. 11, 2009, pp. 367–385.

- 24 D. K. Shah et al., "Public perceptions of endometriosis: perspectives from both genders," *Acta obstetricia et gynecologica Scandinavica*, Vol. 89, No. 5, 2010, pp. 646–650.
- 25 A. A. De Graaff et al., "The significant effect of endometriosis on physical, mental and social wellbeing: results from an international cross-sectional survey," *Human reproduction*, Vol. 28, No. 10, Oxford: 2013, 28(10), pp. 2677–2685. R. Sepulcri, V. F. do Amaral, "Depressive symptoms, anxiety, and quality of life in women with pelvic endometriosis," *European journal of obstetrics, gynecology, and reproductive biology*, Vol. 142, No.1, 2009, pp. 53–56.
- 26 L. Donatti et al., "Patients with endometriosis using positive coping strategies have less depression, stress and pelvic pain," *Einstein*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Sao Paulo: 2017, pp. 65–70.

shame caused by their health condition.²⁷ The patients become withdrawn and do not wish to discuss their health issues with their partners, employers or their family.

Another important factor influencing the narration and assigning the disease a category is how the condition influences physical appearance. That is the appearance affected by side effects of surgery and pharmacological treatment. There may be pain, stiffness of limbs, and diarrhea – it often prevents the patient from being physically active or doing sports. Weight loss or gaining weight, sedentary lifestyle or surgery scars affect the woman's perception of herself as well as her self-confidence. Hair loss, paleness, bruising easily because of heavy bleeding and anemia may all have a negative impact on physical appearance. This physical aspect, along with tiredness and the symptoms lead to negative, hurtful feelings. The majority of patients have experienced anger, feeling depressed, anxiety, the feeling of helplessness, the feeling of having lost or being disappointed.²⁸

It is interesting how some patients see a connection between the disease and their identity or social roles; for example, they say, "I am not a woman, a good mother, lover, partner, or employee." The anxiety caused by endometriosis can be connected to a patient's future, fertility, having children, everyday life, being a parent, relapsing, intensification of symptoms, education and career obstacles, sex life, money issues, losing her job, high cost of treatment (surgeries, *in vitro* procedure), or losing her partner. The majority of patients reported that the disease has limited their development opportunities and has negatively influenced their life.²⁹ Advanced endometriosis can cause a biographical disruption.

The main factors that can influence how the disease is perceived include: how advanced the condition is, the frequency and severity of the symptoms, changes in physical appearance caused by endometriosis and its treatment, long-time stress, the strategies of coping with the disease, the stage of acceptance, fertility issues, daily life issues, work problems, the necessity to modify or give up plans and dreams, and the knowledge about endometriosis.

27 L. Della Corte et al., "The Burden of Endometriosis on Women's Lifespan: A Narrative Overview on Quality of Life and Psychosocial Wellbeing" *International journal of environmental research and public health*, Vol. 17, No. 13, 2020, p. 4683.

28 L. Della Corte et al., "The Burden of Endometriosis," p. 4683.

29 L. Della Corte et al., "The Burden of Endometriosis," p. 4683.

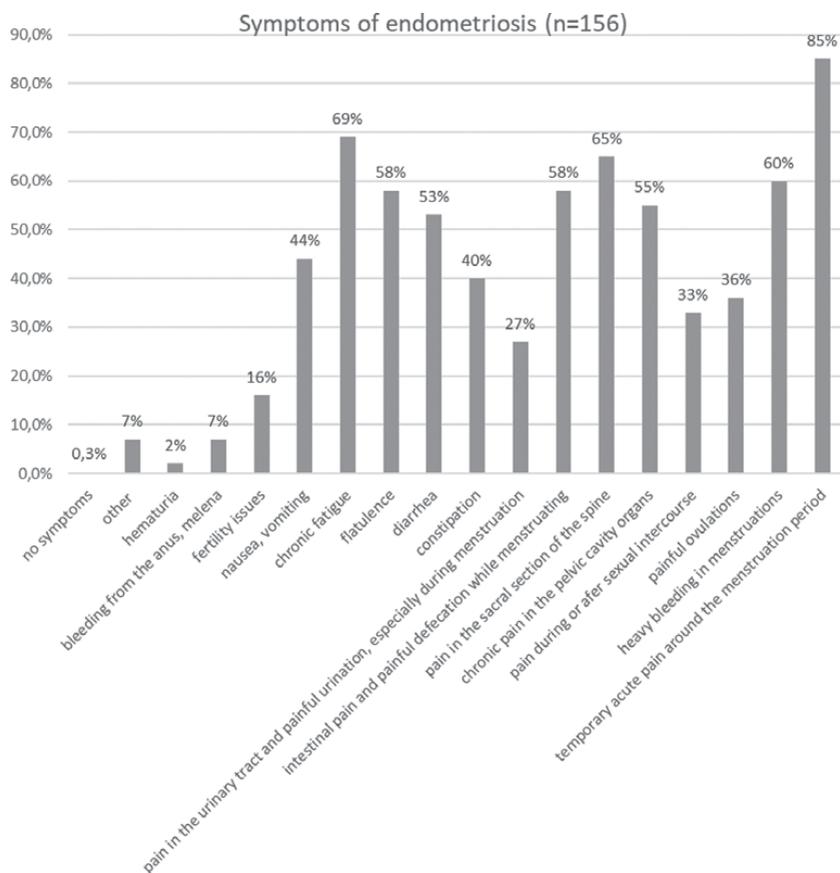


Figure 1. Endometriosis symptoms in respondents

Source: own elaboration.

Study Results

Perception of the self by the ill more or less depends on their approach to the disease and the meaning they assign to it. Figure 1 below presents the ailments reported by endometriosis patients. These are the results of original research conducted in April 2019 using an online survey on a group of 156 women diagnosed with endometriosis. I looked for respondents on social media, in support groups for patients.

Only two of the respondents assigned neutral words when answering the question: What is endometriosis to you? The remaining answers have negative or extremely negative connotations

- nightmare, scourge, monster;
- the worst thing that has ever happened to me;
- sentence;
- withdrawal from life;
- pain, suffering;
- curse;
- something destroying my life;
- insecurity;
- anguish;
- fight;
- reason for constant stress;
- burden, daily life limitations;
- serious life obstacle;
- torture;
- incurable disease;
- injustice;
- it deprives me of normalcy, femininity, confidence;
- prevents me from becoming a mother;
- problem of the body and the soul;
- an enemy that I try to befriend/tame;
- a part of life that I have accepted.

These answers show the negative connotations that mean that the majority of the respondents sees their condition in the negative light. Only two of the respondents assigned neutral words when answering the question: What is endometriosis to you?

The research results confirm the conclusions reached in previous studies regarding the change in the quality of life in endometriosis patients after they develop symptoms. Among the respondents the majority (89) claimed that their life before the onset of symptoms/the diagnosis was happier, better, and pain-free. The respondents were able to function normally and were not experiencing anxiety or uncertainty about how the disease will develop. The remaining respondents have stated that they have never experienced normalcy: in some respondents, the problems started during childhood, especially with first menstruation. One disturbing conclusion of the research was admission by the respondents that they were often told that life with pain is a norm. It was

especially connected to painful, irregular and heavy menstruations regarded as non-pathological.

According to 74.5 % respondents, the condition has changed them as women or stripped them off their womanhood as the feminine attributes became associated with pain, fear, lack of confidence, impossibility of becoming a mother, losing quality of life, or social isolation. On the other hand, the opposite was also true in some cases, as it made a respondent feel attractive, self-aware, self-caring, or mentally stronger; sometimes it has made her change her job, make her lifestyle healthier; which also confirms the conclusions of previous studies. Through difficult experiences, the illness changes the perception of the patient's womanhood. While in some patients it causes them to lose self-esteem and self-confidence, but also it makes them feel incomplete as a women, in others – after they assign meaning categories to their condition and are able to start accepting it – the disease makes them more self-aware, self-accepting, and confident. The perception of one's physical attractiveness is dependent on the stage of accepting the disease, the strategies chosen to cope with it and the support offered by the patient's loved ones and medical care. Many respondents (63.6 %) state that before experiencing first symptoms or being diagnosed, they thought of themselves as attractive; every one in ten – unattractive; and 26 % had trouble with self-evaluation.

Moreover, many respondents (57 %) claim that the disease has not influenced their opinion of their own attractiveness and femininity, while 52 % declared the opposite. The majority of the latter group focused on negative results: fertility issues, adverse effects on one's appearance, and dissatisfying sex life. On the other hand, it has to be mentioned that the disease also caused the development of empathy, acceptance and understanding of women suffering from medical conditions, and strengthening the bonds of sisterhood and "women power." According to 34 % of respondents the disease was not related to how their perception of their physical attractiveness has changed. Twenty-one women could not give a conclusive answer. Many respondents (66 %) considered themselves to be sexy before developing symptoms or being diagnosed, while 14.5 % did not, and 24.8 % did not remember or did not specify.

For over half (56.4 %) respondents, endometriosis did influence changes in their self-perception, while 17.6 % it did not. For 26 %, it was difficult to tell. The women who claimed to have changed because of endometriosis describe their social roles and their associated rights and obligations. Answers included self-identification as persons chronically or incurably ill, somebody who is suffering, infertile, childless, socially excluded, or experiencing serious limitations on a daily basis. In some respondents, the disease has practically taken over their

lives: many previously active women have become passive and listless – or even housebound. The changes in endometriosis patients included changing of one's character traits, outlook on life, boosting or decreasing self-esteem or self-confidence, and changes in the perception of one's attractiveness as a social being.

Conclusions

Endometriosis is a very complex condition that not only affects the reproductive system, but can have a significant, negative effect on the quality of life and different aspects of the patient's life. Suffering from this condition may also influence changes in the perception of self and the disease itself. Most commonly, it is a negative narration, connected with difficult experiences of being ill. Both examples from the literature and my own research results confirm that the patients self-identify with the disease, which definitely affects their self-perception. They redefine themselves in the context of the disease. How medical staff and the society interact with patients and what their attitude is towards the condition itself influences the patients self-awareness, self-confidence, and self-esteem. Endometriosis requires a multi-faceted, holistic approach and treatment. Important factors include early diagnosis, surgery, pharmacology, a stress-reducing lifestyle, physiotherapy, dietary therapy and psychotherapy. How the patient will perceive herself and the disease heavily depends on receiving – or not receiving – proper support, but also the awareness and knowledge of the disease in healthcare and the rest of society. It all impacts how the patient will cope with realizing that she has been assigned a new social role – that of a patient – and with the fact that she is now incurably ill. Proper care and support will determine the course of treatment and will help her find the way in this new life. It is important to approach endometriosis seriously and make it a priority, just like it is done with other conditions such as cancer or diabetes.

References

- Brucka, A., Górski, J., Kulig, B., “Stanowisko Zespołu Ekspertów Polskiego Towarzystwa Ginekologicznego dotyczące diagnostyki i metod leczenia endometriozy,” *Ginekol Pol*, Vol. 83, 2012, pp. 871–876.
- Della Corte, L., Di Filippo, C., Gabrielli, O., Reppuccia, S., La Rosa, V. L., Ragusa, R., Fichera, M., Commodari, E., Bifulco, G., Giampaolino, P. (2020). “The Burden of Endometriosis on Women's Lifespan: A Narrative Overview on Quality of Life and Psychosocial Wellbeing,” *International journal of environmental research and public health*, Vol. 17, No. 13, 2020, p. 4683. doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17134683

- Denny, E. "I never know from one day to another how I will feel: pain and uncertainty in women with endometriosis," *Qualitative health research*, Vol. 19, No. 7 2009, pp. 985–995. doi: 10.1177/1049732309338725
- Di Guardo, F., Shah, M., Cerana, M. C., Biondi, A., Karaman, E., Török, P., Yela, D. A., Giampaolino, P., Marin-Buck, A., & Laganà, A. S., "Management of women affected by endometriosis: Are we stepping forward?," *Journal of Endometriosis and Pelvic Pain Disorders*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2019, pp. 77–84. doi:10.1177/2284026519841520
- Donatti, L., Ramos, D.G., Andres, M.P., Passman, L.J., Podgaec, S., "Patients with endometriosis using positive coping strategies have less depression, stress and pelvic pain. Einstein (Sao Paulo), Vol. 15, No. 1, 2017, pp. 65–70. doi: 10.1590/S1679-45082017AO3911
- Facchin, F., Barbara, G., Saita, E., Mosconi, P., Roberto, A., Fedele, L., & Vercellini, P., "Impact of endometriosis on quality of life and mental health: pelvic pain makes the difference," *Journal of psychosomatic obstetrics and gynaecology*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 2015, pp. 135–141. doi: 10.3109/0167482X.2015.1074173
- Gawkowski, I., "Choroba ciała, która zatruwa duszę," *Charaktery ekstra*, Vol. 4, 2019, pp. 28–29.
- Janowski, K., *Osobowościowe uwarunkowania radzenia sobie ze stresem luszczycy*. Lublin: POLIHYMNIA, 2006,
- Manderson, L., Warren, N., Markovic, M., "Circuit breaking: pathways of treatment seeking for women with endometriosis in Australia," *Qualitative health research*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 2008, 18(4), pp. 522–534. doi: 10.1177/1049732308315432
- Moradi, M., Parker, M., Sneddon, A., Lopez, V., & Ellwood, D., (2014)." Impact of endometriosis on women's lives: a qualitative study." *BMC women's health*, Vol. 14, 2014, 123. doi: 10.1186/1472-6874-14-123
- Nasyrova, R.F., Sotnikova, L.S., Baystrukova, N.V. Krivoschchekova, G.V., Novitsky, V.V., Kupriyanova, I.E., Semke, V.Y., Naslednikova, I.O., Baykov, A.N., "Psychoimmune Interactions in Women of Reproductive Age with Endometriosis," *Bull Exp Biol Med* Vol. 152, 2011, pp. 93–97. doi: 10.1007/s10517-011-1463-0
- Parasar, P., Ozcan, P., Terry, K. L. "Endometriosis: Epidemiology, Diagnosis and Clinical Management," *Current obstetrics and gynecology reports*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2017, pp. 34–41., 6(1), 34–41. doi: 10.1007/s13669-017-0187-1
- Pedro, A., Velasco, I., "Endometriosis: A Disease That Remains Enigmatic," *International Scholarly Research Notices*, Vol. 2013, pp. 1–12. doi: 10.1155/2013/242149

- Sepulcri, R., do Amaral, V. F., "Depressive symptoms, anxiety, and quality of life in women with pelvic endometriosis," *European journal of obstetrics, gynecology, and reproductive biology*, Vol. 142, No.1, 2009, pp. 53–56. doi: 10.1016/j.ejogrb.2008.09.003
- Shah, D. K., Moravek, M. B., Vahratian, A., Dalton, V. K., Lebovic, D. I., "Public perceptions of endometriosis: perspectives from both genders," *Acta obstetrica et gynecologica Scandinavica*, Vol. 89, No. 5, 2010, pp. 646–650. <https://doi.org/10.3109/00016341003657900>
- Sidentopf, F., Tariverdian, N., Rucke, M., Kentenich, H., Arck, P. C., "Immune status, psychosocial distress and reduced quality of life in infertile patients with endometriosis." *American journal of reproductive immunology (New York, N.Y.: 1989)*, Vol. 60, No. 5, 2008, pp. 449–461. doi: 10.1111/j.1600-0897.2008.00644.x
- Sourial, S., Tempest, N., Hapangama, D. K., "Theories on the pathogenesis of endometriosis," *International journal of reproductive medicine*, Vol. 2014, pp. 1–9. doi: 10.1155/2014/179515
- Steiner, J., Walter, M., Gos, T., Guillemin, G. J., Bernstein, H. G., Sarnyai, Z., Mawrin, C., Brisch, R., Biela, H., Meyer zu Schwabedissen, L., Bogerts, B., Myint, A. M., "Severe depression is associated with increased microglial quinolinic acid in subregions of the anterior cingulate gyrus: evidence for an immune-modulated glutamatergic neurotransmission?" *Journal of neuroinflammation*, Vol. 8, 2011, p. 94. doi: 10.1186/1742-2094-8-94

Website:

- <https://endometriosis.org/news/support-awareness/world-endometriosis-organisations-weo-represents-200-million-with-endometriosis-globally/> (accessed 6 March 2021)
- <https://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/149109#symptoms> (accessed 20 January 2021)
- https://www.medicinenet.com/endometriosis/article.htm#what_are_the_signs_and_symptoms_of_endometriosis (accessed 20 January 2021)
- <https://www.medicinenet.com/endometriosis/article.html> (accessed 17 January 2021)

Alicja Ławiak, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
ORCID: 0000-0001-6748-846, alilaw@amu.edu.pl

Adulthood in the Self-Identification of Academic Youth

Abstract: The postmodern reality, including the multitude of changes and expanding volumes of offers force the individual to continually redefine themselves. A person existing in contemporary reality is permanently on the search for their identity, in order to finally find the most suitable one, which (as it usually turns out today) does not exist. Youths make a choice within the range of education offers. They more often than not decide to study, with studying being the reason for delaying the moment of entry into adulthood and taking over social roles that are specific for the period of young adulthood. In making this choice, young people enter the phase of so-called emerging adulthood, which for a while now has been a new, separate phase of development, fitting in between adolescence and young adulthood. They are not passing through the complex process of puberty anymore, however, they do not always have a mature identity. They find themselves in a period characterised by intense exploration. The article presents the results of own research, the aim of which was to learn about the perception of adulthood by students and their identification in this area. The study was carried out using the diagnostic survey.

Keywords: emerging adulthood, self-identification, postmodernity, perception of adulthood, developmental psychology

Introduction

Stepping into adulthood in the post-modern reality seems to be more difficult than usually. Youths used to table signify of their specific roles for the emerging adulthood period, thereby they used to pad out realization of roles which are connected with adolescence. The modern world opens many possibilities of choice, which results in a longer process of shaping one's own identity.¹ J.

1 D. Czyżowska, E. Gurba, "Poczucie koherencji a religijność i sposób konstruowania tożsamości osobistej w okresie wyłaniającej się dorosłości," in: *PSYCHOLOGIA ROZWOJOWA*, 2015, 20 (4), p. 59. doi: 10.4467/20843879PR.15.022.4465.

Arnett^{2,3,4} decided to defile and on the basis of them, emerge a new phase of development called “emerging adulthood.” The researcher contradicts E. Erikson’s theory, according to which the process of searching for one’s own self closes in the period of adolescence. Of course, not all scholars share the opinion of J. Arnett in terms of finding a novelty, which is the new phase of development. However, there is no doubt that in modern times the process of entering adulthood seems to be much longer and coming up to the expectations seems to be quite a challenge.⁵ A particularly interesting case is the fact of the perception of adulthood by contemporary young people, and more specifically students who undoubtedly fall into the phase of “emerging adulthood.” How does adulthood look like to academic youth? Is the entering to adulthood an aim in itself for students? – These and other questions were the inspiration for the research undertaken for the purpose of this paper.

New Development Phase

According to E. Erikson’s concept, there are three stages of human development in psychology:

1. Childhood stage (consisting of infants, toddlers, preschool and school age);
2. Youth stage (which includes the period of adolescence);
3. Adult stage (which includes early adulthood, middle adulthood and also late adulthood).⁶

Following this concept, childhood should be associated with the age frame from 0 to 12 years. Growing up marks the age between 10–12 and 18–20 years. Adulthood, however, falls on the period from 18–20 years until the end of our life. With an eye to this categorization, academic youth should be entered into

2 J. J. Arnett, “Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties,” *American Psychologist*, 2000, 55 (5), pp. 469–480.

3 J. J. Arnett, *Emerging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

4 J. J. Arnett, “The psychology of emerging adulthood: What is known, and what remains to be known?” in: *Emerging adults in America: Coming of age in the 21st century*, J. J. Arnett and J. L. Tanner (eds.), Washington, DC: APA Book, 2006, p. 303–330.

5 D. Czyżowska et al., “Poczucie koherencji,” p. 59.

6 A. Brzezińska, “Portrety psychologiczne człowieka. Jak zmienia się człowiek w ciągu życia?,” in: *Remedium*, Vol. 122, No. 4, 2003, p. 1–3.

the adulthood stage. After all, youths representatives are situated within the acceptable limits of age frames. Positively, most students clearly fall in the stage of early adulthood, namely between 19 and 26 years of age.⁷

It turns out that not only age limits determine the representation of a specific development phase. As A. Brzezińska, K. Piotrkowski, R. Kaczan, M. Rękosiewicz⁸ and P. Oleś⁹ mentioned before, specific tasks to a given period also seems to be important one apart from age. Certain criteria determining adulthood should be cited here, such as leaving the family home, running your household, finalizing the education process, a marriage, starting a family, taking up professional activity, having the children. Undoubtedly, the foregoing tasks do not belong to the specificity of a modern student's life. Therefore, despite the compatibility of age, using the research of A. Brzezińska, K. Piotrowski, R. Kaczan and M. Rękosiewicz, it can be concluded that academic youth living in the post-modern reality have not yet entered the stage of early adulthood. Hence, the phenomenon of postponing entry into adulthood seems to be explicitly related to constantly lengthening process of education. As a consequence, a completely new phase of development is referred to as "emerging adulthood" more and more often.¹⁰ This period begins at the age of 18 and ends most often between the age of 25 and 26. As E. Wysocka claims – in some cases it may even last up to 35 years of age. It turned out to be located between adolescence and adulthood.¹¹

The statistical research by I. Seiffge-Krenke¹² proves that the age of getting married or having the first child has increased significantly in Germany. In 2015, the average age of getting married for men was 33.3, and for women – 33.0 years. In 1970, as many as 50 % of 24-year-olds declared married status. The period of having first child seems to be the same as well. In 1991, the average age of a

7 A. Brzezińska, "Portrety psychologiczne człowieka," p. 1–3.

8 A. Brzezińska, K. Piotrkowski, R. Kaczan, M. Rękosiewicz, "Odroczona dorosłość: fakt czy artefakt?," *Nauka*, Vol. 4, 2011, p. 71.

9 P. Oleś, *Psychologia człowieka dorosłego*, Warszawa: PWN, 2011, pp. 17–19.

10 J. J. Arnett, "Emerging adulthood," pp. 469–480.

11 E. Wysocka, "Wschodząca dorosłość a tożsamość młodego pokolenia – współczesne zagrożenia dla kształtowania tożsamości. Analiza teoretyczna i empiryczne egzemplifikacje," *Colloquium Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych i Społecznych*, Vol. I, 2013, pp. 69–96.

12 I. Seiffge-Krenke, "Studierende als Prototyp der "emerging adults". Verzögerte Identitätsentwicklung, Entwicklungsdruck und hohe Symptombelastung," *Psychotherapeut* Vol. 62, No. 62, 2017, pp. 403–409. DOI 10.1007/s00278-017-0216-6.

giving birth to the first child was 26. By 2015, it had risen to 31. For comparison – in Poland there are similar relationships. In 2013, the average Polish woman was 26 years old when she got married for the first time, and 27 when she gave birth to her first child. In 1990, the median age of women getting married for the first time was 22, and those giving birth to their first child was just over 22.¹³

Seiffge-Krenke also emphasizes instability as the domain of the present and at the same time the phase of “emerging adulthood.” This instability is related to changes in the place of residence, life partners or education. It turns out that most young people starting their careers leave their jobs within the first year. Statistically, the average German in the first 10 years of his work is gaining professional experience in seven positions. Moreover, 43 % of young people turn out to declare at least one parting with their partner last year. What is more, 24 % of this youths indicates as many as two break-ups. Therefore, so-called “instability” is also seen in the aspect of the permanence of partnerships.¹⁴

Apart from instability, there is a strong desire to explore reality – to search for one’s own identity, one’s own path. According to J. Arnett and the researchers who agree with him, the man entering adulthood has not yet formed a relatively stable vision of himself – so the process of identity crystallization is still ongoing. Marcia created the concept of “identity statuses,” which indicate the level of development of an individual, but also the ways in which he formulates his own identity. Marcia¹⁵ distinguishes four statuses that define two dimensions – commitment and exploration. Researchers agree that initially there is a diffuse status in which none of the dimensions appear. It is the lowest level of development in the process of self-crystallization. Another is the status of the mirrored identity (or acquired), which is about engaging while not exploring. As the name suggests, the subject takes over someone’s identity for his (life goals, values, patterns activities). Eventually, there is a status called a moratorium – where there is intense exploration, but this time without the involvement of the individual. The moratorium generally precedes the achievement of identity.

13 J. Stańczak, K. Stelmach, M. Urbanowicz, GUS – DRP, 2016 https://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5468/23/1/1/malzenstwa_i_dzietnosc_w_polsce.pdf [available: 20.03.2021].

14 I. Seiffge-Krenke, “Studierende als Prototyp der “emerging adults,” pp. 403–409.

15 J. E. Marcia, “The identity status approach to the study of ego identity development,” in: *Self and identity: Perspectives across the lifespan*, Honess T. and Yardley K. (eds.), London–New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987. C. Markstrom-Adams, “Religious involvement and adolescent psychosocial development,” *Journal of Adolescence*, Vol. 22, 1999, pp. 205–221.

Therefore, the last status – the final one, is the status of the achieved identity – the most mature one, demonstrating commitment to the implementation of previously set life tasks, goals, preceded by an in-depth search.¹⁶ As J. Arnett writes, exploration is the main feature of people entering adulthood. The researcher especially has in mind the professional area and partnerships. Seiffge-Krenke's writes the following:

Although the formation of this identity already begins in adolescence, it is intensified by the opportunities and developments in young adulthood. The researcher wants to show us that although the crystallization of identity begins in adolescence, it intensifies in early adulthood due to opportunities and development. Young people test and explore their chances and possibilities and set goals based on it. To finally form my own self, find the answer to the question "who am I?" and also: "what do I want to achieve?"¹⁷

Similar dependencies are noted by A. Brzezińska, K. Piotrkowski, R. Kaczan, M. Rękosiewicz – the results of these scientists' research also indicate that exploration turns out to be in the period of emerging adulthood.

Interestingly, working people have a lower exploration rate than students. On the other hand, individuals who did not undertake studies show a much higher sense of adulthood, and their goal of life aspirations is more precisely defined.¹⁸ E. Wysocka also attempts to characterize young people entering adulthood.¹⁹ The features specific to this period presented by the researcher include: the lack of a developed sense of identity, the need to experiment in the professional area, but also with geographical space and one's own identity in the perspective of: real, ideal and expected. According to the scientist, those entering adulthood have other attributes: a tendency to engage in risky behaviors, to balance their own experience in the transnational, cross-border and intercultural prism, the need for psychological and institutional support, empirical openness in the context of a life, cultural category and experiencing everyday life. Moreover, the research of E. Wysocka shows that academic youth generally perceive themselves as adults. Importantly, however, "adulthood" turns out to be understood by students in terms of lawful age, freedom and decision-making independence. The roles characteristic of adulthood appear relatively rarely in the above-mentioned definitions of respondents.²⁰

16 D. Czyżowska et al., "Poczucie koherencji," p. 59.

17 I. Seiffge-Krenke, "Studierende als Prototyp der "emerging adults," p. 404.

18 A. Brzezińska et al., "Odroczona dorosłość," p. 75.

19 E. Wysocka, "Wschodząca dorosłość," p. 79.

20 E. Wysocka, "Wschodząca dorosłość," p. 83.

Methods

The aim of this paper was to determine the subjective aspect of the sense of identity of academic youth, to learn about the perception of adulthood by the cited social group and the general sense of adulthood. The following research problems were set:

1. How do academic youth identify themselves in relation to the answer to the question “who am I?”
2. How do academic youth understand the term “adult?”
3. Do academic youth see themselves as adults?

In this paper, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. The respondents have no difficulty in naming their own characteristics. They declare their age, which is an important variable in the vision of themselves they present. They are able to answer the question “who am I?” – where they take into account certain indicators approximating their own self (such as professional, personal and family aspirations). The research by A. Cybal-Michalska shows that students ascribe significant importance to “being a human” and “belonging to the human species.” Gender identification also seems to be an important element of subjective identification, and the next one related to social roles. Young people also point to national aspects, family roles, personality traits and the issue of “being themselves.”²¹
2. Majority of the academic youth presents an adult as the one who has reached a lawful age, seems to be independent and free, especially in terms of decision-making.²²
3. Academic youth generally identify with adults. Which is mainly related to the way she perceives the term “adulthood.”²³

For this research, 114 people aged 19 to 30 were examined. Nearly half (50.9 %) of the respondents were between 19 and 22 years old, 42.1 % were between 23 and 26 years old, and 7 % were between 27 and 30 years old. More than 82 % of the research population were women, and about 17 % were men. The vast majority of respondents declared that they were studying full-time (78.9 %). The rest (21.1 %) attended part-time studies. The respondents were people studying various faculties and largely working (59.6 %), out of which 22.8 % declared

21 A. Cybal-Michalska, *Tożsamość młodzieży*, p. 64.

22 E. Wysocka, “Wschodząca dorosłość,” p. 83.

23 E. Wysocka, “Wschodząca dorosłość,” p. 83.

employment under an employment contract, 29.8 % under a mandate contract, 3.5 % contract for specific work, and another 3.5 % were self-employment.

A diagnostic survey was chosen as the research method. In order to test the subjective sense of identity, the TST (Twenty Statements Test) research tool was used, which consists of 20 statements. It indicates the individual identity of the subject, which is traditionally related with symbolic interactionism.²⁴ In connection with the examination of this aspect, the respondents were asked: "What is your answer to the question: "Who am I?" Please indicate no more than 20 terms according to the order of associations."

Results

To the first question ("Who am I?" – please indicate no more than 20 terms according to the order of associations), the respondents generally referred in their first statements to the notions of their-self of a physical nature²⁵ (19.6 % of all indications), otherwise cited by J. Habermas as "natural identity"²⁶ (age, sex, appearance, phases of development). As much as 50 % of indications of this type concerned the issue of "being human," while 42.8 % was identification with gender.

Below are examples of such statements:

- [I am] "a man, woman, student, Polish, European, good person;" • [I am] "a woman, myself, a student, a teacher, a beautiful person, ambitious person;" • [I am] "a man, woman, partner, daughter, friend, student, employee, valuable person;" • [I am] "a man, a human, a person, somebody."

In the statements of the respondents, the area of symbolic definition of the role, otherwise known as "role identity" was particularly prominent²⁷ (degree of kinship, ties with family and peers): 27.6 % of all indications. Usually, it appeared as one of the following cited expressions. In later indications, the respondents also referred to the individualistic notions of "self-identity," i.e. the so-called "Ego identity"²⁸ (mental states, thoughts, feelings, interests and personality traits), which accounted for 24.5 % of indications. Other statements cited by the

24 A. Cybal-Michalska, *Tożsamość młodzieży*, p. 147.

25 An inspiration to this categorization was mentioned by A. Cybal-Michalska, *Tożsamość młodzieży*, p. 148.

26 A. Cybal-Michalska, *Tożsamość młodzieży*, p. 147.

27 A. Cybal-Michalska, *Tożsamość młodzieży*, p. 147.

28 A. Cybal-Michalska, *Tożsamość młodzieży*, p. 147.

respondents concerned: professional, national and European identity and religious orientation.

When asked “Who is an adult for you?” the respondents most often indicated: responsibility (39.6 %), then independence (25.6 %), a fully developed personality, including emotional maturity (10.3 %), awareness of oneself and one’s plans for the future (6.5 %), being an authority (6.5 %), being of lawful age (3.7 %), ability to solve problems (2.6 %), stabilization (2.6 %) and having any responsibilities (2.6 %). This question was an open question. Almost 18 % of respondents referred to the tasks of early adulthood (followed by indications). This part of the respondents indicated primarily the category of financial independence, but also housing independence, and any stabilization. The following responses are examples of this: “A person functioning independently (earning for himself, independent in terms of housing);” “An adult is financially independent and has he has own household. He works and strives to improve his financial conditions;” “A person with a stable and financially independent life.” Not many, just slightly more than 5 % of the respondents, stated that the adulthood indicator was reaching the lawful age (18 years in Poland) in the following indications.

Another question that appeared in the survey was: “Do you consider yourself as an adult?” As many as 42 % respondents answered yes, 19 % abstained from answering, 23 % declared that they only partially feel like an adult, and 16 % that they did not feel like an adult at all. The respondents were also asked to justify their answer. What is particularly intriguing, people pointing to partial identification only emphasized that they are “in the transition phase from a teenage to an adult.” There were also declarations of making efforts to reach adulthood, but an important factor ultimately preventing it was usually financial dependence on their parents.

People who did not see themselves as adults were asked to answer another question, which was: “If you do not consider yourself an adult, is becoming an adult is a significant goal / desire for you?” For every 54 % of the respondents declared that it is an end in itself for them, 25 % did not consider reaching adulthood as an aim or desire, while 21 % refused to answer.

Interestingly, 3.5 % of the respondents declared that they are married, and the same number was raising one child. None of the exanimated person has more than one child. Among the respondents, 29.8 % had their own household. Being in a partner relationship appeared in 47.4 % answers. It should also be emphasized that each respondent who runs his own household and who brings up at least one child definitely declares the accompanying sense of adulthood.

Discussion

There is no doubt that the specificity of postmodernity forces the individual existing in it to constantly redefine himself. On the one hand, a young person is surrounded by a constantly changing reality, and on the other, he is looking for a sense of stability in the context of his self-identification. As H. Krauze-Sikorska writes it favors general internal harmony and good mental condition. Success in creating a readable form of a vision of oneself determines the flourishing of such important mental functions as: self-regulation, processing information about one's own self, experiencing emotions, setting aims and perceiving others and behaving towards them.²⁹ And this context, which builds a kind of narrative axis in the aspect of the subjective sense of identity of the studied academic youth.

On the basis of the research, it should first of all be stated that the notion of one's own self-identification in contemporary students appears to be extremely complex. This proves a conscious sense of uniqueness, as well as the need to emphasize them in order to make a point of this aspect of one's own self-identification which clearly distinguishes individuals from others. Respondents often describe themselves by pointing to intrapsychic features and roles – thus also emphasizing the social context, i.e. the so-called self-identification.³⁰ The surveyed academic youth undoubtedly attach great importance to the fact of “being a human” and “belonging to the human species.” The self-identifications of academic youth also include such categories as: profession, religious orientation, development phase, physical appearance traits, negative personality traits, emotional bond, interests, a sense of individuality and uniqueness. What is extremely fascinating, the respondents participating in the global society, where individualistic tendencies undoubtedly dominate, emphasized this category in their first indications, while their tendencies towards unification were already visible in the next ones.

It turns out that the surveyed students feel adults to a large extent, although they understand adulthood in a slightly different way than the one described in scientific sources. Usually, they do not merge it with the tasks of early adulthood or with reaching the lawful age, but with such features as: independence and responsibility. Tasks specific to adulthood can only be found among the definitions of people who have already undertaken them. The vast majority of

29 H. Krauze-Sikorska, “Tworzenie tożsamości społecznej i przynależności grupowej w Internecie,” in: H. Krauze-Sikorska, M. Klichowski, *Świat Digital Natives: Młodzież w poszukiwaniu siebie i innych*, Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University Press, 2013, p. 88.

30 A. Cybał-Michalska, *Tożsamość młodzieży*, p. 149.

the surveyed youth, who declared that they did not feel grown up, treat the adulthood phase as an important goal in itself. K. Klimkowska also notices the high demand for undertaking activities aimed at self-development among academic youth. The researcher points to important activities that can bring a young individual closer to determining the life path, which in turn is to be an affirmation of mature adulthood and a sense of well-being. She suggests a method of asking questions that will contribute to reflection on your own identity. Klimkowska cites examples of questions such as:

- “How satisfied are you with your life?”
- “What is most important to you?”
- “To what extent do you realize what is most important to you?”
- “What do you need to make your life more satisfying?”³¹

Conclusions

There is no doubt that an important stage in the life of every human being is the period of adolescence, thanks to which the individual can regenerate himself anew (including his identity). The key point for finding your own path seems to be a moratorium, in which an individual explores reality intensely without too much involvement in his activities. It turns out that due to the specificity of the world in which we live (multiplication of offers, permanent changes, continuous extension of the education process), this time is extended.

Therefore, the time of intense experiences falls, not in adolescence, but in “emerging adulthood” – a new development phase that takes place between adolescence and adulthood.³² Young people at this stage, although they seem to belong to the group of adults in age, postpone the moment of taking up tasks characteristic of this period, which disqualifies from the phase called “early adulthood,” according to A. Brzezińska, K., Piotrowski, R. Kaczan and M. Rękosiewicz. Thus, the representatives of the “emerging adulthood” phase are usually young people between 18–26 years of age who have not yet undertaken projects such as: moving out of their family home, ending the education process, getting married, having children, taking up full-time employment.³³ According

31 K. Klimkowska, “Wspieranie młodzieży akademickiej w dojrzewaniu do dorosłości,” in: *Kultura i wartości*, Vol. 18, 2016, p. 81.

32 D. Czyżowska et al., “Poczucie koherencji,” p. 59–61.

33 A. Brzezińska et al., “Odroczona dorosłość,” pp. 67–107.

to the research results quoted above, young people representing this phase display three main characteristics:

1. They have no difficulty in naming their own characteristics. They can answer the question “who am I?” – where it takes into account certain indicators approximating their own “self-identification” (i.e. professional, personality and family aspirations). The results of the research also show that students attach significant importance to “being a human” and “belonging to the human species.” Gender identification also seems to be an important element of subjective identification, and the next one related to social roles. Young people also indicate personality traits, thoughts, mental states and such issues as nationality or religious orientation.
2. Most academic youth presents themselves as adults independent and responsible for all their deeds, with no need for other adults’ help.
3. Academic youth usually identify with adults, which is primarily related to how they perceive the term “adulthood” and (less frequently) to the fact that they undertake tasks characteristic of that period.

Summing up, it should be emphasized that many young people who do not feel like adults yet (because of the tasks and roles they postpone), treat reaching adulthood as an end in itself. Because it seems to them a key to achieving a relatively stable image of themselves and the world, as well as the way to an important value for them: independence. Hence, it is important to remember to exhort students to undertake constant self-reflection, with their mental health in mind.

References

- Arnett, J.J., “Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties,” *American Psychologist*, 55 (5), 2000, pp. 469–480
- Arnett, J.J., *Emerging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004
- Arnett, J.J., “The psychology of emerging adulthood: What is known, and what remains to be known?,” in: *Emerging adults in America: Coming of age in the 21st century*, J.J. Arnett and J.L. Tanner (eds.), Washington, DC: APA Book, 2006, pp. 303–330
- Brzezińska, A., “Portrety psychologiczne człowieka. Jak zmienia się człowiek w ciągu życia?,” in: *Remedium*, 122 (4), 2003, p. 1–3
- Brzezińska, A., Piotrkowski, K., Kaczan, R., Rękosiewicz, M., “Odroczona dorosłość: fakt czy artefakt?,” in: *Nauka*, 4/2011, p. 67–107

- Cybal-Michalska, A., *Tożsamość młodzieży w perspektywie globalnego świata*. Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University Press, 2006
- Czyżowska, D., Gurba, E., “Poczucie koherencji a religijność i sposób konstruowania tożsamości osobistej w okresie wyłaniającej się dorosłości,” in: *PSYCHOLOGIA ROZWOJOWA*, 20 (4), 2015, pp. 59–71
- Klimkowska, K., “Wspieranie młodzieży akademickiej w dojrzewaniu do dorosłości,” in: *Kultura i wartości*, 18/ 2016, p. 69–86
- Krauze-Sikorska, H., “Tworzenie tożsamości społecznej i przynależności grupowej w Internecie” in: H. Krauze-Sikorska, M. Klichowski, *Świat Digital Natives. Młodzież w poszukiwaniu siebie i innych*, Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University Press, 2013
- Marcia, J., “The identity status approach to the study of ego identity development,” in: *Self and identity: Perspectives across the lifespan*, T. Honess and K. Yardley (eds.). London–New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987.
- Markstrom-Adams, C., “Religious involvement and adolescent psychosocial development,” *Journal of Adolescence*, 22, 1999, pp. 205–221
- Oleś, P., *Psychologia człowieka dorosłego*. Warszawa: PWN, 2011
- Seiffge-Krenke, I., “Studierende als Prototyp der “emerging adults”. Verzögerte Identitätsentwicklung, Entwicklungsdruck und hohe Symptombelastung,” in: *Psychotherapeut*, 62, 2017, pp. 403–409
- Stańczak, J., Stelmach, K., Urbanowicz, M., GUS – DRP, 2016 https://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5468/23/1/1/malzenstwa_i_dzietnosc_w_polsce.pdf [available: 20.03.2021]
- Wysocka, E., “Wschodząca dorosłość a tożsamość młodego pokolenia – współczesne zagrożenia dla kształtowania tożsamości. Analiza teoretyczna i empiryczne egzemplifikacje,” in: *Colloquium Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych i Społecznych*, 1/2013; pp. 69–96

Radosław Trepanowski, Monika Frydrychowicz, Julia Pradelok, Dominika Zysk,
Wiktoria Szott, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Corresponding author: Radosław Trepanowski
ORCID: 0000-0001-9304-427X, e-mail: radtre@amu.edu.pl

Evolutionary Perspectives on Singlehood: Fear of Being Single, Relationship Status Satisfaction, and Sociosexual Orientation

Abstract: In some cultures, single people make up for almost 50 % of the population. Nevertheless, they are often perceived as inferior to people in intimate relationships. Some explanations, as to why people stay single, are provided by evolutionary psychologists claiming that it is due to the mismatch between ancestral and modern conditions, or to increase their own fitness. With that in mind, we aimed to confirm prior findings, and extend them by incorporating new variables, such as fear of being single, satisfaction with relationship status, sexual and sociosexual orientations. In Study 1, 30 in-depth interviews and 120 open-ended questionnaires were conducted to find why Polish people stay single. In Study 2, we administered a scale based on factors distinguished in Study 1 to 315 participants. With principal components analysis we distinguished 15 factors, and 4 second-order factors of reasons for staying single. Those factors were predicted by the aforementioned variables.

Keywords: singlehood, fear of being single, relationships status satisfaction, sexual orientation, sociosexual orientation.

Acknowledgements

This project was partially funded by the Grant for Young Researchers, Faculty of Psychology and Cognitive Science, Adam Mickiewicz University.

1. Introduction

People stay single for many reasons, be it difficulties in committing or finding a partner, different psychological and physiological problems or bad experiences

from previous relationships, to name a few.¹ In a recent study, Menelaos Apostolou² attempted to analyse those reasons from the perspective of evolutionary psychology. He claimed, and then empirically proved so, that the reasons for staying single on the most basic level may be classified according to evolutionary theory into problems with finding a partner due to own limitations and deciding to stay single as to increase one's own fitness. The former simply means that the individual does not perceive a high chance of successfully attracting a partner, and therefore they do not engage in intimate relationships, while the latter relates to not engaging in intimate relationships in order to increase their own reproductive value, have multiple relationships or wait for a more suitable partner to appear. While Apostolou's study provided us with a new perspective on the issue of singlehood, it is limited to only one culture, and as such it is not possible to make many inferences in different cultural contexts. Therefore, in order to understand why people stay single in Poland, we decided to conduct a similar study and distinguish the reasons for staying single of Polish people.

We also decided to expand the knowledge on why people stay single by introducing additional variables into the equation, that is sociosexual orientation, fear of being single, satisfaction with relationship status, relationships status and sexual orientation. To our knowledge those variables have not been previously tested in relation to the reasons for staying single. For instance, we expected that individuals depending on their level of promiscuity or the preference for short-term or long-term relationships perceive different reasons as leading to singlehood, as according to prior studies, the desire to possess multiple partners or overall concentration on fit improvement are associated with sociosexual orientation.³ As Buss and Schmitt⁴ claim, people who prefer long-term relationships

-
- 1 M. Apostolou, "An evolutionary account of the prevalence of personality traits that impair intimate relationships," *Personality and Individual Differences*, Vol. 94, 2016, pp. 140–148. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2016.01.024. M. Apostolou, J. O, and G. Esposito, "Singles' reasons for being single: Empirical evidence from an evolutionary perspective," *Frontiers in psychology*, Vol. 11, 2020. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00746.
 - 2 M. Apostolou, "Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective," *Personality and Individual Differences*, Vol. 111, 2017, pp. 263–271. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2017.02.034.
 - 3 D. M. Buss, D. P. Schmitt, "Sexual Strategies Theory: An evolutionary perspective on human mating," *Psychological Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2, 1993, pp. 204–232. doi: 10.1037/0033-295x.100.2.204. L. Penke, J. B. Asendorpf, "Beyond global sociosexual orientations: a more differentiated look at sociosexuality and its effects on courtship and romantic relationships," *Journal of personality and social psychology*, Vol. 95, No. 5, 2008, p. 1113- 1135. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.95.5.1113.
 - 4 D. M. Buss et al., "Sexual Strategies Theory," pp. 204–232.

are determined to accumulate resources, while people who prefer short-term relationships are interested in initiating intimate relationships with numerous partners. That seems to be in line with our reasoning.

Moreover, we predicted that some of the reasons for being single might be explained by the satisfaction with relationship status,⁵ that is, people who are satisfied with their status, will indicate different reasons for staying single than people who are not. For instance, the former group might indicate more often to reasons associated with individualism and freedom. Similarly, we expect that the fear of being single⁶ will be associated with some of the reasons for being single, especially the ones that relate to different kinds of constraints and problems experienced in previous relationships. That is because people experiencing those kinds of difficulties might perceive themselves as lacking or in some ways inferior. Additionally, we expected that non-heterosexual people will indicate different reasons for staying single than heterosexual people.

Therefore, to further the evolutionary understanding of singlehood we decided to first identify the reasons for staying single in Poland and see how similar those are to the reasons identified by Apostolou.⁷ Then, in the second study we examined how the reasons for staying single are connected to sex, age, sexual orientation, sociosexual orientation, fear of being single, relationship status, and the satisfaction with this status. No such study was previously conducted, and therefore we think that the current study makes an important contribution to the literature on singlehood.

2. Reasons for Singlehood

The phenomenon of singlehood is a current issue, as there has been a constant influx of people living alone around the world. For instance, in the United States in 2015 the number of single people reached almost 50 % of the population.⁸

-
- 5 V. Lehmann, M. A. Tuinman, J. Braeken, A. J. J. M. Vingerhoets, R. Sanderman, M. Hagedoorn, "Satisfaction with relationship status: Development of a new scale and the role in predicting well-being," *Journal of Happiness Studies*, Vol. 16, 2015, pp. 169–184. doi: 10.1007/s10902-014-9503-x.
 - 6 S. S. Spielmann, G. MacDonald, J. A. Maxwell, S. Joel, D. Peragine, A. Muise, and E. A. Impett, "Settling for less out of fear of being single," *Journal of personality and social psychology*, Vol. 105, No. 6, 2013, pp. 1049–1073. doi: 10.1037/a0034628.
 - 7 M. Apostolou, "Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective," pp. 263–271.
 - 8 U. S. Census Bureau, *America's families and living arrangements: 2016*. Washington, USA, BLS, 2016.

Of these individuals, 63 % were never married and the remaining 24 % and 13 % were divorced and widowed. Nearly 35 million people lived alone, forming single-person households, accounting for 28 % of all households. This trend has continued steadily and is also shown in more recent data for 2019 and 2020 with over 36 million single person households.⁹ The reported increase in the number of singles does not apply to the US only. An increase in the number of single-person households was also noted in Europe. For instance, in Poland alone, in 2011,¹⁰ 24 % of people were single. According to the Polish Central Statistical Office's¹¹ 2016–2050 projections for households in Poland, the average number of people per household will continue to decline steadily until the early 2030s. This decline will be associated with an increase in the percentage of one-person households, but also with a decrease in the percentage of households inhabited by three or more adults.

While the number of single people increases, social perception about them still overflows with prejudice and discrimination.¹² According to previous research,¹³ being single is more often than not perceived as a sort of personal impairment, making it harder to stay single and stay content with one's own life at the same time. Some of the earliest studies report that single people are seen as the less likeable ones,¹⁴ less attractive, more lonely, or less sociable compared to their coupled peers.¹⁵ Unmarried individuals are also assigned with negative or risky personality traits such as immaturity or promiscuity and higher probabilistic

-
- 9 Statista Research Department, *Number of single-person households in the United States from 1960 to 2020*, <https://www.statista.com/>, 2020 (accessed 03 January 2021).
 - 10 Polish Central Statistical Office, *Gospodarstwa domowe i rodziny. Charakterystyka demograficzna. Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011 [Households and families. Demographic Characteristics. National Population and Housing Census 2011]*, Warsaw, Poland: Zakład Wydawnictw Statystycznych, 2014.
 - 11 Polish Central Statistical Office, *Prognoza gospodarstw domowych na lata 2016–2050 [Household projection 2016–2050]*, Warsaw, Poland: Zakład Wydawnictw Statystycznych, 2016.
 - 12 B. M. DePaulo, W. L. Morris, "Singles in society and in science," *Psychological Inquiry*, Vol. 16, No. 2–3, 2005, pp. 57–83. doi: 10.1080/1047840X.2005.9682918.
 - 13 B. M. DePaulo et al., "Singles in society and in science," pp. 57–83.
 - 14 J. Krueger, J. Heckhausen, J. Hundertmark, "Perceiving middle-aged adults: Effects of stereotype-congruent and incongruent information," *Journal of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences*, Vol. 50B, 1995, pp. 82–93. doi:10.1093/geronb/50B.2. P82.
 - 15 T. Greitemeyer, "Stereotypes of singles: Are singles what we think?," *European Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 39, 2009, pp. 368–383. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.542.

risk for contracting STDs in comparison to married people.¹⁶ What is more, single people may experience difficulties in the socioeconomic domain – singles (especially men) face lower earnings and occupational status in comparison to married individuals.¹⁷

One might wonder why singlehood is so stigmatized in society. Research provides numerous explanations of this phenomenon. For instance, people might stigmatize singles as a consequence of living in a society where ideology of committed relationships is ubiquitous.¹⁸ In the case of evolutionary psychology single people, on one hand, might be perceived as a potential threat to people in relationships, as due to their status, they are free to pursue any partner they wish, also the already taken ones. On the other hand, single people are most likely not reproducing, and while that is beneficial for other single people, as they have a greater chance of reproducing themselves, it might threaten the continuity of the species. As such, by treating single people with prejudice, in a way, society is coercing them into reproduction. But as Apostolou¹⁹ has shown, not every single person wants to reproduce, at least not as soon as it is possible for them. He notes that in the evolutionary perspective this is not as paradoxical as it may first seem. Some people decide to stay single in order to increase their own fitness or propagate their own genetic material by initiating numerous short-term relationships. Others stay single involuntarily, due to mismatch between ancestral and modern conditions, for instance by possessing traits that today do not grant greater chance for reproduction. Apostolou²⁰ notes that while this

-
- 16 T. D. Conley, B. E. Collins, "Gender, relationship status, and stereotyping about sexual risk," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 28, 2002, pp. 1483–1494. doi: 10.1177/014616702237576. A. G. Davis, P. M. Strong, "Working without a net: The bachelor as a social problem," *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 25, 1977, pp. 109–129. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.1977.tb00281.x.
 - 17 K. Antonovics, R. Town, "Are all the good men married? Uncovering the sources of the marital wage premium," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 94, 2004, pp. 317–321. doi: 10.1257/0002828041301876. M. Bellas, "The effects of marital status and wives' employment on the salaries of facultymen: The (house) wife bonus," *Gender & Society*, Vol. 6, 1992, pp. 609–622. doi: 10.1177/089124392006004005. R. K. Toutkoushian, "Racial and marital status differences in faculty pay," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 69, 1998, pp. 513–529 doi: 10.1080/00221546.1998.11775149.
 - 18 M. V. Day, A. C. Kay, J. G. Holmes, and J. L. Napier, "System justification and the defense of committed relationship ideology," *Journal of personality and social psychology*, Vol. 101, No. 2, 2011, pp. 291–306. doi: 10.1037/a0023197.
 - 19 M. Apostolou, "Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective," pp. 263–271.
 - 20 M. Apostolou, "An evolutionary account," pp. 140–148.

mismatch leads to negative feelings or depression, it also provides the individual with the motivation to take action leading to a minimisation of those feelings, that is if the fitness-decreasing traits are correctable.

With the concepts of fitness-increasing strategies and the mismatch problem as an evolutionary framework, Apostolou²¹ distinguished 76 different reasons (e.g. “To avoid jealousy,” “I do not trust easily,” “I fear rejection,” “To have more choices”) for staying single, which were further classified into 16 factors (e.g. “I want to be free to do what I want,” “I had bad experiences from previous relationships,” “I am doing well right now”) and those were classified into three domains: “Constraints,” “Difficulties with relationship” and “Freedom of choice.” The first two domains corresponded to the mismatch problem, while the last one was associated with the fitness-increasing strategies. Additional domain alongside 16 new reasons was added in a newer study by Apostolou, O and Esposito²² on a different cultural sample. The “Freedom of choice” domain was significantly higher rated by males, most likely due to biological differences between the sexes, as numerous sexual encounters increase sexual success for them. Furthermore, younger people rated “I have different priorities” and “I want to be free to flirt around” significantly higher, because at a younger age it is more profitable for people to increase their fitness by gathering resources and improving their mating strategies and skills. While those regularities hold true for the cultural context of Cyprus it is quite possible that in different cultures they will not occur, which has indeed happened in the later study.²³ That is why in the current study, we not only replicated Apostolou’s²⁴ process of distinguishing the reasons for staying single, but also tested in what way the reasons for staying single of Polish people are associated with sex and age. Moreover, considering that one of the reasons distinguished in the prior work related to sexual orientation we decided to test how sexual orientation predicts the reasons for staying single.

Many of the reasons for staying single bring to mind Buss’s and Schmitt’s²⁵ sexual strategies theory, where the authors highlighted two different strategies for entering relationships: long-term and short-term strategies. Long-term strategy focuses on resource acquisition, desire to have offspring or expressing

21 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271.

22 M. Apostolou, O and Esposito, “Singles’ reasons for being single: Empirical evidence from an evolutionary perspective.”

23 M. Apostolou, O and Esposito, “Singles’ reasons for being single: Empirical evidence from an evolutionary perspective.”

24 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271.

25 D. M. Buss et al., “Sexual Strategies Theory,” pp. 204–232.

feelings of love. In turn, short-term strategy is a set of behaviours designed to initiate casual sexual contact.²⁶ According to prior research,²⁷ short-term strategy is more characteristic for men, as it facilitates greater reproductive abilities, while the long-term strategy is more typical for women, for whom short-term relationships are less rewarding, due to a number of possible consequences. According to Jackson and Kirkpatrick,²⁸ those strategies are usually measured with the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory (SOI),²⁹ even though sociosexuality is a separate concept referring “to individual differences in willingness to engage in sexual relations without closeness or commitment.”³⁰ This means that people with higher scores on SOI prefer short-term strategies, while those with lower scores are partial to long-term strategies. Sociosexuality may be either restricted or unrestricted. Individuals with restricted sociosexuality prefer to gain closeness and commitment before engaging in sex with their partner. On the other side, individuals with unrestricted sociosexuality do not feel the need for closeness and commitment in order to engage in sexual activities.³¹ By taking that into consideration, we predict that different sexual strategies are associated with the reasons for staying single relating to the “Freedom of choice” domain, especially in the factors concerning commitment and acquiring multiple partners.

While deciding to stay single does not always mean that the individual becomes unhappy, for almost 50 % of people with such status is not a desired state.³² That is due to the negative emotions evoked by it.³³ However, the need to

-
- 26 D. M. Buss, *The evolution of desire: Strategies of human mating* (4th ed.), New York, USA: Basic Books, 2017.
 - 27 D. M. Buss, *The evolution of desire: Strategies of human mating*. D. M. Buss et al., “Sexual Strategies Theory,” pp. 204–232. J. M. Ostovich, and J. Sabini, (2004), “How are sociosexuality, sex drive, and lifetime number of sexual partners related?” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 30, No. 10, 2004, pp. 1255–1266. doi: 10.1177/0146167204264754.
 - 28 J. J. Jackson, and L. A. Kirkpatrick, “The structure and measurement of human mating strategies: Toward a multidimensional model of sociosexuality,” *Evolution and Human Behavior*, Vol. 28, No. 6, 2007, pp. 382–391. doi: 10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2007.04.005.
 - 29 J. A. Simpson, and S. W. Gangestad, “Individual differences in sociosexuality: evidence for convergent and discriminant validity,” *Journal of personality and social psychology*, Vol. 60, No. 6, 1991, pp. 870–883. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.60.6.870.
 - 30 J. J. Jackson et al., “The structure and measurement of human mating strategies,” p. 1.
 - 31 J. A. Simpson et al., “Individual differences in sociosexuality,” pp. 870–883.
 - 32 M. Apostolou, M., I. Papadopoulou, and P. Georgiadou, “Are People Single by Choice? Involuntary Singlehood in an Evolutionary Perspective,” *Evolutionary Psychological Science*, Vol. 5, 2018, pp. 416–425. doi: 10.1007/s40806-018-0169-1.
 - 33 M. Apostolou, “An evolutionary account,” pp. 140–148.

possess a partner is not a permanent need – at some stages of life, for instance as it was priorly mentioned in early adulthood, it is more adaptive to not possess a partner.³⁴ As such, at those stages individuals ought to be, on average, more satisfied with their relationship statuses, and with that, they should be more satisfied with their lives. As Lehmann and colleagues³⁵ have shown, it is not the status itself that predicts life satisfaction, but the satisfaction with this status. For instance, being married may lead to high life satisfaction to a lower extent than being happy about being married. Same goes for other relationship statuses. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate how both, relationship status and the satisfaction with relationship status, are related to different reasons for staying single.

Finally, we predict that reasons for staying single relating to prior relationship problems and different constraints making it harder for the individual to enter a relationship are predicted by the fear of being single, that is, concern, anxiety, or distress regarding the current or prospective experience of being without a romantic partner.³⁶ Fear of being single can cause, on one hand, longing for ex-partners, which may lead to prolonged anger and sadness. On the other hand, from the evolutionary point of view, the perspective of lower chance for reproduction makes people settle for less.³⁷ That is, people who are more afraid of being single do not decide to acquire a partner who is attractive and has a lot of resources and are more likely to lower their standards in order to be able to transfer their genes. As such, we predict that those individuals might experience greater fear of being single due to problems from prior relationships or due to problems constraining them from finding a partner.

3. Study 1

The aims of the first study were to identify the main reasons of singlehood of Polish people and create a Polish-language questionnaire allowing to measure those reasons. This study was done in a similar manner to the study carried out by Apostolou.³⁸ We conducted in-depth interviews first, so as to gather as rich information on the topic as possible, although without any anonymity whatsoever. That is why the information gathered in this way might have not revealed all

34 M. Apostolou et al., “Are People Single by Choice?” pp. 416–425.

35 V. Lehmann et al., “Satisfaction with relationship status,” pp. 169–184.

36 S. S. Spielmann et al., “Settling for less out of fear of being single,” p. 1049.

37 S. S. Spielmann et al., “Settling for less out of fear of being single,” pp. 1049–1073.

38 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271.

the reasons for Polish singlehood,^{39,40} Then we conducted an open-ended online questionnaire on a different sample of people. Due to not gathering any personal information and being online-based, this questionnaire was fully anonymous, and therefore the participants might have revealed reasons of being single that would have not been revealed otherwise.

3.1. Participants

Prospective participants (18 years old and above) for the in-depth interviews were recruited through social media and ads posted throughout the campuses of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poland. Each participant was rewarded with a cinema voucher. Overall, 30 participants took part in the study.

For the online open-ended questionnaire, the participants were recruited solely through social media. We posted study ads on different Facebook groups, pages and asked our acquaintances to help in the dissemination of the study. As an additional incentive the participants were able to take part in a raffle, where 10 of them received a cinema voucher. In all 125 people took part in the study, although only 120 of the results were analysed, as five participants did not answer the questions. Demographic characteristics of participants in both the in-depth interviews and open-ended questionnaires are presented in Table 1 alongside the characteristics of the participants from Study 2.

3.2. Procedure

In-depth interviews were conducted on the premises of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poland in February 2020, just before the COVID-19 pandemic. The interviews were conducted by the main author in Polish and lasted 15–20 minutes. Each participant signed a consent and provided basic demographic data (i.e. sex, age, marital status, place of residence, education). During the interview, the interviewer asked about the reasons that have led the participants to being single or might lead them to being single in the future. Each reason the participants provided was then further probed in order to find more specific answers. The answers were recorded only on paper, as being recorded on the camera while talking about such an intimate topic could lead to less honest

39 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271.

40 P. Liamputtong, *Qualitative research methods (3rd ed.)*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Table 1. Demographics for in-depth interviews, open-ended questionnaires and Study 2

Descriptive variable	In-depth		Open-ended		Study 2	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	<i>(M</i> = 21,80; <i>SD</i> = 1,71)		<i>(M</i> = 26,76; <i>SD</i> = 7,20)		<i>(M</i> = 23,59; <i>SD</i> = 4,73)	
under or equal to 20	8	26.7 %	19	15.2 %	63	20 %
21–30	22	73.3 %	69	55.2 %	230	73 %
31–40	-		24	19.2 %	16	5.1 %
41–50	-		8	6.4 %	6	1.9 %
Sex						
Male	9	30 %	17	14.2 %	55	17.5 %
Female	21	70 %	103	85.8 %	258	81.9 %
Non-binary	-		-		2	0.6 %
Education						
Elementary/Secondary	-		2	1.6 %	6	1.9 %
Middle	-		25	20.8 %	102	32.4 %
Higher incomplete	30	100 %	41	34.2 %	104	33 %
Higher	-		52	43.3 %	103	32.7 %
Residence						
Village	5	16.7 %	17	14.2 %	45	14.3 %
City with less than 25,000 residents	4	13.3 %	7	5.8 %	28	8.9 %
City of 25,000–50,000 residents	0	0 %	6	5 %	26	8.3 %
City of 50,000–200,000 residents	1	3.0 %	10	8.3 %	44	14 %
City of 200,000–500,000 residents	3	10 %	23	19.2 %	39	12.4 %
City with over 500,000 residents	17	56.7 %	57	47.5 %	133	42.2 %
Status						
Single	12	40 %	23	19.2 %	179	56.8 %
Casual relationship	16	53.3 %	57	45.6 %	121	28.4 %
Engaged	-		15	12 %	5	1.6 %
Married	2	6.7 %	25	20 %	7	2.2 %
Divorced/Separated	-		2	1.6 %	2	0.6 %
Widowed	-		-		1	0.3 %
In relationship						
Yes	18	60 %	97	80.8 %	132	58.1 %
No	12	40 %	23	19.2 %	183	41.9 %
Sexual orientation						
Heterosexual	20	66.7 %	98	81.7 %	243	77.1 %

Table 1. Continued

	In-depth		Open-ended		Study 2	
Bisexual	2	6.7 %	18	15 %	39	12.4 %
Homosexual	6	20 %	3	2.5 %	14	4.4 %
Other	2	6.7 %	1	0.8 %	19	6 %
Do you want a partner in the future?						
Yes	29	96.7 %	103	85.8 %	281	89.2 %
No	1	3.3 %	17	14.2 %	7	2.2 %
Don't know	-		-		27	8.6 %
Do you have children?						
Yes	1	3.3 %	25	20.8 %	12	3.8 %
No	29	96.7 %	95	79.2 %	303	96.2 %

Note: total samples: in-depth interviews N = 30; open-ended questionnaire N = 120; Study 2 N = 315.

Source: own elaboration.

answers. After the interview, the participants were debriefed, thanked and they received compensation.

The online open-ended questionnaire, besides a basic demographic survey, consisted of two open-ended questions probing what reasons the participants perceived as leading them to being single at the moment and possibly in the future. Each participant was asked to provide at least five reasons. This part of the study also took place in February 2020.

3.3. Results

First, four independent experts (two women and two men) listed the answers from both the in-depth interviews and the open-ended questionnaires in order to create a collection of reasons for staying single of Polish people. Reasons with identical or near-identical wordings were first eliminated (for instance: "I'm afraid that my partner will die;" "I'm afraid of the death of my partner"). Then, the experts were asked to indicate any answers with multiple reasons and any answers that are unclear to them. If two or more experts found that the answer is either unclear or has multiple reasons, then it was eliminated. The final set of reasons consisted of only those reasons that at least 3 of the experts indicated. In the end, 66 reasons for staying single of Polish people were identified. Those reasons are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Principal components analysis on the reasons for staying single

Domains	Factors	Reasons	Factor loadings first order	Factor loadings second order
Freedom of choice ($\alpha = .84$)	I like being independent ($\alpha = .86$)	I am comfortable with myself	.689	.868
		I don't need a partner	.675	
		For now, I prefer to focus on non-romantic relationships	.533	
		I am used to living alone	.495	
		I like to have space that is only mine	.437	
		I am too young/too old to get into a relationship	.437	
		I want to be independent	.381	
	I have different priorities ($\alpha = .84$)	I feel less stressed not being in a relationship	.379	
		I want to focus on studying	.820	.839
		I want to focus on my career	.723	
		I don't want anyone to stop me from growing	.515	
		I want to have more time to focus on myself	.463	
	I want to have freedom ($\alpha = .64$)	I have different priorities at the moment	.426	
		I want to be able to travel	.627	.709
		By not being in a relationship my expenses will be lower	.497	
	I want to be free to flirt around ($\alpha = .77$)	Being in a relationship can cause a change in my lifestyle	.294	
		I want to enter many relationships	.830	.709
		I am not able to choose only one person	.722	
I don't want to miss the opportunity to meet someone more interesting		.626		

Table 2. Continued

Domains	Factors	Reasons	Factor loadings first order	Factor loadings second order
		I don't want to commit	.382	
		Relationships bore me	.366	
		I only want a serious relationship	-.413	
	I don't want to be a burden ($\alpha = .65$)	My socio-economic status doesn't allow me to be in a relationship	.758	.447
		My current life circumstances cause that I can't be in a relationship	.660	
		I don't feel ready for a relationship yet	.356	
		I don't want to burden the other person with my difficulties	.330	
		I'm unable to find a right partner due to cultural differences	.285	
	I'm not willing to compromise ($\alpha = .65$)	I don't want to make compromises	.575	.417
		I feel that I won't be able to make important decisions about our future together with my partner	.493	
		I fear a conflict of values with a potential partner	.456	
Psychological difficulties ($\alpha = .72$)	I'm not attractive to the people I'm attracted to ($\alpha = .59$)	People representing the sex I'm interested in are not interested in me.	.568	.787
		I find myself unattractive	.561	
		Due to my sexual orientation it's difficult for me to find a partner	.395	
	I can't find the right person ($\alpha = .70$)	I haven't found the right person yet	.760	.786
		I don't know how to find the right partner	.703	
		I don't have many opportunities to meet new people	.639	

(continued on next page)

Table 2. Continued

Domains	Factors	Reasons	Factor loadings first order	Factor loadings second order
		I have very high expectations	.366	
	I'm experiencing psychological difficulties ($\alpha = .83$)	I'm fed up with other people	.666	.672
		I don't trust others	.629	
		I experience difficulties in communicating with others	.485	
		I'm afraid of opening up to other people	.389	
		I don't believe in myself	.364	
		Some of my psychological traits make it difficult for me to be in a relationship	.347	
		I'm shy	.292	
Constraints ($\alpha = .55$)		I'm afraid of my family's and my partner family's opinion ($\alpha = .54$)	My family may not like my partner	.758
	I am afraid my partner's family will not like me		.585	
	I don't want to or can't have children ($\alpha = .56$)	I don't want to have children	.734	.580
		I cannot have children	.589	
	I see many hardships in relations around me ($\alpha = .76$)	I have family problems	.883	.519
		I had a difficult childhood	.855	
	I have physical problems ($\alpha = .55$)	I see the failing relationships of people closest to me	.552	
		I have physical limitations stopping me from having a relationship	.790	.448
		I am gravely ill	.704	

Table 2. Continued

Domains	Factors	Reasons	Factor loadings first order	Factor loadings second order
Difficulties with relationships ($\alpha = .55$)	I had bad experiences in prior relationships ($\alpha = .63$)	I experience sexual difficulties	.353	
		I have bad experiences from previous relationships	.792	.862
	I'm afraid of emotional pain ($\alpha = .83$)	I come across people who have bad influence on me	.672	
		I recently split up	.437	
		I fear betrayal	.758	.470
		I'm afraid of breaking up	.616	
		I'm afraid that my partner might hurt me	.602	
		I'm afraid my partner may die	.547	
		I fear that my partner will have more important things in his life than being with me	.510	
		I fear the lack of love in the relationship	.509	
		I don't want to hurt anyone	.418	
		I am afraid that my partner will not understand me	.339	
		I don't want to risk being in a long-distance relationship	.302	

Source: own elaboration.

4. Study 2

The aim of the second study was to identify potential predictors of the reasons for staying single that were distinguished in Study 1 in order to expand current knowledge on the topic. As priorly indicated, we tested the influence of sex, age, sexual orientation, relationship status and the satisfaction with this status, fear of being single and sociosexual orientation.

4.1. Participants

The participants were recruited through social media, by disseminating survey links on Facebook groups and asking colleagues to help disseminate the link within their social networks. The study was realized in December 2020 in Poland. In the end, 315 participants took part in the study. The data collected in this study is available freely at the Open Science Framework.⁴¹ Demographic characteristics of the sample are provided in Table 1.

4.2. Procedure

Before taking part in the study, each participant was first acquainted with the purpose and aim of the study, which was to understand psychological correlates of the reasons that drive Polish people to stay single. Next, the participants were informed of their rights, such as the freedom of participation or the right to have their results removed from the database at any given moment. After that, the participants answered a questionnaire based on the priorly highlighted reasons of being single, a measure of sociosexual orientation,⁴² a measure of fear of being single⁴³ and a measure of satisfaction with one's relationship status.⁴⁴ Next, the participants were asked a series of demographic questions regarding their sex, age, education, residence, sexual orientation, and relationship status. The participants were also asked if they want to have a partner in the future, and if they have any children. Finally, the participants were asked to provide us, if they wished so, with an individual code created with a first letter of the participants father's name, the first letter of their mother's name, then grandmother's name,

41 https://osf.io/syn69/?view_only=9fc3232035744b28a6a214244b0b1c63.

42 K. S. Jankowski, "Charakterystyka psychometryczna polskiej wersji zrewidowanego Inwentarza Orientacji Socjoseksualnej (SOI-R)" [Psychometric characteristics of the Polish version of the revised version of Inventory of Sociosexual Orientation (SOI-R)], in: Rynkiewicz, A., Jankowski, K. S., and Oniszczenko, W. (eds.), *Wybrane metody i paradygmaty badawcze w psychologii* [Chosen methods and research paradigms in psychology], Warsaw, Poland: Scholar, 2016, pp. 77–92.

43 K. Adamczyk, R. Trepanowski, A. Celejewska, J. Kosińska, A. Mamot, M. Palczewska, K. Rodziejczak, "The Polish adaptation and further validation of the Fear of Being Single Scale (FBSS)," *Current Psychology*, Vol. 40, 2019, pp. 2499–2509. doi: 10.1007/s12144-019-00192-2.

44 K. Adamczyk, "Development and validation of a Polish-language version of the Satisfaction with Relationship Status Scale (ReSta)," *Current Psychology*, Vol. 38, No. 1, 2019, pp 8–20. doi: 10.1007/s12144-017-9585-9.

and their own month of birth. This code is supposed to allow for easy removal of the participants' data from the database if such a need arises.

4.3. Measures

We measured the following variables:

Reasons for being single – measured with the items created in Study 1 of the current paper (see Table 2). We rated 66 items on a seven-point Likert scale from 1 = “not at all true” to 7 = “very true.”

Fear of being single – measured with The Fear of Being Single Scale.^{45,46} The scale consists of 6 items (f.e. “As I get older, it will get harder and harder to find someone.”) rated on a five-point scale from 1 = “not at all true” to 5 = “very true.” ($\alpha = .82$)

Satisfaction with relationship status – measured with the Satisfaction with Relationship Status Scale.⁴⁷ The scale consists of five items (for instance: “Do you enjoy your current status?”) rated on a 4-point scale where 0 = “not at all,” 1 = “a little,” 2 = “to quite some extent,” 3 = “to a great extent.” ($\alpha = .95$)

Sociosexual orientation – measured with the revised sociosexual orientation inventory.⁴⁸ The scale consists of nine items (for instance: “Sex without love is OK.”) rated on either five-point or nine-point scale. In this study the nine-point scale was used, while each subscale used different anchors. The scale consists of three subscales: *promiscuous behaviour* ($\alpha = .79$), *sociosexual attitude* ($\alpha = .77$) and *sociosexual desire* ($\alpha = .79$). The subscale can be summed to form the overall sociosexuality factor ($\alpha = .80$).

4.4. Results

Firstly, all of the items from the reasons for being single questionnaire were subjected to a principal components analysis (PCA) with direct oblimin rotation in Jamovi 1.6.9.⁴⁹ Only the factors with eigenvalue greater than 1 were retained. This was done in order to find into what categories the items fit. The data was suitable for factor detection, as KMO = .877, and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant ($p < .001$). We distinguished 15 factors.

Although for the most part, the items fitted the factors well content-wise, there were some discrepancies that needed to be corrected. For instance, the

45 S. S. Spielmann et al., “Settling for less out of fear of being single,” pp. 1049–1073.

46 K. Adamczyk et al., “The Polish adaptation,” pp. 2499–2509.

47 V. Lehmann et al., “Satisfaction with relationship status,” pp. 169–184. K. Adamczyk, “Development and validation,” pp 8–20.

48 L. Penke et al., “Beyond global sociosexual orientations,” p. 1113–1135. K. S. Jankowski, “Charakterystyka psychometryczna,” pp. 77–92.

49 The jamovi project, *jamovi* (Version 1.2) [Computer Software], 2020, <https://www.jamovi.org>.

item “I don’t want to burden the other person with my own problems’ was originally in the “I have different priorities” factor. Upon closer inspection of the PCA results, we decided to check on what other factors this item loaded onto. It also loaded onto the “I don’t want to be a burden” factor, which made much more sense. Therefore, in the final version of the factors we decided to move it there, possibly sacrificing some of the reliability in order to make sure that all the items fitted the factors well content-wise, and as such increasing the construct validity of the measure. Fortunately, not many items had to be displaced in such a way (9). Overall, even after this, the internal consistencies of the factors were deemed to be sufficient, as they ranged from .54 to .86, with a mean of .69. Exact reliabilities are presented alongside the factors in Table 2.

Next, another PCA with direct oblimin rotation was conducted in order to find out whether the distinguished factors can be classified to even broader categories. Principal components analysis indicated a four-factor solution with a significant Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity ($p < .001$) and a high KMO value (.860). Cronbach alphas for those factors were sufficiently high ranging from .55 to .84, with a mean of .66. Exact alpha values are presented in Table 2.

Of the four distinguished domains, three were similar to the ones that Apostolu⁵⁰ found. Those are “Freedom of choice,” “Constraints” and “Difficulties with relationships.” “Freedom of choice” domain consists of factors relating to an individual’s independence, current priorities, freedom of choice, as well as the ability to flirt freely, avoid making compromises and avoid being a burden to the other person. The “Constraints” domain relates to different factors making the relationship harder to undertake for the individual, that is, physical problems, anxiety about one’s or partner’s family opinion, observed hardships in relationships of others, and the inability or lack of desire to have children. The third domain called “Difficulties with relationships” contains two factors, first relating to bad experiences from prior relations and the second to different relationship-related anxieties and fears. The fourth domain, specific to this study, was named “Psychological difficulties,” as the items forming this domain related to various psychological hardships the individual suffers from, problems in finding the right person and difficulties in attracting the person the individual is attracted to.

50 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271.

4.4.1. *Multivariate analysis of covariance*

In order to examine the significance of the effects of sex, age, sexual orientation, relationship status, fear of being single, status satisfaction and sociosexual orientation on 15 factors and four domains for staying single, we conducted a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA). The domains and the factors while being treated as dependent variables, were analysed independently, that is, first we tested the effects for all 15 factors, and then we tested the effects for all four domains. The tests were conducted with the Bonferroni correction.

Before the analyses, we changed the sex and sexual orientation variables into binary variables, as the number of observations containing non-binary people in sex and people of various orientations in sexual orientation were too low, which might have provided us with unreliable results. In order to do that, we removed two observations where people described themselves as nonbinary, and we collapsed orientations different than heterosexual into a single category (“Other”). As sex had no significant effects at all, it is not reported in Table 3, where means, standard deviations, *d* values and significances are presented for sexual orientation and relationship status in all the domains and factors.

All the results for MANCOVA are presented in Tables 3 and 4. Results from Table 3 show that there are significant differences on both sexual orientation and relationship status in some of the domains and factors. Especially high significant effect sizes are observable on “I like being independent” and “I can’t find the right person” factors, and the “Constraints” domain, showing that single people were more likely to rate those questions higher. For sexual orientation, the “I’m not attractive to the people I’m attracted to” factor has the highest significant effect, which is not surprising, as this factor contains items relating to sexual orientation. Also, non-heterosexual people were more likely to indicate that they cannot, or do not want to have children, they like being independent or that they have different priorities, although the effect sizes for those factors were not high.

As for the results in Table 4, we can see that there is a significant effect of age on different domains and factors, although in every case younger people were more likely to indicate a given reason for singlehood. Moreover, there are numerous significant effects of fear of being single, especially in “Constraints” and “Difficulties with relationships” domains, showing that people who are more afraid of being single, rated those domains higher. In the case of satisfaction with relationship status, there are three significant effects – one on the “Freedom of choice” domain and two on “I have different priorities” and “I like being independent” factors. Those results show that people with higher status satisfaction were more likely to claim that they like being independent, while people

Table 3. Statistics for sexual orientation and relationships status on each factor and domain

Domain/Factor	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M_H(SD)</i>	<i>M_O(SD)</i>	<i>d_{sex orient}</i>	<i>M_S(SD)</i>	<i>M_R(SD)</i>	<i>d_{status}</i>
Freedom of choice	3.19 (1.00)	3.06 (.98)	3.64 (.97)	.019*	3.48 (1.00)	2.79 (.87)	.074***
I have different priorities	3.74 (1.52)	3.57 (1.53)	4.34 (1.34)	.016*	4.04 (1.59)	3.33 (1.32)	.061***
I like being independent	3.52 (1.31)	3.36 (1.24)	4.66 (1.41)	.023**	3.93 (1.27)	2.95 (1.14)	.134***
I want to be free	3.69 (1.55)	3.56 (1.55)	4.16 (1.48)	.015*	4.01 (1.48)	3.25 (1.54)	.031**
I want to be free to flirt around	2.36 (1.13)	2.26 (1.08)	2.70 (1.24)	.004	2.53 (1.14)	2.12 (1.07)	.013*
I'm not willing to compromise	32.27 (1.43)	3.20 (1.40)	3.76 (1.46)	.008	3.53 (1.39)	3.04 (1.44)	.012
I don't want to be a burden	2.50 (1.09)	2.41 (1.06)	2.82 (1.11)	.000	2.83 (1.10)	2.05 (.89)	.029**
Constraints	3.63 (1.13)	3.49 (1.06)	4.11 (1.24)	.024**	4.12 (.95)	2.95 (1.00)	.092***
I have physical problems	1.95 (1.11)	1.88 (1.06)	2.22 (1.24)	.000	2.09 (1.23)	1.76 (.89)	.002
I don't want to or can't have children	2.65 (1.68)	2.35 (1.55)	3.69 (1.71)	.029**	2.88 (1.74)	2.34 (1.55)	.006
I see many hardships in relations around me	2.90 (1.60)	2.75 (1.60)	3.42 (1.52)	.004	2.83 (1.61)	2.99 (1.60)	.000
I'm afraid of my family's and my partner family's opinion	2.60 (1.44)	2.46 (1.36)	3.07 (1.60)	.005	2.54 (1.49)	2.67 (1.36)	.000
Psychological difficulties	2.53 (.96)	2.36 (.88)	3.10 (1.01)	.017*	2.59 (1.01)	2.44 (.89)	.001
I'm experiencing psychological difficulties	3.80 (1.38)	3.69 (1.35)	4.17 (1.43)	.005	4.10 (1.29)	3.38 (1.40)	.005
I'm not attractive to the people I'm attracted to	2.75 (1.37)	2.48 (1.17)	3.69 (1.58)	.077***	3.19 (1.45)	2.15 (.97)	.076***
I can't find the right person	4.34 (1.48)	4.31 (1.46)	4.47 (1.52)	.000	5.08 (1.09)	3.33 (1.33)	.111***
Difficulties with relationships	3.31 (1.19)	3.24 (1.19)	3.56 (1.16)	.008	3.32 (1.19)	3.30 (1.18)	.011
I'm afraid of emotional pain	3.72 (1.34)	3.62 (1.34)	4.09 (1.26)	.001*	3.75 (1.34)	3.68 (.33)	.002
I had bad experiences in prior relationships	2.91 (1.52)	2.87 (1.54)	3.04 (1.46)	.001	2.90 (1.56)	2.92 (1.48)	.013*

Note: sexual orientation and relationship status were dummy coded such that 0 = single/heterosexual, 1 = in relationship/other orientation; H – heterosexual, O – sexual orientation other than heterosexuality, S – single, R – in relationship. **p* <.05. ***p* <.01. ****p* <.001.

Source: own elaboration.

Table 4. Effect sizes for age, FBS, ReSta and SO on each factor and domain

Domain/Factor	Age η^2_p	Fear of being single η^2_p	Status satisfaction η^2_p	Sociosexual orientation η^2_p
Freedom of choice	.020* (-)	.000	.039**(-)	.077***(+)
I have different priorities	.054***(-)	.003	.061***(-)	.049***(+)
I like being independent	.002	.012	.088***(+)	.020*(+)
I want to be free	.014*(-)	.000	.008	.048***(+)
I want to be free to flirt around	.001	.000	.012	.134***(+)
I'm not willing to compromise	.006	.017*(+)	.003	.022**(+)
I don't want to be a burden	.005	.006	.002	.010
Constraints	.013*(-)	.178***(+)	.001	.002
I have physical problems	.004	.005	.007	.021*(-)
I don't want to or can't have children	.004	.035**(-)	.003	.015*(+)
I see many hardships in relations around me	.005	.026**(+)	.001	.032*(+)
I'm afraid of my family's and my partner family's opinion	.015*(-)	.044***(+)	.001	.000
Psychological difficulties	.004	.008	.002	.008
I'm experiencing psychological difficulties	.013*(-)	.118***(+)	.002	.001
I'm not attractive to the people I'm attracted to	.016*(-)	.056***(+)	.007	.009
I can't find the right person	.000	.136***(+)	.002	.002
Difficulties with relationships	.015*(-)	.100***(+)	.000	.056***(+)
I'm afraid of emotional pain	.045***(-)	.130***(+)	.000	.022**(+)
I had bad experiences in prior relationships	.000	.031**(+)	.000	.055***(+)

Note. FBS – Fear of being single, ReSta – relationships status satisfaction, SOI – Sociosexual orientation

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Source: own elaboration.

with lower status satisfaction were more likely to say that they have different priorities. Finally, people who rated higher on the sociosexuality measure, that is, were more promiscuous, were more likely to rate items on “Difficulties with relationships” and “Freedom of choice” domains higher.

5. Discussion

In the present paper we investigated due to what reasons Polish people stay single, and expanded the current knowledge on the topic by testing what is the influence of fear of being single, relationship status and the satisfaction from this status, sociosexual orientation, sexual orientation, age and sex on those reasons. In the first study we distinguished 66 specific reasons for singlehood by conducting in-depth interviews and an online study with open-ended questions. In the second study, with principal components analysis, we grouped those reasons into 15 different factors, which were further grouped into 4 domains: “Freedom of choice,” “Constraints,” “Difficulties with relationships” and “Psychological difficulties.” After that we tested for the influence of the aforementioned variables on the reasons for staying single.

Some of the domains we distinguished in the Polish cultural context were different from those distinguished in the original study by Apostolou (2017), which is not surprising considering that Polish and Greek cultures are different on some aspects, for instance on the individualism and indulgence aspects – Greeks are significantly less individual and more indulgent than Polish people.⁵¹ The main difference was the emergence of the domain “Psychological difficulties” consisting of factors “I’m experiencing psychological problems,” “I’m not attractive to the people I’m attracted to” and “I can’t find the right person.” Such a domain was also not distinguished in a similar study⁵² on a sample of US residents, where the authors managed to highlight four yet different domains. Furthermore, in accordance with the theoretical framework provided by Apostolou,⁵³ the factors we distinguished can be placed in either the fitness-increasing strategies category, or the mismatch problem category. The “Freedom of choice” domain maps to the former, while the remaining three categories map to the latter.

51 Hofstede Insights, *Compare countries*, 2021, <https://www.hofstede-insights.com/product/compare-countries/>, (accessed 10 January 2021).

52 M. Apostolou, O and Esposito, “Singles’ reasons for being single: Empirical evidence from an evolutionary perspective.”

53 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271.

As for factors, while some seem to overlap across previous studies,⁵⁴ and the current one (e.g. “I want to be free to flirt around,” “I have different priorities,” “I have physical problems” or “I had bad experiences in prior relationships”), some are specific for this sample. Especially interesting is the emergence of the factor “I’m afraid of my family’s and my partner’s family’s opinion,” as it shows that in Poland there is high emphasis being put on relations with family, which might influence whether the individual will decide to stay in a relationship. For instance, if the parents of either partner will not approve of the couple, young people might decide to break up. It is also interesting that a factor such as “I see many hardships in relations around me” was distinguished, as it shows that people might get easily discouraged from entering a relationship, while observing failing relations of other people or due to various past experiences. According to prior studies,⁵⁵ relations in the family of origin strongly influence future relations of the individual. For instance, parental divorce leads to a higher chance of getting a divorce by the offspring.⁵⁶ Also the “I don’t want to be a burden” factor provides some unique insight into the process of forming relationships, as it shows that people might decide not to enter relationships due to fear of burdening the other person. Either by their current life situation, socio-economic status or different problems.

Surprisingly, in the current study sex had no effect at all on the reasons for staying single, while the effects were present in both prior studies.⁵⁷ Either in Poland reasons for staying single are not predicted by sex, or simply the number of males in the sample was too small. We believe that the latter is more probable. Instead, both relationship status and sexual orientation had significant effects on

-
- 54 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271. M. Apostolou, O and Esposito, “Singles’ reasons for being single: Empirical evidence from an evolutionary perspective.”
- 55 G. K., Rhoades, S. M. Stanley, H. J. Markman, and E. P. Ragan, “Parents’ Marital Status, Conflict, and Role Modeling: Links with Adult Romantic Relationship Quality,” *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, Vol. 53, No. 5, 2012, pp. 348–367. doi: 10.1080/10502556.2012.675838. C. Segrin, M. E. Taylor, and J. Altman, “Social cognitive mediators and relational outcomes associated with parental divorce,” *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 2005, pp. 361–377. doi: 10.1177/0265407505052441.
- 56 C. Segrin et al., “Social cognitive mediators and relational outcomes associated with parental divorce,” pp. 361–377.
- 57 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271. M. Apostolou, O and Esposito, “Singles’ reasons for being single: Empirical evidence from an evolutionary perspective.”

the reasons for staying single. Non-heterosexual people were more likely to indicate that people whom they are interested in, are not interested in them, meaning that sexual orientation is indeed an impediment in finding a partner. Moreover, the inability or the lack of desire to have children were more often indicated to by non-heterosexual people. This is in line with evolutionary thinking, as one of the main aims of any human being is to reproduce,⁵⁸ and by not being attracted to individuals of the other sex, that becomes significantly less possible. We also observed significant effects of sexual orientation on the “Freedom of choice” domain. As it turns out, non-heterosexual people were more likely to indicate that they have different priorities than being in relationship, or like being independent/free. As prior studies show,⁵⁹ it is harder for people who are not heterosexual to find a stable relationship due to various reasons like homophobic culture, blurring of social roles or simply the lack of partners of the desired orientation. That might in turn lead to prolonged periods of singlehood, which cause non-heterosexual people to get habituated to the state of singlehood more often than in the case of heterosexual people.

There were also significant effects of age on the reasons for being single, that were especially strong in the case of “I have different priorities” and “I’m afraid of emotional pain” factors. Younger people are more likely to claim that they have different priorities, which is in line with the fitness-increasing strategy, as at the younger age it is more profitable for the individual to increase their own fitness in order to attract better partners in the future. Younger people were also more afraid of the emotional pain that sometimes comes with being in a relationship.

As for the relationships status, single people were more likely to rate the reasons from the “Freedom of choice” domain higher in comparison to people in relationships. Considering the effect sizes, the need for independence seems to strongly influence staying single in this case. The same goes for not wanting to be a burden to a potential partner and to possessing different priorities at the moment. That means that people who are not yet in a relationship, consistently with Apostolou’s⁶⁰ study, are following the fitness-increasing strategy in order

58 D. M. Buss, *The evolution of desire: Strategies of human mating*.

59 J. L. Romance, “The impact of internalized homophobia on the satisfaction levels in gay male relationships,” *Dissertation Abstracts International*, Vol. 48(12), No. 3207A, 1988 (ProQuest, AAC8725933). M. J. Rosenfeld, and R. J. Thomas, “Searching for a mate: The rise of the Internet as a social intermediary,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 77, No. 4, 2012, pp. 523–547. doi: 10.1177/0003122412448050. K. Weston, *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship*, New York, USA: Columbia University Press, 1991.

60 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271.

to be able to attract better partners in the future. Moreover, single people were more likely to indicate that they have not yet found the right partner. Finally, single people more often than people in relationships claim that there are some constraints keeping them from committing, or that they are not attractive to the people they are attracted to. This shows that the unpartnered participants perceived themselves as experiencing some sort of personal or social issues keeping them from finding a partner, while for partnered participants this was not the case, as they were already in a relationship, and any such issues, if present, were not perceived as such an obstacle in finding a partner.

As for satisfaction with relationship status, participants who were not satisfied with their status were more likely to rate the factor “I have different priorities” and the whole domain “Freedom of choice” averagely higher. It does make sense, as having different priorities does not necessarily mean that a person desires to be single. This might simply mean that in order to increase one’s own fit, even at the cost of happiness, people decide to stay single. With that sacrifice, in a way, people might be securing their future happiness, as then they will be able to attract a better partner. Moreover, people satisfied with their relationship status rated the items on the factor “I like being independent” higher. That indicates that being satisfied with being single is related to the desire for independence.

We can also see that people who were more afraid of being single, rated almost every factor in domains associated with the mismatch problem, that is “Constraints,” “Psychological difficulties” and “Difficulties with relationships” significantly higher than people who were not as afraid of being single. Although, for the factor “I don’t want to or can’t have children” the relationship was reversed, showing that people not afraid of being single tended to rate higher. This possibly indicates that people who are not reproducing do not feel the same kind of desire to find a partner as people who feel the need to reproduce, and as such they do not feel the fear of being single as strongly. Consequently, people who do not want or cannot have children, will not settle for less, and will look for a potential partner without lowering their standards. While considering settling for less, it is important to note that people fearing being single, also rated higher “I can’t find the right person” factor, which might mean that even though they fear being single and might settle for less, they realise that this is not the best possible partner they can acquire. Furthermore, people fearing being single rated the “I experience psychological problems” factor and the “Constraints” domain highly, which shows that due to experiencing various difficulties, such as inability to trust others or the lack of belief in oneself, people might fear that they will not find a partner. Similarly, participants fearing being single also feared that by committing in a relationship, they might experience further emotional problems

due to lack of love in a relationship, or the partner not caring about them. From the evolutionary perspective, one might say that those participants feared that a potential partner would not focus their resources on them, as they do not possess high enough reproductive value. On the other hand, fearing lack of love is also perfectly in line with prior evolutionary studies⁶¹ as love is a universal phenomenon observable independent of culture, and is something desired from a partner in order to be able to create a fulfilling relationship.

Finally, we found that more promiscuous people or the people preferring short-term relationships, consistently with our predictions, are more likely to stay single, in order to be able to flirt around or due to having different priorities and placing high value on their own freedom and independence. By having different priorities people might have less time to engage in long-term relationships, but still, they might desire to possess partners, even if temporary, as such they engage in multiple short-term relationships. This both increases their chance of reproduction at the given time and allows to hone their flirting skill for the possible future long-term relations.⁶² Interestingly, people who experienced difficulties in prior relationships, were more likely to follow short-term strategies of partner acquisition. That indicates that after a failing relationship, people are less interested in another serious relationship. There was also a significant effect of promiscuity on the factor “I see many hardships in relations around me,” which consisted of items relating to childhood problems, family problems, and the failing relations of people close to the participant. It is especially interesting, as it is in line with numerous psychological studies showing that difficult childhood or family situations are factors strongly influencing the ability to create a healthy long-term relationship.”⁶³

This study, of course, is not without limitations. First of all, the number of male participants in the second study was inadequate and that might have led to the lack of effects of sex on the reasons for staying single. Second of all, the age of participants was not representative for Poland, and even though we managed

61 D. M. Buss, *The evolution of desire: Strategies of human mating*.

62 M. Apostolou, “Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective,” pp. 263–271.

63 Z. Apostolidou, “Are childhood experiences with parents linked to feelings in romantic relationships during adulthood?,” *The New School Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2006, pp. 63–85. K. A., Black, and E. D. Schutte, “Recollections of Being Loved,” *Journal of Family Issues*, Vol. 27, No. 10, 2006, pp. 1459–1480. doi: 10.1177/0192513x06289647. E.-M. Merz, and S. Jak, “The long reach of childhood. Childhood experiences influence close relationships and loneliness across life,” *Advances in Life Course Research*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2013, pp. 212–222. doi: 10.1016/j.alcr.2013.05.002.

to distinguish some effects of age on the reasons for staying single, those effects might have been different if we managed to find participants more varying in age. Third of all, this study like the original Apostolou's⁶⁴ study was confined to only one cultural context, and as such, the results apply only to Polish people.

Nevertheless, this study expanded the knowledge on the reasons for staying single, by investigating them in a different culture than prior studies. With the growing number of cultures where this problem is being explored it becomes more possible to compare the results across countries. For instance, we were able to notice that in comparison to the residents of the USA and Cyprus,⁶⁵ Polish people place higher value on family opinion when considering partnering up. Furthermore, we were able to find significant effects of sexual orientation on the reasons for staying single, showing that non-heterosexual people might be single due to different reasons than heterosexual people. We also identified the effects of sociosexual orientation, fear of being single, relationship status and the satisfaction with status on the reasons for staying single, thus successfully finding new explanations for why people may decide to stay single.

References

- Adamczyk, K., "Development and validation of a Polish-language version of the Satisfaction with Relationship Status Scale (ReSta)," *Current Psychology*, Vol. 38, No. 1, 2017, pp 8–20. doi: 10.1007/s12144-017-9585-9.
- Adamczyk, K., Trepanowski, R., Celejewska, A., Kosińska, J., Mamot, A., Palczewska, M., and Rodziejczak, K., "The Polish adaptation and further validation of the Fear of Being Single Scale (FBSS)," *Current Psychology*, Vol. 40, 2019, pp. 2499–2509. doi: 10.1007/s12144-019-00192-2.
- Antonovics, K., Town, R., "Are all the good men married? Uncovering the sources of the marital wage premium," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 94, 2004, pp. 317–321. doi: 10.1257/0002828041301876
- Apostolidou, Z., "Are childhood experiences with parents linked to feelings in romantic relationships during adulthood?," *The New School Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2006, pp. 63–85.
- Apostolou, M., "An evolutionary account of the prevalence of personality traits that impair intimate relationships," *Personality and Individual Differences*, Vol. 94, 2016, pp. 140–148. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2016.01.024.

64 M. Apostolou, "Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective," pp. 263–271.

65 M. Apostolou, "Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective," pp. 263–271.

- Apostolou, M., "Why people stay single: An evolutionary perspective," *Personality and Individual Differences*, Vol. 111, 2017, pp. 263–271. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2017.02.034
- Apostolou, M., Papadopoulou, I., and Georgiadou, P., "Are People Single by Choice? Involuntary Singlehood in an Evolutionary Perspective," *Evolutionary Psychological Science*, Vol. 5, 2018, pp. 416–425. doi: 10.1007/s40806-018-0169-1
- Apostolou, M., O, J., and Esposito, G., "Singles' reasons for being single: Empirical evidence from an evolutionary perspective," *Frontiers in psychology*, Vol. 11, 2020. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00746.
- Bellas, M., "The effects of marital status and wives' employment on the salaries of facultymen: The (house) wife bonus," *Gender & Society*, Vol. 6, 1992, pp. 609–622. doi: 10.1177/089124392006004005.
- Black, K. A., Schutte, E. D., "Recollections of Being Loved," *Journal of Family Issues*, Vol. 27, No. 10, 2006, pp. 1459–1480. doi: 10.1177/0192513x06289647.
- Buss, D. M., Schmitt, D. P., "Sexual Strategies Theory: An evolutionary perspective on human mating," *Psychological Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2, 1993, pp. 204–232. doi: 10.1037/0033-295x.100.2.204
- Buss, D. M., *The evolution of desire: Strategies of human mating (4th ed.)*. New York, USA: Basic Books, 2017.
- Conley, T. D., Collins, B. E., "Gender, relationship status, and stereotyping about sexual risk," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 28, 2002, pp. 1483–1494. doi: 10.1177/014616702237576
- Davis, A. G., Strong, P. M., "Working without a net: The bachelor as a social problem," *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 25, 1977, pp. 109–129. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-954X.1977.tb00281.x
- Day, M. V., Kay, A. C., Holmes, J. G., Napier, J. L., "System justification and the defense of committed relationship ideology," *Journal of personality and social psychology*, Vol. 101, No. 2, 2011, pp. 291–306. doi: 10.1037/a0023197
- DePaulo, B. M., Morris, W. L., "Singles in society and in science," *Psychological Inquiry*, Vol. 16, No. 2–3, 2005, pp. 57–83. doi: 10.1080/1047840X.2005.9682918.
- Greitemeyer, T., "Stereotypes of singles: Are singles what we think?," *European Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 39, 2009, pp. 368–383. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.542.
- Hofstede Insights, *Compare countries*, 2021, <https://www.hofstede-insights.com/product/compare-countries/>, (accessed 10 January 2021).
- Jackson, J. J., Kirkpatrick, L. A., "The structure and measurement of human mating strategies: Toward a multidimensional model of sociosexuality," *Evolution and Human Behavior*, Vol. 28, No. 6, 2007, pp. 382–391. doi: 10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2007.04.005

- Jankowski, K. S., "Charakterystyka psychometryczna polskiej wersji zrewidowanego Inwentarza Orientacji Socjoseksualnej (SOI-R)" [Psychometric characteristics of the Polish version of the revised version of Inventory of Sociosexual Orientation (SOI-R)], in: Rynkiewicz, A., Jankowski, K. S., and Oniszczenko, W. (eds.), *Wybrane metody i paradygmaty badawcze w psychologii* [Chosen methods and research paradigms in psychology]. Warsaw, Poland: Scholar, 2016, pp. 77–92.
- Krueger, J., Heckhausen, J., Hundertmark, J., "Perceiving middle-aged adults: Effects of stereotype-congruent and incongruent information," *Journal of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences*, Vol. 50B, 1995, pp. 82–93. doi:10.1093/geronb/50B.2.P82.
- Lehmann, V., Tuinman, M. A., Braeken, J., Vingerhoets, A. J. J. M., Sanderman, R., Hagedoorn, M., "Satisfaction with relationship status: Development of a new scale and the role in predicting well-being," *Journal of Happiness Studies*, Vol. 16, 2015, pp. 169–184. doi: 10.1007/s10902-014-9503-x.
- Liamputtong, P., *Qualitative research methods (3rd ed.)*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Merz, E.-M., Jak, S., "The long reach of childhood. Childhood experiences influence close relationships and loneliness across life," *Advances in Life Course Research*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2013, pp. 212–222. doi: 10.1016/j.alcr.2013.05.002
- Ostovich, J. M., Sabini, J. (2004), "How are sociosexuality, sex drive, and lifetime number of sexual partners related?," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 30, No. 10, 2004, pp. 1255–1266. doi: 10.1177/0146167204264754.
- Penke, L., Asendorpf, J. B., "Beyond global sociosexual orientations: a more differentiated look at sociosexuality and its effects on courtship and romantic relationships," *Journal of personality and social psychology*, Vol. 95, No. 5, 2008, p. 1113–1135. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.95.5.1113
- Polish Central Statistical Office, *Gospodarstwa domowe i rodziny. Charakterystyka demograficzna. Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011* [Households and families. Demographic Characteristics. National Population and Housing Census 2011]. Warsaw, Poland: Zakład Wydawnictw Statystycznych, 2014.
- Polish Central Statistical Office, *Prognoza gospodarstw domowych na lata 2016–2050* [Household projection 2016–2050]. Warsaw, Poland: Zakład Wydawnictw Statystycznych, 2016.
- Rhoades, G. K., Stanley, S. M., Markman, H. J., Ragan, E. P., "Parents' Marital Status, Conflict, and Role Modeling: Links with Adult Romantic Relationship Quality," *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, Vol. 53, No. 5, 2012, pp. 348–367. doi: 10.1080/10502556.2012.675838

- Romance, J. L., "The impact of internalized homophobia on the satisfaction levels in gay male relationships," *Dissertation Abstracts International*, Vol. 48(12), No. 3207A, 1988 (ProQuest, AAC8725933).
- Rosenfeld, M. J., Thomas, R. J., "Searching for a mate: The rise of the Internet as a social intermediary," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 77, No. 4, 2012, pp. 523–547. doi: 10.1177/0003122412448050
- Segrin, C., Taylor, M. E., Altman, J., "Social cognitive mediators and relational outcomes associated with parental divorce," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 2005, pp. 361–377. doi: 10.1177/0265407505052441.
- Simpson, J. A., Gangestad, S. W., "Individual differences in sociosexuality: evidence for convergent and discriminant validity," *Journal of personality and social psychology*, Vol. 60, No. 6, 1991, pp. 870–883. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.60.6.870
- Spielmann, S. S., MacDonald, G., Maxwell, J. A., Joel, S., Peragine, D., Muise, A., Impett, E. A., "Settling for less out of fear of being single," *Journal of personality and social psychology*, Vol. 105, No. 6, 2013, pp. 1049–1073. doi: 10.1037/a0034628
- Statista Research Department, *Number of single-person households in the United States from 1960 to 2020*, <https://www.statista.com/>, 2020 (accessed 03 January 2021).
- Toutkoushian, R. K., "Racial and marital status differences in faculty pay," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 69, 1998, pp. 513–529 doi: 10.1080/00221546.1998.11775149
- The jamovi project, *jamovi* (Version 1.2) [Computer Software], 2020, <https://www.jamovi.org>.
- U.S. Census Bureau, *America's families and living arrangements: 2016*. Washington, USA: BLS, 2016.
- Weston, K., *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press, 1991.