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MODERN SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES AND PHENOMENA: POLISH AND MACEDONIAN PERSPECTIVES

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Introduction

We are glad to present a Polish–Macedonian volume about modern phenomena, challenges and problems reviewed in social and educational perspective. The publication was prepared within the cooperation between Polish academic units and St. Clement of Ohrid University of Bitola (Универзитет Св. Климент Охридски – Битола). The aim of the monograph is an attempt to outline the most important contemporary problems, issues and also changes in the social and educational space. The authors – in the wide interdisciplinary perspective – attempt to set and confront the above-mentioned in the perspective of the two distant countries that seem not to have much in common, yet, are extremely similar and close to each other.

Macedonia is one of the youngest countries of the Balkan peninsula. This country - proclaimed a state on 2 August 1944 - was part of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia until 1991. The election carried out in 1990, and a referendum carried out on 8 September 1991, set a new direction for internal transformations and paved the way for national independence, of which the crowning moment was the proclamation of the Independent Republic of Macedonia on 17 November 1991. Currently, Macedonia has been facing a number of challenges which resemble greatly the problems Poland faced in the 1990's, right after the system transformation, gaining independence from the "block" and preparing for integration with Western Europe and its structures. These problems are, among others, connected with the young age of the democratic system, the dynanmics of socio-economic changes including those resulting from country's long dependency from Belgrad. Macedonia, as a country on the edge of cultures, is characterized by diversity, rich cultural traditions, which in the context of modern geopolitics are both a capital and a load. Legacy of the ancient times and Byzantium, 500 years of Turkish reign, diverse folklore, multiethnic character, national identity problems - including nationalisms, problems with stabilization of the young country resulting from historical conditions and difficult neighborhood in the context of modern geopolitics – these are only some of the issues from a wide catalogue of such.

This publication is, however, not a book about Macedonia. The perspective of two distant, but experiencing similar moments of history and undergoing similar changes, countries is a point of reference for the attempts to answer the questions focused around the most pressing problems and challenges of modern times. Such an arrangement, due to the distance of 1.500 kilometers, may seem peculiar. However, as we gain the knowledge about the matter, the numerous similarities between Macedonians and Poles, which are visible in almost every sphere of life, especially in the matter of mentality become more important than geographic and cultural distance. Mecodonian discourse in Poland has been carried out successfully, especially in work of professor Maciej Kawka and professor Irena Stawowy-Kawka. It is worth mentioning that in Macedonia, cultural and historical issues of Poland are not considered distant. Moreover, Poles are widely recognized and welcomed in the young country, partly because of the relations established due to crisis situations which the state had to face in the XX century. Poland was also one of the first countries that acknowledged the independence of Macedonia.

The authors of the book present the selected contemporary key problems, phenomena and challenges in social and educational space. They discuss the future and directions of development as well as dangers and threats, challenges, chances and problems in the area of modern social changes, also in the context of accession to and entering the EU structures as well as geopolitical, cultural and economic conditions both in Polish and Macedonian perspective.

The publication presents reflections, comparisons, research results and observations in interdisciplinary manner, especially in the educational, sociological and cultural space. We hope that the book will find its place in the successful and even more popular Polish-Macedonian discourse and will contribute to it.

Michał Szyszka Łukasz Tomczyk Valentina Gulewska Dobri Petrowski

GRZEGORZ BAZIUR

THE IMPACT OF MACEDONIA ON THE GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION OF THE BALKAN STATES IN VIEW OF ITS ACCESSION TO THE EURO-ATLANTIC STRUCTURES (1991-2013) – SELECTED PROBLEMS

The origin of the Macedonian issue and its main stages until 1945

The Republic of Macedonia is one of the countries which in the 21st century, despite their small areas, may play a decisive role in the European geopolitics of powers, because of its multi-ethnic society at least. In the early 20th century, Macedonia was populated by Orthodox and Muslim Macedonians who often considered themselves to be a regional variety of the Bulgarians. Macedonia was also inhabited by Turks, Albanians, Greeks, Gypsies (Turkish speaking and Muslims), Vlachs and Jews. The dialects which they used are in the intermediate zone between Bulgarian and Serbian languages. Also in schools which were financially supported by the authorities of Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and the Ottoman Empire teachers used one out of the four languages as the language of instruction, and three countries claimed the Macedonian territories which Turkey wanted to keep for itself only (I. Stawowy-Kawka, 1993, p. 9-26). On the history of this country and its role in regional geopolitics as the decisive factor, many Polish and foreign, especially Macedonian, publications have been published. Due to the volume restrictions of this paper, the reference literature has been listed in the bibliography and references in the text.

The fight for Macedonian independence began with the creation of the Internal Macedonian-Ordinian Revolutionary Organization (VMORO-VMRO) on 23 October 1893, in Thessaloniki. The organization changed its name to the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO; Olszewski, 2010, p. 47; cf. Gawryś, 2009, p. 52-60). However, its leaders' Bulgarian and Serbian influences intersected, which led to a conflict of interest. Unfortunately, neither the Ilinden Uprising of 1903 nor the participation in the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 did not result in the liberation of Macedonia from the Bulgaria, Greek and Serbian power (Olszewski, 2010, p. 51-53; Gawryś, 2009, p. 80-95). The Balkan war between 1912 and 1913 were the crowning moment of the emancipation and the struggle of the South Slavonic peoples for independence. At the same moment, Macedonia began to play the role of a "geopolitical destructor" of the region. Its area became the scene of intense competition between Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. Each

of these states was aware of the possibility to directly impact the rivals, resulting from indirect or direct control over Vardar Macedonia. It was a dispute over this area that led to the outbreak of the so-called Second Balkan War when the recent allies (Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece) began a bloody fight for the Macedonian land. A year after the Second Balkan War ended, on 1 August 1914, the First World War broke out, which eventually divided Macedonia into three parts: Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian (Stawowy-Kawka, 1993, p. 12; cf. Znamierowska-Rakk, 2011, p. 53-60).

The area of the Aegean Macedonia belonging to Greece had 34.6 km² and included the following cities: Drama, Serres, Thessaloniki, Vodena/Edessa, Kostur. However, in 1918 and 1945, a number of migration processes occurred there: Macedonians migrated to Bulgaria, Vlachs to Romania, Turks to Turkey, and their place was taken by the Greek settlers from Bulgaria and Turkey (Paszkiewicz, 2011, p. 191-201). In consequence, this territory became a Greek region with only 150 thousand Macedonians, gathered in Vodena (Edessa) district, in a population of 2 million. The Macedonians have not been recognised by the Greek authorities who consider them "slavophone Greeks" and have refused them a permission for even the slightest cultural autonomy. The Macedonian movement has also been suppressed by police repression, which impedes collaboration by creating a conflict that is unnecessary given the fact that a cultural autonomy for the Macedonian minority of 150 thousand people could not threaten the integrity of the Greek state. The uncompromising stand of the Greek government has continuously been causing tensions, which has resulted in mass demonstrations on the Greek border, especially since February 1990. In Macedonia, the conflict with Greece puts people in pro-Serbian and pro-Bulgarian moods, while the Greek government's policy towards the Albanian minority, which is equally repressive, meets with full understanding in Skopje (Stawowy-Kawka, 1993, p.17-20; cf. eadem, 2011, p. 203-212).

The Serbian part of the country, Vardar Macedonia, which covers an area of 26.7 km², had been named South Serbia by the Serbs and between 1913 and 1918 was subject to serbianisation, which resulted in a hostile attitude of the local population who went against the Serbian domination. VMRO, supported by the Bulgarian government and its intelligence service, collaborated with the Croatian Ustaše and the fascist Italians, waging a terrorist fight against Serbia. Outside the country, anti-Yugoslavian activity was also undertaken by the Macedonian separatists led by Ivan Mihailov from the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. Their plan was to unite Macedonia after seizing Vardar Macedonia from Yugoslavia and uniting it with Pirin Macedonia belonging to Bulgaria, and Aegean Macedonia belonging to Greece.

The Croatian separatism, with its leader, general Ante Pavelić, was generating propaganda whose aim was to break Yugoslavia apart and establish the Croatian state. In 1930, colonel Ante Pavelić created a terrorist organization "Ustaša", whose members were Croatian nationalists. Both separatist movements were united by the common enemy: Yugoslavia under the dictatorial rule of king Aleksandar I Karadorđević. The country was struck by terrorist attacks like the one in Zagreb on 1 December 1932, when bombs were planted at various points in the city. The most important action prepared by both organizations was the assassination of king Aleksandar I Karađorđević, which took place on 9 October 1934, in Marseille (Olszewski, 2010, p. 68). The victims were the King and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Louis Barthou, who were shot with a machine gun by a member of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO), Vlado Makedonski a.k.a. Veličko Georgiev Kerin. After the assassination, he was caught and lynched by a crowd. The assassin's accomplices: Mijo Kralj, Zvonimir Pospišil and Milan Rajić were sentenced to life imprisonment by the French court. The organizers of the assassination, including A. Pavelić, were sentenced to death by the French court, but at that time, they were in Italy and Benito Mussolini's fascist government did not extradite them to France. These events, as well as the interference of the intelligence services of Bulgaria and Italy, led to the situation when - in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes - and - since 1929, in Yugoslavia - Macedonia was one of the most trouble spots of that country. The role of Macedonia shaped this way significantly weakened in the times of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia when all ethnic and historical conflicts were often artificially suppressed (Stawowy-Kawka, 1993, p. 21-25).

The Bulgarian occupation, which began after the defeat of Yugoslavia in 1941, did not consider Macedonian distinctiveness either, which led to the Serbs' turning their backs on Bulgaria. In the circumstances of military defeat and the country's occupation by the Axis powers' armies, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia decided to end the Bulgarian-Serbian competition in Macedonia by recognising the existence of the Macedonian nation as separate to the Serbian and Bulgarian ones. This allowed for keeping Macedonia within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after the war. In 1943, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia formally proclaimed the Republic of Macedonia, recognising also the emerging literary Macedonian language. The CPY activists also influenced the shaping post-war Macedonian elite (Stawowy-Kawka, 1993, p. 86-112), which, however, could be achieved only after the end of the German occupation.

Within the Yugoslav Federation (1945-1991)

In 1945, in the northern part of Macedonia, the authorities established a federal republic *Makedonija* as a part of Yugoslavia, thus starting a process of "social engineering" in the form of simplification of history and identity change of the entire population. The leaders of the country intended to reverse the consequences of the Bulgarian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and to reject the culture of ancient Greece which they found nationalist. The Slavonic dialect of the Macedonian political elite was given the status of a separate Old Church Slavonic language, recognised as "Old Macedonian". This policy of the Yugoslav Federation authorities allowed them to raise a generation of Macedonians in the spirit of the "Big Idea" of the Slavonic Macedonia having a centuries-old history (Davies, 2004, p. 165). However, Serbo-Macedonian conflicts could not be avoided, such as those between 1946 and 1948, during the negotiations on the boundary line between Serbia and Macedonia within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The central authorities in Belgrade even feared the outbreak of the clashes on ethnic grounds. The question was finally resolved by demarcation of a boundary line favourable to the Serbs by a mixed Serbo-Macedonian government commission. Only after the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, the Macedonian government put a proposition to the government of new Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro) of changing the boundary line for the one which would be fairer for the Macedonian side (Dziewiałtowski-Gintowt, 2011, p. 241-249).

One of the first actions was to determine the Macedonian written language. Initially, the dialect of northern Macedonia was chosen as its basis by the authorities in Belgrade but, as the dialect was considered too similar to the Serbian language, they chose the Bitola-Veles dialect as the standard. The Bitola-Veles dialect was similar to the Bulgarian language, however, the fact that Bulgarians based their language on the Eastern Bulgarian dialects allowed for recognition of the linguistic distinctiveness of the Macedonians, which has remained an issue of dispute in the Bulgaro-Macedonian relations. Between 1945 and 1952, the alphabet and the spelling and grammar rules were defined. The Macedonian language became the youngest Slavonic language. A significant impact on the national literature was that of, among others, the author of White Dawns, Kočo Racin and his first collection of poems published in 1939 in Macedonian (Siemieniuk, 2002, p. 57). Apart from the language, the republic needed its own historical references, therefore new coursebooks were published. However, their content was questioned by Bulgarians who considered some of the Macedonian historical figures, for example, medieval ruler Samuel or Gotse Delchev are their national heroes. The 19th-century leaders of the Macedonian national movement and the creators of culture were also included in the national history even though their self-awareness was not explicitly Macedonian (Pietruszewski, 2002, p. 4).

Another important tool of the government of the Yugoslav Macedonia on their way to the "creation" of the Macedonian nation was liberation of the Orthodox Church from the Serbian control and the restoration of the Archdiocese of Ohrid in 1958. It was an example of the joint actions of atheistic authorities and religious centres. As a result of the implementation of the "divide et impera" principle in the religious politics, the Serbian Orthodox Church has not accepted the autocephalicity of the Macedonian Orthodox Church proclaimed on 16th July 1967 until the present moment. The communist authorities responded with repression to all manifestations of pro-Bulgarian sympathy – even in 1991, Nedka Doneva Ivanova was arrested and fined for claiming that all Macedonians were Bulgarians. Until 1989, a provision of the Constitution of Yugoslavia defined Macedonia as "the state of the Macedonians and the Albanian and Turkish minorities" (Poulton, 2000, p. 54). In the period when Vardar Macedonia constituted a part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the SFRY authorities created a sense of ethnic and national distinctiveness of the Macedonians.

A multi-party system introduced in 1990 allowed for forming political parties and holding free elections to all the authorities. On 11 and 25 November 1990, the parliamentary elections were held in Macedonia. However, out of 1,320 thousand votes in the first round of voting, only 761 thousand votes were valid and the remaining 560 thousand were invalid. In this situation, a by-election was held on 9 December. As a result, the society elected 120 members of parliament from: the Party for Democratic Prosperity (an Albanian minority party) who obtained 18 seats; the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - VMRO-DPMNE (which together with MAAK, NPM and DS-PZM formed a part of the national front) – 32 seats, the coalition of the Union of Reform Forces of Macedonia (SRSM) and the Socialist Party of Macedonia (SPM) got 4 seats, while the SRSM alone and with SPM – 16 seats and the League of Communists of Macedonia – Party for Democratic Change (SKM-PDP) got 28 seats in the parliament. The post-communist powers got 48 seats. On 27 January 1991, the parliament elected Kiro Gligorov president. He used to be an employee of the central government apparatus and spoke Serbian better than Macedonian. His protégé, Nikola Kljusev formed a government with a coalition of the pro-communist parties and VMRO. The latter received one Ministry and the office of the Vice President for the leader of the party, Ljubčo Georgievski, who thus neutralised his opponent, a former oppositionist and political prisoner, Dragan Bogdanovski (Crna, 2012, p. 35).

The main problems of the foreign policy of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – FYROM after 1991: Albania, Bulgaria and Greece

Supported by the parties of the National Front, VMRO had always demanded a breakup of the Yugoslav Federation and the independence of Macedonia. The Social Democratic Union of Macedonia also proposed a union of sovereign states with identical law. But on 25 January 1991, the parliament voted in favour of a sovereignty declaration which stated the right to self-determination and secession. From that moment on, the federal law was no longer in force in the republic either if it was contrary to the Macedonian law.

After the death of a soldier, Sašo Gešovski in Split, the Movement for All-Macedonian Action (MAAK) started the action of signing petitions to the authorities to reduce the territory of the Macedonian soldiers' service exclusively to the territory of Macedonia which, since 13 May 1991, constituted the third military district with the headquarters in Wrzesnik. On 12-13 May 1991, the Macedonian parliament demanded that the largest percentage of the Macedonian recruits would serve in Macedonia, which could give rise to the national army. The parliament stood also for a union of sovereign states which would retain the same borders as during the existence of Yugoslavia (Darski, 1991).

According to the census of 1981, the Macedonian society was ethnically divided. The total of 1.9 million inhabitants of the country included 1.3 million Macedonians, which accounted for 67%, 377 thousand Albanians – that is 17%, 130 thousand Turks and Gypsies, and 44 thousand Serbs. To this day, the Albanian minority accounts for the vast majority in the area located between the Albanian border and the line of Kičevo (45% of Albanians), Gostivar (63%), Tetovo (70%) and Kumanovo (31%). This region was incorporated into Albania during the war. The Albanian minority is growing rapidly and today its number is estimated at 550 thousands, which accounts for 25% of the Macedonian citizens. In the long run, the high birth rate of Albanians poses a threat that the Macedonians may become a minority in their own country, hence the anti-Albanianism of Macedonians. The Albanian-Turkish and Macedonian competition, whose subject are the Muslims Macedonians (Stawowy-Kawka, 1993, p. 25), has to be mentioned too.

After returning from Athens on 18 April 1991, the president of Yugoslavia Slobodan Milošević talked in Ohrid about "traditional friendship" between Serbia and Greece but did not mention a word about Macedonia, assuming that if Serbia and Greece were the "neighbour countries", there was no place for Macedonia. Milošević's words, said on the Macedonian land, sounded like a threat, especially given the fact that, at that time, Dragan Atanasovski established in Kumanovo the Macedonian branch of the Communist Party under the name of the Movement for Yugoslavia, which indicated a strong relationship between the Macedonian communists and Serbs.

However, Milošević was considering two alternative solutions in the policy towards Macedonia: to support the Greater Macedonia loyal to Serbia or to divide the republic. Serbian nationalism also become an obstacle on the Macedonian way to independence. For this reason, Macedonians preferred a confederation (a union of countries), which did not satisfy Serbs as it would bring Macedonians closer to Croats who had entered into an anti-Serbian alliance with Albanians (who were in conflict with Macedonia). A confederation would protect Macedonia from its neighbours, including Serbia which, in the case of a federation being established, and especially extended with the Eastern republics, could take possession of Macedonia and independence would soon leave the country as prey to its neighbours (Korzeniewska-Wiszniewska, 2011, p. 227).

After the meeting in Split on 28 March 1991, the president of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov declared: "We are in favour of a union of sovereign states, but the foundations of this union has to be specified. Macedonia is interested in maintaining the community (union) based on the consent of all the states. On the other hand, if such a union is not formed, therefore, if Slovenia declares secession (and in this case, according to President Tuđman's declaration, Croatia does not remain in the union), Macedonia will decide to become independent because it will have a serious problem with accepting the new situation and the existence in what would remain of the federation, where the interests and the balance of power would be completely different and new" ("Danas", 1 April 1991).

Both the geographical location and mountainous terrain, have predisposed Macedonia to play an important geopolitical role in this region of Europe for centuries. The Rhodope Massif, on whose territory some historical lands of the state are located, creates a system/network of particular cavities and gorges. One of them called the Morava-Vardar axis forms the mouth of the Pannonian Basin towards the Aegean Sea and Asia Minor. It was one of the most important routes linking Western Europe with the northern areas of Asia Minor. This strategic axis bends at the so-called Kosovan Gate, which constitutes a specific inlet into the territory of present-day Macedonia. This natural descent, particularly in the area of the valley of the rivers Lepenac and Nerodimka, became the getaway through which these areas became a destination of intensive Albanian settlement in the early 20th century. From

a geopolitical point of view, Macedonia is a well fortified structural basin protected by the Dinaric Alps, the Šar Mountains and the Rhodopes (Moczulski, 1999, p. 168).

Today's Macedonia is only one third of its historic territory which, apart from Vardar Macedonia, included also Pirin Macedonia, part of which belongs now to Bulgaria, and Aegean Macedonia belonging to Greece. This question is the foundation of the dispute between Greece and Macedonia led by the governments in Skopje and Athens for a long time. The Greek authorities refuse Macedonians the right to use the name of "Macedonia", which is justified from a geographical point of view. The problem of the relationship between Macedonia and Greece focuses on Macedonia's geopolitical position in the region virtually from the very creation of the Republic.

Although boycotted by the Albanians, Macedonia held a referendum on 8 September 1991. The total of 95.26% of the voters were in favour of the withdrawal from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On 17th September, the Assembly recognised the results of the referendum and proclaimed the independence of Macedonia. Two months later, on 17 November, president Kiro Gligorov announced the creation of a sovereign state: the Republic of Macedonia, and the parliament adopted a new constitution. In Article 4, Chapter I, it guarantees the equality of all citizens of the Republic and defines Macedonian as the official language, and Cyrillic as the official alphabet. After Macedonia breaking the ties with Yugoslavia, it was first recognised as a new state by Bulgaria on 15 January 1992. This decision represented a significant change in relation to the policies pursued between 1958 and 1990 and resulted from the intention to prevent the escalation of the Bulgarian-Macedonian conflict. However, this decision was not synonymous with the recognition the Macedonians' distinctiveness, but rather a shift of the discussion to the historical and cultural levels. Despite passing to a cooperation policy, the complete settlement of mutual relations was impeded by the Bulgarians' rejection of the Macedonian language, which the government in Sofia only recognised in April 1990. Generally, it is believed in Bulgaria that a separate Macedonian nation does not exist, and Macedonians are deemed Bulgarians (Skieterska, 2006c, p. 10). Despite these doubts, on 15 January 1992, Bulgaria recognised en bloc the four states established after the breakup of Yugoslavia, including Macedonia, which was confirmed in the statements of the Bulgarian Prime Minister Philip Dimitrov and President Zhelyu Zhelev. However, Bulgaria clearly recognised only the state, not the nation, whose language was regarded as one of the dialects of the Bulgarian language. This thesis was confirmed by the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Stoyan Ganev in his statement of 10 February 1992, when he said that: "Bulgaria does not recognise the existence of the Macedonian nation or the existence of the minority related to the Republic of Macedonia" (Woźnica, 2011, p. 234).

Earlier, already on 3 May 1990, the Macedonian Scientific Institute resumed its activity in Sofia. The Institute recognised the population of Pirin Macedonia as Bulgarians and denied the distinctiveness of the Macedonian language. The discussion in Bulgaria has not resulted in a common standpoint. The programme of the United Macedonian Organization Ilinden-Pirin (Obedineta Makedonska Organizacija Ilinden-Pirin, OMO Ilinden-Pirin), a political party created in 1995, confirmed the existence of the Macedonian nation and therefore aimed at enactment of minority rights for the Macedonians in Bulgaria. Since the early 1990s, the organisation issued a newspaper Pirinska Kambana and a magazine Narodna Wolja of a historical and cultural profile. However, the Bulgarian authorities feared a Macedonian separatism and, in consequence, the first Macedonian organisation in Bulgaria (VMRO-nezavisima, VMRO-independent) was only registered in 1998 (Pietruszewski 2002, p. 4; cf. Woźnica, 2011, p. 239). The dispute over the Macedonian language has continued, which causes a negative attitude of the Bulgarian authorities towards the Euro-Atlantic aspirations of the Republic of Macedonia (ibidem, p. 240).

After the dissolution of the Yugoslav Federation, the authorities in Belgrade refused to recognise the newly formed Republic of Macedonia. Some of the Serb leaders and nationalists spoke openly about the northern Macedonia belonging to Serbia and effectively hindered the normalisation of the mutual relations. In the summer of 1992, the Serbian President, Slobodan Milošević proposed that together with Greece, they should dismember Macedonia. The Serbian Orthodox Church refused to recognise the autocephalicity of the Macedonian Orthodox Church. This resulted primarily in a mutual loss of trust and constituted a sign of the still present Serbian aspirations to the Macedonian national identity and lands. An improvement in their relations took place no sooner than in 1995 and 1996 (Korzeniewska-Wiszniewska, 2011, p. 227).

Since the creation of the Republic of Macedonia, the biggest internal threat to its integrity has been the problem of the Albanian population. After the beginning of the NATO bombings of Yugoslavia in 1999, there has been a massive influx of Albanians from Kosovo, expelled by the Kosovo Serbs. In February 2001, in the Macedonian city of Tetovo, fighting between the government troops and the Albanians broke out and lasted for several months. The Albanian population inhabits mostly the western and northern part of Macedonia, adjacent to Albania and Kosovo. Their expansion to this area began at the turn of the 18th century, when they occupied the territories left by the Slavonic population, retreating along with the Austrian army after

the popular uprising led by Karpoš in 1689. The Austrian army seized the area of Macedonia during the war of the Holy League against Turkey. The Turks' approval of the settlement of Albanians in these lands was connected to their hope that placing the Muslim population among the disobedient Orthodox Slavs would allow for a better binding of these lands to the Porte (Stawowy-Kawka, 2005, p. 85; eadem, 2009, p. 321).

After the end of the Second World War, the Albanian population in Macedonia increased rapidly by occupying new areas for settlement, as well as as a result of a rapid and significant rate of natural increase. This population arrived in masses primarily from Kosovo. The policy of population growth was a part of a deliberate Albanian policy in Macedonia, which aimed to naturally change the ethnic structure (ibidem, p. 86). As stated by Professor Zuzanna Topolińska of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences, this situation had to result in a conflict over biological dominance (Bilski, 2002, p. 22). The Albanians living in Macedonia sought to create a third Albanian country in the Balkans, and in the future, to unite the three territories into a single state; such a view was presented in the report of the Albanian Academy of Sciences in 1998 (Stawowy-Kawka, 2005, p. 87).

Presently, Albanians account for approximately 25.17% of the inhabitants of Macedonia and constitute the largest ethnic minority (Parzymies 2005, p. 133). The majority of Albanians live in Skopie and Gostivar, Debar, Tetovo and Kumanovo. The Albanian population distribution close to the border with Kosovo and Albania makes the process of integration of this national minority difficult. The group of Albanians in Macedonia also strongly emphasises their national distinctiveness and do not seek to integrate with Macedonians (Stawowy-Kawka, 2005, p. 87-88). Albanians have been accused of aggressive behaviours towards national minorities, especially the Muslim Turks, whom they have not been able to assimilate with (Parzymies, 2005, p. 133). An unsuccessful attempt to detach the western part of the country and join it to Albania, made in 1993 by the Albanian nationalists from Macedonia, supported by Albanian politicians, also turned out to be threatening (Dymarski, 2011, p. 219; cf. Jackowicz, 1994/1995, p. 159-160). After the passing the law on flags by the Macedonian parliament on 8 July 1997, allowing the minorities to display their own flags on national and religious holidays, there were massive demonstrations and clashes with the police, in which three people were killed and 220 were injured, and many people were arrested; they left prison after the adoption of the amnesty law in 1999 (Dymarski, 2011, p. 219).

However, the biggest problem of the Albanian minority in Macedonia is education. Already in August 1988, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia commenced the implementation of an anti-Albanian policy, among

others, the authorities started to close Albanian schools and classes and replace the Albanian language with Macedonian. The Albanian students with their parents organised numerous demonstrations and ethnic tensions have been alive ever since. Meanwhile, in Albania's territory, the Macedonian minority dwells the region of Korçë and officially numbers 5 thousand people, while according to the Macedonian estimates, it is 100 thousand and according to the former Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana, 50 thousand. It is also inhabited by 20 thousand Serbs and Montenegrins. The Macedonian language is only used in the first two grades at school.

The anti-Albanian assimilation policy has been continued by the Macedonian authorities, although they claim that the Albanian community enjoys many cultural, educational and political privileges. There are Albanian primary and secondary schools and the number of students is regularly increasing. The need for Albanian studies in Macedonia was met by the Macedonian authorities by creating in Skopje in 1997, at the Faculty of Education, a specialisation for teachers with Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish as the languages of instruction. However, the Albanians demanded that an underground Albanian university in Tetovo, opened in 1994 (cf. Jackowicz, 1997/1998, p. 136), is recognszed as a state university. The illegally functioning university deepened separatism and isolation of the Albanian minority and became a fundamental demand of the Albanians in Macedonia. In order to prevent increasing tensions around higher education, on the OSCE Commissioner for National Minorities, Max van der Stoel's initiative, on 29 November 2000, the University of Tetovo was founded, financed by the South-East European Foundation, and started to operate in November 2001 (Stawowy-Kawka, 2005, p. 89-92). Nevertheless, the Macedonian government's decision did not satisfy the Albanian demands regarding the development of higher education. The Albanians demanded now a provision in the constitution informing that they are a nation capable of forming an independent state, as well as recognising the Albanian language as the second – after Macedonian – official language in the entire country (Bilski, 2002, p. 30).

There has always been a close relationship between the Albanians from Macedonia and those from Kosovo (Paulin, 2003, p. 378). According to a general opinion, the Albanian issue in Macedonia was brought to light only after the breakup of Yugoslavia, when they started to massively arrive from Kosovo and Albania for fear of political persecution as well as to improve their living conditions. In February 1992, a group of Albanian nationalists demanded the creation of the Autonomous Republic of Illyria, which resulted in clashes with the police. The situation aggravated again in 1997, after the incidents in Gostivar and Tetovo related to displaying of the

Albanian national flag. At the same time, in 1997, the troops of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA – UÇK) intensified their terrorist activities in Kosovo and Macedonia, and after NATO had commenced the bombings of Yugoslavia, hundreds of armed combatants crossed the Macedonian border (Stawowy-Kawka, 2005, p. 96).

During the conflict of 1998, President Kiro Gligorov was trying to alleviate a very tense situation on the border between Kosovo and Macedonia. An attempt to create a corridor to Albania for refugees failed and eventually in 1999, Macedonia was forced to accept 360 thousand refugees from Kosovo. They included Albanians, Gypsies and Muslims seeking asylum from Serbian repression. Since March 1999, KFOR troops also stationed in Macedonia. They replaced the "Blue Helmets" of peacekeeping UNPREDEP, which were supposed to, among others, preserve peace on the border with Albania and Kosovo (Jackowicz, 2000, p. 149-150). However, Macedonians feared that the recognition of the ethnic independence of Kosovo could pose a threat to their country, and the prospect of the creation of Greater Albania, uniting all Albanians in areas far exceeding the then territory of Albania seemed to be real (ibidem). Both an unresolved question of Kosovo and mass migrations of Albanians with increasingly bold demands led to the conflict in Tetovo in 2001.

In the autumn of 1998, Macedonia held the parliamentary elections, in which the coalition of VMRO-DPMNE and the Democratic Alternative won. For the efficiency of governance, the coalition government was expanded with the Democratic Party of Albanians. After the Albanian party coming to power as a coalitionist, it pursued more moderate policies and wanted to resolve the Macedonian-Albanian conflicts by agreement and negotiation.

However, not all Albanians accepted such a policy. It was widely believed that the party leader, Arben Xhaferi did not care about the interests of the Albanian minority, just took care of his private affairs, while discrimination against the Albanian community and hindering their access to education and culture continued. The growing number of Albanians in Macedonia were becoming increasingly radical in their demands (Bilski, 2002, p. 46, cf. Stawowy-Kawka 2005, p. 98).

Unfulfilled demands were the reason why Albanians began an armed conflict at the beginning of 2001. A direct reason for the outbreak of the conflict could be signing of an agreement on the state border between Macedonia and Yugoslavia at the beginning of 2001, which meant that the people of Kosovo could no longer stay in Macedonia only on the basis of their identity cards, but also had to show a passport. On 2 January, Albanians attacked the police station of the village Tearce near Tetovo.

One police officer was killed, and three others were injured in the clashes. On 12 February, the fights started between government forces and the troops of the National Liberation Army (Bilski, 2002, p. 107). This army replaced the Kosovo Liberation Army (UÇK), which was meant to express the continuation of the struggle waged by Albanians in Kosovo (Stawowy-Kawka, 2005, p. 98). The main leader of the Albanian insurgency, Ali Ahmeti pointed out that he had deliberately chosen the path of violence because he believed that in this way one can quickly achieve more than living in peace for many years.

The UÇK troops, numbering about 5,000 members, began regular military actions against Macedonian police stations, military units, communication routes, water intakes. They disorganised the lives of the inhabitants of the Republic of Macedonia, and in areas where they constituted the majority, they forced Macedonians to emigrate (ibidem; cf. Stawowy-Kawka, 2009, p. 324).

It seemed that the situation in Macedonia was becoming more and more similar to the one in Kosovo, however, there were substantial differences between them. The main political goal of Kosovo Albanians was territorial independence, while in Macedonia, they fought for equal rights. The Macedonian Albanians emphasised that their goal was not to create "Greater Albania" and that the Macedonian conflict was not inspired by the Kosovo Albanians or by the government in Tirana (ibidem). However, many observers were concerned that the political goal of the Albanians living outside the country was to create "Greater Kosovo", another Muslim state in the Balkans (Bilski, 2002, p. 47).

On 14 March, the UÇK troops seized the villages situated around Tetovo, and on 16 March, they destroyed the KISS radio and television transmitter, located in Tetovo. In consequence, the government of Macedonia responded with mobilisation on 17 March. Feeling threatened, the citizens demanded imposition of martial law, but the Prime Minister, Ljubčo Georgievski reassured them that there was no such need. On 28 May, eight Macedonian soldiers and policemen were killed in an ambush. On 3 May, a military operation against the UÇK guerrilla troops was launched in the region of Kumanovo, but it failed (Olszewski, 2010, p. 135-139).

Only after the consultations with NATO and the European Union, Macedonian troops ceased the offensive, and on 13 May, the Provisional Government of National Unity was formed, including the Albanian groups, which in the conditions of an acute national conflict, constituted an attempt to resolve the aggravating conflict (Koseski, 2002, p. 200). However, the Albanian leaders were politically divided, which did not facilitate a quick conclusion of agreements.

Most of the Albanians in Macedonia supported the idea of armed struggle, but not all agreed that equal rights should be the sole purpose of fighting. The extreme nationalists advocated a creation of a federation or a division into cantons based on the Swiss model. On the other hand, the president of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Professor Georgi Efremov suggested that the conflict could be resolved by giving a part of the Albanian ethnic territory to Albania and exchanging the population (Stawowy-Kawka, 2005, p. 99). These proposals were, however, unacceptable to the EU and NATO members, which wanted to prevent further disintegration of the Balkan states (ibidem, p. 98-99).

In order to prevent the menace of an Albanian-Macedonian war, the EU and NATO members were trying to bring the conflict to a peaceful end. On 15 June 2001, the negotiations between Albanian and Macedonian politicians with the participation of the European Union, which sent its negotiator, François Léotard, and the United States, represented by James W. Pardew. The negotiations lasted until 20 June. The negotiations included the Albanians' demands for the recognition of Albanians as an equal nation in the Republic of Macedonia and their language as an official language, possibility of obtaining university education in their own language, representation in offices, courts, police, army and equality of religions. The negotiations also regarded the establishment of autonomy in the areas where the Albanian minority dominated.

Unfortunately, the sides did not reach an agreement within five days. On 24 June, Javier Solana managed to negotiate a cease-fire, and the NATO soldiers evacuated rebels from the village of Aračinovo near Skopje. On 5 July, another truce, interrupted with fighting, was established. On 28 July, in Ohrid, peace talks began between the representatives of Albanians and Macedonians. They led to the ratification of a temporary peace agreement on 8 August, although fighting stopped only after the official signing of the peace treaty on 13 August 2001. The ceremony of signing the document was attended not only by the sides of the conflict but also the head of the European diplomacy, Javier Solana, and the NATO Secretary General, George Robertson. Although the UÇK delegates did not officially participate in the negotiations, they agreed to observe its terms (Bilski, 2002, p. 106-107). The agreement covered the following issues:

• The Albanian language acquired the status of an official language in the parliament and public administration as well as in the municipalities where Albanians account for more than 20% of the population.

- Albanians were recognised to be a nation equal to Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, which was to be reflected in the preamble of the constitution.
- Higher education in the Albanian language was to be funded from the state budget in the areas where Albanians account for more than 20% of the population.
- The demographic composition of the police, offices, army and government administration was to reflect the ethnic composition of the Macedonian society.
- Orthodoxy, Islam and Catholicism were to receive equal status.
- The prerogatives of local authorities were to be extended, which would increase the self-governance of the areas where the Albanian population was dominant (ibidem; cf. Olszewki, 2010, p. 139).

The agreement negotiated in Ohrid was ratified by the parliament in Skopje on 13 August 2001. Its content stipulated the introduction of amendments to the constitution, which satisfied almost completely the Albanian claims. However, the Macedonian society treated the compromise as a high treason, although these attitudes subsided with time.

According to the peace agreement concluded in Ohrid on 16 November 2001, the Macedonian parliament amended the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, for example, by replacing the term "national minority" with terms "nations" or "ethnic communities". The authorities also introduced the second official language in the municipalities where Albanians accounted for more than 20% of the population. Moreover, Albanians became allowed to work in offices, companies, courts, and they were also admitted to the police and army, in order to guarantee their proportional representation (Stawowy-Kawka, 2005, p. 99). The constitutional changes constituted the basis for the establishment of a democratic state (Olszewski, 2010, p. 144-145; cf. Dymarski, 2011, p. 220). During the transformation of the country, in 2004, the Albanian university in Tetovo started its activity. Also, on 8 November 2004, Macedonia held a referendum on the project of the new administrative division of the country, assuming a division into 81 municipalities, out of which 25 were to have Albanian as the official language (Stawowy-Kawka, 2005, p. 8). As far as the Macedonian-Albanian conflict is concerned, it might be assumed that this conflict has been at least alleviated, but a slightest change in the international situation of any of the Balkan states may suffice to aggravate it rapidly. The Ohrid agreement ended the conflict, but the geopolitical competition in Macedonia, which manifested itself, among others, with the conflict of 2001, has also become a barrier for the influence of the Western countries and the Russian Federation.

Creating "Greater Albania", "Greater Serbia" or "Greater Bulgaria" is unlikely today, but uniting all Albanians living outside Albania and creating "Greater Kosovo" remains attainable. Such a situation would be supported by the government of Albania, which considers the support for compatriots living outside of the country as a priority of the international policy.

Since 2008, the Macedonian authorities have had another problem in the context of the Albanian issue after the declaration of independence by Kosovo. Thus, Macedonia gained another geopolitical rival, who (although, compared to other countries in the region, is and will definitely remain the weakest one) has a powerful tool that was mentioned above. This is an important issue, especially in the context of the recent events related to the re-aggravation of the internal situation in Macedonia, regarding the outbreak of violence on the ethnic grounds between Albanians and Macedonians. This situation was connected to a murder of two Albanians by the Macedonian police. The escalation of the tensions after this incident led to the biggest riots and clashes between Albanians and Macedonians in the last ten years. In Macedonia, this led to a crisis of the multinational which given the new geopolitical situation in the region (cf. independent Kosovo), an economic crisis particularly noticeable in the region and the rising Turkish influencethat strengthens the Albanian community may all cause a much more serious crisis than the one of 2001. Fearing such development of the situation, the governments of the countries with Albanian minorities try to limit the autonomy of these minorities. The Western countries have the same goal but ignoring the rights of the Albanian population may lead to conflicts, such as the one in Tetovo in 2001. This shows that the ultimate solution to the Macedonian-Albanian conflict requires a lot of good will, mutual understanding and time (Stawowy-Kawka, 2009, p. 321-332).

The most far-reaching claims were those presented by Greece. It accused Macedonia of misappropriation of the Greek name of Macedonia, as well as the Vergina Sun as the national emblem and flag emblem (Greckie "Nie" 1993: 7). It did not recognise the existence of the Macedonian state or nation by putting formward a thesis saying about the historical justification of the use of these terms only in relation to the northern Greek province (cf. *Macedonia...*, 1993; cf. *Wbrew woli Grecji*, "Rzeczpospolita", 17.12.1993, p. 15). The government in Athens demanded that Macedonians renounce the use of these terms and symbols and requested an official condemnation of the postulates for the unification of the whole Macedonia – the part of the geographical Macedonia populated by Slavs is located within Greek and Bulgarian borders. Macedonian authorities' actions were recognised by Greeks

as a provocation aimed against thems (*Macedońska prowokacja*, "GW", No. 135, 12.06.1991, p. 7). In 1993, Macedonia was admitted to the United Nations but under the name of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and it has been operating this way within this organisation to this day. The Greek government did not deny the existence of the Macedonian nation in Macedonia but denied the existence of the Macedonian minority in Greece, fearing secession of Aegean Macedonia. There is also a likelihood that the relaxation of the policy towards the Macedonian minority will activate the Turkish minority in Greece.

The dispute over the name of the former federal Yugoslav republic is one of the remnants of the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, although it did not result directly from this fact. After the announcement of independence by the government of Macedonia in 1991 (soon after Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina), the government of Greece commenced a buffer policy on the northern border. However, it was soon completely destroyed. The then Yugoslavia was a natural barrier against the expansion of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact states, especially after the Yugoslav-Soviet dispute between 1948 and 1953, as well as due to the membership of the SFRY in the Non-Aligned Movement, which was feared by Greece, the pro-Western member of NATO. An important advantage of the existence of Yugoslavia was the suppression of the Macedonian territorial claims to the Greek government. In the constitution of the SFRY of 22 February 1974, the parliament of the SFRY gave the federal republics an extensive autonomy with their own flags, emblems and internal law, which was to be consistent with the law of the Yugoslav Federation (Olszewski, 2010, p. 86-88; cf. Mizerski, 1999, p. 80).

The cause was revived after the proclamation of a creation of the independent Republic of Macedonia by the parliament in Skopje. The Greek authorities took this proclamation as the appropriation of the name, which they believed to be related to the territories of northern Greece, that is Greek Macedonia, a part of the ancient Hellas. Apart from the name, the problem concerned the flag, the emblem and the constitution of the new state. The first two made reference to Alexander the Great, who in fact had little to do with the Slavonic culture. According to the new constitution, the Macedonian state was supposed to spread care to all its citizens, including those outside the country, which, from the Greeks' point of view, meant a threat to the territorial sovereignty of their country. Following a decision of the authorities in Skopje, Greece closed the consulate in the capital of Macedonia and implemented economic sanctions. Greece also requested the removal of the name "Macedonia" from the name of state, the 16-ray star from the flag referring to the tomb of King Philip II and, finally, the article 49 from the

constitution, binding the Macedonian government to take care of Macedonian minorities living outside the country (Olszewski, 2010, p. 123).

The historical and geopolitical dispute between Skopje and Athens was conducted with the bloody war in neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina in the background. The fear of spreading of the conflict effectively determined the involvement of the United States and European Union, which led to the elaboration of a name to which both countries gave their consent as a compromise: the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Although the adoption of this name was not synonymous with an improvement of the relations between Greece and Macedonia, it allowed the admission of this country to the United Nations (Stawowy-Kawka, 2011, p. 207). However, after taking up the reins in Greece by the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the Greek government tightened its stand on the foreign policy of Macedonia, assuming that exerting strong political pressure would be the best solution which would force the Macedonians to obey and, in consequence, to change the name of the state for the one acceptable by Greece. The Greek government has blocked the process of integration of Macedonia with the United Nations, NATO and the European Union. On 16 February 1994, it announced an economic blockade of Macedonia and broke diplomatic relations with it, which met with a strong reaction of the European Commission (eadem, 2000, p. 311-314; cf. Olszewski, p. 123-124; cf. Stawowy-Kawka, 2011, p. 204). Considering the ongoing war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the European countries and the United States began to perceive Greece as the next country, after Serbia, which destabilised the political situation in the Western Balkans.

The pressure of the Western countries led to signing a Greco-Macedonian Interim Accord in New York on 13 September 1995 and both sides were bound by the agreement for seven years. The document was signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Karolos Papoulias and the Prime Minister of Macedonia, Stevo Crvenkovski in the presence of a UN negotiator Cyrus Vance. In accordance with the New York agreement, Greece recognised Macedonia and the government in Skopje changed the controversial to Athens wording of article 49 of the consitution. Furthermore, on 5 October 1995, the Macedonian parliament passed a bill to change the flag and the emblem, removing the Vergina Sun as the national emblem, and in response, the Greek authorities lifted the economic blockade of Macedonia. In January 1996, both countries resumed their diplomatic relations at the level of consulates, and on 27 February 2014, the embassies in Skopje and Athens have been re-opened (ibidem, p. 208). Both sides also renounced their territorial claims and recognised the existing borders as permanent,

although instead of the official names of the countries, the document used the terms: "one side", "other side" (Pietruszewski, 2002, p. 4).

Despite the signed agreement, Greece has still not officially recognised the name of the republic nor the existence of the Macedonian nation, which, at the beginning of the 21st century, did not result in solving the conflict. After the formal recognition of the Macedonian state under the name Macedonia by the United States in 2004, the Greek Foreign Minister, Petros Molyviatis noticed "the negative effects that this unilateral decision of the United States may have" (Nie FYROM a Macedonia, "Wprost", 04.11.2004, p. 14.). Greece still believes that the use of this name by the Macedonian government is a sign of its territorial claims to the northern province of Greece, the motherland of Alexander the Great, Macedonian President Branko Crvenkovski commented on the decision of the United States by saying that it was "a great day, a great victory for Macedonians" (ibidem). The conflict was also revived in 2007, when the Macedonian authorities gave the name of Alexander the Great to Petrovec airport in Skopje. Greece, whose government recognises Alexander the Great as an outstanding Greek, strongly protested against the "appropriation" of his person by Macedonia (Aleksander Wielki, ale nie Macedoński, "GW", 03.01.2007, p. 9). What is worse, in the late 1990s, there was a revival of nationalist ideas in Macedonia and its foundation is, to a large extent, the language. This "national revival" translated into the results of the parliamentary elections held in 1998 and won by nationalist politicians. A government was formed by Ljubčo Georgievski who supported the integration with the Western countries.

Meanwhile, in the slavophone Greece (as Aegean Macedonia is referred to in Greece), only the Greek language could be used in public life. The Serbian authorities brutally serbianised Macedonians, too. Bulgaria did not officially deny the existance of the Macedonian language but on condition that it would be recognised as a dialect of Bulgarian by the Macedonian elites. Under international pressure, Macedonia has changed its flag, name of the state and the preamble to the Constitution. Relatively recently, Bulgaria agreed to treat Macedonia as equal in mutual relations. The claims regarding the language are still made by Albanians, so Macedonia has still a long way to go to achieve a full stability (Warszawski, "GW", 31.07.2001, p. 4). In 2000, Macedonian President Boris Trajkovski was optimistic and claimed, "Controversies are a part of our history. Some countries use the name «Republic of Macedonia». During the Kosovo crisis, CNN referred to us as «Republic of Macedonia Skopje». I think the fever around us is falling. Our relations have been improving, we continue political dialogue"("Wprost", No. 11/2000).

The state of relatively good relations between the two countries lasted from 1995 to 2008, which resulted mainly from the Greeks' desire to improve their image in the European forum, as they were simultaneously involved in the historical conflict over Cyprus with Turkey (Horoszczak, 2006, p. 1-3). However, the attitude of Athens towards the name of Macedonia remained unchanged, which also influenced the accession of Macedonia to the structures of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Having obtained the status of a candidate for NATO in 1999, Macedonia was hoping for a quick integration with the Atlantic Alliance. However, given the uncompromising attitude of Greece, demonstrated by the delegation from Athens at the Bucharest NATO summit in April 2008, Macedonia became the holder of the record of duration of waiting for a full NATO membership. Using the power of veto, the Greek government blocked then the possibility of accession of Macedonia to NATO, at the same time threatening to do the same if Macedonia opens accession negotiations with the European Union. The actions of the Greek authorities provoked a sharp Macedonia's reaction and sued that country in the International Court of Justice in The Hague. On the other hand, in years 2008-2012, the government in Skopje took no strong measures to resolve the dispute and to lead to Macedonia's membership in NATO or the European Union (cf. Reszczyński, 2010).

Fearing to lose the right wing electorate, Prime Minister Gruevski did not agree to change the name of the country since the government believed that as a result of the change, Macedonians would lose their national identity. But it was a false belief, because it was the lack of agreement with Greece what could threaten their identity. The Macedonian identity is not threatened in the case of a change of the state name, for example, to Northern Macedonia, which is consistent with the historical and geographical realities of this territory. It is proved by, for instance, the reviving tensions in this multinational state. Although the attitude of Europe, including Greece itself, seems to be unfair, the moderate Macedonian politicians start to realise the need to resolve the dispute with Greece as soon as possible, for the sake of the integrity of state borders and the national security. After 2008, the Macedonian political elites came out with an initiative for agreement both in the Macedonian relations with the Greek government and the Albanian minority, accounting for 25% of the Macedonian society, where 5.5 million Macedonians live in the neighbouring countries. However, the key question was whether these actions resulted from efforts to make real changes in the mutual relations or only to address the issue of membership at the Chicago NATO summit on 21 and 22 May 2012.

Undoubtedly, in the context of the Chicago NATO Summit, the so far cold Greco- Macedonian relations have begun to gradually warm since the beginning of 2012. The first conciliatory gestures from Macedonians reached Athens during the visit of Teuta Arifi, the Vice Prime Minister responsible for European Integration, who on 25 January 2012 initiated a meeting in the capital of Greece with the Vice Prime Minister of Greece, Theodoros Pangalos, known for his more liberal attitude towards the northern neighbour than that represented by most Greeks. During her visit, Teuta Arifi presented the progress in the implementation of the reforms by the Macedonian government, which were to bring Macedonia closer to meeting the EU criteria for membership. She also handed him a letter from the Prime Minister Gruevski addressed to the Prime Minister of Greece, Lucas Papademos, in which the head of the Macedonian government proposed a meeting of the two Prime Ministers. Papademos positively responded to the proposal. In result, they met on 1 March 2012, on the occasion of the meeting of the European Council in Brussels (*Analiza*..., 30.03.2012).

Although during the meeting of the Prime Ministers of Macedonia and Greece there was no official change in the stands of either side and no proposal of a new round of negotiations was made, it does not mean that they did not talk about the previously presented proposals. However, in the diplomatic backstage, it was said that during the Gruevski-Papademos meeting, the Macedonian Prime Minister suggested the adoption of the name of *Northern Republic of Macedonia* which could be presented at the Chicago summit. It was said that Papadimos had not directly refer to this proposal, as the previous signals coming from Athens commented on it negatively. On the other hand, according to Greeks, the name *Republic of Northern Macedonia* precisely defines Macedonia's geographic location, without arousing territorial controversies in Athens (ibidem).

Further Macedonian-Greek contacts occurred on 25 March 2012, during the celebration of Greek Independence Day. The President of Macedonia, Gjorge Ivanov positively replied to the invitation of the Greek ambassador in Skopje, Alexandra Papadopoulu and took part in an official meeting. It should be noted that this was the first visit of the Macedonian head of state in a Greek diplomatic post in Skopje. Three days later, on 28 March, the Macedonian Defence Minister, Fatmir Besimi informally met with the Greek Minister of Defense, Dimitris Avramopoulos in Larissa. The meeting occurred during the visit of the two ministers in the headquarters of the South-Eastern Europe Brigade (SEEBRIG), whose troops operate within the Agreement on Multinational Peace Force South-Eastern Europe (MPFSEE). The troops, based in Larissa, include those from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Macedonia, Romania and Turkey (ibidem).

However, the most important for Macedonia was the mentioned NATO summit, which took place on 20-21 May 2012 in Chicago, when the

Macedonian government expected the official invitation to the structures of the Alliance. The official communications of the U.S. Ambassador to Macedonia, Paul D. Wohlers, and the NATO Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen indicated that at the summit, there was no chance of discussing the accession of Macedonia, because they focused on the problems related to Afghanistan and NATO missile defense. In addition, the passive policy of the government in Skopje implemented since 2008 discouraged the Member States to support the Macedonian diplomats in seeking the NATO membership to the extent that none of the leading NATO states, including the most Macedonia-friendly and Greece-reluctant Turkey, raised the subject.

In the adopted general declaration, the leaders of the Alliance repeated that "NATO's door will remain open to all European democracies which share the values of our Alliance, which are willing and able to assume the responsibilities and obligations of membership, and whose inclusion can contribute to common security and stability" and which are able to promote the principles of the Treaty (the Washington Treaty of 1949). They also expressed their general support for the aspirations of the candidate states such as: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Georgia. In the case of Georgia, they uphold the decisions of the 2008 summit in Bucharest that Georgia is going to become a NATO member. They also reacted positively to the Euro-Atlantic integration of Serbia and expansion of the partnership with Ukraine. Although there were no breakthrough decisions in this regard, at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council on 21 May, the U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton said, "This summit should be the last summit that is not an enlargement summit" and in the process of expansion, they should "remember our ultimate goal: a stronger, more durable, more effective NATO" (Decyzje..., 22.05.2012).

On 22 March 2001, the Macedonian government applied in Brussels for admission to the EU and on 16 December 2005, the decision on granting the status of candidate country was made by the European Council. On 9 April 2001, Macedonia as the first country signed a Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the European Union, which entered into force on 1 April 2004 (Olszewski, 2010: 164). Although on 9 November 2005, Macedonia received the status of candidate country to the EU, and therefore the EU positively assessed the changes in this country, the EU requested that Macedonia meet a number of preconditions, such as: the reform of the judiciary and the civil administration, start of the fight against corruption, observance and protection of human rights (including the rights of ethnic minorities), cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, development of contacts with the countries of the region, elimination of the shadow economy, improvement of levy and legal regula-

tions in the field of economic activity (cf. Słojewska, "Rzeczpospolita" 2005).

The European Commission recognised the activities of the Macedonian authorities. On 13 June 2007, the governments of Macedonia, Croatia and Serbia signed an agreement with the EC, and on 14 October 2009, the Commission informed the government in Skopje about the possibility of opening accession negotiations in the opinion contained in the document: "Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010. CEC, COM(2009) 533, 14.10.2009", thus confirming the readiness of Macedonia to enter into them (Olszewski, 2010, p. 166). Eventually, the accession negotiations began on 11 March 2008 and their completion was projected for 2013, which was called on in May 2013 by the European Parliament in Strasbourg, but even with the good will of the EU, the process has still been blocked by the governments of Greece and Bulgaria (Donev "Dnevnik" 2012).

Greek political elites, confident about their European position in both NATO and the European Union, have attempted to politically "humiliate" Macedonia as an economically weaker country, apparently forgetting that at the time of the accession of Greece to the then European Economic Community in 1986, Greece was in a similar economic situation. Greece participated in regional conflicts, too, but the government in Athens has succeeded in improving the country's image in the European forum. However, the protracted dispute, especially the economic disaster of the country combined with rather unclear financial operations, may affect the relations between the two countries.

Conclusions

Macedonia, under the name of the Republic of Macedonia, is currently recognised by 125 countries around the world, including the United States, Russia and China. The uncompromising attitude on foreign policy of the government in Athens continues to impede the full integration of Macedonia with NATO and the European Union. Integration process of the Balkan countries into the EU and NATO structures is compliant with the key criteria of the Greek foreign policy, whose aim is to guarantee the security of the country from the north. By 2007, the Greek authorities had supported the governments of Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey on their way to Euro-Atlantic integration, therefore, the attitude of Greece towards Macedonia is surprising, especially in the situation when the internal stability and security of Macedonia directly influence the security of Greece. On the one hand, the stand of Greece is historically determined, but on the other hand, it is a manifesta-

tion of the desire to play a decisive role in the region. The perception of Macedonians by Greeks is also significant. Greeks often see them (especially the population living in so-called Aegean Macedonia) as the Greeks speaking a Slavonic language. A similar attitude to Macedonians is displayed by the Bulgarian authorities by considering the Macedonian language as one of the dialects of Bulgarian. Taking these issues into account, one can easily understand the sense of "encirclement" emphasised by the politicians in Skopje.

The foreign policy of Greece towards Macedonia is short-sighted, because it is unable to separate politically attainablebenefits from historical events. The stabilised relations with Macedonia bring many profits of a political and economic nature, not to mention that in the mid-1990s, Greece was Macedonia's most important trade partner. There is also a need to change the perception of this problem by the Greek politicians who find it quite marginal, having no impact on the international position of their country. Finally, as mentioned before, Greece was seen as a country that would get involved in conflicts with its neighbours, which could result in engaging other member states of the EU and NATO.

The events related to the global financial crisis of 2008-2010, which almost led to the total bankruptcy of the Greek economy, also affected the dispute with the government in Skopje. Unclear financial operations carried out by the government in Athens certainly undermined its authority among the EU partners, which further weakens the position of the country. In this context, the conflict with Macedonia can be seen in two ways. On the one hand, solving it may improve the tarnished image of Greece. On the other hand, taking into account the critical internal situation in the country caused by the crisis, the problem of Macedonia may be pushed to the margins of the government's priorities. Resolving the Greek-Macedonian dispute would bring end to one of the last relics of former Yugoslavia. After reaching the agreement between Croatia and Slovenia in regard to their border dispute, it would be another example of a stabilising role of the EU that it plays in the Balkans.

The issue of granting Macedonia the NATO membership was discussed at the Chicago summit on 20 May 2012. Under pressure from Greece – despite a positive opinion given for Macedonia in this matter by the International Court of Justice – Macedonia's candidacy was still blocked. In addition, it should be pointed out that the existence of independent Kosovo and a U.S. military base Camp Bondsteel operating in its territory fully protects the geopolitical interests of the United States in the region, such as the accession of new members to NATO, as evidenced by the case of Albania. Furthermore, NATO includes the countries which are in conflict with

Macedonia: Albania, Greece and Bulgaria, and therefore, the only argument of Macedonia in this respect remains that of stability, which would potentially be provided by Macedonia's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. However, this seems unlikely in the current geopolitical situation of the country.

As a consequence of this geopolitical system, Macedonia – along with neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina – remains the second biggest trouble spot in the Balkan region. These factors contribute to Macedonia being considered a country whose fate is completely dependent on the current geopolitical situation in the region. It is also an excellent arena for geopolitical sabotage, which has been widely attempted in the Balkans for decades by various players with their interests in the region and aims to preserve the proportional division of spheres of influence by powers. This division of spheres of influence determines the geopolitical specificity of the Balkans, which for centuries have been proved to be incapable of a broad stabilisation in terms of Western European standards.

The examples of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina show that the process of geopolitical stabilisation of the Balkan region, which started in the early 1990s, is slowly coming to an end. Again, there are stronger entities dominant in the region (Serbia, Croatia, Albania) and the weaker ones (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro), playing the role of peculiar platforms of geopolitical rivalry in the region. The dominance of the European Union in the foreign policy of neighbouring Serbia, having great potential to interfere in its internal affairs, strongly speaks in favour of Macedonia. Progress in the accession process of Serbia can be beneficial to their relationship, bringing them to the level of the recent Macedonian-Bulgarian relations, especially in the period immediately after the accession of Bulgaria to the EU in 2007.

However, the increase in tensions on the ethnic ground between Macedonians and Albanians shows how fragile the basis of the modern Macedonian state is. The internal situation in the country is moving in the direction of the increasingly marked distinctiveness of the two mentioned national groups, which may result in conflicts or political crises in the future. It is also worth noting that the consequences of the protracted Macedonian-Greek dispute over the name of this former Yugoslav republic, even though they seem to be unfavourable mostly for Macedonia, in fact, they affect the entire region of the Western Balkans. Due to the policy of Greece, Macedonia again begins to be perceived by the Member States of the European Union as a troublesome country which destabilises the Western Balkans.

THE MAPS OF MACEDONIA



Graph. 1. Historical and geographical boarders of Macedonia (I. Stawowy-Kawka, 2000, p. 10)

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KRZYSZTOF KOŹBIAŁ

THE VISEGRAD GROUP COUNTRIES AND THE WESTERN BALKANS STATES.
PRE-ACCESION EXPERIENCES AND PROPOSALS FOR MACEDONIA

During the enlargement processes of 2004 and 2007, the European Union expanded by 12 new Member States. After another six years, on July 1, 2013, the organization was joined by Croatia. Other states still queuing to join the EU are the so-called the Western Balkans: Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Kosovo area (as defined in the UN Security Council Resolution 1244/99)¹. Also Turkey is a candidate country. These changes were made possible due to the transformation of Central European countries after 1989. The road of the Balkan countries to the EU has turned out to be longer because of the wars and ethnic tensions on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Only Slovenia escaped them and joined the EU in 2004.

So far the only country that has started the accession negotiations, prior to the Balkan States, is Montenegro. They are a process of laborious talks between Brussels and the candidate countries. They may take several years, as in case of Croatia (almost 6 years) and the progress depends primarily on the reforms undertaken by the countries aspiring to the EU.

The objective of this discussion is to present the problems and challenges faced by the countries of Central Europe², and to compare them with the challenges faced by the countries of the Western Balkans, and above all by Macedonia. It seems that it is possible to find some similarities and draw conclusions from the experiences of other countries.

The starting point – the turn of 80' and 90' of the Twentieth Century. The problems and stabilization of the situation

The collapse of communism in the analysed countries of Central Europe began in 1989, first in Poland, where it took the form of the so-called Round Table Talks and the election of June 4. In September Tadeusz Mazowiecki became the first non-communist prime minister in this part of the

¹ Due to the fact that some EU Member States do not recognize the independence of Kosovo, a discussion on the possible inclusion of this area within the organization seems to be pointless in the opinion of the author.

² The article refers only to the Visegrad Group: the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary.

continent. Also in 1989, the breakup of communism took place in Hungary. In Czechoslovakia, the beginning of changes came in November under the name of the so-called Velvet Revolution. The political and economic transitions followed and were introduced peacefully.

The negative factors of the transformation manifested themselves as transient economic problems: inflation, rising unemployment, the need for changes in the industry, and finally reorientation of trade towards Western Europe. In case of Czechoslovakia the problem, but not impinging negatively upon its European aspirations, was the breakup of the country into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. The process was carried out in a peaceful manner – contrary to Yugoslavia – and the two greeted the new year 1993 as separate countries.

Already before the fall of communism the European Communities established the relations with Yugoslavia and the countries of Central Europe, limited mainly to economic matters. Brussels decided to pursue a policy of parallelism consisting in negotiating, concurrently, with the Comecon and the Eastern bloc countries. The following years brought the bilateral agreements on cooperation and trade, the first such solution was applied to Hungary (September 1988), a year later a similar agreement was signed with Poland. The resulting system of preferences allowed export of many goods to the Community (Płonka, 2003, p. 25-32).

After the fall of communism, the European Community initially provided economic support, but the engagement in providing that support was made conditional on the implementation of democratic changes. In December 1989, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was established. Citizens of the former socialist countries were guaranteed e.g. participation in Community's education programs (Pöthig, 1996, p. 30-31).

The collapse of communism and the disintegration of Yugoslavia created a new geopolitical situation on the continent. Initially it was difficult to predict the consequences of those changes. The only reasonable way to achieve the goal seemed to stabilize the political and economic situation as well as the predictable neighborhood.

The reaction of the Communities to disintegration of Yugoslavia was not uniform, and bloodshed could not be prevented. The fact is that the Union and its members displayed a profound interest in the developments in the Balkans (Sela, Shabani, 2011, p. 29). At first, some comments suggested refusing the former Yugoslav republics the right to independence. The words of Jacques Poos, the foreign minister of Luxembourg, who said that Slovenia could not survive as an independent state because it was too small (sic!) should be considered humorous (Klemenčič, 2006, p. 193). This indicated ignorance and complete misunderstanding of the Balkan issues. At the end

of 1991, the independence of Croatia and Slovenia was recognized by Germany, and other countries of the Communities, despite their critical attitude towards Bonn' stance, also decided to follow suit. A further activity of the EU took the form of mediation, supporting the U.S. actions. This resulted in the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement (1995), which stabilized the situation, above all in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Vukadinović, 2000, p. 1-18).

The states now known as the Western Balkans, with the exception of Albania, experienced to a greater or lesser extent the turmoil of ethnic wars. They were associated with of the ethnic complexity of former Yugoslavia³ (Eberhardt, 2005) as well as with the declarations of independence of the individual union republics: in 1991 Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia decided to make such a move, a year later, Bosnia and Herzegovina. In consequence, on 27 April 1992 the creation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia consisting only of Serbia and Montenegro was announced (Wojnicki, 2003, p. 65). In 2006, Montenegro declared independence, thus completing the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The period of greatest unrest in the Balkans was associated with the Serbo–Croatian war (lasting until 1995), the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995), the NATO air raids on Yugoslavia as well as the Kosovo problem (1999) and its declaration of independence in February 2008 (see more: Kuczyński, Ray-Ciemięga, 2000; Pawłowski, 2008).

Therefore, political and economic transformation in both analysed areas began in a quite different manner. The peace in Central Europe stood in contrast with the tensions in the Balkans. The post-Yugoslavian countries, as well as Albania, remaining on the sidelines of the European events, were at a disadvantage in the unofficial race for accession to the Union. Ethnic conflicts meant that post-Yugoslavian countries could not join the EU as quickly as they would like to. In individual cases the cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia established in 1993 left a lot to be desired. In case of Croatia (the instance of General Ante Gotovina) it resulted in a delayed commencement of negotiations (Koźbiał, 2008, p. 48).

The political importance of the two regions, in spite of their different size and population, is of utmost significance. The Visegrad Group members currently occupy a territory of over 533 thousand km² (slightly smaller than France), inhabited by nearly 64 million people (almost as many as in France). The Western Balkan countries have a total area of over 207 thousand km²

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³ According to the data from 1991, on the territory of Croatia the Croats constituted 78.1% of the total population, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bosniaks constituted only 43.7% of the population, the Serbs in Serbia 62.5%, the percentage of the Macedonians in Macedonia amounts to 64.6%. In Montenegro, the statistics did not include the Montenegrin nationality as a separate one at all.

(the size of Belarus), and are inhabited by nearly 19 million people (about 3 million fewer than the population of Romania). Table 1 illustrates the data.

Table 1. The area and population of the Western Balkan countries and the

Visegrad Group countries – a comparison.

Western	Area	Population	Visegrad	Area	Population
Balkan	(km²)	(in tousand)	Group	(km²)	(in thou-
countries			countries		sand)
Albania	28 748	3 011	Czech	78 866	10 162
			Republic		
Bosnia and	51 209	3 875	Poland	312 679	38 384
Herzegovina					
Montenegro	13 812	653	Slovakia	49 035	5 488
Macedonia	25 333	2 087	Hungary	93 030	9 939
Serbia	77 474	7 243			
Kosovo	10 887	1 847			
TOTAL:	207 463	18 716	TOTAL:	533 610	63 973

Source: World Factbook 2013, www.cia.gov

Accession requirements and the course of negotiations

The accession process of post-communist countries, both Central European and the Balkan, to the EU should be considered a political process. It is not to be judged according to purely economic categories, for if they were taken into account Brussels would probably not decide on the enlargement to the east, or much less in the direction of the Balkans. Possibly, even the accession of Greece, Spain and Portugal in the 80s would not occur (Tichy, 1997, p. 31).

On the other hand, the process of enlargement of 2004–2007 proved to be in reality beneficial also for the EU Member States. After all, we observe a substantial expansion of markets, which, including all countries of 2004–13 enlargement, amount to more than 100 million people (about one fifth of the current population of the Union). Such a potential was not to be despised.

Having undertaken the talks concerning enlargement to the east the UE required from the potential candidates a significant effort towards implementation of political and economic reforms:

- consolidation of democracy, stability of political institutions, the rule of law, protection of human rights and ensuring the rights of minorities,
- introduction of free market economy, which would be strong enough to meet the future requirements of the common market,

• creation of capabilities for EU membership and fulfilling the related obligations concerning the objectives of the political, economic and monetary union.

These requirements were defined during the meeting of the European Council in Copenhagen on 21–22 June 1993, and are referred to as the so-called Copenhagen criteria (Fouéré, 2007, p. 196-197; Tebbe, 1997, p. 66).

In the dialogue with the countries of the Western Balkans the EU refers to the above mentioned criteria in its annual reports and assessments. They are in fact considered as an absolute priority in the negotiations, the determinants of a successful transformation. Their unaccomplishment is the obstacle for EU membership. Any kinds of internal political problems, abnormal functioning of state institutions, improprieties in holding of elections, etc. are pointed out by the EU institutions. The same applies to problems of disrespecting the rights of national minorities. Such objections were raised in case of Macedonia as well as other countries in the region. The countries on the threshold of negotiations, or already negotiating (as Montenegro) are therefore assessed in the same manner as the members of the Visegrad Group over a dozen years ago.

Pre-accession strategy intended signing of the so-called European agreements providing for an association with the then existing European Communities. They proposed economic cooperation and political dialogue that would lead to accession. They were signed by Poland (Czachór, 2009, p. 38), the Czech Republic (Müller, Smekal, 2009, p. 68), Hungary (Brańka, 2009, p. 134-135) and Slovakia (Delong, Żarna, 2013, p. 14-15).

Also in this respect the similarity to the Balkans can be indicated. After the NATO intervention in Kosovo Brussels engaged itself deeper in the stabilization in this part of the continent contributing to the implementation of SAP (Stability and Association Process) on the basis of which the SAA (Stability and Association Agreement) was signed (Koźbiał, 2009, p. 373-375; see also: Helmerich, 2008). In case of the Balkans, the order of signing of these documents reflected the progress in talks with Brussels. In 2001, an agreement was signed by Croatia and Macedonia and later by the other countries, the negotiations with regard to Kosovo are ongoing. The SAA were a prelude to closer relations with the EU.

Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia applied for accession to the EU in 1994–96. The order was of no relevance. The negotiations with Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary started in March 1998, with Slovakia in February 2000, which was due to 4-year-rule of V. Mečiar's government (1994–1998) and internal political tensions resulting in an unfavourable assessment of Slovakia formulated by the European Commission in 1997. It was accused of instability of democratic institutions, inadequate

functioning of democracy and the restriction of the rights of the opposition. In addition, Slovakia did not fulfill the criterion of economic development (Delong, Żarna, 2013, p. 18-20). The Balkan states were also submitting their applications for accession to the EU. Macedonia did so in March 2004.

At the summit in Copenhagen, in December 2002, the accession negotiations with the Central European countries were concluded. They lasted for over 4.5 years, in case of Slovakia almost two years shorter. After the signing of the accession treaties and the accession referenda, the countries became the members of the EU on 1 May 2004. The referenda clearly showed that the societies of the countries concerned supported the process of integration with the EU. In Slovakia 92.5% of those entitled voted in favor of accession to the EU, in Hungary 83.8%, in Poland 77.5%, and the Czech Republic 77.3% of the voters (Fiala, Pitrová, 2005; Höreth, 2005, p. 151). Referendum on the issue is not mandatory (unless required by domestic law), but it is held in accordance with the unwritten rule operating in the countries that join the European Union after the negotiations. Therefore, they are to be expected also in case of the Balkans (it was held in Croatia in 2012).

Probably also in Macedonia the accession to the EU would get a positive response of voters According to public opinion surveys from the years 2003–2007 the support for such a decision ranged between 87.8 and 91.4%. Potential membership was frequently associated with hopes for economic growth, reduction of unemployment, foreign investments and overall stabilization (Bozinovski, 2007, p. 244-246). After 2007 the support for the accession should also be considered very high. As of November 2012, it amounted to 84% (Public opinion survey IRI, 2014).

Contacts of the EU – the countries aspiring to membership should also be seen in economic terms. Brussels guaranteed its partners financial support. In case of the Visegrad Group they were PHARE, ISPA and SAPARD. Analogous help was prepared for the Balkan states in the form of OBNOVA, CARDS, and finally the IPA programs. In 2007–13 the analysed countries received as a part of the IPA the support amounting to over 5.1 billion euro, of which Macedonia got over 615 million euro (http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/instruments/overview/index_en.htm, 3.01.2014). The funds are mainly allocated for the support of initiatives relat-

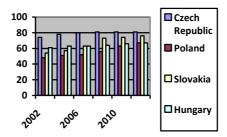
ed to cross-border cooperation, regional development, rural development and human resources development.

The EU countries are also major trading partners of Macedonia. They account for 60% of exports and 48% of imports of this Balkan republic. Therefore, it is fully justified to consider the economic relations an important factor (Waisová, 2002, p. 59-63).

One of the elements of the assessment undertaken by the EU institutions is the contribution of the individual countries in the neighborhood and regional cooperation. In case of Central Europe both the creation of the Visegrad Group (1991) as well as of the CEFTA, the organization of an economic nature (1992), was highly assessed. Although in both cases the cooperation leading to the EU was not coordinated, they were undoubtedly the examples of an intensified cooperation.

This factor is taken into account in the assessment of the Western Balkan countries. It plays an important role because of the historical reasons and recent military conflicts. The examples of cooperation in the Balkans are the initiatives such as: SEECP (South-East European Cooperation Process) – constituting a forum for political and diplomatic dialogue, AII (Adriatic and Ionian Initiative) or the CEFTA 2006. Members of the CEFTA 2006 and the SEECP include Macedonia. However, it should be noted that the bilateral neighbourly relations are not less important.

It is worth adding that the ability to cooperate with other countries and to create coalitions, also of a regional character, is significant even within the EU itself. The cooperation of Benelux and the Nordic countries has been discernible for a long time. From a practical point of view it matters a lot during the voting processes in the EU Council. Currently, the Visegrad countries have a total of 60 votes, which is more than France and Germany combined (although the population of France and Germany is over twice as numerous as that of the countries of the Group) (Koźbiał, Natanek, 2012, p. 72). Time will tell whether the Visegrad countries or the Balkan countries will seize similar opportunities creating just this type of "blocs" in the region.



Graph 1. GDP of the Visegrad Group in the years 2002-12 as compared to the GDP of the EU (EU GDP = 100)

Source:

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tec00114, 3.1.2014

Undoubtedly, after 10 years of membership in the Union the claim that the development of the Visegrad Group is an undeniable fact is fully justified. The increase of GDP is noticeable, it is the most evident in case of Poland and Slovakia, the least when it comes to Hungary. The comparison of the GDP of these countries to the average GDP of the UE is presented in graph 1.

Proposals for Macedonia

The Republic of Macedonia is an excellent exemplification of the post-Yugoslavian state with the aspirations to the EU. The European integration from the very beginning of the independence, proclaimed in 1991, has been one of the main foreign policy objectives of Skopje. Its way to the EU has not been finalized so far.

It should be emphasized that the pursuit of the EU was not only the goal of the political elite but also of the majority of the population, as indicated by the results of research conducted in July 2012 by the Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" in Skopje (Кржаловски, 2012). For more than 61% of the surveyed the strategic orientation of Macedonia is Euro-Atlantic integration. For 25% the accession to the UE will be possible in the perspective of 6-10 years, to almost 24% within 5 years. 20.2% is of the opinion that it will never happen (Кржаловски, 2012, р. 7).

In 2001, the EU signed the Stability and Association Agreement with Macedonia, it came into effect three years later (Sela, Shabani, 2011, p. 29-30). In March 2004, the government in Skopje submitted an application for membership in the Union. In December 2005 the State was granted the status of a candidate country, which was the expression of recognition of the progress made and the encouragement to undertake further steps towards accession (Mirchev, 2007, p. 213).

Since the 90s the biggest problem unsolved to this day has been the refusal of Greece to recognize the name "the Republic of Macedonia". Greece does not agree to start negotiations with the state of this name, which, from an objective point of view, should be considered an unconstructive and selfish stance. In 2008, in Bucharest Athens blocked Macedonia's accession to NATO. The situation seems to be a deadlock and the EU institutions have done very little to persuade Greece to change its attitude.

A research should not be based on speculations, nevertheless it can be assumed that if it were not for the controversy over the name of the country perhaps Macedonia would be already a member of the Union. After all, over 8 years have passed since granting of candidate status. Already in 2009 the European Commission recommended the opening of the negotiations (Com-

munication from..., 2009). They have not been opened so far (as of 1 February 2014).

The most recent assessment of progress and situation of Macedonia made by the European Commission took place in October 2013 (Communication from..., 2013, p. 17-19, 29-31). The evaluation was generally positive and the Commission recommended the opening of negotiations for the fifth time, rightly emphasizing that further procrastination "calls into question the credibility of the negotiation process" (Communication from..., 2013, p. 22) and is also a threat to the further efforts undertaken by the country. The importance of an immediate solution of the name issue was stressed.

In the report the European Commission also drew attention to the arising problems. They include the issue of media freedom and government's dialogue with them, the need for further progress in the fight against corruption and organized crime, measures to condemn the lack of tolerance towards sexual minorities, and finally the need to match employees' skills with labour market needs and the implementation of public finance management (to ensure maximum utilization of the EU funds). Among the successes of the Macedonian reforms one can count introducing most of the reforms in the judiciary, good relations with the neighbours and playing an active role in regional relations, as well as a high level of adjustment to the EU legislation in areas such as movement of capital, postal services and company law. The adjustment in terms of both political and economic criteria have been assessed as at least satisfactory.

The conclusions by which Macedonia should be guided can, in the opinion of the author, be reduced to the following proposals:

- further democratization of political and social life (Democracy Index, 2012)⁴.
- compliance with the provisions of the Ohrid Agreement (2001) which became a testimony to the normalization of the internal situation and non-violation of the rights of national minorities,
- involvement in the processes of regional cooperation,
- turning continuous attention to bilateral relations with its neighbours, particularly with Albania and Greece,
- intensifying the activities related to media freedom as one of the primary determinants of the democratic state⁵,

⁴ In the ranking of the Economist Intelligence Unit for 2012 Macedonia was included in the group of countries with so-called. defective democracy It was classified on the 73 position.

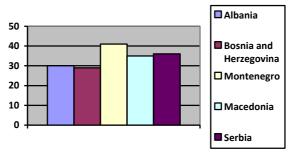
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⁵ According to the report, of the organization Reporters Without Borders for 2013 Macedonia falls under the terms of the worst among the countries of the Western

- undertaking another attempt to resolve the "name controversy" with Greece,
- consistent fight against corruption and organized crime,
- efforts to improve the economic situation, in particular the fight against high level of unemployment (20 years, 2011, p. 19),
- respecting the rights of ethnic minorities and combating intolerance in relation to LGBT people.

These are mostly the activities that can and should be undertaken in terms of internal policy of the country. However, the government in Skopje does not have an influence on all of them, because international problems should also be taken into consideration. The dispute with Athens in which the EU institutions need to engage in order to achieve a reasonable compromise can again serve as an example. However, these are undoubtedly conditions *sine qua non* without which the membership in the Union will not be possible.

Inevitably, the integration with the EU still remains a challenge for the authorities of the Republic. Similarly, this applies to other Western Balkan countries. In economic terms, this area lags behind Central Europe. It is evidenced by the data referring to the GDP of the region in relation to the average GDP of the 28 EU countries (with Croatia), which is presented in graph 2.



Graph 2. GDP of Western Balkan countries in comparison to the GDP of the EU in 2012 (EU 28 = 100)

Source:

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tec00114, 3.1.2014

Balkans taking 116. place in the world. During one year it recorded a decrease of 22 positions. In 2006 it was still on the 42 position.

 $^{^6}$ In 2010, the unemployment rate was 32%, being one of the highest in the region. In 2005 it was 37.3%.

Summary

The enlargement of the European Union is subject to various factors that affect this process. It depends on: 1) the activities of the candidate countries, 2) the EU Member States, 3) the EU institutions. These factors are interrelated and it is extremely difficult to point out which ones prevail.

Not without significance is the impact of the international, political and economic situation. The international situation favoured the accession of the Visegrad Group. A prompt decision to "open the gates" of the EU enabled a smooth introduction of the negotiation process in result of which new countries joined the EU in 2004 and 2007. It was taking place in the period of economic growth and general prosperity of Europe.

This period has not been made use of by the Balkan countries affected by ethnic conflicts often dictated by ambition. Only Croatia in 2013 succeeded, so far, in joining the organization. Other countries have been left behind. The delay is due not always to non-compliance with the criteria for membership but also results from political problems with the neighbours. Greek-Macedonian dispute about the name of the country shows that problem most emphatically.

Today, the situation does not favour the enlargement of the UE. Both economically (the prolonged crisis in the euro zone) and politically (euro-sceptic attitudes in several EU countries) the situation is incomparable with that of several years ago. Moreover, the societies of the EU countries seem to be tired with the enlargements of the first decade of this century.

Nevertheless, the European Union is undoubtedly the political and economic stabilizer of the situation in many areas of the continent. Membership in the Union creates a solid basis for the development of the countries. In case of Macedonia, given its geopolitical position, it is difficult to indicate any alternative to the accession to the organization. However, there is no answer to the question when it is possible to happen. As in case of Central Europe, which is clearly visible 10 years after the enlargement, in case of the Balkans the enlargement is due to bring success.

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MAŁGORZATA KUDZIN-BORKOWSKA

THE LAST NOMADS OF EUROPE - THE SITUATION OF THE GYPSIES IN THE POLISH SOCIETY

There are no lands in a world where freedom and human rights are respected as much as in Europe. The European Union and the Council of Europe are based on the principles of democracy, rule of law, equality and tolerance. Among the natural rights of man's are freedom of speech, of religion, freedom of movement and choice of lifestyle. Despite the good European laws there are still some forms of intolerance and unwillingness to be different. Prejudice and discrimination often take the form of racism against the Roma on our continent. There are countries where social organizations stand up for the rights of churches, animal rights and quotas for women. In these countries, while Gypsies are subjected to discrimination, becoming the second category of Europeans. What is the most different and what most teasing - is their nomadism. Cases of tensions in recent years in the UK, France and Italy is concerned reluctance to groups camped on the outskirts of large cities in Europe. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia discrimination took on the form of separation and exclusion of Roma from urban public space. To understand the causes of tensions and conflicts, it is essential to understand the unique culture of the Roma community.

Gypsies in Poland

The oldest chronicle records of the presence of Gypsies in Poland are from the early fifteenth century. Roma appeared in the Polish cities of southern and south-eastern areas wandering from Moldova by Hungary. They served for pilgrims suffering for the sins of their ancestors, were expelled from their homeland, so that they could count on the favor of rulers and local communities (Mirga, Frost, 1994). Their costumes were strengthened European Christians in the belief that repentance is the real reason of wandering (Ficowski, 1989) which undoubtedly keeping with the religious climate of medieval Europe.

In the sixteenth century, there was a breakthrough, and consolidation of a new philosophy, which treats the work as a duty. Roma came to be regarded as idle and unproductive bums. It was therefore action against him, for example by sending them to overseas colonies (first it did Portugal in 1538) and convicting the galleys and other forced labor. Also in Poland

began to drastically combat nomadism. In 1557, the Polish parliament (Sejm) adopted the first constitution of the exile, and in 1586 the Court of Lithuanian Act announced by excluding persons which were nomadic lifestyle.

In the first half of the seventeenth century was abandoned antycygańskich repression in Poland, because the current law does not produce results in addition to intensify the isolation of Gypsies in society. Wishing Roma strongly subordinate authorities attempted to accomplish this is through the appointment of the official leaders of the Roma community called "king" In 1791, based on the Constitution of May 3, issued the law on Gypsies in Poland, "which defended worry for village people under the name of Gypsies living in our country". Only at the end of independence ceased to apply cruel law, which required expel Gypsies from the country forbade give them welcome and taken to their farms under threat of severe penalties (Mirga, Frost, 1994).

In the next century the situation changed completely. There were partitions of the country and a sovereign Poland ceased to exist. In some areas, the few remaining settlements Polish Gypsies and some of them emigrated from the Polish lands in the Balkans. In 1861 has been written about the fact that Gypsies less frequently seen in Poland. It's been barely a couple of years and started a huge influx of Gypsies in Central Europe from the Balkans. It was the largest Gypsy migration in Europe since their first appearance in the fifteenth century (Mirga, Frost, 1994). Came the years of immigration Kalderash and Lovari. These two great gypsy strains within a few years reach all European countries and even outside the Old Continent. Polish lands again swarmed with multi-colored caravans.

Roma nomadism

Nomadism is defined as unsettled lifestyle involving continuous change of residence, the typical hunter-gatherer and pastoral peoples. It was once one of the basic forms of existence, now increasingly rare, preserved only by some tribes of the steppes of Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and the Roma people (Borek, 2007). Gypsies as nomads for centuries did not have their own territory. Although for centuries lived in Europe among national societies to this day do not show any tendency on state. This is why their relationship with the land has a completely different character than the populations among whom they live. Roma symbolic and emotional value of the territory did not exist, guided by the rather more pragmatic reasons.

Over time, the image of Roma deteriorated. Due to its otherness, the Roma were excluded from the modern societies, and became the object of discrimination. Roma nomadism was not only autonomous but also

enforced by the environment. European societies have developed distinct cultural boundary between sedentary "your" and wandering "freaks".

Roma nomadism was largely economic in nature and consisted in providing a variety of services (service nomadism). Roma were tied to a particular territory rather by human and natural resources (water sources, climate, etc.) than private property and settlement. These factors strongly shaped the mentality of the Roma, who officially never courted any territory. Repeatedly declared by the Gypsy leaders desire to create a state basically was just a meaningless slogan verbal official speeches. The author of this kind of expression even before World War II was one of the leaders of the Romanian Gypsies and one Polish. The latter called for the creation Romistanu in Abyssinia, boosted by Mussolini.

The official international organization representing Gypsies on the global scene has been around for over 30 years. It is a Romani Union - The World Council of Gypsies, was founded in 1971 at a congress in London (Barany, 2002). Initiative supporters of gypsy culture emerged the world's first Board of Directors, announced the text of the national anthem and official described the colors of the Gypsy nation. Since its inception, the board operates in dispersed, with no fixed abode. The effectiveness of the organization depends on the activity of successive presidents. In contrast, the representation of Gypsies to the government is involving local organizations whose meaning is different in different countries. The most active leaders of the Gypsy manages to gain representation in major international organizations (Fraser, 2001).

The most important is the presence of a permanent representation in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Council of Europe. Gradually realizes one of the resolutions Romani Union, referring to UN member states to grant recognition to the Gypsies for the nation. Already in 1981, officially granted a right of Gypsies in Yugoslavia, by entering into the official language and the concept of statistical indicators Rom, as a representative of the Roma people. The same happened in the former Czechoslovakia. In Poland, the number of years used more frequently, to determine the nation Roma / Gypsy, a representative of the Roma people / Gypsy, Roma, etc. also more likely to successfully begin to enforce rights belonging to them, such as given to other national minorities.

In the 50s of the twentieth century, about 75% of the Gypsy community living in Poland were nomads. Nomadism was the feature that most distinguished of Roma from the environment and arguing with the idea of omnipotent control apparatus of the socialist state. Socialist Poland (PRL) in 1952 organized a settlement (Bartosz, 1994) completed a total fiasco. In 1964, the government launched the official registration of Gypsies in order

to estimate their numbers in different regions of the country. Then introduced a number of administrative and criminal legislation, which the Roma were not able to observe. For example, forbidden to ride a horse cart without a license, illegal meetings, etc. They began tracking the Gypsy camps, which meant that each year fewer and fewer families migrated to the movement.

In 1983, the police registered only thirty-four families who have not surrendered to the action settlement. Probably the most nomadic Roma went abroad. At the end of the communist system in Poland, the remains of nomadism appeared in the form of suburban camps - was a kind of camping. During this time, the Gypsies dutifully report without delay with a local village elder, so do not create significant problems of administrative nature.

Culture, traditions, language

Roma communities are characterized by their own culture and different from the Polish culture. Roma speak Romani, like Sanskrit has its roots in the Indo-Aryan languages. The development of Romani language followed during the hundreds of years of wandering Roma, resulting in a strong dialectal diversity (Bartosz, 2004). It should be noted that the Roma culture is a specific, oral culture, which did not develop a codified written language. Hence today's problems with transcription of spoken language. Problems with the systematization of Romani deepen internal strife between groups and Roma communities in Europe and the lack of wider interest in this issue from the social environment.

In 1990, the Jadwisin near Warsaw held deliberations IV International Congress of the International Romani Union. On the initiative of the Roma philologist Marcel Courtiade adopted design principles of standardization and spelling of Roma named Warsaw alphabet (Ficowski, 1989). However, after 10 years, the process of introducing this system in force was still in its infancy. Some Roma leaders believe that in the absence of its own territory, national church, formed the elite or common interpretation of the past and origin - unified literary language can be a very important link for living in dispersed Roma. Awareness of this fact, however, is minuscule among themselves. The problem aggravates the dispute about the same principle of unification Romani language. Its dialects (also the variety spoken by Roma in Poland) are so diverse that they are the differentiator and a group identifier, which is still more important than broad and abstract for most of the Roma ethnic community.

Despite the fact that in the face of external threats, the Roma are able to unite, however, over the centuries there was no form of social organization of an over tribes. Roma were aware of the existence of other groups of Roma,

but narrowly identified themselves only with their own. Gypsies belonging to different tribes used a different, often unintelligible to each other tongues, formed a little different culture. It is natural, therefore, that this plane has developed a number of different antagonisms between groups. Each of them is considered to be the real Roma and looks at other groups with a certain amount of criticism and even contempt. Romani identity is so very complex shapes not only in opposition to the non-Roma, but also to other-Roma groups.

World "your" and the world "alien"

Romany world is divided into the world "your" and alien world. Abroad, actually impassable between them determines romanipen, a collection of unwritten ethical and moral principles recognized by all tribesmen. It regulates the life of the Roma and defines the fundamental values and ethical standards of the Roma (Gerlich, 2001).

Romanipen sets the boundaries of ethnicity and is interpreted by the Roma tradition. This code defines the behavior and norms within the Roma community. Obligated to manifest the Roma identity, to use the Romani language, both in their own environment, as well as in dealing with others. Undertakes to show respect for elders, respect considered by the group rites and rituals (Ficowski, 2013). Romanipen also requires compliance pativ, namely the principle of respect, honor and hospitality, as well as ćaćipen, the duty of truthfulness. Importantly, romanipen relates solely to the members of the Roma community.

It allows for real Roma (Roma ciacie) and distinguish them from the evil of the Gypsies (Roma phuj) or impure (dziungałe Roma). Romanipen orders for non-threatening all kinds of sanctions, from a loss of respect and contempt, to the exclusion of the Roma community. The Code prohibits reveal the mystery of the gypsy, nor lie in family circles. In contrast, foreign called gadzia, you even have to cheat. For the greatest sin is considered to be violation of an oath, especially within the church. When it comes to penalties, the most severe penalty of death, shall apply to the "stranger" who raped a gypsy woman. If rape would carry Gypsy outside the caste - will be excluded. In the event that such a transgression allow someone from the family of the victim has to go to court or council of elders kris.

An important aspect of Gypsy culture are professions of individual members of the group. They are a source of income to ensure the material well-being and culture-are an important factor. Performed professions greatly influence the formation of the image of the Gypsies - positive or negative among non-Gypsy environment. Characteristic feature is the reluctance

to work in agriculture (also in sedentary Gypsies) or professions associated with prolonged and tedious activities (Mirga, Gheorghe, 1998). Hence the success of the Gypsies professions enjoy giving great freedom, indeterminate time work, diverse professional activities, and numerous social contacts. Men's Gypsies have long been smiths (including door to door), coppersmiths (bleaching-tin boilers for industry, craft, catering, etc.), animal trainers (generally bears), traders horses and other items, musicians and dancers.

The above professions are commonly associated with Gypsies. They are also considered as the best professionals in these areas. Gypsy women in addition to trade and appearances in musical groups were engaged in divination and occasionally begging. Divination learned from India gypsy perfected in Greece - according to the tradition of the sect of soothsayers called Atzigane. In addition, also undertook other work: various forms of crafts (including artistic), masonry, exploration and exploitation of precious minerals and metals. In the era of technological progress, many of these professions have been repressed by mass production. The result of the development of civilization is also changing consumer patterns. Gypsy skills and crafts in the postmodern era have become anachronistic. Demand for their services disappears and occurs only in the less developed regions of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The spiritual life of the Gypsies is rich, traces of ancient beliefs freely intermingle with the Christian tradition. Religiosity Polish Roma is mainly connected with the Roman Catholic church. However, this does not create a very strong sense of community with all the co followers. Most of the Roma has a moderate relationship to the church. Their religiosity is rather private, but also affirmative and joyful, in contrast to the Polish majority.

A special place in religious worship is holy Mary, as in the majority of Catholics. Pilgrimage, apart from the religious dimension, are also an opportunity to meet and strengthening intra-group relations. Small groups of Roma are also Orthodox Christians, members of the Pentecostal Church and Jehovah's Witnesses.

The current situation of the Roma in Poland

Within the Polish Republic now lives about 20 thousand persons belonging to the Roma ethnic minority. It is composed of several distinct strains: Sasitka Roma (Gypsies consider themselves to be German), Chaładytka Roma (strain indicating Russian roots), Bergitka Roma (Gypsies mountain troops, Carpathian), Kełderaszi (Kelderari) and Lovari (Lovara), who appeared in Poland together with Kełderaszi migrating from today's Romania and Hungary.

The Roma community in Poland is treated as an ethnic minority, which should, in accordance with domestic law and international instruments signed by the Republic of Poland, the full legal protection and state aid (Mikulska et al., 1998). The Polish government is working to solve the problems of the Roma with the specialized agencies of the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Roma in Poland, in the vast majority inhabit small and medium-sized cities. The majority is in a difficult social and economic situation in a way fundamentally different from modern civilization standards. On the problems of the Roma community has repeatedly pointed out: the Ombudsman, Members of the Polish Parliament (especially the members of the Parliamentary Committee on National and Ethnic Minorities), government administration, the media, and NGOs. On the other hand, the Roma community itself is seeking ways to maintain their own identity and solve pressing problems.

The situation of Polish Roma shows, inter alia, with government policy regime, which, as in other communist countries, assumed the forced assimilation of the Roma. In Poland, a particularly brutal nature of this policy took in 1964, when the authorities forcibly settled the majority of Roma leading a nomadic life (Ficowski, 1989). Those who belong to groups: Polish Roma, Kalderash and Lovari (Carpathian Roma had been running for several centuries sedentary) resettled, mostly in socially deprived and socially urban districts, thus destroying the economic basis of their being associated with nomadic life. In contrast, the Carpathian Roma were employed as unskilled labor.

Political and economic changes of the early 90s were not conducive to improving the situation of the Roma community in Poland. Involving most of the Roma have become: unemployment, lower levels of security, social and health problems (Chałupczak, Brewery, 1998). In June 1991 a group of residents of the city Mława revenge attacks made on Gypsies. The reason for this act was a road traffic collision in which 17-year-old Rom car hit two people - one of them died and the other was disabled. The perpetrator event coincided with the scene of the accident, but the next day Roma mayor led the perpetrator of the accident to the police station.

Despite this, the mood in the city has not changed. Over two days, 200 people crowd completely destroyed seventeen houses, part four, also demolished seven homes. Victims were 41 people, including 5 of Polish nationality (Lentowicz, 1996). Earlier in Oswiecim after the fight Pole and Gypsy, hundreds of residents of the city attacked the houses and flats inhabited by members of the minority (Komak, 2011).

With conducted by the Association of anti-fascist "Never again"

monitoring shows that these events were among the most serious type. Since the late 90's to the present, there has been a significant reduction in violent incidents against Roma (European Roma Wright Center, 2002). We are seeing more single hooligan attacks and racist practices.

In a market economy, in which education and qualifications are an essential asset for job seekers, Roma are not able to compete effectively in the labor market. Strong cultural separateness creates distrust of people who do not belong to the Roma community, as well as distrust of state institutions. Even wealthy Roma remain on the margins of society, abandoning the participation in public life by not using the rights which the Republic of Poland guarantees national and ethnic minorities (Act, 2005).

The reasons for the bad situation of the Roma are complex. Centuries of cultural isolation and barriers to the societies mean that Roma are not integrated socially. Undoubtedly, the consequence of isolation is insufficient knowledge about the Roma. Linked to this is the high level of distrust of the group. A different system of values, a different lifestyle, institutional aversion to education and the lack of a permanent job results in a very high level of distance. Persistent stereotypes of the Roma due to the lack of reliable knowledge about the community. These stereotypes are reinforced by media reports, focusing on the elements of thrillers and crime, or at best, presenting an archaic image of Roma.

Roma are a regular part of our culture. Character of the Gypsy as a vagabond, but also a thief and a beggar grown into the consciousness of Poles (Gerlich, 1996). Roma in the eyes of non-Roma are romantic artists of life but there are also acknowledged for the lazy, seeking opportunity for easy theft. This dual stereotype is a determinant of relative non-Roma majority of the Gypsies still strangers, although already present in Poland for 500 years (Kicińska, 2011).

Association of Roma in Poland located in Oswiecim, took the initiative of the project "Exclusion is also a Roma" whose aim was to promote the idea of anti-discrimination, the promotion of intercultural dialogue and respect for cultural and ethnic traditions. For example, the project in 2011, there was a twelve workshops intended primarily for young people above the age of fifteen, attending schools in the province of Malopolska.

In 2012 founded the Social Integration Program of the Roma in Poland for the years 2014-2020. This program includes a detailed diagnosis and analysis of the problems afflicting the community and forms of assistance. Influence on the program guidelines and priorities were outlined by the European Commission within the framework of policy initiation and implementation of national strategies for Roma integration

in the individual Member States. Significant contributions to this document were the agents for provincial governors on national and ethnic minorities, social workers and nurses working with the Roma. To develop the Programme also contributed members of the Roma NGOs. This program is a continuation of the activities of the Polish state, undertaken since 2001 under the government program for the Roma community in the Malopolska province for the years 2001-2003 and the program for the Roma community in Poland, conducted in 2004-2013.

Surveys of public opinion on Roma

With numerous sociological studies often declared unwillingness of respondents in relation to the Roma community. This means that the Gypsies are a minority at least tolerated in Poland. The negative image of Roma from years operating in the consciousness of Polish society. According to a survey conducted by the Centre for Research Biases, prejudices concerning the declared Poles towards national minorities, Roma are in first place at the other Jews and the third the Vietnamese. Also from CBOS research shows that Roma communities are perceived negatively (CBOS 2008). Analysing acts of intolerance, lack of acceptance, verbal or physical violence against ethnic groups, should indicate their three forms: stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination (Olechnicki, Załęcki, 1997).

Negative attitudes are closely related to stereotypes. Common causes of prejudice, which would lead to acts of intolerance described below, according to Elliot Aronson: economic and political rivalry or conflict, displaced aggression, personality and needs conformity to existing social norms. The first factor is related to the scarcity of resources, which must compete with and which are limited. Then the group parent may seek to exploit or discriminate against a minority group in order to achieve greater material benefits and better access to certain goods. Discrimination, prejudice, and a tendency to use negative stereotypes intensify rapidly when there is no work and increased competition for jobs.

The second bias concerns the causes of displaced aggression, ie the search for scapegoats to neutralize frustration. Frustrated people are looking for alternative reasons for its failure. It is easier to attack the Roma, as an imaginary culprit unemployment than the whole political system - economic, or the government of a state (MacRae et al., 1999). Roma are so weak, defenseless, they are not able to answer similar actions against acts of discrimination by the majority of society. History offers many examples of lynchings or other criminal behavior, rape and acts of violence that

took place in times of crises. The victims of such behavior are relatively powerless and from the beginning not liked.

The third reason of prejudice, the predisposition to be aggressive and feel aversion to others. People with authoritarian personality have rigid views, consider the conventional values do not tolerate weakness, are suspicious and have extraordinary respect for the authorities. The last of the causes of prejudice, it is obedience to social norms. For conformist bias becomes one of the standards to be followed under the supervision of social control (Aronson, 1978). However, the attitude of marked bias may change with the transfer to the unit to another group or country and identifying with other people who have more liberal views.

It is worth recalling the definition of minority groups, which highlights the disadvantage of such communities. Janusz Mucha believes that "national minority groups are those who for whatever reasons, in a relatively stable manner different culturally (and therefore, due to occur in their patterns of behavior and normative system) from the dominant group in society and that, as a consequence of distinction, are in any way discriminated (Mucha, 1999).

Close the problems of the Roma is the opinion of Roger Brubacker on national minorities. He argues that "nationalist positions occurring in the national minorities in a manner characteristic include understanding each other more in terms of specific national than purely ethnic, request recognition by the State of different ethno-cultural minority nationalities and the corresponding certain collective" cultural or political rights (Brubacker, 1998).

Conclusions

- 1. The Roma community is divided and dispersed in many countries, and its members represent the various, often conflicting views. Therefore, the Roma should define a common political space for themselves, for they could fight in the international arena and domestic.
- 2. The cause of the problems of discrimination in the policy states inhabited by Roma. Countries such as Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland, deny many of the rights afforded to the Gypsies as a national minority. Roma are subjected to attempts to assimilate with the dominant society. They are the most vulnerable and the most unwanted among European minorities. It may be noted the increasing tendency to isolate their societies of individual countries, mainly from concerns about safety.
- 3. No habit of early childhood education and schooling among some Roma meant that subsequent generations have begun to inherit not only the

poor but also the pattern of inactivity, educational, and professional. This became the cause of the increasing lack of social acceptance to the community. Particularly difficult is the integration of the Roma in the local environment and yet social harmony at the local level is the basis of general social order.

- 4. Social action programs, education and consulting, are designed to reduce the socio-economic marginalization of the Roma ethnic group. It is in this area focuses on the core of the integration of Roma. Increased participation of Roma in the education system and the labor market, improve housing infrastructure and medical care is an opportunity to close this ethnic group to other groups living standards of the majority.
- 5. Many of the rights and guarantees of protection has been given to other minorities under bilateral, legally binding international agreements, which the Roma can not contain. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the Gypsies do not have native country, and therefore does not correspond to international definitions created a national minority. In Europe, there is considerable variation. In countries where the legal system does not recognize the national and ethnic minorities, are in turn strongly articulated civil rights guaranteed by the liberal constitutions and the rule of law (France). In Germany, the legal system only recognizes the historical rights of minorities (Sorbs), in other countries they are guaranteed under bilateral agreements (eg, Polish-German agreement of 1991 governs the rights of the Polish minority in Germany). Several countries have also constitutional provisions relating to the Roma, it is Finland, Slovenia and Macedonia. In Hungary and Austria Roma be named in the laws relating to national and ethnic minorities.
- 6. In an increasing number of countries, the Roma have gained their political representation in democratic elections to parliaments (Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Spain, Romania, Hungary) and thanks to this their interests can be better articulated. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Roma issue as a social problem is still alive. Whether it is possible to maintain a nomadic lifestyle by Roms from the Balkans and Central Europe? Is it possible to eliminate discrimination and racism absolutely? Is initiated aid programs prevent social exclusion of the Gypsies? Today the Roma become a dilemma, what kind of group identity they can create. Europe has a dilemma on how to protect Roma against exclusion and reconcile their nomadic culture with European requirements, standards and principles of co-existence of modern societies.

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MAGDALENA ROSOCHACKA-GMITRZAK, MARIOLA RACŁAW

OLDER ADULTS' PARTICIPATIVE EDUCATION – LOCI FOR PRODUCTIVE AGEING / ENGAGEMENT?

The term "productive ageing" was coined by Robert N. Butler and introduced at a seminar on health, productivity and long-term care held in Austria in 1982. Three years later, in 1985 the notion became known to wider public through *Productive Ageing: Enhancing Vitality in Later Life*, written together with H.P. Gleason 9 (Bass, 2011). The latter notions of "successful ageing" promoted by J.W. Rowe and R.L. Khan, "active ageing" or "healthy ageing" established and inspired by World Health Organization and the United Nations are all akin to Butler's concept (Wija, Ferreira, 2012). "I did not interpret the concept productive ageing to be formal work. I believe that even the bedridden person can be productive, helpful to their caregivers. I consider taking care of myself to be productive. The principal concept of productive ageing is to remain constructive in relationship to the larger society and immediate environment as long as possible" (Butler, 2009 in: Wija, Ferreira, 2012, p. 11).

Nonetheless, productivity is often equated with paid labour, also with regard to older people. Meanwhile a lot of them are productive or remain productive after retiring - in wider context, beyond the obligations resulting from formal employment. There is nothing new behind it – historical analyses of the question reveal that elders have always been productive both in the private (micro level: family) and in the public (meso level: local society) strands. Social models of ageing referring to success, activity and the efficiencies possible to be nurtured and achieved in this period of life point out the validity of the productivity notion going beyond the realm of paid labour. And what is most essential, such approach reveals the resources being at older adults' disposal, both as individuals and as certain community. These resources can be utilized not only by themselves of course, but also by other generations (Estes, Mahakian, 2001; Moody, 2001; Butricia, Shana, 2005, Hao, 2008).

Many authors emphasize the purpose of extending the notion of productivity and having it prescinded from the work market (Herzog, Morgan, 1992; Bass, 1995 in: Hinterlong, Morrow-Howell, Sherraden, 2001). At the same time, they also emphasize the fact that non-market productivity of today's older population is seldom taken notice of, and remains underestimated at many times – being located in the so-called shadow zone. Authors

rate social institutions as unprepared or downright, not following the strength/ability and the willingness of older adults to play productive parts roles, and the society as "insufficiently equipped in order to provide the possibilities to continue productive engagement of the elderly" (Hinterlong, Morrow-Howell, Sherraden, 2001, p. 4)⁷ It appears to be particularly disturbing, considering that such inertia of social institutions was predicted much earlier, among others in the works of W. F. Ogburn's *Cultural lag as theory* from 1957 or M.W. Riley's *Aging and society* from 1972. We also raised the issue together with B. Tokarz-Kamińska (Racław, Rosochacka-Gmitrzak, Tokarz-Kamińska, 2012) in the joint study *Social and cultural activity of older people* consisting a part of the monograph *Strategies for actions in the ageing society. Theses and recommendations* prepared for the Human Rights Defender Office.

The proposed and assumed herein notion of the "productivity" is close to the Sennett's term of usefulness (Sennett, 2010). The summoned sociologist claims that being useful means that one brings in something important to the lives of other people (Sennett, 2010, p. 150). This, often symbolic contribution does not automatically cause social acknowledgement. In our modern societies, work in the form of undisclosed gift (e.g. as unpaid work in the household) does not solidify and (or) puts up the "status" of the individual who "is useful" for others. Sennett emphasizes that the usability going bevond the utilitarian exchange shall be assisted by the state in order to make the importance of a given activity clearer. This means that despite creating new values and resources (e.g. protective work for the grandchildren, help in organizing life in the children's household, work for the benefit of the parish or the estate or the neighbours help), the activities may be equated with purely altruistic deeds and do not cause social recognition for their originators. In other words, a person useful for his or her relatives, neighbours or unknown people must not be recognized as "socially productive", active citizen. In the modern world, recognition is gained with the exchange of payment for the work done. Such exchange "reveals" the usefulness of the person by doing the activities, creating market productivity.

The narrowing of the notion of productivity to the work market, to the measurable effects of the input to the GDP of a given country has its vital results for creating social policy. This was proven by M. Wilińska (2013) in her research focused on the ageing discourse in Poland. The author indicated that both on the macro (social policy strategies) and mezzo (strategies and actions of the collective subjects) levels as well as in the media discourse the senility is perceived as bothersome issue. The elderly generate social

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⁷ Butler Himself, after decades of work, claimed "productive engagement" as a better term than "productive ageing" (2008).

costs due to the necessary expenses, no vocational activity: "A person's value is contingent upon their input to the market economy; in such situations, people who do not work constitute a problem" (Wilińska, 2013, p. 31). This perception of the elderly and shaping the (media) discourse around diseased, infirm senility results in the lack of social spaces of (non)ageing; senility remains unrecognized and incomprehensible phenomenon, because the "nonageing" is a social expectation "Contrary to the excessive knowledge against old age, there is considerable lack of knowledge for old age" (Wilińska, 2013, p. 25). This isn't just Polish-specific – the analysed example of Sweden indicates also the existence of discourse problematizing the senility as the period of emerging health issues, which is being recognized as a substantial burden to the state and its administration. Messages present in the media enhance the negative stereotypes. U. Jarecka (2003) claims that modern contexts and presentation styles in the media often aim at making the senility unreal; "it is impossible that the human gets old. Why? Because the elderly didn't >>succeed<< and reminds on the >>defeat<< planned in the human life – death" (Jarecka, 2003, p. 524).

It seemed like the concept of active ageing failed to bring hope for better recognition of senility as the stage of life, including the potential of the elderly. Meanwhile it succeeded to bring the threats related to the pressure for "non-ageing", superseding the reflexion on the menial part of the institutions towards people and the reinforcement of the necessity for contributing to the social-economic development (Wilińska, 2013), delegitimization of care programs and the activities not related to the employment (Racław, 2011). The critics of the model of the stimulating social policy pose the question on the limits of the freedom granted to the individual. For example B. Schonbrodt and K. Veil notice the limitation of freedom to have time to spare after finishing their professional activity – "whether the free time in the retired age can constitute a part of personal resources or does it have to be used in a socially productive way? (...) It's a contradiction to promote the autonomy and self-determination at the simultaneous commitment to it" (Schonbrodt, Veil, 2012, p. 66; original underline). For all those who withdrew from the social life due to various reasons (voluntarily or not), the policy of active ageing will be excluding and stigmatizing, and not including or appreciating.

Participative education – towards the community and not the divisions

Standing at the position of protecting the freedom of individuals and the unconstrained utilization of their own potentials on each stage of life we declare ourselves in favour of participative nature of introducing social

changes. Participation signifies the reality of impact on content and ways of decision making in case of matters important for a society. It should pertain "all areas of society's functioning, including problems and social needs' defining" (Niesporek, 2011, p. 234). We have the impression that currently older adults are "emancipated and emancipate themselves" according to the rules set beyond them and sometimes against the ageing as the natural stage of life. If we assume after A. Giddens (2010, p. 284) that the emancipation means "such organization of collective life that the individual has its either way understood freedom and independence of acting in the framework of social life" and the emancipation policy is defined as "the liberation of individuals from the limitations which tend on their life chances" (p. 281), then the modern activities towards older adults often bring new barriers and do not eliminate the old ones. We can call upon as an example from the education area the social space of one of the Polish third age university, as already analyzed by M. Wilińska (2013). The author indicates that the existence of the space is connected to the introduction of disparity between the world of the elderly outside and the "other" (better) world of the U3A students. They reject the ageing as the stage of life, accepting the existing definitions of old age as a worthless and appalling stage. "The U3A members tend to refer to themselves proudly as 'we' and contrast this with people outside the organization who are simply old. (...) Members of the U3A want to forget their age; they want to get back to yesterday. They see old age in media, they observe the making of old age in social policy, and they reject the reality they see. However, instead of trying to see what is behind negative images of old age, they spend a great deal of effort on separating themselves from others, especially those of the same age. 'Those old people' became a reality that they want to avoid at all costs" (Wilińska, 2013, p. 32).

The divisions created between the generations and within the generation do not serve to "disenchant" the senility as a natural stage of life. "Emancipation" has got only way – by denying the senility. The potential hidden in the elderly – their experience, knowledge, the way of comprehending the world is used for legitimization of the "(non)ageing" space. As an example we can quote the title of the paper related to the education of the elderly: "Activate yourself, that is youth in the old age. Education – the promotion of learning as a process throughout entire life" (Borczyk, 2013; own accentuation). Activity is perceived here as a conversion of life phases, transformation of the old age into youth. Regardless of the fact that the author of the quoted paper takes into consideration the possibility of an appearance of discrimination practices due to the age and the phenomenon of neglecting senility (anti-ageism), by the language convention used, the very author

yields to the "rules of silent knowledge", marking the old age as non-productive.

Meanwhile, maybe it is not about emancipation but "life politics", meaning – after A. Giddens (2010) about the "policy of choice" (p. 285). It is related to personal fulfilment with reflective project of identity in the conditions of mutual and reciprocal influence of the individual and their environment in the global world. J-P. Roos (1999) underlines that the concept of Giddens' life politics contains many normative components, although it is an "useful scientific concept", as it reflects the action and its subject. The concept emphasizes the importance of individual and collective decisions, "related to the direction of life, life changes, human relations, personal fulfilment, happiness or its lack, prosperity. Then everyday life is not life politics but undertaking the decision influencing its shape, reflecting its guidelines, planning its future shape or setting its moral rules" (Roos, 1999, p. 72).

We would like to propose a viewpoint on the education as an area supporting life politics. The idea of life politics might protect the freedom of individuals for living the style of life they choose – on each stage of life; it also could protect the educational projects from too simple and over paternalistic approach to emancipation. We believe that old age brings a huge social potential along yet it shall not be reshaped according to the rules of the (non)ageing space, so that it can be neglected, hidden or cut off from. Grass roots processes, related to the very biologic extension of the life of individuals (although socially conditioned) automatically spur older adults to action – on the work market, in public life and in the local societies, in the area of education as well as in the family and consumer roles. As Schonbrodt and Veil (2012) claim, the elderly, resisting the trend of transferring them to retirement and the cuts of their incomes shaped their active roles themselves. Among others the roles were political representations of their interests. Activity became a way to emancipate, but – it seems like – not yet to the implementation of life politics, because its roads run through socially developed spaces of (non)ageing – as far as we read the reality accurately.

From the other side, educational projects targeted at seniors may create and consolidate social divisions, which was already pointed out by Wilińska (2013); their visible function is inclusion of (some) seniors to the group but the hidden function is the exclusion of persons remaining outside the group. Thus communities emerge, which were named by F. Znaniecki as synergetic communion (Znaniecki, 1936 in: Hałas, 2007). These are target groups active in developing new cultural ideals and executing them outside the existing organized groups. They are based on sharing the attitudes "thanks to the concordant assessment of the importance of the experienced

objects with relation to the same value system (...) the synergetic communion differs from standard collective action because the motives and reasons of the members of the community must be equally based on common experiences and values. Cooperation is regarded here above all as a moral duty towards the community" (Hałas, 2007, p. 151)⁸. The integrity of the group and strong emotional bonds between its members may sometimes arise the danger of "clique fellowship". The advantages of the existing and operation of the clique are valid only for its members and the "outside world" – not. Though it is vital that through the proposed educational activities the group identity is not built upon the division "us" and "them"; that these individuals and these initiatives which are based on different optics of senility, self - or common responsibility were not discredited; that the focus and fixedness on being active did not blot out the need and the importance of passivity, which is consentient with the personality of some individuals or is imposed by the health status or circumstances of life.

Aforementioned participation in the field of education, introduced not as a feigned one but as a real action, may become an active interests' disparity overcoming tool and conflict prevention (Niesporek, 2011, p. 234), not to mention inter- and intra-generational rivalry. It is worth remembering that adult learning tends to be broad and fluid field (e.g. formal education for adults, non-formal learning, informal learning)⁹ (Cross, 1981, in: Field, Schuller, and Baron 2000). In the multispectral and diverse area of education and educating (to/with/about/self), social capital needed to introduce social changes of participatory character, may be a base as well as access product to new knowledge and skills: "(...) ready access to new knowledge and skills can help to build, and transform, social capital. It is not simply that knowledge and skills can be exchanged through high-trust networks, thus helping to renew and restate their significance to their members. New information and competencies can also help to build the capacity of a given network, enabling it both to function more effectively and to adapt to changing

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⁸ A. Borowski (2014, p. 60) describes synergetic communion concisely as: "communities/groups cooperating in risky, new tasks, consciously setting out transforming society and culture". It does resemble, in a certain degree, K. Mannheim's (1952, p. 183) "actual generation" – individuals of the same age who "participate in the characteristic social and intellectual currents of their society and period, and in so far as they have an active or passive experience of the interactions of forces, which made up the new situation".

⁹ Formal education for adults we define as international instruction undertaken on the education and training system; non- formal learning, which consists of planned learning undertaking outside the education and training system; informal learning is largely unplanned or is incidental to another activity (Cross, 1981, in: Field, Schuller, and Baron, 2000).

circumstances" (Field, Schuller, and Baron 2000, p. 263). Mutual reinforcement of members and networks' potential through actions in the educational field should deem it necessary in policy driven by social productivity growth inclusive of social needs and expectations.

Participative education – few examples of NGO and university possible cooperation: Association of Creative Initiative "e" and Warsaw University's Institute of Applied Social Sciences initiatives.

We are of the opinion that although productivity concept in some ways is caused to favour by social class or gender (Morrow-Howell, Hinterlong, Sherraden, Tang, Thirupathy, Nagchoudhuri, 2003), it is worth reflecting on it with a broader sense. We believe, as it has been mention prior in the text, productivity of older adults has a potential to enhance society, community, families and individuals. Being called "a civic treasure that can provide leadership in community and religious organizations, volunteer formally or informally, and influence decision-making and legislative processes" elders and society — as potential beneficiary - are yet exposed to genuine, knotty jeopardy (Hooyman, Kiyak, 2011, p. 495). The peril is here whether society make circumstances favourable enough for older adults to contribute in its development and remain active, involved, engaged — whatever we name it.

Having the jeopardy in mind, Professor Anna Kwak and I (the first author) together with Association of Creative Initiative "e" constituted postgraduate studies "Organising work with seniors" at University of Warsaw's Institute of Applied Social Sciences¹¹. The Studies goal is to supply knowledge and practical skills in supporting older adults' resources in family, local and institutional environments. The Studies programme combines interdisciplinary theoretical knowledge on ageing and old age inspired by sociological, psychological, cultural and socio-political's output with presenting practical experiences and best practices themselves of working with older

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¹⁰ ACI "ę" is a Polish NGO, based in Warsaw, describing itself as follows: "Since 2002, we have been realizing socio-cultural project all over Poland. We train, give grants, publish books, create and promote new models of activity in the sphere of culture. We carry out projects arising from our passions and the way in which we observe the world. We remain loyal to values, which are important to us: authenticity, high quality of proposals and getting satisfaction out of what we do. We run a network of animateurs in the entire country. We have long time partners. Our experience and skills let us experiment, outline new trends and implement new projects" [retrieved 2.02.14 at: http://e.org.pl/about-us]

¹¹ More details on the postgraduate studies' curriculum are available to be retrieved at: http://www.isns.uw.edu.pl/studia_podyplomowe_seniorzy.php.

adults in Poland and abroad. The Studies aim at new challenges of labour market and growing demand for well-skilled workforce ready and prepared for working with older adults in various fields and aware of age-management tools. As older population keep mounting, Poland – and obviously all countries coming up against a situation of ageing societies – calls for development of specialised services and products dedicated to older adults i.e. in the areas of education, culture, technologies, tourism, medical services or social assistance, etc. Population ageing may foster silver economy development and new jobs advancement, providing a society strengthens and stimulates its preparations regarding the matter. What else is the Studies initiative driven by? To a large extend, it origins from an idea of society for all ages, a notion evolved during United Nations World Summit in 1995 (Zelenev, 2012). It also emanates from a premise that models of ageing still present in social imagination are expired, far past time out and therefore cause limited policies' efficiency in terms of providing engagement opportunities for older adults (Beard, 2012). Plainly, it is impossible to underestimate universities of the Third Age (U3A) or other actions addressed directly to older adults impact on ageing perception yet,...it is not about elders solely. What it is about is institutions, norms and resources being advantageous and favourable for ageing to be continuously developed (Baltes, Mayer, 1999). University of Warsaw's Institute of Applied Social Sciences postgraduate offer "Organizing work with seniors" is the case.

Moreover, since 2012/13, previously mentioned Association of Creative Initiative "ę" together with our Institute have introduced a partnership action project called "Generational Archipelago" 13. Thus far there have been two editions of the initiative. I (the first author) have had the honour to be the course's subject area expert on behalf of IASS (Institute of Applied Social Sciences). "Generational Archipelago" is an interdisciplinary platform for creativity and education of generations aged 50+ in conjunction of intra and intergenerational cooperation. It has formed an innovative proposal for mature citizens of Warsaw so far generating space for cooperation and exchange

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¹² ACI "ę" is a Polish NGO describing itself as follows: "Since 2002, we have been realizing socio-cultural project all over Poland. We train, give grants, publish books, create and promote new models of activity in the sphere of culture. We carry out projects arising from our passions and the way in which we observe the world. We remain loyal to values, which are important to us: authenticity, high quality of proposals and getting satisfaction out of what we do. We run a network of animateurs in the entire country. We have long time partners. Our experience and skills let us experiment, outline new trends and implement new projects [retrieved 2.02.14 at: http://e.org.pl/about-us].

¹³ In Polish: "Archipelag Pokoleń". More details on the course: archipelagpokolen.pl.

of action methods between NGO, university as well as public and private culture institutions. The project's main goal is to support creative attitudes and social engagement of 50+ Warsaw's residents. The objective has been attained through diverse actions, including lectures, workshops, visits and voluntary actions in various institutions. Heretofore, more than 80 people took part in the project. As a result, they have acquired knowledge about ways of interpreting changing reality, sundry forms of potential and achievable social engagement, carrying out own projects intra- or intergenerational - oriented, neighbours alliances, etc. The 2014 edition of "Archipelago" plans to enrich the offer with practical module focusing on voluntary services provided by the participants and additionally augment as well as cultivate coactions with younger generations further than before. The course's recapitulative report and evaluation reveal following opinions of the participants: "I've gained sense of impacting the reality, have become acquainted with new places, have listened to and took part in interesting discussions", "Archipelago has enforced my activity. I now have a "can do" attitude". Besides educational and civic activities components, in 2013 edition, came an "Archipelago's" Laboratory addressed to the course's graduates. Its purpose was to create experimental area for 50+ socio-cultural animation¹⁴ beginners. The accomplished (supported and assisted by tutors) projects concerned:

- Neighbours' actions, local identities and civic engagement, as in "Remember and change Warsaw's New Town Market";
- recollections and personal biographical stories of Warsaw's citizens, as in "Recollections recycled";
- intergenerational meetings on Muranów District¹⁵ identities, as in "The Intergenerational Inquiry";
- animating local society through poetical-ish actions (as in "Poetical Żoliborz¹⁶").

"Archipelago's Laboratory" has been evaluated, too. It turned out to all participants are willing to continue their actions, though it was all novelty in terms of Laboratory. Utter group underlined how important this engagement was, how it changed their self-perception, self-image as of what is possible, or "can be done" by them. The evaluation also acknowledges inno-

¹⁴ Socio-cultural animation is understood as an action that is "stimulus to the mental. physical, and emotional life of people in a given area which moves them to undertake a wider range of experiences through which they find a higher degree of selfrealization, self-expression, and awareness of belonging to a community which the can influence" (Simpson, 1989, p. 54).

Muranów is one of Warsaw's districts.

¹⁶ Żoliborz is also one of Warsaw's districts.

vative and counter-stereotypical character of undertaken ventures. The project members highlighted their agency¹⁷ - they came around they can initiate actions for their local communities, neighbourhoods on their own – invaluable one may say. The final part of "Archipelago's Laboratory" evaluation points at lessons to be learned. Somewhat blind spotted seems senior animators' reactions towards privileging actions' environment needs or demands. It may be associated with tight flexibility regarding adapting to others (Association of Creative Initiative "ę", 2013). All above deserves much further insight, yet the goal was here simply to make a sketch of our initiatives. Undoubtedly, this "civic treasure that can provide leadership in community" (Hooyman, Kiyak, 2011, p. 495) deserves sustained efforts of NGOs, universities and all feasible parties to support their attempts and struggles in order to embark the ship under a flag "productive ageing or engagement".

Conclusions: embarking the ship or towards productive ageing society

More than two decade ago, in 1993, S. A. Bass, F. G. Caro and Y. Chen, wrote Achieving a Productive Aging Society. It is a society in which older adults are perceived as givers, as benefits whose social roles are significant and available and harmonious with their abilities. There is no agerelated exclusion and programmes addressed to older adults, sponsored by diverse social, state and business parties are adjusted to senior society members' agendas. S. Bass (2011, p. 181) describes it: "A productive aging society reflects the values of a community that seeks policies that enable all the citizens to continue to live productive and rewarding lives as they choose. By engaging older people and expanding the availability and opportunity to participate in significant societal roles, their talent, experience, and insights would be retained or even maximized; the overall society would benefit from their participation and generations would appreciate the value of each other across age lines. In a productive ageing society, the overall economy would benefit from the creativity unleashed as these experienced individuals could be a source of creating new industries and entrepreneurial activity". However, Bass (2011, p. 181) recommends a broader outlook - he suggests a Productive Aging Society Continuum:

Productive Aging Society - Neutral Society - Counter-Productive - Ageing Society. Where Neutral is inter alia the case "While the government may have a few programs for older retirees, these programs are targeted

¹⁷ As we reason only internal documents and analyses of the project (as expected, with permission of Association of Creative Initiative "ę"), we may merely assume, "agency" has been experienced as with given acceptance of Weberian "social action" concept.

to serve the most vulnerable and lowest income. The majority of older citizenry are left to their own creativity with the burden of finding new opportunities left to individual resourcefulness" (p. 182). And finally, towards the right on the continuum there comes Counter-Productive Ageing Society that "would be one with distinct prejudices and clear evidence of age discrimination. Those who due to health conditions were unable to continue in their careers until the mandatory retirement age would be marginalized and treated as second-class citizens. And, once retired, individuals would be left entirely on their own to find activities that they find pertinent and enjoyable" (p. 182).

Wherever country the Reader might be, Their society is probable somewhere on Bass's continuum. Regardless of being more towards the left, right or the centre, the situation does not have to be fixed, yet. It may undergo permanent changes, driven by economical circumstances. However, the overall society's – conscious of ageing process challenges – interest is to make efforts in order to head to the left on the continuum. In the paper we confronted "productive ageing society" with various roles performed usefully by older adults. These are roles connected with prime or secondary groups functioning, counting the ones age-distinctive, as care recipient or free time user (see: Szarota, 2010), considering role's dynamics and transformations.

Rearrangements of or within social roles in old age may be both painful and humiliating for an individual unless a society provides spaces of ageing, respecting the rights to choose, also in terms of educational decisions. Having acknowledged diversity of forms (Cross, 1981, in: Field, Schuller, and Baron 2000) and dimensions (Kijak, Szarota, 2013), we intended to portray some (selected) advantages and limitations of contemporary educational ventures. Among them occur programmes addressed precisely to older adults (education in old age - a senior/mature student), projects enriching intergenerational dialogue (education via old age), initiatives serving old age planning and preparations (education for old age) as well as schemes regarding teaching and training gerontological manpower (education for old age) (Kijak, Szarota, 2013). Educational ventures of Institute of Applied Social Sciences and Association of Creative Initiative "e" hitherto described, are attempts made towards materialization of already mentioned diversity of forms and dimensions. We count on university, NGO, older adults and students' manpower to enable offer development for (formal, non-formal, informal) education in, to, via and for old age. The offer of a participative character. Recognizing the needs, expectations and initiatives of younger and older generations, we admit their co-shaping of programmes. We trust that such circumstances reinforce social capital of individuals and networks already created and ones yet to come, hence gaining access to new information and competencies. Therefore, we highly regard developing , the synergetic communions" responsiveness, responsible for culture transformation in non-discrimination self-determination process.

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LEOKADIA WIATROWSKA

CONSIDERING UPBRINGING. REFLECTION ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

Introduction

Modern consideration of upbringing, setting its frame towards socialisation or child development, is insufficient and, above all, confined. When inducting changes, post-industrial society must concentrate, above all, on creative and self-fulfilling individual developing himself/herself in the name of autonomous needs and will. This creates new ideas of education of individual able to deal with confines of today civilisation's fate. Upbringing of such kind involves not only a person with his/her abilities and potential, but also the whole macrosystem which undergoes modifications along with current civilisational and challenges, creating, at the same time, conditions for development for both individual and the whole system. Thus, any reflection of modern person on upbringing and its aftermath forces revision of operating with tools used for such changes which, without any doubt, are rewards and punishments. Therefore, primary questions in the matter of this reflection are: to reward or to punish? what is the alternative to punishment in case of their negation? What is the result balance of rewarding and punishing? Such difficult issues should be considered in reference to praxeological, strictly pedagogical actions, which will depict a range of mental human references and show educational ways of changes. Cultural circumstances, stereotypical limitations and internalized, personal experience seem to be conditioning "the trip" to difficult way of educational challenge; however, without a search for current practice in this matter prevents the modification and change of view on upbringing.

Meditation on upbringing

Teacher, who is aware of his/her role and mission deriving from this occupation, must create own strategy of educational operating towards peers, who put faith in his/her professionalism. He/she should determine and realise the autonomous project of educational work with a child, adequate to current trends and postulates and, first and foremost, taking into consideration welfare of a child. This strategy will have strong foundations only when it is based on profound pedagogical-psychological knowledge, own experience derived from work and confidence in taking actions and anticipated

effects. It is a way to his/her individual work with a child, which, if worked out autonomously, will set the perspective of pedagogical achievements and anticipated results. However, the way of professional operations of the teacher seems not to be, easy or in accordance with scientific postualtes or realistic expectations of peers, generated by industrial changes of civilization and axiomatic references. Research from 90's depict that almost 40% of teachers lead the class with the use of such forms as: requests, force, discipline – and not much of them (22%) show their pupils kindness, sensibility and complaisance. Only 10% of pupils have never witnessed force used by teacher, and 45% have never experienced it (Danilewska, 2002, p. 61). Basing on above-mentioned indicators, it may be stated that only 20 years ago, the school (sic! Maybe it is?) was a source of negative emotions which is depicted with fear of relatively huge portion of agression from the side of teachers. Nowadays, teachers, despite self-proclaimed, functioning autonomy, were forced to aguire not only a certain work structure but also reflection on it, its concept. Concern about further future of the child determine goals and guidelines framed in regulations and quasi innovative concepts of "thinkers". It is not the arduous work connected with authentic needs of a child and his/her authentic realisation that is the matter of pedagogical actions, but outstanding achievenemts of pupils in competitions, and different "championships" determine twork of teachers which are most often based on independent work of a child, his/her passions or highly-developed awareness of the role of knowledge, competences and abilities in creating further life. Hardly ever noticed is outstanding effort of the teacher and student with cognitive problems, since in perspective, they are not a source of social wealth worth investing in since results are individual and society, by taking costs, does not receive "debt re-payment". Thus, actions of teacher with this group of children are, first and foremost, their passion, sense of responsibility and inner satisfaction generated from well-defined teacher practice and selfinterprated "teacher duty". It is their hard work which gratification does not include social recognition or wider platform of support.

In reference to students with educational difficulties, pedagogical application and reflection on it at school, one should be basing on the principle of teacher perpetration which is the ability of the educator in his/her individual social and professional functioning. Perpetration depicted in educational influence, educational acts or professional didactic-educational activity leads to "... efficiency, innovation and autocreation, and to life led in accordance with moral values rooted in the European culture. Therefore, he/she must take educational issues in his/her own hands, concentrating on the other human being" 1. Focusing on working on individual gives him/her the attribute of importance and rightness based on post-modernistic paradigms and nanocivi-

lizational reasons. Today, there is no place for normative references and no time for statistical analysis when the child is most important and his/her development taiking place in the course of quick changes. Thus, despite limitations of formal-legal nature and cognitive chaos, educational actions of the teacher cannot by confined by binds of slavery character of work (so uncertain nowadays) as a source of income, but should derive and be reborn from independence and belonging to this professional group which took the weight of responsibility for children and their development. The teacher must feel free and support freedom of other people, develop it and assure that this value is very significant in taking any actions concerning individal and social changes. By having the sense of freedom, subjectivity, confidence in this view and perpetration, the teacher will appear in the role of partner, facilitator and care taker of education subjects; in such relations there will be a thread of cooperation, partnership between educational subjects. This is a whole web of element structuring the agreement of educational subjects. The teacher aware of his/her actions, thinks about what he/she wants to achieve by his/her actions towards a child, where is he/she heading for and what changes are anticipated in upbrought subjects. Reflective attitude towards educational actions is evidence of skill and educational mastery which, nowadays, becomes a crucial and anticipated element. His/her actions are not careless, routine or passive serice drowning his/her creativity and will to be independent. This should rather be an aware concern about a child and his/her development, reflection on the situation in which he/she works. All the above-mentioned factors are to generate the "shape" of individual which will be a fulfilment of a child, educator and the environment along with all expectations of particular elements of life of the student. This seems to be a vision of work with and on self, with and for the child, with and by environment, determing the circle of goals and requirements.

Instruments of education "authority"

Every educational action should be strictly planned and determined in the shape of goals and sources of its realisation. This is the matter of widely-taken upbringing regardless of tis interpretation. Some views on upbringing identify it as action which goal is to enrich the personality of the individual, where personality is of social character. The goal is also to provide human with proper competences. Therefore, upbringing is individual and so is social character because of its regularity andcharacteristic wholistic life which cannot exist in case of ommission. Upbringing, as a function of social life may be described as "organization of social group deriving from collective concern about prolonging the existence of this group and providing

it with further development" 2. Also, F. Zaniecki considered upbringing as a function of social life, wich guarantees the cultural continuity of existence of the group (Muszyński, 1980, p. 39). In every group, observed can be leaders in charge and subordinates serving them in order to prolong the existence of groups and relations in them. Thus, in every educational relation, to a certain extend, there is a force based on authority of the ducator. One of form of pressure in upbringing is authority of educator, very often appearing as foundation of functioning of homes and schools. Authority is inevitably connected with pressure: "[...] We know, that pressure is a normal condition in school education among developed civilizations, that it is a constructive feature of school as an institution involved in the development of our breed. Basicaly, pressure was never forced into schools". 3. It occured as a factor naturaly connected with authority, co-operating with it, depicting divergences in the matter of strenght and size. As it can be easily seen, different forms of educational authority are connected with different forms of children involvement in homework and classes, different kinds of their attitudes towards what happens in home and school environment. This assumption was dervied from the general theory concerning social functioning of people in organizations, which creator was Amitai Etzioni (Mieszalski, 1997, p. 54). The matter of this theory is an assumption that both types: type of authority and type of partakers attitude towards orgnizations pursue agreement. It is organizations where exist mechanisms leading to agreement between the above mentioned factors, connected with internal and external requirements efficiency. This theory states that in organizations, cases of agreement are more likely since agreement in general is connected with bigger efficiency and functioning of organization is determined by internal and external pressure in order to be effective. Relations of agreement or disagreement appearing in organizations are called by the author subordination which is a main part of existing organizations, a significant element of relations between authority and subordinates. At the same time, this is a relation between a form of authority and subordinates and attitudes of members towards the organization. Thistheory may be applied in functioning of family or class as an orgnizzation and parent/teacher handling the authority in their hands. Thus, the educator may come to conclusion that with his/her type of authority there is a certain form of pupil involvement during those relations. The way of handling the authority determines and shapes the activity of pupils during home and school activites and allows the authority to anticipate results. However, the reality, which very often is fruitless or is of bitter taste, does not agree with canones of modern science stating that "it is very similar in upbringing, where education which is creating a persona, becomes an aftermath of abilities hidden in deep waters. The word "deep" determines what is referred to as selfinvolvement, what lies beneath and what is up-to-date due to upbringing but also determines the deepness of existence – where offered circumstances affect the human body. Upbringing is, therefore, a constant tension between those two deepnesses" 4. Thus, it is not a fight or authority between subjects of interaction, but agreeing on statements, justifying the views and, what is most important, transparent shap of individual values, attitudes and beliefs of educators may create a bigger activity of pupils in the process of being and becoming.

Modern student/child, in the view of tasks carried by life, is constantly influenced by teachers/pupils whose activity is directed on penetration and "creative" adjustment of influence on him/her for developmental progression: "Despite declaration of humanistic goals, psycho-pedagogical mechanism of upbringing in family or school still is based on, not always explained by parents or educators, fight instinct". 5. In this uneven fight it may be a fight for authority, privileges, wisdom and inerrancy or strenght in which student/child is most often defeated, and very often humiliated or bullied. By defending himself/herself, unconsciously creates the atmosphere of competition for influences where the competition is uneven or pointless. Goals are mispresented, tasks are disfigured and human rights are violated. Such interaction between unbalanced subjects of communication, based on leadership, power and fight generates subordination in the weaker towards myth functioning around the educator about his perpetration, charity and forgiveness. The one who forgives is the one with power, unmistakable is the one with power, and the action taker is the one with strenght. Thus, all the attributes of educator allow him to fight with the weaker – the child. In the fight, the stronger one uses such sources of influence which make the opponent follow his principles. Therefore, instruments will be punishments, which become routine educationg tools and the attitude towards the subject of education itself will be of instrumental character which may be reinforced by lack of trust for the child, constant control and/or monitoring his efforts, sarcastic comments on results or its lack of the child.

Discussion around rewarding and punishing

Taking general view of scientists, opponents of rewarding and punishment of human behavior may be observed as well as followers who observe positive and negative aspects of reinforcing human behavior. Surely, humanistic approach towards the human promotes upbringing without rewards and punishment, especially with no latter, underlining the goal of upbringing as a superior, realizing the intention of educational influence. Upbringing is based on creating circumstances in which created are autono-

mous, active and independent individuals that are able to make decisions and taking responsibility and raising awareness of those choices. Therefore, one should exclude controlling a person with the use of rewards and punishment which are not instruments of shaping personality but enslaving and make an individual a subject. Enslaved is therefore the whole personality of individual in its holistic view which, instead of development and creation suffers from axiological deprivation. At the same time, humanists indicate the difference in understanding "freedom" (intellectual) and being "spoiled". Being "spoiled" states lack of any boundaries of behavior, it is an extreme "freedom" indicating suffering consequences of autonomous choices. Therefore, subjective perception of human by humanists led to generating in 40's and 50's a set of rules of upbringing without rewards and punnishments (Danilewska, 2002, p. 45). The factor indicating new rules was showing kids understanding, warmth, acceptance, expressing real feelings by educator caused by current behavior of the pupil, active listening, preventing self from giving advice or any judgement as well as agreement between educator and a pupil. It is strictly humanistic principle to give a person trust and faith that what he/she does derives from his/her needs and will to selfulfill deriving from own work strategy.

Extreme statements of educators very often lead to numerous educational mistakes which removal is more than once connected with unability to do this in case of such situation taking place. It is also connected with wrong interpretation of the matter of action or enthropy caused by overload of data coming from different sources of information – overinterpretation. Radical statements and thoughtless propaganda of ideas against puniishmennt may lead to "(...) absurd, naming a punishment any physical attack by parents on their own child caused by educational intention". 6. It is important to keep the balance and distance in judging and generalizing the size of punishment in upbringing since it may be supported by such radical evidence like that 80% of parents in Poland use beating in upbringing and therefore, deny quasi educational practice of polish parent (Danilewska, 2002, p. 37). The load of theoretical statements and practical indications messes the curren knowledge and confidence of many parents and teachers which results in them suffering from chaos and cognitive confusion. Parents/teachers get lost in the web of information storms oscilating around intuition and personal experience (hot and casual knowledge). Applying in the matter of educational actions they deprive this category of knowledge of its rank and sense which is called scientific knowledge (cold), which is beng degraded like never before. This underappreciation of science, scientific theories or pompous narrations which, up till now, were a point of reference and a base for any knowledge proven by scientific beliefs becomes a sign of modern times in reflection on upbringing and educationall application.

Considering a punishment as a crucial way of supporting a pupil in his/her moral development may cause conntroversion in public debate since, in thename of above mentioned intentions, it is easy to be confused in the latency of applying punishment and its sophisticated form. "Wise love of the punisher" is the most frequent motive of punishers and variety of terms functioning among educators. Many of them promote the still current view that punishment shapes the character, teaches to distinguish good from evil or disciplines the child and his/her behavior. However, "love" does not punish, but rewards and supports whereas punishment is a help nowhere at all and does not resemble love, but maybe reason which is individually described or lack of knowledge. With fearful, calm or obedient children it may become a basic educational weapon since it gives immediate and instrumental result in children behavior. However, not among all the children and not in all walks of lie because in the matter of shaping trends, case of breaking them, disobbediene or deformation is a questionable and open matter. What is a standard for some, for other it does not have to be and with such justification of punishments, "human matrices" are created which behave similarly in certain order, and aree boring to a ccertain extend. There is no place for the child and his/her needs on this platform an it damages psychical balance since, as younerm weaker and less experienced does something against his/her ill but in agreement with educators. When the catalogue of individual standards is different than educators, it cannot give permission for applying punishment and occurrence of punishment. From educational point of view, the punishment is allowed only when its application is a result of health or life threat of other people or the person ppunished. It may also take place when, if knowing educators personality, it will lead to profound reflection on own actions and behaviours. So the educational punishment is the one that does not damages on's dignity, does not insult or confine but spreads the intellectual work places also in the conscience of thhe child. Punishments are justified when they xpress motivation of the subject to change th behavior and when "are mixed in cohesive system, have clear, easy-to-read criteria, are consequent, constantly increasing, approved by the person punished, inflicted by authority and/or person at least liked, are less likely than rewards, give the chance for reward in case of change of behavior = allow improvement since they include detailed clues how to act in order to achieve it!, they are adequate to the penalty = not to small (which spoils) and not to big (causes fear or aggression), are inflicted with eye-to-eye contact, immediate (postponing is a mistake), are not mentioned later, especially not in public".

In both punishment and reward depersonalization of children and youth may be observed, therefore, it is crucial to make educators sensitive to negative influence of certain attitudes and reactions in the process of upbringing. There are: "giving orders, commanding, requesting, warning, threatening, moralizing, using arguments with verbal pressure with the use of words such as: must, should, giving advice and clues, moralizing, explaining, referring to logical arguments, judging, criticizing, disagreeing, blaming, insulting, labeling, interpreting, diagnosing, praising, nodding, positive evaluation, calming down, expressing compassion, supporting, keeping the spirit, asking questions, examining, subjecting to "cross examination", backing up, disrupting attention, sarcastic behavior, joking". Sensitive and emphatic educator becomes a model of such behaviors to a child who creates his/her own image from strong examples deriving from educational authority. Being on every day basis with a parent or a teacher naturally triggers adjustment mechanisms in order to live in peace, get along and develop own persona. The existence of non-conflict community which family is, is not possible in real world of family functioning (Janudziłł, 1985, p. 58-61). However, possible is skillful solution of conflicts in group of people living together which helps to bind the relationship inside the family, their integration and sense of security. Punishments become a reality in case of lack of those conditions. Removing results leading to negative behavior of the individual, qualifying him/her to be punished will force the wider perspective of view on the family, and a child inside it. Bad behavior is a result, and modification should take place in the frame of sources of their progression. Thus, parents, without analyzing their behavior and punishing themselves, should not punish children whose actions, behaviors and views they created or inspired. By punishing, they put in an additional source of incongruence.

As the above mentioned indication suggests, not only punishments have a bad influence on behavior of individual but also rewards (praising, nodding along, cheering up) applied in inappropriate context, too big an amount or form become a negative fact in raising process. Thinking about a reward as an individual or group form of approval of one's behavior, giving the person rewarded satisfaction and encouraging to repetition of anticipated behaviors and reinforcement of accepted actions, a balance should be maintained. The external reward cannot be turned into universal source of influence. The reward must rise inside the pupil, in his deepness and during experiencing the world. Then, raising realizes its constitutional goals since it develops the personality of the child making him/her a fully responsible person. However, In case of a child with difficulties in learning an increased number of rewards is justified: "He/she should be praised and supported in his/her efforts since great is the role of positive reinforcement in case

of this group of children" (Wiatrowska, 2012, p. 47). In general, overuse of these forms of educational behaviors, that are punishing and rewarding, does not create an environment supporting the development of pupils. Thus, the reflection on them is well received and wanted.

Self-study results

The research was conducted in second half of 2013 in Opolskie and Dolnośląskie district on 699 people up to age of 30 who graduated at least from high school and experienced the results of rewarding and punishing and have a personal attitude towards them. The aim of the research conducted with diagnostic survey methods was an answer to questions concerning acceptance of application of rewards and punishments in modern education system and reasoning of their usage. Therefore, the main issue took a form of the following question: What is the attitude of the receivers towards rewards and punishments in the aspect of results derived from them?

All tables including numerical indicators symbols were used which explanation is as follows:

M – country – men living in the country

M. - city - men living in the city

K – country – women living in country

Lk. – city – women living in the city

Since subjects of research were not confined in choosing answers or not all of them declared their answer, the percentage indicators do not always sum up to 100%.

Table 1. Acceptance of rewards only among children

	j ë					
Are you for	%					
using only	M. country	M. country M. city K. country		K. city	average	
rewards in				-	_	
raising						
children?						
Def. yes	18.8	15.9	12.0	10.5	14.3	
Rather yes	21.2	25.2	55.4	40.0	35.5	
Rather not	33.0	31.1	3.2	14.4	20.4	
Def. not	27.9	23.5	25.5	30.5	26.9	

Source: self study

The survey on use of rewards in raising, 35% are for the use of them but the least group of supporters is from the city (10,5). Percentage of declared supporters of rewarding only is 14,3% overall, most of them are men living in the country (18,8%). Opposing to this type of raising are women from the city (30,5%) who state that raising by only rewarding should not

take place and so do men from the country (27,9%). Thus, men living in polish province indicate extreme views on rewards in raising process. It is similar to the general division of the results, where about 1/3 accept raising by only rewarding and the same amount is for raising with interchangeable role of punishment and rewarding. The division of this option of upbringing is relatively balanced in all groups.

Table 2. Efficiency of rewarding

What do frequent	9/0						
rewards do?	M. country	M. city	K. country	K. city	average		
Dicrease their value	33.3	32.3	28.9	31.7	31.6		
Increase the inner motivation	17.6	16.5	15.8	14.4	16.1		
Incsrease external motivation (doing something for a reward)	24.8	27.0	28.9	27.8	27.1		
Weaken the strenght of reward	24.2	18.2	13.5	19.4	18.8		
Raise confidence in child's abilities	17.6	17.6	21.1	24.4	20.2		
Confine view on self	11.5	11.8	13.3	10.5	11.8		
Encourage to reach for more	26.7	31.8	33.1	33.9	31.4		
Alleviate the eagerness and involvement	10.9	9.4	7.1	8.3	8.9		
Encourage to creativity	12.7	13.0	18.0	15.5	14.8		
Develop emotionaly	6.7	10.0	13.5	12.8	10.8		
Make tchem in- different	7.9	10.5	9.8	10.5	9.7		
Other (what?)	0.6	1.2	1.1	0.5	0.9		

Source: self study

Educational efficiency is connected with realization of goals which are intentionally set by the educator. People surveyed made a wide range of choices on this matter stating that frequent rewards decrease their value (31,6%) which is the biggest number of views and relatively balanced view among all groups. Another negative effect is an increase of external motivation which results in pupil doing something for getting the reward and not because of inner belief (27,1%) on which all surveyed agreed on similar level. The surveyed also state that frequent rewards decrease their strength (18,8%) which makes them less attractive and they confine the perception of self so they reflect the wrong picture of reality (11,8). The continuum of results also includes positive results of frequent rewards in raising process,

which are as follows: encouragement to reach for new tasks (31,4%), making a child confident about his/her skills 20,2%), encouragement of creativity (14,8) which is a dispositional must of modern person as well as emotional development (10,8%) where the emotional intelligence is an integral part of personality for each individual and can be shaped. Thus, the balance of income and damage derived from the influence of domination of rewards in raising varies, since views of the surveyed indicate a big dispersion?

Table 3. Acceptance of punishments in raising the children

Do you support	%					
punishing in raising process?	M. country	M. city	K. country	K. city	Average	
Def. Yes	15.8	11.1	6.5	7.8	10.3	
Rather yes	13.9	14.7	8.7	14.4	12.9	
Rather not	12.7	13.5	21.0	15.0	15.6	
Def. Not	9.7	8.2	5.4	3.9	6.8	
Both punish. And rew.	28.5	35.0	38.5	43.3	36.3	
Punishments as well, but rewards mostly	15.8	15.9	13.0	20.5	16.3	
Also rewards, but mostly punishment	3.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	1.0	

Source: self study

The acceptance of rewarding in raising process does not cause significant doubts when it comes to its justification, however, there are also declared supporters of using punishment (10,3%), namely men. Opposing group equals 6,8% of the surveyed, and most of them are man from the country (9,7%) and city (8,2%). It is men who, regardless of the place of dwelling, become supporters of total exclusion of punishment in the frame of its educational influence and presence. More than 1/3 state that both rewards and punishment must be present in educational influence so their reflection on raising is depicted in acceptance of both, with no significant division when it comes to sex or place of living. This way of thinking include the group that accepts punishment but favors rewards (16,3%). This is the image of various views and disruption of individual opinions which, however, during deeper analysis depicts the option of raising with punishments. If 3/4 approves both punishment and rewards, probably they would prove it in educational application, which is an evidence in research by D. Sikora (Sikora, 2010, p. 99-172). This may lead to a conclusion that almost all parents apply both rewards and punishment in raising process and a parent most frequently rewarding and punishing is mother. However, most of mothers surveyed (70%) totally opposes the idea of physically punishing children and they, in fact, do not do that. There is clear methodology of educational operating in which both rewards and punishment have their place and are realized in parental actions. These differences between declarative and realistic facts occurring among parents have their application in scientific divergences of B. F. Skinner (most passionate opponent of punishing) and O. H. Mowrer (most passionate supporter of punishing) (Mika, 1969, p. 42).

Table 4. Propositions of evaluation in school

What kind of evaluation in	%					
school do you propose?	M. country	M. city	K.	K. city	Average	
			country			
Traditional grades only	80.0	69.0	71.0	65.5	71.4	
Descriptive grades like on	9.7	10.5	15.2	17.8	13.3	
early stages						
Points	10.3	19.4	14.7	13.3	14.4	
Signs	6.1	2.3	6.0	6.1	5.1	
Only test after each grade	5.5	9.4	10.3	11.1	9.1	
No grades, no opinions,	0.6	1.8	0.0	1.1	0.9	
but						
Other (what?)	0.6	1.8	1.1	0.0	0.9	

Source: self study

Negation of punishing or overuse of rewards is not a difficult issue. More difficult seems to be proposing the alternative solution which would be a test of new applications, especially during grading in school. So 71,4% of the surveyed does not come up with propositions or innovative solutions, accepting the current state in school, which is traditional grading. Most conventional are men who live in the country. However, there are also those who would change grading for points (14,4%) or signs (5,1). For 13,3%, the better option seems to be descriptive evaluation which already has its realization in integrated education. The supporters of tests ending each grade equals 9,1%, but the least among them are men from the country (5,5%). Other solution is proposed by 1,8% people but they do not give any propositions, no alternative solutions which makes their opinion hardly valuable for science and educational practice.

Conclusion

The results and descriptions of empirical data oblige to conclusions which are a realization of goals undertaken in scientific actions. Thus, modern reflection on raising does not exclude punishment and rewards as coexisting elements of raising actions. Cohabitations occurring between them

seem to indicate the need for their co-functioning, at least in the awareness of pupils and educators. The educational application itself clearly depicts correlations between rewarding, punishing and raising a child which is shown in research by D. Sikora (Sikora, 2010, p. 99-120). Just as positive and negative effects of rewards may be stated in case of their overuse, the balance of damage and benefit is shown by punishing. Despite the fact that overuse of punishing negatively affects psychosocial functioning of a child (Sitarczyk, 1996, p. 77-88), but also overuse of rewarding generates negative attitudes and behaviors. The traditional understanding of evaluation in school mostly excludes other forms of it, although there are cases of alternative solutions, which, already functioning, were not widely applied in the matter of educational references. However, the reflection itself indicate attempts to search among young people independent from cultural limitations. With a belief in creativity of individuals and not only in their being, one may hope for constant discussion on it, which helps and develops human, over punishing and rewarding, methods of influencing and reinforcements which are current areas of undetermined issues. And although in the light of research, raising cannot do without punishing (lack of reward may also be considered a punishment), in their use a balance and reason should be maintained. Dissatisfaction or disapproval by educator, including the way of thinking may be included in feedback system for a child, as a transparent information in two-subjects understanding, and not consider them a punishment with the whole arsenal of pejorative features of realistic punishment. In human deepness hidden is the sense of what is right and wrong, useful or toxic, acceptable or rejected, and getting the resources out of it will eliminate rewards and punishments automatically.

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AGNIESZKA RYCHŁOWSKA-NIESPOREK

TRANSFORMATIONS OF FAMILY IN POLAND

Transformations of family

We live in the world of rapid and profound transformations. They involve almost all areas of social life, including families. The changes are so deep that the previous ways of description and analysis become, to a great extent, irrelevant. The problem involves defining a family, understanding what family is and, in consequence, the discussion about the means of studying it. Should a thorough, that is without prior axiological assumptions, analysis be conducted in regards to various forms of family life or, based on ideological assumptions, should we recognize the existence of one model of family and concentrate on studying that model, thus recognizing others as aberrations. Do we, then, face the development of diverse forms of family life and, consequently, transformation of family or is it rather its crisis or even a decline. This refers directly to the nature of sociological analysis of family. Which of those should be developed: family sociology or rather sociology of families, or sociology of post-familial family.

The term: alternative forms of family life or alternative family models is quite commonly used today. They are defined as alternative against the traditional nuclear family. Among the alternative family models the following ones are mentioned the most frequently: single-sex families, singleness, single parenthood, the so called patchwork-families being the result of increasing numbers of divorces, DINKs (Dual Income, No Kids), LATs (living apart together), cohabitation without marriage and many less popularized forms (Szlendak, 2010, p. 457-501; Szlendak 2000, Slany, 2006). Moreover, alternative forms of marital life as the real forms of social life may be socially approved and even legalized. Thus, in some situations they may become the institutionalized patterns of living.

The shaping diversity of social behaviors poses difficulties indefining the family. Inadequateness of the traditional concepts against the changing reality leads to different terminology propositions. Traditional approach towards marriage as the foundation of family leads to treating marriage itself as an institution "by which societies ensure the birth and raise of next generations and the transfer of material and spiritual inheritance on them" (Adamski, 2002, p. 14). This approach, however, does not meet the complexity of modern social behaviors. So, there are attempts to define fami-

ly through marriage for the benefit of a household. Family is considered to be a group of members of a household, living together in a manner typical for households and cooperating by sharing the economic resources in the first place (Popenoe, 1993, p. 529). Yet, this definition does not include all present forms of family life either. It raises a question of what is a household today (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2004, p. 500). An extreme example of simplifying the characteristic vital for the existence of a family is the proposal of J. C. Kaufmann. "When two people become a couple? Few generations ago the answer would be when they enter into marriage. Today it is much harder to give the precise answer. To clear the matter, statisticians who often base their work on the reference to a household, identify cohabitation as the central criterion. The fact of living together is treated as the proof of commitment towards leading the joint lifestyle" (Kaufmann, 1998, p. 55). However, this assumption - according to Kaufmann - is not that obvious. Living in a shared physical space is not a sufficient criterion. People may be a couple and do not live together, on the other hand, a household may be inhabited by people who do not form a couple.

Finally - with such assumed forms of family life - the use of limiting and often valuing definitions of family is not necessary. "Maybe we really should not define a family since each definition may hurt someone? Maybe we should not do that, since each definition is normative - including some into this institution and excluding others?" (Szlendak, 2010, p. 105). Thus, adopting this perspective means that we "must reject the whole concept of family worked out by social sciences as theoretically inadequate and ideologically attached and, as a consequence of that rejection, study only that what actors of social life themselves recognize as family and family life" (ibidem, p. 105).

Deinstitutionalization of family

One of the important issues covered in the sociological analysis of transforming family is the problem of its deinstitutionalization. Deinstitutionalization does not mean only replacing family as a social institution with the activities of other institutions, taking over its function. It is rather about weakening its normative meaning. Deinstitutionalization is, therefore, understood as weakening of the social norms that define human behaviors within a social institution such as marriage (Cherlin, 2004, p. 848). The problem did not go unnoticed by Ernest Burges as far back as in the 40's (Burgess, Locke, 1945). The transition, observed by him, from marriage as the institution to marriage founded on mutual accompanying of the spouses, involved limiting if the institutional function of marriage as socially imposed structure to

the advantage of mutual choice and durability of relationship based on love, friendship and mutual help. Marriage, then, ceases to be treated as social obligation but becomes more and more the source of spouses' mutual satisfaction. The further stage of those changes is - according to Cherlin - the appearance of the individualized form of marriage. "When people evaluated how satisfied they were with their marriages, they began to think more in terms of the development of their own sense of self and the expression of their feelings, as opposed to the satisfaction they gained through building a family and playing the roles of spouses and parents. The result was a transition from the companionate marriage to what we might call the *individualized marriage*" (ibidem, p. 852).

Following the argumentation of David Popenoe, one can identify five aspects of the family deinstitutionalization process. First, family undergoes the internal deinstitutionalization through the deepening autonomization of its members who to more lesser degree are bound with inter-family relations while family, as a whole, is less and less coherent. Second, the traditional functions of family are weakening. Third, family as the social institution looses its power and significance in the relations with other social institutions. Fourth, the number of formalized families is decreasing, and they themselves are unstable, that is people spend less and less time as members of such families. Fifth, familyness as a cultural value is depreciating to the advantage of such values as individually defined self-realization (Popenoe, 2009, p. 8-9). Having in mind the previously mentioned dual nature of social institution, the deinstitutionalization of family involves family defined both, in the narrower and broader understanding of social institution. It includes the weakening of family as the institution in the relations with other social institutions, weakening and even loss of part of this function for the benefit of those institutions. On the other hand, there is the weakening of the normative meaning of marriage and family. Functioning of family and persons within the family is, to ever larger extent, determined by those who create it. It does not originate only from the firm, socially imposed rules. In the situations of the conflict of rules and spouses' own strivings marriage falls apart and divorce becomes something normal (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, chapter 2). The interest in the formal concluding of marriage is decreasing. The growing number of people decide to enter into informal relationships, also the growing number more often and for a longer time choose to remain single.

Individualization

Deinstitutionalization of family is treated as an element of wider social transformation, as the feature of the new, second reality, of *reflexive* modernization of the industrial society (Beck, 2002, p. 235) and the individualization inscribed in it. Ulrich Beck lists four basic characteristics of the "second modernity". First, the internal effects of the globalization process that lead to loosening of the territorial limitations of human behaviors and limiting the role of a nation-state. Second, the growth of uncertainty and risk, especially in the sphere of economic activities. Third, the borders between nature and the society become blurred what is reflected, among others, in the development of genetic engineering. And finally, it is the individualization (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2004, p. 501-503). In this case however, understanding of individualization is specific. "Individualization - Beck states - [...] does not mean atomization, isolation, loneliness, end of all types of society nor disappearance of social bonds" (Beck, 2009, p. 27). On contrary, it is rather a new form of socialization. "Individualization means, first, outrooting from the old lifestyles of the industrial society and, secondly, rooting in the new lifestyles that force individuals to construct, stage and compose their biographies individually. [...] This new type of conduct perceives an individual as an active subject, a designer, a manipulator and a director of their own biography, identity, social networks, objects of engagement and beliefs. Putting things simply, "individualization" means disintegration of the truths of the industrial society, as well as the internal compulsion to find and create new axioms for oneself and others who do not have them" (Ibidem, p. 27-29). An individual cannot live according to the imposed and firm principles any more. That means the necessity for independent, reflexive constructing of "do it yourself" type biographies. The biographies cease to be determined by the strict norms and become the creations of individuals based on their self-reflexiveness. The socially identified so called "normal biographies", that is socially defined and adequate for certain social roles, become the "biographies by choice". "Therefore, individualization means that human biographies liberated from the existing relations, open and dependant on one's own decisions, is transferred to individuals as a task they are to fulfill in their activities. The range of life possibilities closed to decision-making decreases while the areas open to them and the biographies that need to be created increase" (Beck, 2002, p. 202). Individualization understood this way is not individual's free choice but it is imposed on them. It is embedded in the process of social transformation. Individualization becomes the social structure of the second modernity society, the structure which does not reproduces itself but is open to change (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2001, p. XXII). Individualization means the structural transformation of social institutions that establishes new relationships between individuals and the society where, for the first time, it is an individual who is the basis for social reproduction (Beck, E. Beck-Gernsheim, 2004, p. 504).

Individualization also strongly impacts the functioning of a family. (Ibidem, chapter 6) Family ceases to be the social institution imposing patterns of behaviors. Since individualization, in its most general meaning, is the process through which people are liberated from the strict social relations imposed on them, this liberation involves families as well. "Marriage was used to be governed by the rules based on the status, playing the role of commands (indissolubility of marriage, maternal duties etc.). It undoubtedly narrowed the area for action but at the same time obliged and compelled individuals to create relationships. Today, on contrary, there are no models, one can rather speak about the existence of some number of negative models. [...] Models of this type do not draw people to each other but they break the relationships apart and raise more questions. They force men and women both, those living in marriage relationships and the free ones - to be the active subjects and to create their own biographies" (Beck, 2009, p. 30). In consequence, the relationship between a family and an individual biography disengages. Family's role in this biography decreases. "A coherent family for life, which preserves within itself the intertwined family biographies of men and women, is an exception, the rule becomes the constant oscillation, set by the given phase of life, between different forms of cohabitation: timelimited family relationships or non-familial forms. Attaching one's life with a family is broken along with the change of life phases and through that it is annulled. In a situation when family relationships are of exchangeable nature, within and outside of family the independent male and female biographies are identified. Each man and woman, depending in the phases of their existence, experiences partial family or non-family relationships and this is the reason why each of them lives their own life even more. Individualization (within and outside of family) is revealed only in the *cross-section* of a biography [...] as a shift of priority from the family to the individual biography" (Beck, 2002, p. 176-177).

Marriage and family cease to be socially guaranteed stable structure. They become, to a greater extent, a relationship formed and maintained as long as it is the source of satisfaction for the people who create it. Marriage and family relations are created and maintained not due to social pressure but due to the values of the relations themselves and that what they can bring. These relations stop to be based on the fixed social roles but - as stated by Giddens - on the "pure relations", that is relations which are not anchored in the external conditions of social life (Giddens, 2001, p. 124). The characteristics of a pure relation is that its value stems solely from what it offers to the partners. Relation of this type is also - according to Giddens - a relationship structured reflexively, of an open and continuous character. "The more the goal of a relationship is the relationship itself, the more clearly [...]

becomes [...] the reflexive doubt in it. This, typical for pure relation, constant ensuring of the state of the relation is clearly coupled with the reflexive projection of one's own "I"" (Ibidem, p. 127). Reflexiveness is, thus, very significant for the relationship's durability - for mutual adjusting to one another, estimating the value of the relationship and behaviors alternative to the latter. Basing the marital-family relationship on pure relations is, of course, connected with the process of individualization, weakening of the social control over the relationship and making it more loose and susceptible to disintegration. The process has been taking place historically. Once "marriage - recalls Giddens - was a contract, more, concluded most often out of the initiative of parents or relatives, not the spouses themselves. Its conclusion was largely impacted by the economic calculations, it was a part of bigger systems and economic transactions. Still in modern times, when the former institutional frames of marriage have mostly fallen apart, the marital bond was consolidated through the distribution of responsibilities between the spouses. [...] However, the overall tendency [...] is to eliminate those previously existing responsibilities. Marriage becomes, to more greater extent, a relationship created and sustained as far, as the close contact with another person is the source of emotional satisfaction" (Ibidem, p. 124).

Thus, the observation of transformations in the functioning of marriage and family raises the question about their future. What will supersede the transforming traditional family? The answer is: family. But it is a different family that keeps loosing - held for a long time - monopoly. Its meaning weakens and yields before other forms of family life such as: not formalized relationships, intentionally childless marriages, monoparentality, homosexual relationships, re-marriages, reconstructed families or voluntary singleness. So the family does not disappear but its new form emerges, the so called "post-familial family" (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 10; Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2001, p. 98). The form, the way of shaping and durability of such relationship are the results of the individual choices. "Marriage appears as a risky, personal enterprise with no social insurance. [...] Since now, the order of marriage is the order that is individual, questioned and reconstructed during individuals' lifetime" (Slany, 2006, p. 54).

The crisis of traditional family and marriage in Poland

Among many alternative forms of marital-family life the particularly significant deinstitutionalization indexes (adopted in this paper) are: the instability of marriage (divorce as a norm), the tendency to keep relationships not formalized, the increasing age of people entering into marriage, births outside marriage and voluntary singleness.

During the last twenty years the number of marriages concluded in Poland has slightly fluctuated. The least marriages were concluded at the beginning of the 21st century. Their number dropped below 200 000 per year and at the end of the first decade it reached the level from the year 1990.

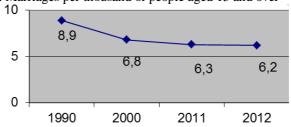
350 307,4 300 255,4 250 211,2 206,5 203,8 200 150 100 50

Graph no 1. The number of concluded marriages in thousands

Source: Author's own compilation based on GUS (the Central Statistical Office) data

1980 1990 2000 2011 2012

The index of marriages concluded per thousand people was slightly over 5 per mill in the 90's in order to significantly exceed the value of 6 per mills again by the end of the first decade of the 21st century.



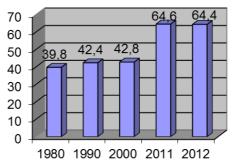
Graph no 2. Marriages per thousand of people aged 15 and over

Source: Author's own compilation based on GUS (the Central Statistical Office) data

According to the Central Statistical Office data (Podstawowe informacje o rozwoju demograficznym Polski, 2013), also during the last dozen or so years the age of the newly married has increased. At the beginning of the 90's over a half of men entering into marriage was less than 25 years old, in 2000 there were 42% of them and in 2011 there were only 1/5. Among the women this share decreased from 72% in 1990 to 62% in 2000 and about 37% in 2011. The average age (median) of men entering into marriage in 2011 was over 3 years higher than at the beginning of the 1990's and was

28 years. Similarly in case of women. The brides of 2011 were average 26 years old compared to about 23 years at the beginning of the 90's. There was also the shift in the group in which marriage is concluded - from 20-24 years to 25-29 years.

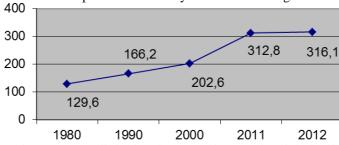
Graph no 3. The number of divorces in thousands



Source: Author's own compilation based on GUS (the Central Statistical Office) data

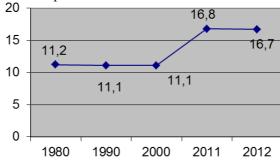
With small fluctuations of the absolute number of concluded marriages and the number of marriages per thousand citizens, after 1990 the amount of divorces increased significantly. In 1990 the courts issued over 42 thousand divorce decrees while in 2012 there were more than 64 thousand issued. The dynamics of growth remains also when we recalculate the absolute number of divorces both, per ten thousand citizens and per thousand of newly concluded marriages. The data are presented in the graphs below.

Graph no 4. Divorces per thousand newly concluded marriages



Source: Author's own compilation based on GUS (the Central Statistical Office) data

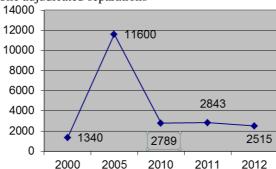
Graph no 5. Divorces per 10 thousand citizens



Source: Author's own compilation based on GUS (the Central Statistical Office) data

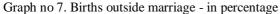
The acceptance of divorces among the Poles also increases. As revealed by the national sociologic research (Stosunek Polaków do rozwodów, 2008), only 15% of the Poles are decided opponents of divorces. One in five Poles supports divorces and 62% allow them to happen in some situations.

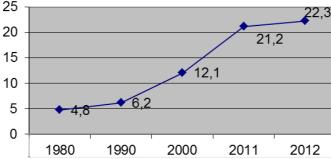
Graph no 6. The adjudicated separations



Source: Author's own compilation based on GUS (the Central Statistical Office) data

Since 1999 the procedure of judgment of separation by the courts has been introduced in Poland. The number of the adjudicated separations was growing until 2005 and since 2006 it decreased to reach the level of 2,5 thousand of judgments in 2012.





Source: Author's own compilation based on GUS (the Central Statistical Office) data

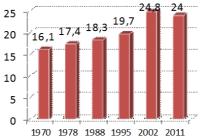
The percentage of births outside marriage has been growing significantly. Between 1980 and 1990 it remained at the constant level and oscillated around 5%. In the period of 1990-2012 it increased almost fourfold and exceeded the level of 22%.

Information about cohabitative relationships in Poland are very limited. The national censuses - in the opinion of researchers - understate the real number of the relationships of this type (Młynarska, Matysiak, 2010). It happens because in case of national censuses often the present situation is considered, typical in the moment of conducting the census. In case of short-term and relatively quickly transforming into marriages or dissolving concubinates, the vast part of them are missed by the statistics. According to the National Census data from 2002 there are 197381 partnership relationships (cohabitation) in Poland, what constitutes 1,9% of all families. In this group 56,1% of couples have children (the Central Statistical Office data). However, the sociologic research show that 9% of the respondents admit that they actually live in an informal relationship with another person (Kontrowersje wokół różnych zjawisk dotyczacych życia małżeńskiego i rodzinnego. 2008, p. 6). The most frequent such relationships are present among singles (as much as 28% of the respondents) and divorcees (22%). The attitude towards the concubinate divides the Polish society. As much as 60% of the respondents is convinced that people living together without marriage should decide to conclude it, among those almost 20% think such people should do it categorically.

It is definitely much harder to estimate (on the basis of the demographic data) the scale of the phenomenon of voluntary singleness. Of course, the main problem is to adopt a definition of a single. If we adopt the very general definition that singles are people aged 25-50 who live alone, it is estimated that in Poland there are about 5 million of them. However,

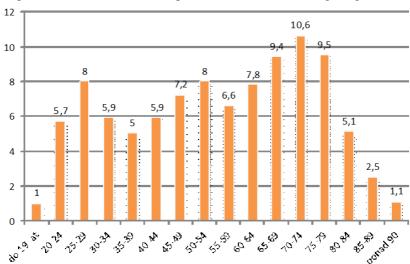
if we assume, that a single is a person who lives alone and intentionally chooses this lifestyle, it is much harder to estimate the scale of the phenomenon precisely. "Describing the phenomenon of singleness, one need to pay attention to the two categories included in the demographic reports: one-person households and the structure of the marital status in the society. [...] Using the information on the marital status of people living alone, one can indirectly conclude the reasons for choosing such life style" (Zurek, 2008, p. 169).

Graph no 8. The percentage of one-person households according to the national censuses



Source: Author's own compilation based on GUS (the Central Statistical Office) data

Since 1970 the percentage of one-person households has been constantly growing. The National Census in 2002 revealed that almost one in four households consists of only one person. This type of households are the most frequent form in this period. In comparison to 1970 the share of one-person households increased by 8,7%. Between 2002 and 2011, in turn, this share decreased by 0,8%. However, only the analysis of the internal demographic structure of those households allows to estimate the scale of voluntary singleness. As it has been shown in the census from 2002 most of singles are still in the post-productive age. As pointed out by Aldona Zurek, one can assume that it is rather a chance or a fate, not a conscious choice that determines creating one-person households by people in the post-productive age. "The biggest percentage of singles can be found in the age group of 65-80 years. It is such a stage of life when, after leaving the family nest by children, a spouse passes away what automatically leads to the phenomenon of life loneliness. One should, however, notice the fact that the growing number people aged 24-30 choose independence and singleness instead of marriage, yet after they turn 30 this percentage decreases in order to increase gradually again in the age group of 40-44 years" (ibidem, p. 171).



Graph no 9. The structure of one-person households according to age in %

Source: Author's own compilation based on: (Żurek, 2008, p. 170).

The group of people who handle one-person households is dominated by widowers and widows. However, a little over 30% of those households belong to the people who haven't yet entered into the marital union.

Despite the growing scale of the phenomenon of living without a long-term partner, the social support for singleness is still small in Poland. Less than a quarter of the respondents (23%) accepts this form of living while two-thirds (66%) thinks opposite. The Poles also do not think that a single life is more interesting than the one of people creating stable relationships. Only 16% of the respondents are convinced that it is single life that is more interesting (Kontrowersje wokół różnych zjawisk dotyczących życia małżeńskiego i rodzinnego, 2008).

The comparison of the scale of changes in the analyzed areas of family life in Poland and in other, highly developed European countries, shows that the scale of those transformations in our country is smaller. However, if we analyze the internal dynamics of changes in Poland during the last twenty years, we can observe the growing tendency. The number of divorces is increasing and the social acceptance towards them becomes wider. The age in which people conclude marriage rises. The number of one-person households and the estimated number of people choosing single lifestyle is growing. The number of informal relationships increases. One can say that

in Poland too, we face the process of progressing deinstitutionalization of family.

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MICHAŁ SZYSZKA

STREETWALKING - A CHALLENGE IN MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SUPPORT INSTITUTIONS

Streetworking, as one of forms of non-institutional social work, the method is also assigned to social pedagogy; it is an excellent example of fusion of scientific theory and practical action; both theory and practice of streetworking were created in strict correlations: this method was derived from social pedagogy and methods of social work, and by having its own methodology, the method adopts and perfects successive tools on "on-the-fly" basis. Nowadays, this method is a part of professionalization of social work, spreading its range and a range of tools.

According to one of definitions: "streetworking is a form of social work which aim is to help people in solving problems and to fulfil their needs in their environment of every-day existence (...) it is a mobile social work based on reaching people where they are and undertaking actions of support" (Biernat 2009, p. 19). Therefore, in broad definition, streetwalking includes actions for people and groups that are outside the institutional support system, realized by well-prepared and trained workers; however, apart from spaces typical for institutionalized system e.g. support facility, community center, a dosshouse etc. Work of streetworker is based on work within the natural environment of the client, by his/her rules, in his/her tempo and by methods based on the plan that a client accepted. Streetwork reaches and operates in places, in which there are people in need, and the form of work itself depends on the place, surrounding, needs and local resources.

Streetwalking is divided into two independent, but complementing pillars: social work and pedagogy. the method is often identified as street pedagogy, actions of educators (Cueff), animators of different form of teaching and learning. In this understanding, streetworker is an educator who works in open environment, and who is in possession of wide range of methods and techniques directed at entering the group and getting to know the clients, which goal is to lead them into the world of widely-accepted principles and rules, presenting them new possibilities and alternative patterns of taking actions etc. (Cueff, p. 15).

However, it should be underlined, that despite these roots and professionalization of streetworking, this job is very often done by people without pedagogical or social-work education, but they do have proper competences,

especially communicativeness, openness, ability to establish relations, animation and organization skills.

In Poland, streetwalking is a relatively recent phenomenon, since 90's, and in social perception, it is rather connected with actions in the frame of social-cultural animation, project operations of social organizations than with institutional social politics. Despite a strong presence of the method in nonpublic facilities, it is however a simplification. One of its fundamental advantages is a significant elasticity, openness and adjustable approach, which llow not only adjustment to the needs and requirements of the environments to which it is directed (Dziurok, 2010, p. 1), but are also realized in different dimensions by the arm of different categories of social politics institutions: public, non-profit, religious, lay etc. Streetworking may be an action initiated by social organizations, foundations and associations; also, in co-operation or by request on support institution, or along with other services and specialists e.g. as one of elements of widely-organized social programs (Biernat 2009, p. 19). Currently, most often this method is adapted in actions in the frame of institutionalized social assistance, among others, Local Activeness Programs or Centers, social projects; the often-developed allow the realization of union projects, so called system, non-competition, by public units. Very often, this method is initiated by workers of institutions "unknowingly", with no promotion e.g. in the frame of programs of social environments revitalization, along with social projects, during preparation of different actions, in the frame of nursery, community centers, support facilities or e.g. in the frame of routine actions to inform and help the homeless.

As Anna Michalska accurately observes, "Even the best-selected model of institutional support does not have to fit everybody, and therefore, not everyone must use it" (Michalska, 2007, p. 1). Actions taken as a part of institutional and non-institutional support, when willing to maintain efficiency, they must always be adjusted to changing problems and challenges of modern times; we are facing both intensification of changes in almost all social spaces, which also refers to the support system and social support. In reference to this thesis, in modern discourse on social assistance, indicated are problems of dynamic changes in functioning of institutions (Zalewski, 2005), inadequacy of support system to the reality, new threats and areas of social exclusion, and also new methodical and institutional solutions. At the same time, despite constantly-developing and spreading forms of actions, initiated by public and non-public institutions of help and support, so called "market" in this area always dominates "supply" (Krzyszkowski, 2010, p. 125-126). Also, mentioned should be limitations of a range of possibilities to help, realized in stationary dimension. For institutionalized system, most often characteristic is significant state of being static and low elasticity. This

problem was described in a very interesting way by A. Czerkawska who indicates the most important "absurd" in modern social assistance. (Czerkawska, 2012). Attention should be paid to significant "external obstacles" limitation of range of institutionalized assistance connected with issues of stereotyping and stigmatization (hostility towards non-institutional forms of social assistance connected with the fear of "being labeled"). Another cause of the fact that many people who need help stay out of aid system is its inadequacy in the frame of needs of modern environments, among others in the view of specifics of typical way of operating and stereotypes which function in public imagination, it is hard to assume that the typical offer of Social assistance facility is attractive in reception and perception of young people (e.g. so called children of the streets) or drug dealers or e.g. woman who prostitute. Another issue is connected with the criterion of targeting so called typical actions in the matter of social assistance in the institutional dimension (among others, social work) that demand - because of its specifics - a certain type of interest (e.g. conclusion) - deriving from conscious need of clients. For the traditional model of assistance carried in institutionalized form, characteristic is formalized, hierarchic relation between the institution that conducts the service and a receiver: a client, user, incumbent: appearing in conscious, but stigmatizing role. This relation may appear in the social worker-client relation, which in a common practice means - "the one who gives" versus the payee. Totally different relations are built by streetworkers, where the payees are mainly people who are outside of the support system, where neither binds or institutional dependency nor forms of direct dependency between "the giver" and "the receiver" are created. These people (or groups), who are most often deprived of certain expectations or even awareness of the need to be helped, demand different effort: time, assistance, openness, co-operation or entertainment, with different approach based on acceptance, understanding and tolerance towards the way of life that they chose (Michalska, 2007). Streetwork, as a work method, may be the answer for new social problems and challenge connected with marginalization dynamics, occurrence of new groups of people touched by social exclusion (Walotek-Ściańska, 2009). In this dynamics, streetworking must naturally cover different areas of operation. Sometimes, in discourses they are divided, apart from direct work in the open environment e.g. on the street, on a railway station, heating substations etc., into partyworking, which covers work and duty in clubs during parties of e.g. musical character or during other events that may cause risky behavior, or networking, which is monitoring of websites, chats and conducting information actions on forums and websites (Michalska, 2005, p. 230). The above-mentioned features: individualization, variety, elasticity, adaptation and directing people at resources and client needs, results in effectiveness of the method. In this case, it is crucial to provide assistance and individual advising for particular members of the target group (Frackiewicz, 2004, p. 10).

Historical background

The streetwork method is rooted in 20's of previous age and was originally developed in United States. The development of the method, as well as wider social work - was connected with the need of compensation of institutionalized actions in context of raising crime rates, especially crimes committed by the youth. For this group, in almost every case, more effective are actions of wider range than institutional. Thus, one of the founding fathers of streetwalking was blessed Jan Bosko. Going back to the context of America in 20's, it should be indicated that in larger cities first programs were initiated, concerning social pedagogy targeting at e.g. youth united around formal and informal crime groups deriving from ethnic(racial) minorities that find it hard to assimilate with new society.

In following years, popularity of the method increased, actions based on the concept of streetworking was developed in countries of Western Europe, especially in Great Britain (Detaches Youth work organization), Netherlands (Street Corner Work) or Switzerland (Gassenarbeit). It should be underlined that in Europe, working by streetworking method was originally connected with actions for the sake of youth, especially subcultures, people in danger of addiction etc. On the second plan were actions of streetworkers connected with other social groups: youth and environments that declare racist beliefs, hooligan groups, football fans, the homeless. Political transformations in countries of Eastern Europe in 1989-1990, influenced the functioning of social politics including support systems and social integration. Carrying restructuration changes, transformations resulted in, on one hand, revealing the hidden, in times of realistic socialism, phenomena and social problems and on the other hand, generated new problems, especially in context of bankruptcy of a large part of national economy. As a result, institutions of social support and integration had to face new tasks but also, along with opening for the West, they faced western ideas and mechanisms of financing; new possibilities occurred, which were symbolized by transferring the center of gravity from aid and support on social integration. Thus, streetworking became a part of social support, although only of its noninstitutional dimension. Strategies and methods in open environments were implemented mainly on the basis of observation of western solutions - patterns were reaching Poland along with PFARE grants, trainings, studio visits, promotion of good practice etc. On the other hand, they were incorporated in local traditions and already-developed tools and methods.

Social support: between work with a person and benefit-granting

When setting most typical activities of modern social services, the general conclusion can be made that they are concentrated around certain areas; for the sake of systematization, it will be provision of clients with service, different forms of therapy, education and information, diagnosis and planning, advocacy, gaining partners and resources, reinforcing competences and classical social work (Szatur-Jaworska, 1995, p. 106n). The last one is perceived as most essential instrumentation of social work, although it should be stated, that nowadays it is only a gist of realized actions and very often it is marginalized (Zalewski, 2006, p. 149), and in so called social reception, actions of support units are more often connected with so called a benefit-granting function of providing resources rather than active work in environments and social integration (Szyszka, Zasada-Chorab, 2013, p. 11n). The social work itself deserves a special attention due to the topic that is touched upon. As it was already mentioned, adequately to foundation of polish system, social work is exhibited in central part of form catalogue, realized by support institutions which, in the light pragmatics of action of many units, contributes to a clear paradox. Traditionally, social work is defined as action aiming at improvement of quality of life of an individual and society and alleviating human suffering and solving social problems (B.Dubois, K.K. Miley). In our tradition, in 1928 Helena Radlińska who defined "social work", indicated aspects of gaining and multiplication of human resource, improvement and organization of common action of the good of the people. În similar understanding, work is defined by legislation, which is close to the idea of empowerment, which states that: "professional activity, which goal is to help people and families to reinforce or re-gain ability to function within the society through fulfilling certain social roles and creating conditions favoring this goal" (Ustawa o pomocy społecznej, 12 march 2004). Indicated should be the definition of International Federation of Social Workers, which puts a pressure on effectiveness:"the social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being (http://ifsw.org/)". Taking most important functions of social work under the common nominative, a general assumption can be made, that it is concentrated on such areas as supporting people in their social functioning, especially in their realization of proper social roles; development of education and participation of groups in threat of social exclusion; stimulation of widely-understood individual and social development; helping people in overcoming critical situations, and finally, securing the access to resources for clients (service, institutions) which are used to fulfil their needs (Wódz, 1996, p. 53). The supplementation of the above-mentioned will be helping people to adapt to social environment and changing life conditions.

Outreach - the foundation and perspectives of streetwalking

When it comes to summary and set of functions of social work with pragmatics of operating of support institutions, we should indicate the dominating role resources availability, including benefit-granting, and in second place, there are information-education and consulting-reinforcement actions. For instance, in modern children support system, main pressure is put on monitoring of situation in natural environment (e.g.at home) and also functioning and development of different types of support and intervention facilities, e.g. twenty-four-hour facilities. Similarly, in case of working with adults, the pressure is put on service and proper functioning of institutions of support and help. Social work, a work in place of dwelling of clients - although appreciated by theoreticians and practitioner as the essence of social work - it does not gain sufficient significance in practice, still it does not have a proper rank in the matter of existing needs; it does exist on a level insufficient in comparison to the needs or there is basically no time for it (Rymsza, 2012; Dudkiewicz, 2011). In the light of many system solutions, very often there is a lack of possibility to go beyond institutional borders (e.g.to reach children leading their lives on the street), resources which allow undertaking such actions or the awareness of existence of such need, especially according to the opinion of decision-makers. Social work and its development is an important context, in which considered should be main advantages and possibilities connected with streetwalking. The essence of this method is narrowed to the term outreach, which in literal sense, is understood as reaching further, going outside. According to the idea, streetworker, regardless of the receiver of the program, realizes it outside the walls of the facility, in current place of dwelling of the person in need, on his/her safe ground, his/her time and by his/her rules. Analogy to social work is striking here: streetwalk develops what is most important and most valuable in social work: socioeconomic co-operation with individuals, groups and communities, which in fact, is still a subject of deficit in social aid system. What is more, they key competence in reaching the target groups - where both social worker and streetworker look for direct contact with their potential pupils in places that they visit most often - is communication and communicativeness. Also, an axiological dimension of streetwalking is significant; a thesis that people,

who function beyond the system and live "on the street" are integral part of, so called healthy society, and they also have a right to receive social and welfare support, healthcare, different forms of support. Thus, if the person, who is excluded because of various reasons, does not want to or is unable to ask for help, according to the idea of outreach, support can be offered to him/her on his/her conditions. It also should be mentioned that the worker of the street should be characterized by same features as social worker, among which most important are: communicativeness, creativity, patience, inner strength and motivation. Work for the sake of children of the streets, prostitutes, drug addicts, homeless, members of subcultures, difficult youth etc. requires a great patience, emotional strength and charisma as social work with individual or family which is often deprived of visible results.

To summarize, indicated can be a strict correlation between street-walking and most important axioms of social work. The essence and most fundamental advantages of this method, indicate wide perspectives of its application in the sphere of social politics in the frame of institutionalized system of aid and support.

- Main advantages include: the possibility to reach people who are not covered by typical actions realized by social aid and integration system;
- possibility to help these people and include them in actions of social politics system with help deprived of institutionalization and "dependency":
- high level of individual method: it's adoptability, elasticity, openness;
- possibility to develop basic tools of social work in work with people from the area of exclusion based on interpersonal contact and developing the relation, increase of contact frequency;
- increase of access to information and social service, and increase of the range and effectiveness of the offered support;
- possibility to establish and develop a web of co-operation between different institutions and to create the atmosphere favoring the solution of conflicts which appear in social environments;
- reinforcement of the image of social aid and integration institution through realization of important, innovative and, as a result, media-popular actions.

All in all, streetwork is a great supplement for social work and different actions carried in the frame of institutions of social politics. In recent years, streetworking is not only strongly-promoted in different dimensions, but also accessible is, in wide range, substantial and organizational support for this method. What i have in mind is: methodological guides, websites,

trainings, presentations of good practices. Great possibilities come with realization of union projects, including non-competition ones in frame of which realized are actions in the area of work in open social environments. Unfortunately, most actions are conducted unintentionally, in adequacy to resources and circumstances (e.g. the perspective of project realization). There is a lack of system solutions: an important problem is lack of steady ways of financing work in open social environments and their marginalization in context of other tasks e.g. those of obligatory character. Therefore, there is a dominating schema that public units focus on routine actions, among others, on care and benefit-granting, whereas non-public undertake innovations and challenge, including social-environmental work. Lack of developed models of institutional and inter-section co-operation is crucial, which, due to complementary supplementation of tasks of co-operating facilities, would provide an expert support, social work, activities, support and therapy for young people, who need a specific help and wider dimension of outreach actions.

Although, a lot was written and said about streetwalking in recently, we should not treat this method as temporary trend or new trend in fighting the results of changing reality. Streetwork is, above all, an important tool of open character with a wide perspective and a variety of areas of use. What is important, streetwork works well in social environments, where other actions fail or are difficult to be reached with, allowing work on "face-to-face" basis, where communication, contact and a trust built on it, are elementary tools of work (Dziurok, 2010, p. 1-2). It is an important chance, and a challenge for institutionalized forms of work.

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SILVIA CAPÍKOVÁ*, MÁRIA MOJZEŠOVÁ**, MICHAELA KOSTIČOVÁ*** SOCIAL AND ETHICAL CHALLENGES FOR NOWADAYS MEDICINE WITHIN TEEN PREGNANCIES

Introduction

The development of teen girls reproductive behaviour indicators in Slovakia and in developed countries is unfavourable. This development may be caused by socio-structural factors but also by changes in value orientation and attitudes of society. Pregnancy and parenthood during maturation are some top of the glacier in risky behaviour of teens or adolescents.

Pregnancy is a special period in a woman's life. The pregnant woman needs support from father of her child, from her family. The younger a girl becomes pregnant, the greater the health risks are. Pregnancy is a short period of time where many changes occur in the female body. During this time, pregnancy can cause health complications in the women, teenage girls especially. During early pregnancy, before 12th week of gestation, there is an increased risk of miscarriages¹⁸ which can cause heavy bleeding, infection, severe pain, fever and chills (ACOG, 2013). The most common risk factors of miscarriages are: pre-pregnancy overweight and underweight, previous miscarriages, previous termination of pregnancy, long time use of contraception, stress, alcohol intake, coffeine intake, smoking and drug abuse. These risk factors are very often part of risky behaviour and life style of young people nowadays.

The incidence of teenage pregnancies is high not only in developing countries, i.e. in Sub-Saharian Africa (Adamcová, 2011), but in developed countries, too, and the fertility rates differ significantly between but also within these two groups of countries (developed and developing countries).¹⁹

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¹⁸ Ectopic pregnancy, defined as implantation of the egg outside the normal uterine cavity, is the second group of problems during early pregnancy. The common clinical presentations are vomiting, abdominal pain, fever and intensive bleeding.

¹⁹ For detailed information see e.g. Darroch JE, Singh S, Frost JJ., 2001, for crossnational comparison, see the World Bank database (Adolescent fertility, at: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.ADO.TFRT) and the World Health Organisa-

The authors are focusing the teen pregnancies problem from the risky youth behavior perspective and social determinants of health perspective. Authors analyse problems of teen pregnancies within ethical and social challenges in contemporary medicine.

Social challenges

Historically, young, unmarried women who became pregnant were either sent away to have their child (many of these children were given up for adoption), or pregnant young women were forced into marriage in order to avoid an out of wedlock birth and social defamation of the family (Falisová, 2009 and Falisová, 2013). In our culture, despite of the rising numbers of cohabitating couples, pregnancy is generally considered a morally accepted practice of those that are married and just slowly the unmarried pregnant women is considered socially acceptable, and, in general, unmarried pregnant teenage girls are considered morally corrupted or irresponsible in many countries and are object of stigmatization.

Adolescent pregnancies are the social problem, which has its causes and consequences. These consequences can be seen in the social and demographic structure of society and even in the field of economy. Adolescent fertility rates are one of world development indicators monitored by the World Bank and United Nations (http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.ADO.TFRT). However, what makes teen pregnancies a notable social problem, are not their economic or welfare costs, but health and family problems of adolescents during their later life. Besides, teen pregnancies can be considered as one of indicators of the "social health" of society.

Social determination of health perspective

Growing research on social determination of (adolescent) health gives many evidence, that the deleterious outcomes attributed to teenage pregnancies are set before pregnancy and are extrinsic to young age.

In some developing countries, unstable political situation can lead to war, civil strife or to some kind of conflict. In conflict, there exists a danger that woman could be killed, abducted or sexually abused. Violence and insecurity bring a lot of risks also to pregnant women. Being a young woman in a conflict situation increases her vulnerability (Adamcová, 2011).

tion (Adolescent pregnancy, at

http://www.who.int/maternal_child_adolescent/topics/maternal/adolescent_pregnancy/en/data) for cross-national comparison.

In Nicaragua, unintended pregnancy is particularly problematic among adolescents, whose annual fertility rate of 109 births per 1,000 15-19-yearolds is the highest in the Americas (the World Health Organization region comprising South, Central and North America), where the average is 61 births per 1,000 adolescents. Approximately half of young Nicaraguan women give birth before age 20, and 45% of their births are unintended, regardless of their educational background or whether they live in urban or rural areas. Several aspects of life in Nicaraguan society contribute to high unintended fertility. First, women are subordinate to men and are at risk for sexual violence and unexpected, undesired and unprotected intercourse. This makes it difficult for women to control their fertility, as does their partners' refusal to use certain contraceptive methods, like condoms. Second, although Nicaraguan society often encourages young men to have premarital sex, it disapproves of young women doing so. Thus, many young unmarried women do not seek contraceptive and reproductive health services because they fear disclosing their sexual activity. Third, Nicaragua bans abortion (Ehrle, Sarker, 2011).

However, the risk of unintended sexual activity/abuse, sexual violence within the youth is present also in developed, industrial, urbanized countries and regions. Date rape is known phenomenon in many European countries. Especially in Poland, there is reported an increase of sexual violence experienced by young women by use of so called "rape pill" (Nowakowski, 2011). What roles do cultural and ethnic attitudes toward violence play in adolescent pregnancy, should be object of special research. Research on social norms and ethics within intimate (heterosexual and family) relationships, should be fostered.

Problems of teenage mothers as leaving school at the minimum leaving age, lacked qualifications, unemployment, socioeconomic disadvantage, etc. often precede the pregnancy²⁰ and use to be mitigated somewhat by supportive family structures (Macintyre, Cunningham-Burley, 1993 and Bissell, 2000). Socioeconomic factors (especially at the family and community level) are considered by some contemporary studies as moderators or mediators of other effects, e.g. the protective effect of teens' educational expectations. Interventions that address socioeconomic influences at multiple levels (e.g., individual, family, and community) could positively affect large numbers of teens and contribute to the elimination of disparities in teen childbearing (Penman-Aguilar, Carter, Snead, Kourtis, 2013).

Sir Michael Marmot, the expert of WHO on social determinants of health, claims that action on the social determinants of health should be

²⁰ Contribution to research on social determination of health and teenage pregnancies was made also by historians, for Slovakia e.g. Falisová (2009), Falisová (2013).

a core part of health professionals' business. Those working within the health system have an important, albeit often under-utilised, role in reducing health inequalities through action on the social and economic factors: the social determinants of health. Tackling health inequity is a matter of social justice; it is also essential in order to provide the best care possible. Preventive measures that improve the conditions in which people live can lengthen people's lives and years spent in good health, improve services and save money. Health care workers can play an important role as advocates for individuals (patients and their families), fosterers of local policy change, for changes to the health professional workforce and even for changes to national policy (Working for health Equity, 2013).

Risky behaviour perspective

Pregnancies, early sexual initiation and early sexual life of adolescents can be conditioned by various factors within particular societies. From the relevant literature about the problem, it seems both socio-economic and cultural factors play the role in prevalence and effects of adolescent pregnancies. In highly developed, industrial countries, e.g. Canada, USA, many researchers link the early sexual life to the complex of risky behaviour of the youth, thus, the public health and social welfare programs are designed for surveillance of several indicators of risky behaviour to evaluate and improve adolescent health outcomes.²¹ Activities such as smoking, drinking, sex, and drug abuse are generally first encountered before individuals are 18 or 20, yet they have important impact on the rest of life of these young people.

However, we cannot be blind to the impact of mass media which show the sexual life of teenagers as a pleasure and a component of their rights, and glorify such consumerist life-style in adolescents, however, on the costs of their parents.

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²¹ In the USA, the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS) has been developed. The system monitors six types of health-risk behaviors that contribute to the leading causes of death and disability among youth and adults, including 1.Behaviors that contribute to unintentional injuries and violence, 2. Sexual behaviors that contribute to unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV infection, 3. Alcohol and other drug use, 4. Tobacco use, 5.Unhealthy dietary behaviors, 6. Inadequate physical activity. YRBSS also measures the prevalence of obesity and asthma among youth and young adults. Data are cross-sectional, YRBSS includes a national school-based survey conducted by CDC and state, territorial, tribal, and local surveys conducted by state, territorial, and local education and health agencies and tribal governments (http://www.cdc.gov/HealthyYouth/yrbs/index.htm ?s_cid=tw_cdc16).

Although emergency contraception, the response of "technologized" medicine to risky sexual behaviour of the adolescents, can reduce the incidence of teen pregnancies, however, easy accessibility of the "post-pill" (without medical prescription) can lead to its misuse, and, from medical point of view, replace health problems related to teen pregnancy by other health problems.

To reduce sexual risk behaviours and related health problems (including behaviours that decrease the risk for sexually transmitted diseases-STDs, and unintended pregnancy) among adolescents, not just schools but also other youth-serving organizations can help young people adopt lifelong attitudes and behaviours that support their health and well-being and prepare them for responsible parenthood. Researchers of Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in the USA recommend, on the basis on its systemic literature review and research, that "abstinence from vaginal, anal, and oral intercourse is the only 100% effective way to prevent HIV, other STDs, and pregnancy. The correct and consistent use of male latex condoms can reduce the risk of STD transmission, including HIV infection. However, no protective method is 100% effective, and condom use cannot guarantee absolute protection against any STD or pregnancy" (http://www.cdc.gov/healthyyouth/sexualbehaviors/index.htm).

The increase in use of contraceptives among adolescents cannot itself solve the problem of unintended pregnancies nor early sexual life of the youth and health and social harms it brings during their life course in the future. All these evidence should be taken into consideration by planning (health) education for both the youth and health and other professionals that provide services to adolescents.

One of challenges for medicine is the education about sexuality and reproductive health, that should be hand in hand with moral development of a young men and women. Preparation for responsible parenthood takes place formally and informally. Formal systems may include education from clinics, doctors and other professionals (Chalmers, Meyer, 2013). Truthful informal education should occur from both parents (mother and father) to their children, not just to daughters in family, from books and through right value oriented media.

Ethical challenges

Ethics are standards of conduct or social norms that prescribe human behaviour. Ethics as a field of study is a normative discipline whose main goals are prescriptive and evaluative rather than descriptive and explanatory. Moral standards distinguish between right and wrong, good and bad, virtue and vice, justice and injustice. Professional ethics are standards of conduct that apply the people who occupy a professional occupation or role. The person who enters a profession acquires ethical obligations because society trusts them to provide valuable goods and services that cannot be provided unless their conduct conforms to certain standards. Health care professionals have duty to have not only excellent, actual knowledge and perfect practical skills, but also ethical attitudes to those, who need their care and support.

Ethics of responsibility is the fundamental category, relating to any work performance. The professional have to know what is considered ethically bad or good in each particular situation (Vaculíková, 2009).

It is an important feature of health care and medical professionals to provide optimal care for vulnerable persons. Teenage girls are considered a vulnerable population group. The human maturation is achieved in an age of adulthood obviously. The biopsychological development is connected with social and spiritual maturation in young people. The physical maturation of woman starts earlier than psychosocial maturation. When the physical development outruns mental development, this can be the source of negative feelings and teenager, especially teenaged girl, is not able to cope with this change (Vágnerová, 2002). The life style and value system of teenage girl need to be taken in consideration. The maturation of person is period of preparation for life, for independency, for intimate relations. But it is not period of parenthood! It is period of preparation for love, for marriage and for responsible parenthood (Pástor, 2006). Health care providers must have appropriate knowledge of law, ethical principles and moral reasoning to provide care to this vulnerable population group.

Teenage girls, as vulnerable persons with risky behaviour, deserved the respect for their human dignity from professionals who providing the care and support for them. Human dignity is warranted by the legal order of particular state, by specification of fundamental rights and freedoms as human rights. Besides legal protection of human dignity by the state, the society as a whole is enhancing, protecting or violating human dignity by its moral relationships (Vaculíková, 2009).

The relationship between doctor and client/patient is based on an interpersonal relationship of a special type. It is meeting between trust and conscience. Very important is to give only truth information. Ethical decisions regarding consent and confidentiality should be distinguished from legal requirements. There are statutory exceptions in legislation in many countries to the rule of parental consent regarding emergency care, sexually transmitted diseases, drug treatment, mental health care, pregnancy, contraception in adolescent, underaged patients, known as "mature minor doctrine".

Ethical dilemmas relate e.g. to the definition of co called "post-pill" known also as "emergency pill" which is used after unprotected sexual intercourse, however, the situation is not "emergency" from medical point of view obviously.

Conclusion

We suggest that teen pregnancies can be considered as one of indicators of the "social health" of society and the adequate research of social etiology, including research on attitudes and ethics in heterosexual and family relations, is necessary. In order for the health workforce to successfully take action on the social determinants of adolescent health, the professional education and training are essential. Challenges should take place within undergraduate education, postgraduate education, continued professional development, and other forms of professional training.

The challenges for contemporary medicine we can see also in cross-sectional cooperation in prevention of adolescent pregnancies, that will include variety of professionals from developmental psychology, pedagogy, social work, sociology, health care, theology and policy makers. This cooperation can be useful in areas of developing and monitoring indicators of adolescent health, in designing strategies of social prevention and health promotion, raising public awareness, in education of professionals etc.

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ROBERT BORKOWSKI

A SENSE OF SAFETY AND SOCIAL TIES IN THE URBAN SPACE (BETWEEN PUBLIC SPACE AND GATED COMMUNITIES)

The spatial dimension of social ties

One of the basic conditions for the existence of permanent and stable social bonds is a sense of security and stability of the interaction in the local environment of man. The need for security is one of the fundamental human psychological needs. Lack of confidence and insecurity cause dysfunctional social order, which may take the form of anomie or whole layers of spatial segregation and social groups. The city where everyone lives only for himself in his closing statement, and no one does anything for others, it would be a space inhabited by people who do not join social networks. It would be like the much-quoted medieval line: "where everyone is for himself and no one for all", in which the city is named hell without any order.

Ties arising in the process of voluntary association in a residential human form as a result of spatial contact. Depend on how individuals perceive other people, locate them in space and realize their presence. Bonding agent is commonly utilized space that brings together strangers.

The creation, development and the nature of social ties depend on the cultural patterns of the society (communication or unwillingness to "foreigners", the ease of making contact or lack of care for the common good or not). Also depend on the current social development (level of crime, the level of trust in other people), as well as how space development (architecture, urban planning solutions). The nature of interpersonal relationships and a sense of security is largely a consequence of the impact of space for its residents. Human environment affects his mental comfort or discomfort. Hence, to be distinguished territorial collectivity (specific area residents who do not join, or combine poorly developed interpersonal bonds) from the territorial community with residents of a specific area, who are integrated into strong and extensive social bonds (Pawłowska, 1996, p. 8).

Architecture is the art of shaping space to be for human needs. However, the architecture and urbanism of the period of socialism in Poland does not fulfill this condition. In the previous system, the postulate of architecture as "the ability of directing dialogue: people - space" was not implemented (Franta, 2004, p. 9).

There are two types of residential space: the social space (favoring the formation of community ties and territorial) and anti-social space (which can not produce a stable network ties of the community). At the same time falls to agree with the view that "building a community is always a reflection of what this community he represents" (Konior, 2004, p. 146).

The legacy of the past socialist system is a significant amount of residential complex of blocks (called "blockspace" blocks of flats, which has not even made in this space subculture "blockers"), inhabited by about 10 million Poles. They represent about 35 per cent. housing stock of the country, as in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Apart from the poor state of the housing, the problem remains poor spatial planning of settlements. Particularly acute is the lack of centers in which ogniskowałoby public life of their inhabitants and poor infrastructure (kindergartens, schools, hospitals, offices) and poorly designed space recreation. Expression of the aspirations of the revitalization of estates is the study of urban development 'European Spatial Development Perspective "adopted by the Visegrad countries particularly affected because of the legacy of communism. In practice, serious efforts to transform the blocks of flats were only in eastern Germany, where he carried out the re-urbanization of large estates with emphasis on strengthening the integration of settlements and thus creating the neighborhood and downtown.

In Poland, along with the increasing fear of crime is growing interest in the closed neighborhoods in major cities. As a result of growing sales closed residences offered by developers, and some streets off of public traffic (which takes place in Warsaw). At the same time the tendency to exclusiveness and spatial separation may have their source in the weakness of the development of civil society structures, and this is the legacy of the historical past.

Past (bondage Russian, Austrian and Prussian, Nazi occupation, the communist system) formed specific system of values. Top rated are ties on the micro-social level (family, a narrow circle of friends) and symbolic links at the macro-social level (national identity, religious identity). Least-developed are ties on the middle-social level (housing, local community, city, workplace). It determines the trends of Poles to "escape in privacy" and aversion to activity of interest to the local community termed "sociological vacuum" (Nowak, 1988).

Agora or arena?

Reducing the threat of crime, and thus increase the sense of security and development of neighborly bonds can be achieved using a humanistic approach to the development of architectural and urban planning. It's called CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design). Based on the achievements of psychology, sociology, planning, architectural, landscaping concepts, monitoring, crime prevention and criminology. The aim is to create appropriate solutions for the management of living space.

According to the "broken windows" theory (Kelling, Cole, 2000) passive acquiescence to the "appropriation" by the crime and pathologies have strong social ties destructive to the inhabitants of the area. Symptoms of the disorder, mess, devastation and neglect, which remain longer in the local landscape, is a sign and symptom of loss of social control. Evidenced by the degradation of the aesthetic, social space which becomes antisocial. Unlike living space, functioning and friendly creates a sense of safety and care for the people. It becomes a social space in which to create and develop social ties.

In the era of post-modern city is not already carry safety features to ensure residents and their space is no longer a homogeneous space of public order. For fear of acts of crime, violence and terrorism, urban space has been divided internal walls and barbed wire. Closing in their districts is voluntary for the rich, and forced the poor, pushed down to the slums. As a result of such actions intra muros space is divided into more or less secure, guarded or unguarded, clean and attractive or neglected and full of terror. Thus, the overall structure of the city is fragmented. Reversal of relationships and absorption in the boundaries of the ramparts of the cities, and then use them not only to defend against the "foreign", but also from the "home" is the change in the function of the city (McRae, 1996, p. 312).

In large cities, street crime makes life difficult for residents. Opinion about safe or unsafe the city is formed on the basis of indicators on street robberies. If the streets are safe, the entire city is considered to be safe and friendly. Insecurity results in less use of public facilities such as parks, squares or urban transport system. One of the possible projects to improve the situation is to increase the activities of surveillance and the use of protection systems connected to the police or private security agencies. Another reaction of society to the ever intensifying urban violence is a change of focus from public spaces to a more secure, safe and controlled environment such as shopping malls. The desire of being safe leads to the creation of fortified enclaves, where wealthier residents can protect themselves against urban violence.

Urban jungle of fear

Processes occurring in large cities can be described by the concept of ecology of fear. It uses the spatial gradient of crime, fear and concerns of the population and the behavior of people in the city. The concept of ecology of

fear has been used by Mike Davis in 2000, the work devoted to the description of the situation in Los Angeles, one of the most multicultural cities in America. The author describes the process which resulted in degradation of the center and the appropriation of it by criminal gangs. Image of Los Angeles, which is terrorized by armed gangs, is frightening. Vision for the city allows to include the work of M. Davis to mainstream dystopia.

The art of living in the "urban jungle" mainly consists of how to avoid becoming a victim of a crime - theft, burglary, robbery, beatings and rape. The characteristic features of urban violence is higher frequency and intensity of occurrence of criminal acts than in rural areas and small towns. Most researchers (sociologists, criminologists) emphasizes that the phenomenon of street violence is typical only for urban areas (Patel, 2000, p. 261). The source of criminal behavior are socio-economic and cultural aspects of the urbanization process. Since the thefts, robberies and assaults are a typical feature of the urban environment, it is in the urban ecosystem must exist elements conducive to the development of such activity. As reasons for the increase of crime is mentioned deficiencies of socialization processes in the urban environment. In the first place highlights the deficiencies of education systems that do not shape the attitudes and behavior of young people. Other environmental factors include street gangs, criminalize neighborhoods, unemployment and dysfunctional spatial order.

Opposite view is Francis Fukuyama, who argues that urbanization is not a sufficient reason to explain the phenomena of urban violence. In Japan, Korea or Singapore Honkongu despite the frenetic growth of population and urbanization there has been a particular increase in crime. "In the United States, the number of murders is much higher in the south than in the north, although the north is more urbanized and densely populated. In the south, while violence is a phenomenon of rural" (Fukuyama, 2000, p. 79). In his view, the sources of crime should rather be sought in the conditions of cultural and social shape of the urban environment.

Often, it is believed that the cause of crime is poverty and inequality, or relative deprivation. This means that with an exceptional intensity should occur in poor neighborhoods with high unemployment rates. There is no doubt that violence is a characteristic phenomenon emerging in poor neighborhoods, though it should not be combined only with parts of the city with low rates of socio-economic (wealth of the inhabitants, property prices, etc.). In a homogenous, poor and isolated society the level of frustration is much lower than in a pluralistic and rich. Here are brought together wealth and poverty, the ostentatious consumption and forced abstinence (Borkowski, 2001, p. 32).

The city is a place of huge contrasts, where every street wealth can come into contact with poverty. Urban violence occurs at a lower or higher intensity throughout the city and the existence of "worse" and "better" neighborhoods without prejudice to the fact that some areas of the city will be absolutely secure.

Modern cities affected by pathological phenomena named "urban violence" and "the revolt of the suburbs" are torn by rebellion and struggle with boredom. Concentration of crime concerns in France districts that are not necessarily the poorest or the most degraded areas (Cusson, 1998). Suburbia are regions, which shakes the riot, civil commotion and bandit attacks. These areas are characterized by insecurity and impunity robbers. A large part of robberies directed against the authority and symbols of consumer society.

They can also explode as a manifestation of the alleged actions against some authority, which in the eyes of the young rebels seem an injustice, as it was during the notorious "intifada on the Seine" (2005) riots in Brighton (2005) or the riots in Los Angeles (1992) or in Słupsk in Poland (1998). They usually have to result in publicity, raise or strengthen its position in the group. The projections on the criminal scene thus contain "elements of fun and festivity." The impact of stereotypes transmitted by the mass media on the development of a sense of security and risk awareness is huge.

Media create in many cases, a certain "culture of fear" by backfilling public information about crime and violence. It turns out that sense of security the inhabitants of large cities also varies depending on the political situation. Here in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in New York, Madrid and London have increased fears of a global threat of terrorism, and thereby the level of fear of crime, common crime has decreased. In turn, images of riots in Los Angeles, Brighton, in the suburbs of Paris, and in many French cities are fueling fears of an influx of immigrants and tend to separate themselves from the poor neighborhoods.

In order to prevent crime in the big cities are created mechanisms of social control and spatial control. They rely on the supervision of the living environment by neighbors, police or private security service. Ensuring safety is also arousing interest in affairs of neighboring residents. Active participation in social life can take even forms of surveillance. Territorial and social control also provides fortification space. Urban development and the transformation of their spatial structures designed to provide security for its people is called "urbanization sensitized to security."

In order to effectively fight against street violence and crime must meet three conditions. Firstly should find clearly demarcated public and private space. They can not penetrate, as it usually happens in the suburbs. Second streets need to be observed or even monitored by the so-called invisible "eye street" that is, by someone you can call the owner of the street as well as by community residents of the district. Thirdly provided should be continuous supervision over the streets either by police patrols, as well as by locals. The more walkers, the more pairs of eyes looking for entertainment in watching the street life, the safer.

Fort instead of Agora

A special type of housing estates are gated communities. They are characterized by safety systems, which are designed to protect the inhabitants of the isolation from the outside world full of evil, violence and crime. High-tech protection and security (walls, fences laser monitoring, electronic card access, data archiving of incoming and outgoing calls, television cameras monitoring space, armed guards) even suggests the realities of war. Thus, according to some researchers the world surrounded by a wall and under surveillance is no longer a community. In sociology there are even the term "strengthening urban" or "the militarization of the city".

It is questionable whether and to what extent and what kind described in the literature in the areas of sociological gated communities formed neighborly bonds. Sociologists write about alienation and isolation of residents in their homes (Judd, 1995, p. 159-161). Legitimate question arises whether the space considered "own" shrinking in relation to public space in the open settlements. It is after all limited to the area of a closed and guarded. On the contrary, it expands, because space is domesticated and safe guarded the entire area, not just your own apartment. And everything outside the apartment is considered in the settlements unguarded for a dangerous space.

Settlements are not only physical objects, but also the socio-cultural constructs. These sites focused inhabitants of similar status who set standards and shape the aesthetic tastes, while limiting the freedom of individual choices and decisions, or even controlling human behavior (Gadecki, 2009).

Any form of physical separation, so the walls, gates, fences and forms of social control influence the shape of the space. The space permanently codifies social relations. The walls of both protect and separate from the world. A negative feature of gated communities would be the destruction of the traditions of public life of urban communities (McLaughlin, Muncie, 1995, p. 120).

Closed settlements were established in the USA in the 70's. In Los Angeles, protected areas are pervasive form of development of the suburbs, where it is easy to read from the current shape of the suburbs of the future form of urbanization. It is predicted that it will be expanded protected areas in the chaotic expansion of suburbs. In Europe, the trend was aimed at

separating out certain social groups began to appear in the 80-ies of XX century. The first gated communities built on the coast of Spain and France. Soon after, they began to be created in some of the major cities of the European continent, as in Madrid and Lisbon.

In time, closed areas suburbs developed, among others, the UK and Austria. In the United Kingdom, UK, there are three forms of gated communities. The first is social housing on a raised standard, which are surrounded by gates. The other settlements are in the form of a condominium located in the center of cities. And third are closed estates in the suburbs, which have no more than three homes (Webster, Glaze, Frantz, 2002, p. 315).

But you can not talk about the scale of the phenomenon and is identical gated communities in Europe as in America. In European countries the number of gated communities is incomparably less than in the U.S.. One gets the impression that the European fencing desire to be striving for some kind of exclusivity or protection luxurious lifestyle. It is not an expression of spatial segregation and separation motivated by the need to ensure their own security. Among the main reasons for the creation of gated communities can be replaced for next metropolitan crime fear the loss of a sense of purpose existence in public space (loss of social ties), and attempts to separate from other social strata (maintaining social ties only within its layer or group).

In the U.S., there are three forms of gated communities that vary in terms of location, building and fortifying degree. The first of them, known as 'lifestyle choice' (lifestyle gated communities) is the first generation of closed settlements formed since 1970. They have been planned in such a way as to ensure the safety of residents and exclusive ways of spending free time. Estates were designed for those who want to isolate themselves from the city closing in socially homogeneous neighborhoods. Some extreme of the described areas are areas similar to medieval towns, due to the clear separation of spatial and locate in their area of shops and offices.

The second generation of gated communities arising from the late 80s of the twentieth century "in search of prestige" (prestige gated communities) are characterized by advanced techniques of protection. They can be characterized by architecturally sophisticated buildings, monumental gates, used in the project housing the natural elements of the landscape as the location on the edge of lakes and stunning scenic panoramas. In contrast to the first type of "prestige" is located relatively close to the city center, often in gentryfied areas or even neglected and abandoned, but still a high market value. This location provides for residents to participate in the life of the city.

The third form of settlements called "concerned about safety" (security zone gated communities) is located in downtown or in the suburbs. Their origins should be sought in the concept of the defense, consisting of real

and symbolic barriers. The intentions of the planners was to create such a space, to help residents identify with the place of residence. It is assumed that this will begin to pay attention to what is going on in "their" space, ie to take care of the safety of the living environment through surveillance.

Closed housing estates residence not only the richest but also the less well-off population. These are neighborhoods covering a larger area and inhabited by a larger number of people. This type of settlement is Alphaville district lying west of Sao Paulo. It is like a paradise enclave, which "is surrounded by high walls and armed with searchlights and spotlights-electronic sensors recording every move. (...) In search of intruders private security guards, working mostly on-time military police, revolve around the clock after Alpaville on motorcycles or in patrol cars. (...) Each incoming must identify and flush only after prior consultation call from a resident whose visit. Meticulously searched are larger vehicles; guards reviewing suppliers and construction workers, specifically to see if that something did not steal" (Martin, Schumann, 1999, p. 206).

Some of the gated communities developed especially for certain population groups, such as retirees, golfers, single people or even nudists. The most popular types of residential communities that retirees and golf and leisure facilities. In the case of this type cause the expansion of settlements is different from the need to ensure safety. It seems that it is her desire to live in a homogeneous group of mates and sharing interests, and the need for affiliation. Planning such communities is utopian thinking. It's not just planning a world in which there is no evil, but also a world in which everyone is the same. This is a multiplication of your own home, family and interests.

The consequence of privatizing space is free to regulate the principles of the residents association. Regulation of the self-define in detail both the finish and appearance of buildings, as well as the principles of coexistence residents often creating camps with strict rigors. Provisions stating how people should live, in many cases seem to be too far-reaching interference with the privacy of others. The dos and don'ts of sociologists define as bordering on downright primitive fascism (Harvey, 1996). Examples are restrictions in the population of 33 thousand. Rancho Bernardo neighborhood residents north of San Diego. "Residents can not park a recreational vehicle or boat under the house, it designed a special place. In a neighborhood designed for older persons forbidden to their grandchildren play in a holiday resort, and visit children in their homes are strictly limited" (Rifkin, 2003, p. 128).

Still, the number of housing communities and the people who choose to live there is no shortage. This is because buying an apartment in the community actually buys a ticket to an attractive lifestyle. The regulations created

by the residents' association notes the transposition of the hidden patterns of behavior in public. Neighborhood habits, human relations and coexistence rules are formalized by typing them in the regulation of local residents. Formed in this way the system of coercion and formal control. This contradicts the Community character of gated communities. Is raised so in sociology question whether under such conditions can there be a social contract without social contact.

Sociologists point to the disappearance of a sense of community residents in gated communities compared to the rest of the inhabitants. Participation in the public life of the city is replaced with watching TV reality show, and the reality is a kind of fictionalisation. It should be added that the media coverage of the areas affected by pathologies form a magnified image of reality. This is a typical feature of present social reality in the mass media, which we call the "culture of fear" or "hell effect".

"Progressive thinking about urban problems - says D. Harvey - focused or around this as the easiest way to escape from the responsibility for these urban poor, or on how to harden completely and guard against bourgeois values contagious plague that surrounds all sides of pathology" (Harvey, 1996).

The research gated communities that, despite various safety measures and controls, their residents do not feel fully safe (Low, 2000). The sense of danger, exaggerated by the media and obsessive thinking about safety can lead to psychosis even fear. However, it also has a lot of supporters opposed the view that "fortification" housing serves as a symbolic, because in fact, the number of criminal acts in gated communities is not lower than in other parts of the city. This proves that the inhabitants of gated communities lose their vigilance and thus become victims of robberies. Fences, walls and guards entries do not provide real security, but only increase the sense of security.

Research Seth M. Low conducted among residents of gated communities in New York and San Antonio shows that the main reason for which they chose their place of residence is the fear of theft and robbery. People move to gated communities to protect themselves, their families and property from danger, which in their opinion is ubiquitous. Under observation cameras allow children to play away from home. Among the selected residents have a sense of being among their own. With supervision is not afraid to leave their homes pretending to be in holiday travel.

The reason for closing the residents in protected housing is the fear of intrusion of "foreign" on their private land. Living in this neighborhood is synonymous with the possibility of being among "their", in an environment of people with similar financial status, education and lifestyle. At the same time can be separated from their environments flagrant otherness. The in-

creased interest in housing communities and possession in their area of the property is characteristic of the times in which home ownership is less important than having a lifestyle.

Thus, the advantages of gated communities include the need to: integrate the inhabitants inside the walls, spatial awareness ("small town"), self-conscious residents who create and control their own neighborhood. Finally, in a socially and culturally diverse cities can form a homogeneous space, which gives a sense of permanence, stability and security.

The study of perception of urban space "My habitat"

The aim of the study was to answer a question how the inhabitants of Krakow perceive their living space. For this purpose in the survey questions meant to determine the following dychotomies: sense of security- sense of threat, trust-distrust of neighbors, familiarity-strangeness in the residential space, integration-disintegration neighborly bonds and an aesthetic sense of order-disorder in living space. The questions concerned the fact that the respondents would like to inhabit space, if they had to choose the place of residence and what investments would expect near their place of residence.

Respondents lived in different habitat types: both big plates settlements (so-called "block of flats"), the suburbs of buildings consisting of single-family houses, modern, guarded and protected housing blocks (gated communities) and the space of city centers (old houses).

The study was conducted on a sample of 670 respondents, of whom 58.1 percent were men and 41.9 percent of women. The majority of respondents reside in ordinary blocks (43.9 percent) and detached houses (36.0 percent). A small proportion (5.5 percent) of gated communities and condominiums (5.2 percent). 3.0 percent respondents live in guarded homes, and 6.4 percent in inner-city tenements. Most of the respondents resides in his district more than 10 years (62.2 percent). Minority of 2-5 years (14.3 percent), every tenth respondent 0-1 year less (12.2 percent) and one in ten (11, 2 per cent.) 5-10 years.

Human relationships "Me and my neighbors"

Respondents were asked to specify the nature of the relationship with the neighbors. The vast majority identified as superficial and limited to greetings ("traditional neighbors behind the wall"). Over a third of respondents considers them a good understanding them as mutual assistance neighborhood (leave the keys with a neighbor, bills, etc.) and only few developing a deeper and more lasting ties with its neighbors through a common interest in the shares of district (eg. construction of a playground for children).

Table 1. Nature of neighborly relations

Superficial, no ties	55.7%
Understanding and cooperation	37.9%
Deeper neighborly bonds	6.4%

The largest percentage of respondents (31.2 percent) declares liaison with the neighborhoods, numbering more than four people. A quarter of respondents (26.4 percent) limited to contacts with 1-2 people from the environment of residential, also every fourth (24.5 percent). Respondent combine good-neighborly relations with a group of 3-4 people, and the remaining respondents (17.9 percent) limited to contacts only with one of the neighbors.

The degree of familiarity with the neighbors almost half of the respondents (45.1 percent) defines as good. They think that they know well enough neighbors from the environment that can count on their help in a difficult situation. The opposite view is that a fifth (22.4 percent) of the respondents believing that you can not count on the solidarity of neighbors and mutual assistance. Nearly a third of respondents (32.5 percent) are unable to speak on the subject, ie, can not determine whether neighborly relations allow to expect help others.

The majority of two-thirds of respondents (65.1 percent) declare their willingness to deepen relations with neighbors through joint spending time with them. This would be possible if the housing estates built club or fitness center. One in ten of respondents (9.3 percent) declares unwillingness to strengthen social contacts with neighbors. One in four (25.7 percent) had no opinion on the subject.

Satisfaction with living space

The following research question was to ask about how to identify differences in the identification of "his" and "nobody's" territory. This is important for public safety and the prevention of vandalism and creating real community residents. The overwhelming majority of respondents declared a very broad understanding of human residential environment. They recognize that it is both your own home, as well as the staircase and the area around the house (part of the street surrounding, the square, etc.).

Table 2. What is "my" territory?

My home and the area around the house	77.2%
My home and the stairwell of the house	9.4%
Only my "four walls"	13.4%

Every tenth respondent outlines the boundaries of "your space" in the stairwell of the house in which he lives. Little more limited residential neighborhood only for its "four walls".

Satisfaction with the environment of home has declared most of the nearly two-thirds of respondents, nearly a quarter expressed dissatisfaction with the space in which it resides. In contrast, a significant proportion, because every fifth respondent is unable to express the emotional assessment of their habitat. It was important to answer the question, what factors and behaviors are perceived as negative and disrupting peace and harmony in living space.

Table 3. Opinions about the place of residence

Satisfaction with the environment of home	58.2%
Dissatisfaction with the environment of home	23.7%
Having no opinion	18.1%

A third of respondents indicates the vandalism as the most annoying phenomenon in residential areas. Every fifth respondent recognizes that the number one problem becomes littering the area. A small percentage shows graffiti as an irritating element of the urban landscape. In total disorder, vandalism and littering are troublesome for more than half of the respondents.

Table 4. What irritates me in the living space?

Vandalism and destruction	31.8%
Garbage on the streets	22.2%
Nothing annoyes me	21.6%
Lack of sufficient lightening	13.9%
Night noises	7.9 %
Graffiti	2.5%

For a large group of respondents most important problem is the lack of lighting the area. In studies conducted in the 60s twentieth century in the United States and Great Britain demonstrated a close relationship between improving lighting quality and a decrease in crime (Crouch, Shaftoe, Fleming, 2001, p. 24). Illumination of the area significantly increases the level of security of public places and improving the lighting conditions will give you immediate results. Then the level of fear of crime is falling and the locals are more willing to go out in the evenings. Nearly one in ten declares that the most troublesome are the night noises, while one in five respondents states that nothing he never interferes in the domestic environment.

A sense of safety in residential areas

The majority of respondents feel safe in their residential areas. Positive response has granted more than three-quarters of respondents and only one in ten admits to a sense of danger. One third of respondents (29.1 percent) had witnessed the crime or violation of law. The responses to questions about the reaction of the witness crime fell the most common response "did nothing" (14.6 percent).

Table 5. Sense of safety in the place of residence

Feel safe enough	51.3%
Definitely feel safe	27.9%
Probably do not feel safe	10.7%
Definitely do not feel safe	2.2%
No opinion	7.9%

Among respondents in their efforts to help the most frequently called the police (9.6 percent). Few intervened alone (8.8 percent) or called for assistance or friends (7.9 percent). Others called for help screaming (2.4 percent) or fleeing from the danger zone (2.4 percent).

Table 6. How people improve their own safety?

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Do nothing	46.7%
Helping each other	26.5%
Report problem to police	14.0%
Reporting problem to administration	12.8%

In the opinion of almost half residents of settlements do nothing to improve their safety. One in four respondents believes that care about their safety and property by helping each other. For example, guarding their homes and pay attention to foreign persons appearing on their doorstep residential. Subsequently, it was pointed police or administration to report problems. When asked what the inhabitants themselves could do to raise the level of their own safety, the largest groups of respondents replied that responding to every manifestation of aggression and pathological behaviors and care for their own safety and the neighbors (watch each other's homes). But it is rather a wishful thinking than real attitude.

Quite significant are expectations of local authorities in the field of security policy. Those who think that the security of the inhabitants of the estate depends on their own attitudes is the majority, two-thirds of respondents. Subsequently, mentioned: "to behave carefully and do not expose your-

self to danger" (10.0 percent), "co-operate with the police" (9.0 percent), "cooperate with the administration of the estate or government" (5.1 percent). Nearly one in ten (8.7 percent) could not express any opinion.

Table 7. Expectations of local authorities support

Install monitoring in the area	22.8%
Patrolling the area by police	16.0%
Improve the illumination of the area	15.5%
Rebuild the environment	13.0%
Settlements fence and hire guards	9.0%
Organize the neighbors for safety	8.5%
No opinion	15.2%

What change in local space?

One of the research questions was what spaces and equipment best serve the common leisure activities and joint actions by the residents of the estate. Most supporters gained the idea of designing the meeting, so the creation of enabling "just meet and chat" in the form of alleys or square with benches. This solution is spoken almost every third (29.6 percent). Respondent. It's remarkable that people of both the blocks of flats and housing complex of terraced houses, and often also the neighborhoods of residential building (detached houses) suffers from "lack agora". The need to separate in the central part of the estate of meeting space is a universal need.

A quarter of respondents (23.7 percent) was a supporter of the sport opting for the construction of facilities for physical recreation in the open air (fenced field, ice rink). As you can see from the analysis of ways of spending free time by the Poles, the objects of this type are mainly young people and would rather not play a supra-integration function. A large number of supporters (15.1 percent) gained the idea of spatial organization for young people, in the form of tracks for skaters, climbing walls or screens intended for graffiti. In total, supporters of both solutions (public sports facilities and facilities for recreation and meeting place for young people) were the largest group, because more than one-third of respondents (36.7 percent).

More than one in ten (12.8 percent) believes that best serve the residents of settlements soundproof facilities, which could be organized noisy events for residents. a similar percentage of expression (7.9 percent) concerns proposals aimed at creating space for social encounters a picnic, in the form of a room with a fireplace in the common facilities. In total, both solutions have gained the approval of every fifth respondent (20.7 percent).

Subsequently respondents (7.8 percent) postulated location of buildings designed cultural life, in the form of a library, a small theater hall or exhibition hall. At the last place (3.1 percent) was a proposal to build a winter garden. Supporters of social integration through the development of cultural life in your local neighborhood or by shaping the aesthetic experience is, however, very few. Such ideas are attended every tenth respondent (a total of 10.9 percent).

Table 8. What could be build in the near residential areas?

Square with fountain	42.5%
Club for residents	33.1%
Children's playground	16.0%
Police station	8.4%

Proponents of open land wishing contacts, space for leisure and aesthetic experiences (square, fountain, green area) dominate. They represent more than half of the respondents (a total of 58.5 percent). Less than one in ten would like to be near his place of residence of a police office (by no means guarantees that even security) which indicates that the fear of crime and insecurity are by no means dominant.

Ideal space - a dream of a good habitat

If respondents could change their place of residence, then most would choose a protected space, which is shared by more than half. The same is the percentage of supporters living in an apartment and in a gated community. Every third indwell in the ordinary and an open neighborhood. The least supporters of the proposal is to live an old house in downtown of the city.

If the respondent was given to live in single-family residential unit, then most would choose a single detached house (up 68.4 percent indications). A smaller number of respondents would prefer townhouse (16.2 percent) and even smaller house building group (15.4 percent). In a variant of multi-family residential complex, the respondents preferred the rather loosely scattered buildings, located at large distances between them (60.7 percent). A much smaller number of respondents would choose buildings with distinctly shaped interiors, with streets and buildings standing in relatively close proximity to each other (39.3 percent).

Table 9. Where do you want to live if you could change your place of residence

Single apartment building	26.3%
Gated community	26.3%

Ordinary open neighborhood	31.6%
Old house in downtown	15.8%

Spatial separation associated with the development of areas of poverty and wealth is a denial of an open and tolerant society. In sociology and political science highlights the crisis of civil society threatened by market forces, mass consumerism and the rise of inequality. This raises the question of whether separation and social segregation in cities testifies to the twilight of democracy as a common homeland pluralistic society.

The transformation of the settlements, the creation of centers and the creation of friendly may in the long term to affect the attitudes of community members living in the estate. Restoration of "space anyone" to its citizens is a prerequisite for the revival of communities. As a consequence, however, at the macro level, this could lead to a decrease in demand for residences closed and guarded estate. Such processes, provided the effective realization of re-urbanization projects can be long-lasting. It depends on direction of the development of the whole society and what will be the changes in the value system of society. It is a choice between the creation and strengthening of barriers or, on the contrary, the integration of civil society.

Conclusions of the study

- 1. Most of residents of Krakow have weak neighborly relations and limited to superficial contacts. On the other hand, most respondents stated verbally that they would like to spend more time with their neighbors. There is a gap between the actual situation and the declared ideals of interpersonal ties.
- 2. The majority of respondents are satisfied with their place of residence and the environment. Factors that cause the greatest dissatisfaction is vandalism and littering the area.
- 3. Most of residents feel safe in the area of residence. Their feeling of security is relatively high. Possibility of its growth, respondents perceive more in the activities of the institutions (the police, local authorities, government housing estates) than in social initiatives. Half of the respondents believe that the Poles contributes nothing to improve their safety. Expectations of improving safety concern monitoring, police patrols and lighting.
- Residents frequently would like to change their residential environment so as to improve the aesthetic quality of urban space. They want more green spaces, walking paths, fountains, playgrounds, etc.

- 5. Most of residents of Krakow as most of Poles living in a big city dreams of living in a guarded apartment building or in gated community. This is due not so much insecurity but more the desire to raise their social status. Buying expensive apartment in the gated community they develop a sense of ownership. Starting to live in a gated community develop a sense of fear of "strangers".
- 6. This means that following the transition and exit of the socialist system creates a new social order but it is not based on true of community. Social ties are poorly formed and neighborly relations for most superficial. Slightly stressed the desire to own activity rather passive and waiting for the operation of the institutions. An ideal place to live for most respondents is protected building or gated community. Clearly therefore they escape into privacy and do not desire to develop social ties.

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THE RISKS RELATED TO THE VAT SYSTEM IN POLAND

Value added tax – legislative and economic aspect

The history of VAT

The theoretical basis for VAT were Published in Germany in 20thies. The idea of improved turnover tax were discovered by Carl Friedrich von Siemens, but nobody was interested in

For the first time the theoretical basis of today's VAT (Value Added Tax) were published in Germany in the 20 th century. Carl Friedrich von Siemens (son of telecommunications magnate Dr. G. von Siemens) was the author of the concept of "refined sales tax," which then did not find too many supporters (Gołuchowski, 2004, p. 206). Despite the fact that a tax of similar design was introduced in 1940 in Norway with a rate of 10 percent. It seemed that idea of value add tax will remain only the theoretical considerations. Most of tax literature states that the concept of VAT as first presented April 10, 1954, by the French engineer Maurice Laure and the VAT tax was introduced the tax on a limited territorial area (Komar, 1996, p. 64). VAT as a common tax was introduced since 1 January 1968. Then the 6 countries forming the European Economic Community have accelerated economic development processes in Europe (Laure, 1952, p. 60). When another member states, joined the common European internal market, who at the same time was in strengthened to secure free movement of goods and services between the EEC members. Although it is difficult to clearly identify, who was a pioneer in the field of introduction cascade tax, It is well known, that since the establishment of the VAT has become a very important tool of taxation and to this day is an important source of income for many of today's European and global economies.

Table 1. The date of accession to the European Community and the introduction of VAT

State	Year of accession	Year of introduction of	
	European Community	VAT	
Belgium	1957	1971	

France	1957	1968
The Netherlands	1957	1969
Luksemburg	1957	1970
Germany	1957	1968
Italy	1957	1973
Danmark	1973	1967
Irland	1973	1972
United Kindgom	1973	1973
Grece	1981	1987
Spain	1986	1986
Portugal	1986	1986
Austria	1995	1973
Finland	1995	1994
Sweden	1995	1969

Source: Krajewska, 2010, p. 152.

In Poland, the VAT was introduced on the basis of the Law on tax on goods and services dated 5 July 1993 (Journal of Laws of 1993 No. 11, item. 50). This fact could be linked with a Polish application for admission to the European Community and, what is also important – introduction of VAT was considered as instrument of increasing tax revenue of the state budget. Both target were reached and the fiscal impact of VAT introduction was really astonishing. But it is worth noting that the first draft of this tax in Poland was developed in 1991. Primary draft of VAT was to introduce lower rates: 18 percent as a standard rate and 5 percent as a reduced rate.

In Poland, it was a time of political and economic transformation taking place in the great hopes and social emotions and arguing until recently consolidated opposition in the struggle against the totalitarian state. With the need to establish a new tax system, which was supposed to support the free market in the form of public declaration agreed all-taxpayers and politicians. However, in the legislative process on the tax laws in the Polish parliament, long sought approval for the proposed tax changes. The Parliament passed a law on value added tax and excise duty on the 8 January 1993. Introduction to the Polish legal system of VAT due for two reasons. Firstly, the need to fulfill the requirements imposed on Poland by the Association Agreement with the European Communities, signed in 1991. This agreement obliged Poland to adapt national legislation especially tax law in line with a EU law. The second factor in the introduction of VAT to the Polish tax system was a purely fiscal. Currently VAT income is about 40% of total tax income to the national budget. Introduced in Poland in 1993, the tax on goods and services has allowed both the government and taxpayers to get familiar with the practice of the operation of the specific tax. And also in Poland s case VAT has proved to be a very efficient source of inflows of funds to the state budget. Additional and important feature of this tax is that it brings much more stable revenuers to the state budget revenues compared to other income tax or excise tax. But fiscal and structural values of VAT also have their side effects. Procedures for VAT in Poland are used by organized criminal groups to collect their illegal income. This crime generates a lot of pathology in the financial and more economic sphere. The scale of this criminal phenomenon is very harmful for tax revenue. For this reason the VAT legislation in Poland are often amended, but not always in practice these regulations are to strengthen the tax system. For taxpayers frequent changes in the implementation of the commitments of VAT, the rates also lead to the opacity of such regulation and conflicts with tax authorities.

Despite these ambiguities mentioned interpretation of the rules or organizational complexities, it is over 20 years old practice of the operation of VAT in Poland is the success of this undertaking from the legislative and systemic point of view. As it was said before, VAT receipts are today one of the main sources of funding budgets of many developed countries. This type of taxation is a relatively young instrument of national treasury. History of the practical functioning of the VAT system exceeds 60 years, and his idea appeared in the 20's of the twentieth century in Europe struggling with huge economic and social chaos as the effects of the First World War.

This concept and practice of the operation of VAT in Europe proved to be the greatest booster of this tax in the world. The turning point in the history of the VAT rise was the European Economic Community, then the tax gained recognition following European countries, and over the years, the current shape of the legal and systemic. The nature and practice of VAT resulted in increasing the interest in more countries. Introduced successively in many countries around the world such as Mexico (1980), China (1984), New Zealand (1986), Canada (1991), Australia (2000) and India (2005). This tax is a fiscal instrument that gives tangible benefits to its "users" - taxpayers (businesses) and the state budget.

A characteristic feature of VAT is that the actual taxpayer is a consumer purchasing goods and services. This means that another person is chargeable to tax - purchasing goods or services and who else is obliged to discharge the accumulated tax to the state treasury.

The increased interest in this form of taxation resulted from two primary advantages of VAT. The first of these is the fact that VAT taxes consumption, not production (Ebrill, Keen, Bodin, 2001, p. 2). This increases the level of stability, and also affects the smaller fluctuations in budget

revenue for the various phases of the business cycle. Secondly, unlike the income tax, VAT is relatively insensitive to economic crises (Keen, Lockwood, 2006, p. 906). It is calculated based on the value-added product, the existence of which is largely independent of the current state of the economy.

Both advantages are, however, in many respects merely theoretical. Recent years show that the rate of VAT during the last crisis have increased in many countries, including Greece (from 19 to 23 percent), Portugal (from 21 to 23 percent), France (from 19.6 to 21.2 percent), and Poland (from 22 to 23 percent).

The reason for these increases was of course the need to increase budget revenues. It is worth noting that within the European community, there are formal capping the tax. Rate may not be lower than 15% and greater than 25% (Council Directive 2010/88/EU of 7 December 2010 amending Directive 2006/112/EC).

Table 2. List of VAT rates applied in the member states -1 july 2013.

Member States	Code	Super Reduced Rate	Reduced Rate	Standard Rate
Belgium	BE	-	6 / 12	21
Bulgaria	BG		9	20
Czech Republic	CZ	-	15	21
Denmark	DK	-	-	25
Germany	DE	-	7	19
Estonia	EE	-	9	20
Greece	EL	-	6.5 / 13	23
Spain	ES	4	10	21
France	FR	2.1	5.5 / 7	19.6
Ireland	ΙE	4.8	9/ 13.5	23
Italy	IT	4	10	21
Cyprus	CY	-	5/8	18
Latvia	LV	-	12	21
Lithuania	LT	-	5/9	21
Luxembourg	LU	3	6 / 12	15
Hungary	HU	-	5 / 18	27
Malta	MT		5/7	18
Netherlands	NL	-	6	21
Austria	AT	-	10	20
Poland	PL		5/8	23

Portugal	PT	-	6 / 13	23
Romania	RO		5/9	24
Slovenia	SI	-	8,5	20
Slovakia	SK	-	10	20
Finland	FI	-	10 / 14	24
Sweden	SE	-	6 / 12	25
United Kingdom	UK	-	5	20

Source:http://ec.europa.eu/taxation_customs/resources/documents/taxation/vat/how_vat_works

At this point it must be emphasized that the Polish accession to the European community in the context of the adjustment of VAT in the VAT process was very challenging. Though possessed more than 10 years of experience bound to the functioning of this tax is in the national economic trade existed for at least three areas where the need was the need to make quite a radical transformation of the national VAT system.

The first was the need for the implementation of Community legislation into Polish legal system. Despite modeling already in 1993 the EU regulations were significant differences in both the legislative techniques, as well as the shape of the individual structural elements of the tax. A completely new problem were called intra-Community transactions replacing the existing regulations for the import and export of VAT accounting entities established in other Member States. Another important aspect was the need to prepare the tax administration to perform new tasks in the new VAT system.

These included, among others, create a new system - VIES (VAT Information Exchange System), which was to support the work of the tax administration in a new legal environment and relations with the EU. To accomplish these tasks, it was necessary not only knowledge of national legislation relating to VAT but the adjustment of the tax required by the Community legislature. Another important area was the jurisdiction of the judicial authorities of the European community - such as the European-Court of Justice. Polish accession to the European Community, reconciled to the Community legislative sway over the national tax regulations.

Legislative formation of VAT in the EU

Treaties communities regulate tax issues in a very cost effective manner. This is mainly because of the reluctance of Member States to limit their legislative decisions in the making of national tax law to harmonize EU tax system. The strategy of the EU tax harmonization is not an end in itself.

Specifically this problem can be considered to harmonization "rather as a tool for economic and financial capacity needed to achieve economic, political and social objectives of the Treaty."

Already in 1967 the Commission presented the first two proposals for Directives, under which VAT was to be introduced in all countries of the community until January 1, 1970 and fully implemented until 1 January 1973. It should be noted that the instrument of harmonization of tax law are primarily directive, the content of which is to require implementation into national legislation. In practice, this is not the unification of law in the whole community but the harmonization of certain rules, procedures.

An important step was the adoption of the harmonization of the EC so called VI VAT Directive (Council Directive 92/77/EEC of 19 October 1992). She had a close relationship to the changes in the financing of the Community budget. Element of Member States contributions to the common budget was to be part of VAT coming from the Member States. Forced the need to harmonize the method of calculating turnover in the tax. For the needs defined a number of other concepts such as the method of calculating turnover, a taxable person, taxable activity, the time and place of commitment.

The next step was an attempt to harmonize changes related to the program complete the single market. In this respect, the main proposals of the EU Commission should set minimum rates and a change in the tax collection system at the country of origin of goods and services (destination principle).

Finally, the so called mixed system (transitional system). It is characterized by the fact that in the case of individual purchasers of goods and services, non-commercial rule the country of origin. This means that the person making the purchase of the goods in another Member State pays tax as well as a citizen of this country. However, in other cases the principle is still the country of destination. The most important exception to this rule is the purchase of new means of transport. This operation is always taxed in the country of destination. With the introduction of a mixed system was introduced in force so far the concept of intra-Community supplies and intra-Community acquisition of goods and services that have replaced imports and exports between Member States. Principles of imports and exports to third countries have not changed.

The next stage of harmonization of tax rates address the issues of the rates. In 1992, he introduced a minimum tax rate that may be applied. The first is the standard rate applicable to most goods and services have been set at a level not lower than 15%. Member States were also given the opportunity to establish one or two reduced rates of not less than 5%. These rates may, however, be applied only to a limited extent. Temporarily allowed

the use of the 0% and less than 5%. All these changes made to the Sixth Directive meant that it became unreadable and incoherent in places. Therefore, a decision was made to replace it with new regulations. November 28, 2006 was enacted Directive 2006/112/EC on the common system of value added tax. It is primarily organizational in nature and ordering, does not introduce major substantive changes.

The process of harmonization of VAT in the European Union is still continued. Union authorities led by the Commission are aware of the shortcomings of the existing system and the problems they cause. However, their work is to face barriers that Member States' resistance against changes. This is particularly evident in terms of the transition to the target system. Countries maintaining high rates of VAT are aware of the fact that the introduction of country of origin principle will be extremely unfavorable for them. This is due to the fact that the price paid for a given good will to some extent depend on the country's current rate of VAT, which is why companies operating in countries with high rates will be in a worse competitive position. The effect of large differences in the rates (currently the rate is from 15% to 25%) may be moving a business to countries with more favorable tax system. This phenomenon is called. tax competition. The introduction of the target system probably would force equation VAT rates down. Given the difficult budget situation the largest countries in the EU is not surprising that they are not interested in further harmonization of VAT. Therefore, in the foreseeable future should not expect revolutionary changes in the tax system

Fiscal offenses using the procedure of VAT. Mechanisms of criminal and legal measures to combat tax fraud

Value added tax (VAT-Value Added Tax or VAT) not only in Poland, but also in the EU is subject to a number of criminal initiatives. In Poland, for many years we have to deal with, restrained specifying publicly noticeable crime, which uses the principles and procedures of VAT as an instrument for the unauthorized acquisition and accumulation of financial resources, the existence of which does not know the tax administration.

A large part of these measures, masked by deception is derived from tax offices (tax offices) as the official return of the operator of VAT due. That is the purpose of organized criminal groups using procedures that tax to officially collect money and disappear from the properties deceived U.S.. Another method is skipping tax liability for fraudulent collusion pages e.g. providers and recipients in the implementation of the service without issuing

VAT invoices. We do not know so called "*dark*" the total number of all evil acts committed using the principles of VAT.

VAT and its universality (in the EU) is instrumentally used for tax evasion and by, the colluding group of criminal entities. Often, these entities are created only to one or several operations such as "buffer", the company "pole".

The situations referred to colloquially as a crime of the VAT amount to apply, in principle, two modus operandi to achieve the following objectives:

- reimbursement from the tax office fraudulent VAT refund,
- evade the implementation of part or all of the tax liability.

The motivation to undertake such a criminal is a combination of an intention to enter into possession of a large value of money in a relatively short period of time. To achieve this goal must be running organized crime "carousel" effect of several operators usually created to commit fraud to extort large financial value of the tax office in the form of reimbursement of of input VAT. The success of such a criminal operation means that the completion of the final state budget will be paid undue excess input VAT.

The sum of the loss is even greater. Because the different stages of the fraudulent operations simulating economic revolution put "blank" invoice, the disclosed amount of VAT in fact become a profitable criminal group. The mechanism of such fraudulent transactions is variable example is carried out entirely on fictitious invoices. Other documents attest to transport goods to a domestic or foreign in the context of intra-Community supply of goods but in reality there were no such activities. It happens that part of the operation is carried out with partners engaged in legitimate business, who are unaware of the situation. At some stage may be "screwing" in modes such "carousel" fraud.

Organized interest groups that specialize in the use of rules and procedures of tax on goods and services for the unauthorized obtaining considerable funds use the following fraudulent mechanisms and measures, among others:

- falsified so called "blank" invoices in trade,
- companies "columns" on the assumed substituted natural or stolen documents / sufficient for such type of crime is personal identification document.

For several years, the tax inspection authorities (tax inspection authorities) are actively working to eliminate fictitious invoices from the market economy.

Table 3. Fictitious invoices detected by inspectors tax inspection authorities years 2010 - 2012

Year	The number of detected	The amount / gross /	
	fictitious invoices	arising from invoices	
2010	84 241	3.7 mld zł	
2011	119 889	5.8 mld zł	
2012	153 714	15.5 mld zł	

Source: Sprawozdanie kontrola skarbowa 2012 r. MF DKS, Warszawa, luty 2013 r.

Disclosure of an organized group of entities implementing fraudulent dealings with the use of instruments of tax on goods and services, especially in intra-Community trade very often it is the result of cooperation with inspectors Polish tax administration in other EU countries or EU institutions specialized activities such as Eurofisc

In 2006, the European Commission (EC) with great determination proceeded to develop a common and unified strategy more effectively than hitherto fight against fiscal fraud in the EU. The draft of the strategy was developed in cooperation of two advisory bodies such as the European Commission, the Committee on Administrative Cooperation (Standing Committee on Administrative Cooperation-SCAC) and the Group of Experts on Tax Fraud (Anti Tax Fraud Strategy Expert Group –ATFS) (Raczkowski, 2011).

In December 2008, the European Commission announced proposals to create Eurofisc as an independent network of close cooperation of all Member States in combating fraud in the field of VAT. The essence of this collaboration was to rely "on the rapid exchange of information, joint profiles, risk analysis and analysis of information." (Raczkowski, Warszawa 2011, s.3). And so it happened, in June 2010, 27 finance ministers meeting in Luxembourg accepted the creation of Eurofisc. A natural consequence of these arrangements was legal to fix in the form of Council Regulation 904/2010 of 7 October 2010 (Chapter X) on administrative cooperation and combating fraud in the field of value added tax.

All Member States have taken preparatory steps to launch a network of close cooperation. Member States are obliged to designate at least one liaison officer to the cooperation / exchange / Eurofisc within the network.

The Eurofisc correctly powers as a mechanism for early warning of fraud in respect of VAT, started functioning with effect from 1 January 2012, the establishment of a network Eurofisc the consent of all 27 EU Member States is already a success and at the same time proof that crime using the procedure of VAT is serious negative phenomenon lowering the vat paid to

the national budgets, destabilizing economic development processes in the EU.

In Poland and the EU Member States in the structure of tax administration function Central Bureau Liaison (CLO - Central Liaison Office), whose task is the exchange information about VAT taxpayers, their transactions goods and services in the area of intra-Community. This partnership tax administrations of the EU in the field of VAT has been launched on the basis of Council Regulation (EC) No 1798/ 2003 of 27 October 2003 on administrative cooperation in the field of value added tax and repealing Regulation (EEC) No 218/92. On this legal basis, the national tax authorities shall exchange among themselves the relevant information in order to make a correct assessment of VAT. At the same time kept a constant cooperation in identifying VAT payers. In total, the exchange of information on taxpayers VAT takes place at several levels of detail, among others, verification activity - contractors for VAT within the EU on behalf of eligible tax authorities and also individual VAT payers.

Eurofisc and CLOs are important legal and institutional instruments of the EU, which strongly contribute to the pathology of limiting tax fraud carried out by organized criminal groups with the use of mechanisms of VAT. These institutions should not delude itself, will not eliminate fraud in VAT. This is the problem more complex that inter alia has its conditions especially in the national economic system, tax policy, in social and civic respect for the law, in the strength of cultural and ethical attitudes that create fair competition in the business local, national and intra-Community trade.

Some examples of detected crimes bills in respect of VAT for the years 2010 -2012

In 2010, during an inspection at a construction company discloses false invoices recorded in the financial period of seven months totaling more than 7 million zł (On 30 January 2014, the conversion value of the Polish currency in the euro have the following value: 1 euro = 4, 20 zloty).

Tax authorities – based on the graphology expertise - questioned more than 200 signatures on contracts, invoices and cash documents of the company. On suspicion of committing a crime of falsification of documents inspection authority notified the prosecutor's office, which has instituted criminal proceedings. Fiscal control as a result of the findings for the period of seven months spent administrative decisions demanding the return to the state budget for more than 700 thousand zł.

The taxpayer filed a tax return adjustments for the entire period of the announced inspection totaling more than 3.9 million zł. In this situation, the Tax Authority (Tax Authority Office) did not initiate the planned audit.

Also in 2010, one of the Polish fiscal control offices in partnership with several tax administrations of EU Member States has proved the controlled polish economic operator performed an criminal activity involving the creation of fictional documentary traded foreign companies who reported intra-Community acquisition of goods. In fact, this stuff (steel construction) never left the Polish territory and was sold to domestic buyers at lower prices than producer prices. Inspectors of Tax Audit Office calculated that a controlled entity has made in the field of tax fraud in VAT amounting 3.5 million zł.

In 2011, the single taxpayer officially operating as a shoemaker, within one year ushered in the commercial circulation of almost 700 invoices with a value of 18 million zł, which documented the fictitious sale of scrap ferrous metals and scrap steel. Recipients of these invoices deducting VAT indicated in them. Tax audits showed that the textile company that sells scrap - created an network of fictitious related entities scrap recipients, which in fact did not poses any scrap. Fraudulent entrepreneurs originator of "quick business" counted 3.2 million zł in respect of VAT as an asset to settle with the tax office. Also addressed the matter of the prosecution and the police.

In 2011, tax intelligence unit detected an operator who significantly undercutting the declared tax liabilities. It was a company specializing in video filming and photography services, among others, weddings and other family balls and events. On the basis of the evidence the tax interview with the police and under the supervision of the prosecutor's office made a search of the premises of the company and the apartment of the company owner. As a result, secured, inter alia, accounting records of the taxpayer, a contract for services, lists of buyers of services and personal statement of owner's income from various services are quite different from the declared to the tax office.

This evidence and other information, among others, buyers of testimony became the basis for decision-dimensional fiscal control authority. It has been shown that the actual income of the company during the period audited two years amounted to almost 820 thousand zł, instead of the officially declared 210 thousand. zł. The taxpayer decided to make an adjustment in income tax declaration for the amount of more than 185 thousand zł and VAT - 155 thousand zł. This behavior controlled business owner was a total beneficial for him (among others escaped accusations of committing a tax offense and court trial) and also of the national treasury, who regained tax claims.

In 2012, police in the search of the apartment of the person the prosecutor's office for a complaint of criminal extortion found 34 invoices totaling amount 5.6 million zł and a few stamps of different companies operating in one of the provincial cities. In this situation, inspectors Tax Audit Office proceeded to check which allowed to establish that the person within two years issued nearly 100 fraudulent invoices totaling more than 13 million zł. The purpose of the economic circulation of these invoices was to reduce the tax liabilities of their customers. Among the recipients of fictitious invoices were both small companies, as well as an entrepreneur owner of the well-known national chain stores of the clothing industry. Tax audit office carried out in this case ended up finding diminution only VAT in the amount of 3.4 million zł.

In 2012, inspectors internal fiscal control using analytical tools and reports received from foreign entities - VIES singled out 189 actors as "missing trader". Estimated tax avoidance based on the intra-Community acquisitions of goods worth more than 617 million zł. Completed in 2012, the first fiscal controls resulted in the decision issued by tax authorities in the area of VAT, showed the fiscal fraud worth of more than 142 million zł. There have been security for bank accounts worth more than 22 million zł and receivables in the amount of 8 million zł.

Value Added Tax (VAT) in Poland is subject to criminal initiatives in such a scale that it can be called a phenomenon of social pathology. The underlying mechanism of tax fraud involves manipulation in trade fictitious / sometimes to be determined "empty" / invoices supporting economic events / sale of goods, performance of services / which did not actually occurred. Subsequent consequence of such fraud certifying especially intra-commodity exchanges are trying to unauthorized receipt of Tax Office excess input VAT over due.

Bydgoszcz Tax Audit Office in the years 2009 -2010 led the coordinated control of other Tax Audit Office trading in scrap metal and consequently, its activities are disclosed fictitious invoice for the total amount of tax 2 018 956 189, 49 zł. During this time, the other in the course of the Tax Audit Office own checks revealed the fictitious invoices of the gross value of slightly more than 750 million zł. Tax authorities in the province of Silesia / 37 tax offices / have issued administrative decisions showing lowering VAT for payment to the Tax Offices by controlled entities in 2010 - slightly more than 136 280 million zł in 2011 - more than 169 015 million and zł and in 2,012 - 263 265 342 million zł.

Table 4. Arrangements fiscal tax audit office in the years 2010 - 2012

Specification	2010	2011	2012

Number of tax inspections	10 075	9 906	10 158
Amounts indicated by the tax audit required to reimburse to the Treasury	2 109 869 mln zł	2 525 158 mln zł	3 779 547 mln zł
including voluntary correction of the declaration (art.14c Fiscal Control Act)	202 588 mln zł	269 097 mln zł	274 861 mln zł

Source: Sprawozdania kontrola skarbowa za lata 2010, 2011, 2012, MF DKS, www.mf.gov.pl

The scale and mechanisms of fraud in VAT in Poland and the EU

In 2010, offenses relating to the VAT accounted for 46.5% of all financial arrangements laid down in the decisions of audit fiscal control bodies (Tax Audit Office). In 2011, among identified by inspectors fiscal irregularities in the implementation of tax obligations, VAT accounted for 57.6% of the total findings.

Common fraud involving the mechanisms of this tax is to avoid the 23% VAT rate (in Poland) especially aggravating the supply goods and services. Goods or services without a tax liability is offering a very competitive market. In the directory above VAT fraud modus operandi is an instrument of the archaic but still used. On this criminal practice has been operating quite extensive informal economy - including both the gray zone, and simply the black market. Size of the informal economy in Poland is currently estimated at nearly 25% of GDP. Crime is also subject to development processes. You can specify the most commonly used criminal methods to use the mechanisms of tax on goods and services in order to collect funds unknown to the tax authorities and other the institution of law enforcement and national security. The modus operandi of criminal acts in respect of VAT, in principle, consists of:

- registered businesses ("disappearing") on the basis of stolen identity documents or assumed at a homeless person, unemployed, persons currently makes a penalty of imprisonment or a foreigner;
- falsification of invoices or undocumented trade in goods and services:
- preparation of the Company to execute fraudulent role "carousel" entity simulating procedure for intra-Community supply of goods (ICT) and the intra-Community acquisition of goods (ICA);

 change of address business by signing up usually in large agglomerations in Poland or sale of such company "carousel" after the completion of tax fraud, among others, Ukraine, Belarus and further east to the end of the "disappeared" from the Polish register of the National Court Register (KRS).

These data indicate that the VAT procedure, especially in intra-Community trade is a great temptation to take the risk of crime, not only in Poland. The dynamics and scale of the mechanisms of VAT in Poland, places us at the forefront of EU countries affected by this pathology. The sum of VAT fraud in the EU is estimated at about 250 billion euros annually. In contrast, the value of financial fraud committed by the mechanisms of VAT in Poland is estimated at 4-6 billion zł. The sum of these measures generated by organized criminal groups and also individual operators in the procedure of fraud made only to the obligations of VAT operates outside the knowledge and control of the authorities and services responsible for ensuring the stability, transparency, and economic and social development of the Polish state.

So huge pathology in the area of taxation not only eliminate the repressive actions fiscal control authorities and police. Procedure of fraudly reimbursement VAT is relatively easy and difficult at the same time to the early detection and proving by the tax authorities (Tax Offices). Most effective in detecting and eliminating this crime are the tax authorities (Tax Audit Offices), which supports the institution of tax intelligence entitled to use classified operational activities. The elimination of this pathological situation in Poland and also in the EU requires systemic reactions, legislative and institutional. EU for a long time take legislative and other preventive measures to strengthen the functioning of the system tightness of VAT.

The design of the tax gives the operator the ability to return the surplus for the settlement period. Such a procedure of VAT when legal and social normality is a mechanism supporting active traders and loyal to the tax authorities (especially small and medium-sized companies). Large foreign companies operating in Poland involved in business interests at international and global in principle not "fall" in this, in fact, primitive method of tax evasion.

Transnational corporations have the ability to reach a favorable conclusion for themselves contract with the State on whose territory undertake economic activities. They can also in the country's own business interests to create legal mechanisms such as legal, tax optimization for the purpose of financial gain and other powers to strengthen their own public and privileged positions. In Poland, however, we have examples of local capital companies associated with global corporations, it's run by young,

Polish "capitalists" of the native mentality quickly earn "cash" from the taxing authorities through the mechanism of "carousel" VAT crime.

Then sometimes begin to Polish officials "problems" inherent in our national mentality shimmering attitudes dependence! Sometimes in the decision-making levels such dilemmas arise - whether it falls inform a great friend of the creation of a political entity by the criminal situation in the financial detriment of our country if we insist on adequate information about the actual trade flows, technical data and trade of goods sold? For global owner and other international business tycoons such a situation the company cheated Polish tax authorities does not in their business almost no losses... After a time, but usually do not react as we do in their mentality perceptions expect! A look from the " global " economic giants is different: a Polish state treasury and its legal instruments and organization should effectively protect their own interests.

Criminalization of tax offenses and crimes in Poland

Crimes and tax offences in Polish criminal law fall into one of five categories. The statutory scheme of the Fiscal Criminal Code above category of offenses against tax obligations and clearing from grants or subsidies is placed in the first place and includes the largest catalog of penalties defined as criminal offenses in the amount of 32 activities (U Section II Chapter 6 Fiscal offenses and offenses against tax obligations and to account for subsidies or grants. The Act of 10 September 1999 Penal Code).

This directory includes the following offenses against tax obligations including:

- avoidance of tax liability,
- concealing their own business, or its size,
- tax fraud as provide false or concealment of the truth in the information submitted to taxation authority by which the tax were exposed to depletion,
- not to engage in, not to keep, unreliable financial bookkeeping,
- not issuing, unreliable issue or the use of untruths certifying invoices; accounts, sales management skip the cash register,
- misrepresentation of the tax authority,
- illegal production of wine, alcohol, lack of marking with excise stamps,
- counterfeiting or forging stamps,
- failure to present false tax information,
- disrupt or obstruction of a tax audit.

For committing a crime as a criminal tax prohibited by the Penal Code Revenue (KKS) the perpetrator liable to the penalties in the form of punishment:

- fine.
- restriction of liberty,
- imprisonment.

Polish Fiscal Criminal Code for tax offenses (and others for example customs) provides for a fine system daily rates ranging from 10 to 720 (in the procedure extraordinary restrictions - 1080 rates - Value 1 rate is 1/30 the minimum monthly wage be fixed almost every year. In 2014 the minimum monthly salary is 1680 zł. Thus, one value rate is 56 zł) the penalty of restriction of liberty rules in size from 1 month to 12 months (in the procedure extraordinary restrictions for 18 months). Deprivation of liberty is judged from 5 days to 5 years. Extremely stringent punishment of imprisonment may be up to 10 years, but judged in terms of the total penalty of up to 15 years.

This code (Fiscal Criminal Code) provides other penal measures, such as:

- voluntary submission to the perpetrator of responsibility,
- forfeiture of financial benefits.
- the prohibition of an economic activity, a specific occupation (eg, tax advisor, accountant) or occupy certain positions (eg, CEO, proxy),
- provide a judgment to the public,
- conditional discontinuance of criminal proceedings,
- conditional suspension of the execution of the sentence,
- conditional release from serving a sentence.

Polish Fiscal Criminal Code allows the perpetrator of an offense of evading punishment for a crime or misdemeanor tax, in the case of notification to the authority responsible for prosecuting crime, disclose the relevant circumstances of the act, in particular people interacting in its commission (Article 16 § 1 Kks) this provision does not apply to the perpetrator, who conducted the act prohibited by law, organized criminal group or induce other persons to commit a tax offense.

Polish taxpayer, the owner of the business activity is able to make so called correct declaration within 7 days of delivery of the notice fiscal control office of its intention to initiate a tax audit in the company. The legislator gives a second chance so but after completion of the inspection. Then the prescribed regulations within 7 days for hearing the taxpayer with the findings of inspectors may settle obligations to the Treasury described and justified in the inspection. Such amendment of the tax

return, both described situations does not cause further legal consequences for the owner of the company (Article 14c. 1 of the Act on Fiscal Control).

In Poland, there are other specialized structure of the tax administration, which include a 400 tax offices. The statutory task is to secure the tax collection and implementation of tax control. Similar power to correct declaration shall taxpayers controlled by tax office workers but at the end of their tax audit or tax proceeding. Correction filed in these cases, no legal effect. These procedures are governed by a different law.

Criminal law has also sanctioning instruments allowing for the fight against crime and pathology in the areas of - among others - tax liabilities, the financial and economic turnover. Organized criminal groups engaged in fraud in the VAT and excise very often falsify documents, fraudulently mislead officials of the tax administration and customs, etc. Criminal law for this kind of offense against the credibility of the documents impose severe sanctions. In Poland, during the 25 years of social transformation and economic criminal law soon developed in the area of criminal law economic growth. Almost every year, the legislature introduced a further amendments to the criminal law tax. In practice, the Fiscal Penal Code is an essential instrument of economic criminal law. In fact Fiscal Penal Code defines offenses as crimes against the tax provisions and, which threaten the interests of the tax:

- Polish central government;
- Local authorities:
- European Union.

The Minister of Finance (acting as a tax administration, fiscal control and customs head) that are legally responsible for protecting the interests of the above- mentioned particular tax and financial authorities.

The summary

The mechanism advanced fraud in respect of VAT is based on the socalled missing taxpayer and the company receiving an intermediary "buffer" in the run by the organizers of the carousel. Such trading operations carried out in intra-Community trade. Fraud usually starts "missing trader-company" having the task to market the commercial invoice, which usually does not reflect the actual economic events ("blank invoice").

Further rotation of such goods or services mostly fictional, perform intermediaries ("buffers"), most of the participants are aware of the fraud. In such a criminal activity in "carousel" cycle circulate "blank invoice" that in the next stages of the operation are exposed to more "business pillars" or even long-term "entities sleepers" was held for a commercial transaction

and generate sometimes one, two invoices. For the organizers of such fraud is an important factor in the operation, and its camouflage, to "carusel" non-existent trade events on maximum wide territorial and further away from their place of operation.

The most important is to secure of the acquisition of all or part repayment of input tax from tax authorizes by company or companies in the organized "carousel" criminal group. Such a scheme is already specialized methods in the field of tax evasion. These methods are constantly being improved. Difficult to detect is an advanced form of carousel fraud, sometimes referred to "trade opposite." In this generalization is that the same operator performs two roles-loyal taxpayer and fair company and the second role, opposite, the organizer of "carousel" fraud

Economic crime, especially causing tax crime generates threat not only to the income of the state and local governments. This type of crime activates pathologies such a gray zone, undeclared work, creates corrupt behavior. Owners of illegal funds collected from the tax fraud and other criminal activities, at some point they are looking for ways to legalize the official trading and investment banking. In such a situation, efforts are leading to another type of crime - money laundering. Circulation in the public sphere unknown financial resources as to their source and the capital value always generates negative, disintegrating the social, economic and political. Tax crime fastest suppresses honest business competition, soon leads to decomposition of business processes and as a result the final slows the growth of civilization of society and the state.

The authors of this publication express their hope that the scale and mechanisms of crime in respect of VAT in Poland and the EU will strengthen readers' reflections on the risks they generate tax fraud for our individual and social development. This is a difficult problem, because none of us is a lover of his own tax burden, which is imposed on us set by the national legislature and indirectly the EU. But we all want to enjoy and benefit from the development of civilization of our place of residence, country and Europe.

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PIOTR ZALEWSKI

SUICIDE IN POLISH POLICE FORCE IN BETWEEN 2008-2012

Introduction

Every case of suicide is a sad occurrence and brings suffering and sadness to the closest family, who often are left with burning questions and remorse that in a dramatic situation they didn't do everything they could to help. Amongst those people who want to help are policemen. Basic official duties of policemen is providing security of life, health and safety of other people that's why every information about supposed suicide attempt is treated very seriously and policemen take action to try to rescue or find the person who informed about their suicide attempt. Unfortunately the problem of committing suicide also affects policemen and police workers, who because of many reasons try to take their life or succeed to do it every year.

Suicide - definition

Suicide phenomenon since ages interested philosophers, sociologist, doctors and even artists. Because of its complex character suicide became a topic of interest and analysis of many science areas like theology, ethics, philosophy, sociology, medicine, psychology, pedagogy and others. Since 1999 World Health Organization (WHO) recognized the importance of this problem and started worldwide suicide prevention program called SUPRE. ²²

In scientific reflection there were many tries to define the suicide phenomenon.E. Durkheim in his book "Le suicide" stated what follows: "...the term suicide is applied to all cases of death resulting directly or indirectly from a positive or negative act of the victim himself, which he knows will produce this result" (Hołyst, 2002, p. 33).

According to Durkheim we can distinguish between four subtypes of suicide:

- Egoistic main reason of taking action is personal reasons, problems from which the victim tries to escape;
- Altruistic suicide attempt is taken mainly to improve other people lives;

²² Under the SUPRE Project WHO made series of informational leaflets touching the subject of suicide addressed to different social groups:

http://www.who.int/mental health/prevention/suicide/supresuicideprevent/en/

- Anomic reflects an individual's moral confusion and lack of social direction:
- Fatalistic strong fear of bad events happening in the near future, death vision because of a desease.

According to WHO, in definition from 1986 "Suicide is an act with a fatal outcome which the deceased, knowing or expecting a fatal outcome had initiated and carried out with the purpose of provoking the changes he desired" (Hołyst, 2002, p. 34).

The word suicide in polish dictionary derivates from Latin *suicidium*, from *sui caedere*, "to kill oneself" which means the act of intentionally causing one's own death, caused by identity crisis with the meaning of ending extremely discomforting life style (Gawda, 1997, p. 116).

Suicides in Poland

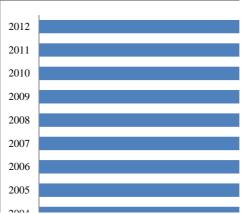
The police statistics show that Poland is among the countries that in recent years, experiencing an increase in suicides, and the scale of the problem shows that suicide among children, adolescents and adults have become a serious social problem.²³ According to Police Headquarters in Poland's statistic²⁴ each year several thousand people - men and women of all ages, attempt suicide, often fatal. Data on the total number of completed suicides deaths from 1998 to 2012, in Poland, are presented in the following graph.

As you can see in the chart above the total number of suicides in Poland in 1998 amounted to more than 5500, to grow steadily in the following years until 2006 and decline between the range 4000 to 5000 of suicide deaths each year. A much smaller number of suicides, for over 3500 was recorded by the police in 2007, but in subsequent years the number of such incidents steadily increased to a peak in 2009, when there were more than 4300 cases of suicide. In 2010 and 2011, this in turn decrease the number of suicides that in 2012 the number of suicides in the Polish society has grown to 4177, an increase compared to the year 2011 by almost 9%.

²³ In 1989 WHO recorded the highest rates of suicides In: Hungary (92/100 thousand), Austria (58), Denmark (56), Finland (54), France (46), Japan (43), RFN (39), Czechoslovakia (38), Sweden (36), Bulgaria (33). The lowest rates were recorded in Kuwait (2), Greece (8), Portugal (19), Uruguay (19), Holland (23), Australia (23), Poland (26) suicides per 100 thousand citizens. (WHO Death and Suicide Rate 1990, WHO). http://www.who.int/mental_health/prevention/suicide/supresuicideprevent/en/

²⁴ Data on the total number of suicides in Poland come from the police statistical systems and refer to those cases reported to the police. The data published on the website http://www.statystyka.policja.pl/portal/st/954/.

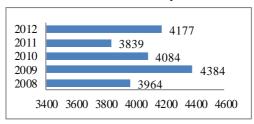
Graph No. 1. The suicide rate in Poland in the years 1998-2012.



Source: National Police Headquarters, http://www.statystyka.policja.pl/portal/st/954/

Suicides in Polish society in 2008-2012

Graph No. 2. The suicide rate in Poland in the years 2008-2012.



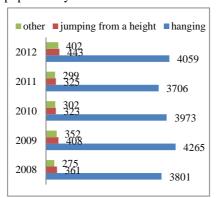
Source: National Police Headquarters.

Returning to the analysis of data on the number of completed suicide deaths committed in Polish society a quantitative analysis of the data were included in the statistics over the five years that is from 1998 to 2012. These data are shown in the graph.²⁵

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²⁵ These figures relate to suicide, which resulted in death. According to the police in 2008 reported 1273 suicide attempts, 1529 suicide attempts in 2009, 1,369 suicide attempts in 2010, 1285 attempted suicide in 2011 and 1614 suicide attempts in 2012 reported, where people were rescued or dissuaded from suicide. More details http://www.statystyka.policja.pl/portal/st/954/.

The data presented in the graph above shows that in 2008, police reported 3,964 cases of suicide, of which 631 victims were women. In 2009, such cases have been reported 4384 times, of which 645 women were victims. In 2010 and 2011, a systematic decrease in suicides, respectively 4084 including 570 women and 3839 - including 545 women. Reports shows almost 9% increase in the number of suicides reported in 2012, where as a result of suicide 4177 people lost their life, 608 of whom were women.



Graph No. 3. Most popular way to commit suicide in 2008-2012.

Source: National Police Headquarters, GREEN: other BLUE: hanging RED: jumping from a height

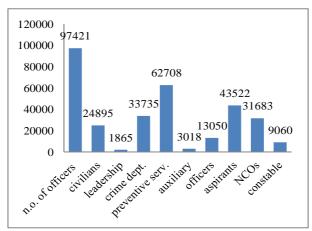
Over the past five years the most common way to take one's own life was hanging themselves. In the five years analyzed suicide in this way 19 804 people have committed a total of 23 294 suicides.

Suicides in the Polish Police

Polish Police was established in 1990 and the basis of its operation is based on the provisions of the Police Act. According to information provided by the Police Headquarters until day 1.01.2012, in the Police service acted 97421 officers and 24 895 civilian employees. Employment by type of police service: leadership – 1865 people, in criminal dept. - 33735, preventive service - 62708, auxiliary service - 3018 policemen. 13050 policemen are officers, 43552 aspirants, 31683 non-commissioned officers (a sergeant, senior sergeant, staff sergeant), 9060 constables (National Police Headquarters http://www.statystyka.policja.pl/portal/st/954/). These data, together with a breakdown on the number of police officers in each age category and the

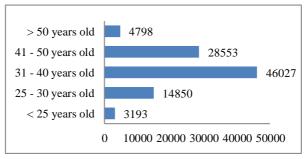
distribution of the length of service in the Police present in the following graphs.

Graph No. 4. Number of officers / civilian personnel employed by the Police until the date of 01.01.2012, including a breakdown of the number of police officers in each shell.



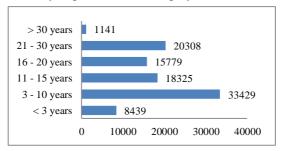
Source: National Police Headquarters // from left: no. of officers, civilians, leadership, crime dept., preventive service, auxiliary, officers, aspirants, NCOs, constable

Graph No. 5. Age of police officers employed until the day 01.01.2012.



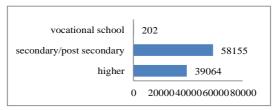
Source: National Police Headquarters

Graph No. 6. Seniority of police officers employed until the date of



Source: National Police Headquarters

Graph No. 7. Level of officers education employed by the police until the day 01.01.2012.



Source: National Police Headquarters from the top: vocational school, secondary/post-secondary, higher

Number of suicides in the Police in between the 2008-2012

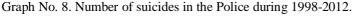
Data on the number of suicide attempts and suicides carried out by officers and civilian employees of the Police, collected and analyzed by police psychologists employed in the 16 Provincial Police Headquarters, Metropolitan Police Headquarters (the Capital City of Warsaw), in police schools and the Police Headquarters.²⁶

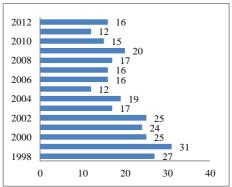
As the data cited above on the total number of suicides undertaken in Poland in the last five years, in the case of suicides in police data analyzed the past five years. These data should be analyzed in relation to the total number of officers and civilian employees of the Police. In this paper, data

attempt made by the officer or civilian employee of the Police.

²⁶ Based on Ordinance No. 428 of the Chief of Police of 17 April 2009 on the forms and methods of performing certain official duties by psychologists serving or employed in the Police, psychologists have an obligation to examine each case of suicide

on the number of officers and civilian employees are given for 01.01.2012, in 2008-2011 the numbers were smaller or larger by several thousand people. According to the data provided by psychologists in 1998 in the Polish Police 27 people committed suicide, in 1993 a record number of 31 people. In subsequent years, the number of suicides in the Police declined steadily, in 2005 recorded 12 cases of suicide.

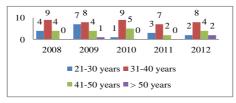




Source: National Police Headquarters.

The data show an increase in the number of suicides in the Police in 2012, maintained a favorable downward trend in 2010 and 2011. Over the last five years in the Police force about 5% of suicides was undertaken by women.²⁷

Graph No. 9. The suicide committed in the Police in 2008-2012 by age of the victims.



Source: National Police Headquarters.

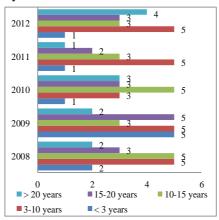
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²⁷ "Analysis of committing suicide in the Police in 2012", Office of Personnel and Training, Police Headquarters, Warsaw 2013, unpublished data, in the author's possession.

Age group with the most suicide attempts in the police environment are thirty-somethings. As the data on the number of officers employed, those aged 31-40 years old, are the largest group among the total number of employees, and therefore statistically the highest percentage of suicides. It is worth noting that in the period under review there were no suicides of a person under 23 years of age. 28

Trends in suicide in the Police force in different age groups differ significantly from the data regarding the age of the victims of suicide in the general population, the largest group of Polish people engaged in suicide are aged 50 to 60 years of age.²⁹

Graph No. 10 The suicide made in the Police force in the years 2008-2012 according to seniority of service / work in the Police.



Source: National Police Headquarters.

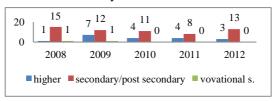
Group where you can see the most cases of suicide, are officers employed or working in the Police from 3 to 10 years. As in the case of persons aged 31-40 years, this is the most numerous group of employees in the Police.

Analyzing cases of suicide in the police environment should pay attention to the education of those who commit suicide.

²⁸ A person who is at least 18 years of age can join the Police force.

²⁹ Data from Police Headquarters, more details http://www.statystyka.policja.pl/portal/st/954/,

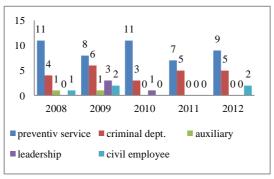
Graph No. 11 The suicide made by the Policemen in 2008-2012 by education



Source: National Police Headquarters.

The most numerous among employees in the Police, are those with a secondary education, and despite the increase in the number of people with higher education, we can see continued stable trends in this area.³⁰ Similarly, the constant trend, due to the fact that the groups are most strongly represented in the Police, observed five-year data from a study of suicides by employees in different departments and the Police Corps.

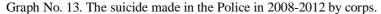
Graph No. 12. The suicide made in the Police in 2008-2012 by type / position of service.

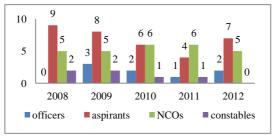


Source: National Police Headquarters // BLUE: preventive service, GREEN: auxiliary, TURQUISE: civil employee, RED: criminal dept., PURPLE: leadership

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³⁰ The basic requirement for a candidate to the Police force is the need of having secondary education. Officers holding vocational training in the Police were hired before 1990.



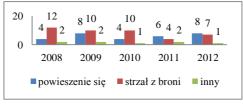


Source: National Police Headquarters // BLUE: officers, RED: aspirants, GREEN: NCOs, PURPLE: constables

The largest number of suicides applies to employees in the service of prevention and crime, and committed them to aspirant officers and non-commissioned officers.

The most common way of taking their own life in a police environment include "shooting themselves" with the firearm that each officer is equipped. Subsequently, police officers commit suicide by hanging themselves and in other ways. Selecting the way to commit suicide by shooting themselves comes from ease of access to weapons by officers and the effectiveness of this method. Relatively stable tendency to suicide by a shot from the issued weapons, which clearly draws in years 2008-2009-2010, subsides to hanging themselves over the years 2011-2012. In the entire population of Poland hanging themselves is the most common way to take ones own life, and this trend appears in recent years in the police environment.

Graph No. 14 The suicide made within the Police in the years 2008-2012 according to the method

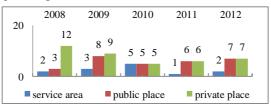


Source: National Police Headquarters // BLUE: hanging, RED: shooting themselves, GREEN: other

The officers and civilian police employees choose to perform suicide in a private place - apartment, storage room, basement and in public places.

Least suicide takes place in service areas. These certain proportion of suicides correlate with the preferred way by the victim to suicide. In the public service area police officers take their own life by shooting themselves with service weapon.

Graph No. 15 The suicide committed within the Police in the years 2008-2012 according to the place of action.



Source: National Police Headquarters // BLUE: service area RED: public place.

Based on the data obtained by the police psychologists who analyzed every case of suicide and attempted suicide in the Police, themes, suicide attempts and committing suicide can be divided into four groups:

- A difficult personal situation family problems, financial difficulties, loneliness, other reasons;
- Difficult employment situation due to the work overload, conflicts with colleagues, superiors, ongoing disciplinary action or criminal proceedings;
- Difficult health situation somatic disease, alcohol dependence or alcohol abuse, depression and mental disorders;
- "Personality factors" personality disorders, aggression, low selfesteem.

Psychologists point out that in the given case of suicide than half of suicide were undertaken by people experiencing marital difficulties in relationships or in relation to informal and held at the time of suicide under the influence of alcohol or other drugs.³¹

The need for prevention of suicide

Psychological care of the officers and employees of the police, pursued by police psychologists, aims to reduce the incidence of committing

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³¹ "Analysis of committing suicide in the Police in 2012", Office of Personnel and Training, Police Headquarters, Warsaw 2013, unpublished data, in the author's possession.

suicide. One of the main directions of activities of psychologists is to help by systematically implemented:

- Psychological interventions in the event of presuicidal behavior (eg, threats of suicide, suicidal thoughts spoken);
- Crisis intervention in the event of a situation that could lead to the development of psychological crisis.

Another important direction of providing counseling, psychotherapy, consultation, and psycho-education aimed at the development of interpersonal skills, stress management, healthy development of appropriate attitudes and skills to build the right relationship with the environment.

Police officers and civilian police employees can use the general public access to counseling centers and psychiatric or by NGOs helplines.

Conclusion

The need for proper psychological care and to build an early diagnosis of the first signs of the impending psychological crisis is especially important in a police environment, as well as among the soldiers and representatives of other uniformed services who, because of their profession are exposed to particularly heavy and stressful working conditions.

In recognition of the psychological symptoms of the crisis and the first signs of a possible suicide threat environment in which the person is serving plays an important role. The sensitivity and vigilance of colleagues and line managers is important for identification of the hazards and to signal the need to help a person in crisis. This assistance may rely on referral to a psychologist, or a change in the workplace, as well as in solving problems that are the cause of the collapse of a police officer.

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http://www.isp.policja.pl/portal/isp/83/601/Zarzadzenie_Nr_428.html.

URSZULA ORDON, AGNIESZKA KATARZYNA GEBORA

USING MODERN TECHNOLOGIES IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING AT PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Computers, multimedia boards, slide projectors, laptop computers etc. used in the education of children are the valuable, helpful tools in getting the information and developing their abilities. They let for connecting the education with fun, raise the motivation for the education, making the learning and remembering easier. This need gains the special significance in the situation of the substantial reduction of the age of beginning the foreign language learning by children, what I. Jaros notices (2009) takes place already on the level of pre-school and early-school education.

'This education refers to the special flexibility of the child mentality at this age. An early-school period is a time of forming of the educational success of the child, his future social rank, motivation for the learning and the difficult art of choice of the value, as a result of pupils start functioning in the real outside world' (Karbowniczek, 2012, p. 7).

The significance of information-telecommunications technologies in the process of the foreign language teaching

New Information-telecommunications technologies (in short TIK, from eng. ICT - Information and Communications Technologies) constitute the inherent element of today's reality. Their universal application in almost every field of the life influences the forming of modern society, changes the way in which people communicate, spend their free time, obtain information, and consequently, also study. A modern educational system must include changes and adapt to new conditions.

Many educational institutions use computer tools in their routine work. A process of the digitization of Polish schools and other educational institutions have taken place for a few years. Because of that an important component of preparing future teachers to the work at schools is an ability of creative using computer tools in the teaching.

According to the regulation of Ministry of National Education from 27 August 2012 on the syllabus of the preschool education and the general education in individual types of schools in recommended conditions and means of implementation we read: 'Preparing pupils for living in information society is an important task of the primary school. Teachers should

create for pupils conditions for the acquisition of skills of searching, organising and the usage of information from various sources, with applying information-communication technologies, on classes in different subjects' (http://sejmometr.pl/prawo/126205).

Computers, multimedia boards, slide projectors, laptop computers used in the education of children are the valuable, helpful tools in getting the information and developing their abilities. You should direct the attention to the particular role in the foreign language teaching. It is not possible to learn a foreign language without the own work, without effort that is why the most important aspect in teaching at the first and second educational level is not to discourage the child from the foreign languages education. The teacher always has to choose what is more crucial to supply pupils in possibly extensive knowledge or to concentrate on positive emotions.

It is obvious that in today's reality, in which the school is noticed as the institution performing educational services but at the same time it is important what service level offers, these two elements cannot exclude each other. In the process of teaching the teacher should work on not only the intellect of the pupil, but also his will. And so the lessons must be prepared in the professional and attractive way, in the good atmosphere supporting freeing of positive emotions.

The conducted research attracts its attention to the fact that the process of remembering is most effective, when material is being linked to emotions. Of course also emotional competence of the teacher is significant. Educating them is necessary among persons who perform the work requiring the patience, the commitment, the time and understanding other people. And so they are of special importance for persons who work in the widely understood sector of the education. Our schools concentrate mainly on intellectual abilities of pupils. The meaning of the emotional intelligence is quite rarely noticed. School syllabuses are quite often reloaded, and emotional abilities are treated only slightly. Emotional needs of pupils are quite often not-noticed by teachers, because of the lack of time, or the lack of the adequate knowledge or the skills. And after all the knowledge of the issues associated with the emotional intelligence is the key to success. Therefore one should put emphasis to positive emotions and adding variety to school classes particularly among small children. Using modern technologies in the educational process allows for raising the effectiveness of teaching didactic contents and for making the lessons more attractive.

Using computer programs in the foreign language teaching

The discussion on the application of computers in the process of teaching has taken place for many years. General didactics creates the theories of the application of computers in the education. 'The concept of multi-lateral education' of Wincenty Okoń (1976) is thought to be its base. In spite of the passing time still rations of supporters and opponents of exploiting them at the work of the teacher are worn away. Supporters are in favour of making them with the main tool of the education while opponents are in favour of determined limiting using them in the teaching process. The reason tells to work this position out. 'The Computer as the polysensory tool has an influence on different senses - eyesight, hearing, touch, (...) it is worthwhile adding that over the 80% of information the man reaches through the optic canal, 11 % through the hearing, 3.5 % through the touch.' (Bednarek, 2008, p. 237).

It's a well-known fact that the more senses we involve in the process of teaching the more effects we will get. The borders of usefulnesses of computers result from making aware of their tool meaning. Czesław Kupisiewicz (1973) induces to the look on through the prism of teaching tools. He determines them with name 'of objects which they deliver to pupils determined sense stimuli acting for their eyesight, hearing, touch, etc, facilitating direct and indirect getting to know reality.'

Everyone who deals with children knows that children like playing and working with using computers very much. So why not to use it? It's a well-known fact that our pupils are often better at the operation of the computer than adults, also teachers. A generation of our pupils is a generation of the screen. Pre-school children in a very short time are already able to learn how to start the computer, to use the mouse and the keyboard. The computer can teach and entertain at the same time. Everything depends on the selection of appropriate computer programmes.

At present there are a lot of different computer programs meant for the foreign languages learning available. If we ask the pupil and the teacher what computer programs they would like to use during their lessons certainly we will obtain the identical reply - multimedia. Because this expression contains attraction of the program in itself as well as it is identified with its best quality. Multimedia computer programs are exceeding traditional aids in terms of attraction and the effectiveness because they combine the image, sound and force the recipient to the activity.

According to Ewa Jare (2002) computer games should be a basic type of teaching programs intended for small children. We cannot separate the learning from the fun. According to the author 'a relation between cognitive and emotional processes in the learning exists. Making the pupil be interested in the curious exercises influences on the concentration of the attention, faster remembering and the development of the thinking'.

Interesting exercises trigger positive emotions. Educational programmes as a form of the computer presentation of the knowledge and an edutainment were recommended to older children. In the second ones the activity of the pupil is exploited carrying the teaching out method problem 'finding the appropriate solution activates the creative thinking and starts a lot of different fields of knowledge in individual sources of the pupil' (Lubina, 2005, p. 72).

Applying modern technologies but especially for the foreign language teaching in the west countries took place already in seventies of the previous century. Frequent reruns of material help acquire the vocabulary and also grammatical structures. 'The computer is a perfect tool for such a practice, because the machine is not bored repeating the same material, simultaneously all the time assessing abilities purchased by pupils.' The computer is also a very patient 'teacher'. The learning becomes easily assimilable and stress-free. The computer does not give marks, although it is very requiring, consistent and incorruptible. It immediately reacts if the pupil has made a mistake. In all computer programs, illustrating functions communications, only a computer "knows" a right answer, however that is the pupil who decides on choice of the right answer.

The pupil controls the course of the learning and cooperates with the computer. The programs connected with practical using of the language can be used for holding a conversation or exercises in writing using Word processor. The most advantageous for the pupil is a multimedia technology, for example CD-ROM. It lets for using all media sorts: text, voice, animation, graphics, video, in the personal computer of everyone trainee.

'The situational context is created, virtual life similar to real one, in this way the teaching gains natural character of the participation. The pupil simultaneously listens, watches and answers. (...) This method integrates the learning of different language skills, because the diversity of media combines in a natural way the reading, writing, saying and listening in the same act.' (Pachocińska, 2002, p. 12).

During the work on the language supported with computers one should take available specifications into account, fitting methods of the work to the level of the language knowledge and the degree of the pupil autonomy. If we take these factors into account at our work new technologies will certainly add variety to classes and will break the prevailing tradition of the school routine.

'Using computers during lessons increases the effectiveness of teachers action and ensures the maximum individuation of the teaching. Every pupil can work at his personal pace and on the level appropriate for him.' The fact deserving to be underlined is that the work

with the computer engages even these children who usually gain poor results in the learning. During that time they become daring, gaining the self-confidence and equally willingly, as the rest pupils, are involved in a lesson. It is possible by applying the individuation of the teaching both in terms of the pace, working hours, as well as the level of performed exercises. The teacher has to register the pupil work, the fact that is essential he can check at any time what and in what way a pupil has done (Szuba, 2002).

The method of using computer programs for the foreign languages teaching was also criticized. It was said that the quality of available programs is too low. Software designers working for trading companies very often do not have an adequate knowledge and pedagogic abilities. Unfortrunately good computer programs prepared by specialist staffs are very expensive. However the biggest problem was, that contemporary computers are not intelligent enough in order to carry the interactive function out in the teaching in a correct way. Programs are not simultaneously able to correct mistakes of the pupil in the pronunciation, of syntax or in the assortment of lexical material. It results from the fact that computer programs are equipped with too low artificial intelligence (Bednarek, 2008, p. 239).

Possibilities of using the Internet in the foreign language teaching

Preparing the pupil for using the language in natural conditions is one of main purposes of the teacher of every foreign language. The Internet is one of places of natural using English and other languages to the communication between people of all different nations. So the foreign language teacher is responsible for the huge task. Because he aspires for equipping the pupil with linguistic, communications and intercultural competence. With his or her work he or she contributes to the forming of his media competence and the ability of the learning through the entire life and prepares the pupil to living in the international community.

Therefore, if only he has such a technical possibility, he should develop in his pupils competence necessary to apply modern forms of the intercommunication and the cooperation. Using the Internet during classes at the lesson of a foreign language causes very good effects. Teachers, how the surveys show, at their work very often use websites, containing tests and exercises of grammar and lexical structures on line. Pupils directly after performing exercises can check the correctness of their replies. In case of made mistakes on-screen an appropriate version appears. Pupils like working in this way, without stress they watch their mistakes which are a usual phenomenon in the learning process.

The teacher who will decide to support his lessons with materials from the Internet, has at his disposal a whole range of linguistic tests, audio recordings, film sequences, games and linguistic games, the photographs, graphs and maps. It is also possible to use different information websites of different cities for example an offer of both cinemas and theatres, news bulletins and buses and trains timetables. Possibilities are here limitless. At the beginning it is worthwhile using websites recommended and checked by other teachers and only later seek independently attractive websites. It is worthwhile knowing that many websites created for the educational purposes exist, recommended even by authors of textbooks for the foreign language learning.

Among older pupils using the Internet, which the unlimited access enables to foreign-language texts and users of these languages, e.g. via the email is outweighing.

'The greatest benefit in the foreign language teaching through the Internet is possibility to talk. Internet conversations enable the realization of the social function of the language. (...) these conversations can more strongly than the traditional teaching encourage pupils to get to know grammar and the extension vocabularies in order to give one's opinion brightly and precisely, intelligibly for one's foreign interviewed persons.' (Pachocińska, 2002, p. 13).

Websites, discussion groups and the electronic mail, which is a very fast means of transport, are used widely in practical implementation of the teaching work on the language. The electronic mail can be used both to contacts between pupils, and between the teacher and pupils. Using resources of the network pupils learn to seek information to the determined subject, to use search engines, to select the information and to determine criteria of their choice. Apart from that they have a possibility of planning own information websites, preparing the foreign-language version the already existing school website, the implementation of projects with foreign partners and own presentations of views and the opinion in discussions panels.

Teaching in the network environment requires using didactic means adapted to the work on the Internet. Multimedia, interactive educational programmes are the valuable support at the work of the teacher as well as let the user to independent controlling its progress in learning and doing exercises, results of which are systematically verified. They let for connecting the education with fun, they raise motivation for the research, making the learning and remembering easier.

In using Internet resources the pupil cannot be left without anyone's help only to his own intuition. The teacher must demonstrate great media competence deciding on the selection and the quality of materials used during lessons. Because the Internet has two faces, some people call it a large dump

whereas others consider it is full of valuable materials, as the source of precious educational materials. The forming of the ability of choice and the criticism of found material, are becoming challenging for the linguistic education (Bednarek, 2008, p. 242).

Interactive boards and the e-learning in the foreign language teaching

An interactive board is an element supporting the process of the presentation of contents, which it does not matter in which technology it is made lets make presentation more dynamic and attractive. Interactive boards are very popular in Great Britain, USA, as well as in Europe. What exceptional are there in them? In appearance they resemble ordinary boards, which are in every school class, lecture theatre or a conference room but thanks to the possibility of the join of teachers and pupils action one interactive board can sometimes replace a computer room. The interactive board has functions which other means do not have at their disposal (even a computer conjugated with the multimedia projector), e.g. loading notes from the board into the computer memory, performing films with the possibility of carrying notes out directly at isolated scenes, the work appliqued computer on the surface of the board. It enables all the application accessible to the option of the work with the written and said text - a possibility of writing, converting the text into the computer font, listening to recordings, sounds, as well as using the gallery, interactive using of websites, or also using the special software, e.g. of digital textbook. Using mentioned conveniences this modern teaching aid helps the join of the traditional lecture with the presentation of multimedia materials which a teacher has at his disposal (Gulińska, Bartoszewicz, Salamońska, 2006, p. 167).

At present a lot of interactive boards are used on the Polish market among others InterWrite MeetingBoard of the GTCOCalcom company, Walk and Talk or Webster by Polyvision and StarBoard by Hitachi. Irrespective of the principles of operation of mentioned boards, they use the same technologies of the same quality. Interactive boards communicate with the computer using for connecting the infrared technology or Bluetooth technology which are standards at present. Choosing the interactive board a particular attention should be focused on the possibility of putting it in on a few computers, what enables creating files on a board on more than one computer and the interaction with other interactive boards. The interactive board gives the widest spectrum of educational possibilities, what can find application in many fields – e.g. in the learning, trainings, at presentations, in the remote education, during the teleconference (Gulińska, Bartoszewicz, Salamońska, 2006, p. 168).

Traditional methods of teaching are more and more often supplemented by remote education (eng. e-learning) where lessons, lectures or workshops were moved to the environment of the Internet. On the basis of trainings from a distance a mixed teaching occurred (eng. blended learning), that is complementary teaching, connecting elements of e-learning and traditional didactics. These methods can use the transmission of the voice and the image via computer networks, allowing among others for the running of teleconference in the individual or group framework of classes. This one method is marked by a great effectiveness, because it lets to the flexible way of building training including targets, the subject matter and the specificity as well as the group of participants. The virtue of B-learning is a possibility of applying remote as well as direct forms of the pupils mobilization and the joint on-line work of the teacher and pupils.

Blended learning becomes, in the world and in Poland, more and more popular form of learning, also foreign languages learning. In the USA blended learning gradually becomes a basic method applied on the level of the higher education. In Poland it is still a new method which is difficult to adopt in the primary school conditions. However the permanent development of the technology and its applying in the education causes increasing an interest in these issues, and the number of institutions, schools and colleges implementing the complementary education systematically grows.

Conclusion

The effective education is out of the question without employing new technologies. Using computers, interactive boards, multimedia players, projectors during the lesson is today's need. The contemporary pupil uses the computer, the Internet, the mobile phone and other modern technology tools every day. He is used to fast, multichannel and multimedia recruiting of information. The main target of multimedia foreign language teaching at the school, should be a good training of young people for acquiring further language skills and the knowledge about world in the global information society.

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MARCIN JAROSZEK

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING IN POLAND: AN ACKNOWLEDGED SUCCESS OR PURE SCIENCE FICTION

Introduction

Nearly a quarter of a century ago, Poland began to undergo radical changes in English language teaching. After a long period of centralized curricular regulations, English was finally recognized as the *lingua franca* of international communication and was introduced to Poland's schools as a compulsory subject wherever possible, at both primary and secondary levels. In 1999, the next stage of educational reform only strengthened English's place within Foreign Language education. The number of compulsory contact hours in elementary schools radically increased and English began to be taught often as early as the initial stages of primary education. As a result, high school graduates now generally leave their schools with at least nine years of foreign language learning experience.

This could indeed fuel the optimism of many that today's youth do demonstrate high levels of English proficiency. Yet it is a daily observation that foreign language instruction in Poland's schools may, in fact, fail to meet these expectations. In many cases, effective English language teaching may still be, as it seems, a remote possibility or even pure science fiction. This article examines this thesis and discusses the current shape of English language teaching as implemented in Poland's educational system, with a particular emphasis placed on the analysis of the binding curricular regulations, prevalent approaches to foreign language education, and actual classroom practices. It also attempts to find a remedy for the problems indicated, the implementation of which could in fact consolidate ELT accomplishments in ELT in Poland.

It should be noted that the basic intention of this discussion is to illuminate the teaching of English as a Foreign Language in Poland to both initiated and uninitiated readers of the ELT literature. This article does not take the form of systematic research, however. Rather, it offers a discussion of the issues in question in a discursive or sometimes impressionistic manner. The findings and observations made in the course of this debate may require further examination.

Teaching English as a Foreign Language revisited – sins and wrongs; dismissed or misunderstood?

It was approximately six decades ago that Applied Linguistics began to be intensively developed, particularly with reference to English Language Teaching. After the era of the Grammar-translation Method, approaches to L2 learning in the twentieth century evolved from the behaviorist Audio-Lingual Method, through the Comprehension Approach, to discovery techniques, for example the Silent Way, to the omnipresent Communicative Approach. Since the introduction of the latter, a look at actual classroom practices has also changed. In the last decade or so, there has been more emphasis placed upon Humanistic Language Teaching with its particular interests of individualization, learner autonomy, and reflective teaching, as well as revision of the Communicative Approach itself and the development of its derivatives, for example Content-Based and Communicative Language Teaching.

The motivating force for all of these developments, as it seems, has always been what appears to be the primary goal of language teaching, i.e. the development of communicative competence. Its central role in various language teaching policies undoubtedly remains unshaken in the present millennium. Countries such as Poland seem to have shaken off the constraints of a centralized curricular approach to ELT and, in the realization of the central role played by the English language in international communication, have acknowledged communication as the ultimate goal of foreign language instruction. Still, doubts appear when one considers actual classroom practices as well as the comprehension and conceptualization of what it really is that makes up communicative competence, the phenomenon, which I dare to claim, may indeed need immediate elucidation within the teaching population at least. The following sections attempt to clarify this, as well as some other issues which might paint a gloomy picture of Poland's mistaken language teaching, including the optimistic belief in the power of comprehensible input in L2 learning, and young learners' (in)capabilities of internalizing formal grammar rules.

The Communicative Approach and Communicative Competence

The tradition of Poland's ELT in the post-communist era has been deeply rooted in an opening up to Western trends and, consequently, the promotion of the Communicative Approach as a means of meeting the pressing need to help learners develop communicative skills, of which so many Poles were deficient in those days. An entirely new system of pre-

service teacher training in the form of foreign language teacher training colleges was designed, making a significant contribution to the promotion of this L2 method (Komorowska, 2007, p. 184). The implementation of this method began to be covertly encouraged in various educational leaflets, reports, and curricula. As a result, in the last twenty years or so, the term "communicative approach" [in Polish *metoda komunikacyjna*] has been permanently installed in Poland's FL methodological discourse.

And still, it seems that the actual conceptualization of the method has indeed been superficial. Consequently, it may have been given a somewhat unfair treatment and has often, by many, been mistakenly perceived as just the promotion of interaction in the classroom. In addition, a number of reputable applied linguists (e.g. Komorowska, 2007, p. 185) appear to undermine the Communicative Approach as an ELT method based on solid SLA theory, pointing to its alleged principal "borrowings" from antithetic audiolingualism or the kindred cognitivism, such as student-to-student interaction patterns and knowledge construction procedures. In many aspects the above claims are well-founded. The Communicative Approach does implement knowledge construction, the jewel in the cognitivist crown, and indeed utilizes interaction, an element of audiolingual mechanics. Yet in contrast to the latter, the Communicative Approach borrows the great achievement of the other rebels of the twenty-century linguistics – the mentalists - and, sharing their faith in learner-generative capabilities, promotes creative construction by relating language structures "to their communicative functions in real situations and real time" (Littlewood, 1994, p. xi), not just overlearning exemplary sentences and using them "automatically without stopping to think" (Larsen-Freeman, 2003, p. 45). To suggest that the Communicative Approach was derived from Audiolingualism is, then, at least an overstatement.

But there may be a down side to the popularity of the Communicative Approach. Often reduced to just the provision of meaningful comprehensible input with little or no emphasis on accuracy (Howatt, 1984, p. 279), the strong version of the method may lead to learners pidginizing L2 communication and eventually to the lowering of actual L2 proficiency in the whole learning population.

Perhaps in response to numerous voices for more of a balance between form and meaning (e.g. Brumfit, 1984; Littlewood, 1994; Widdowson, 1978) attempts were made in the nineties of the previous century to revisit the Communicative Approach. According to these new trends, as illustrated in the table below (Thorne, 1998), the emphasis on meaning became a focus on language awareness, most likely in reply to the Noticing Hypothesis (Schmidt 1990), or teaching vocabulary in context into teaching

vocabulary as lexical chunks, which seems an appropriate direction in L2 instruction. In addition, perhaps in the light of the afore-mentioned loosing of linguistic standards in L2 communication, the weight was shifted from a high tolerance of error onto a greater emphasis on language accuracy. Yet in this new approach to Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) some steps seem to have been taken too radically. These include the revival of the idea of teacher as knowledge transmitter, and revisiting the primary goal of the approach – communicative competence – with more realistic goals.

Table 1. CLT revisited (Thorne, 1998, adapted from Pýchová, 1996/97)

Table 1: CDT Tevished (Thorne, 1996, deapted from Tychova, 1996)					
Old Communicative Approach	New Communicative Language				
	Teaching				
emphasis on meaning	new focus on language awareness				
fluency + high tolerance of error	more emphasis on accuracy				
authentic language	genuine language				
context	lexical chunks				
acquisition via comprehensible input	role of conscious learning				
learner centred/teacher as facilitator	teacher as knowledge transmitter				
pairwork/groupwork/roleplay	"student communicating time"				
spoken language	language as communica-				
communicative competence	tion/different mediums				
_	realistic goals				
	l .				

Interestingly, and possibly due to these changes in the approach to CLT, Poland's binding regulations such as the core curriculum are now compiled in the spirit of Communicative Language Teaching and juggle methodological terms such as 'communicative competence' without actually specifying them (this issue will be more thoroughly analyzed in Section 2). It seems that, notwithstanding a lot of research into communicative competence, the term's meaning is often given superficial treatment. And it is the very phenomenon of communicative competence, regardless of being deemed realistic or not, that is the core of L2 instruction, and when superficially interpreted, e.g. as "a term for communicating in spite of language, rather than through language" (Higgs & Clifford, 1982, p. 68), can in fact lead to learning outcomes marked with semblances of learners' desired L2 proficiency. On the other hand, the appropriate conceptualization or at least attempts to comprehend the phenomenon can significantly improve syllabus design and language assessment procedures.

Although there is no one model which would enjoy the unconditional approval of most prominent linguists, two models of communicative competence have received the most recognition in Applied Linguistics. Bachman's (1990) framework distinguishes between pragmatic competence with its (1) organizational competence including grammatical competence and textual competence, and (2) pragmatic competence including illocutionary competence and sociolinguistic competence. The other model of communicative competence was proposed by Canale and Swain, who see it as "a synthesis of knowledge of basic grammatical principles, knowledge of how language is used in social contexts to perform communicative functions, and knowledge of how utterances and communicative functions can be combined according to the principles of discourse." (Canale and Swain, 1988, p. 73). It posits that there are four components that make up communicative competence (Canale, 1983). Two components, grammatical competence and discourse competence, reflect the use of the linguistic system itself. The other two, sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence, reflect the functional aspects of communication.

No matter which model is taken as a reference point for decisionmaking in syllabus design and lesson-planning, one must realize that to be fully communicatively competent a learner must develop all the constituent competences. In other words, learners who acquire a knowledge of the grammatical system (grammar competence) and develop the skill of using it appropriately in a social context (sociolinguistic competence), but who fail to construct coherent stretches of speech (discourse competence) or are inhibited by breakdowns in communication (strategic competence) cannot be regarded as communicatively competent language users. This somewhat radical position is indeed instrumental within ELT as an imbalance in the development of communicative subcompetences leads to the production of language users with superficial communicative competence and may lead to the abandonment of communicative competence as the primary goal of language instruction, in favor of establishing so-called realistic goals, as was the case in the afore-mentioned Pychova's revision of the Communicative Approach.

From comprehensible input to (in)capability of abstract thinking in teaching English to young learners: myths and misconceptions

Pychova's revision of CLT, as illustrated in Table 1, includes a shift from acquisition through provision of comprehensible input to conscious learning, probably in fear of producing pidgin English users. This fear of conceptualizing comprehensible input as the only requisite of SLA, as allegedly stipulated in Krashen's (1982) mistakenly-labeled *Zero-option*, is indeed symptomatic. There are still many applied linguists and practitioners who attempt to reduce this complex theory to just the role of comprehensible input in L2 learning. There is a widespread belief that Krashen based his concept of second language acquisition on the provision of comprehensible input only, which many claim to be a sufficient condition for acquisition to take place. For some reason, they fail to acknowledge the other requirements, the ones that Krashen so precisely stipulated in his theory. These include the rejection of grammatical sequencing in L2 learning, the roles of affective states in SLA, and the placement of conscious learning on the periphery of language instruction, not its total elimination. As a result of this superficial perspective of Krashen's theory, often ridiculed within ELT scientific communities (McLaughlin, 1987), some practitioners have unconditionally accepted an invalid claim to the sufficiency of comprehensible input in L2 learning.

Another issue, which, notwithstanding its long history in educational debates, still appears to be misunderstood by both syllabus designers and practitioners themselves is the actual capability of young learners to comprehend explicit grammar constructs. There is still the widespread impression that young learners acquire foreign language better than adults, though this is likely to remain no more than an illusion, unless specific (and practically unattainable) conditions for SLA are created. The designers of this 'the-sooner-the-better-methodology' may in fact be committing a simple mistake: in sociological terms of yielding to the nationwide ELT hysteria and in methodological terms of recklessly dismissing the achievements of Piagetian developmental psychology, including his stages of intellectual development, which may in fact provide the cutting edge of development in Applied Linguistics too. After all, his cognition hypothesis posits that it is not below the age of 11-12 that a child begins to develop the capability of abstract thinking, precisely the ability required to explicitly process grammar constructs.

And so, the methodological mistakes made by many language educationalists are of two types. More pessimistically, they may initiate L2 learners into the world of explicit grammar too early and expect them to conceptualize these abstract constructs in elementary school, when they are still at the preoperational stage of their intellectual development. Consequently, such learners may often be forced to attempt to beat a *de facto* invariant sequence of their development and skip this stage to trigger abstract thinking, which is a skill reserved for development in the next, formal-operational stage. More optimistically, yet still inappropriately, some educationalists may postpone the introduction of explicit grammar learning until the age of 12. How-

ever, fuelled by an excessive optimism about the young learners' growing cognitive repertoire, they seem to dismiss Piaget's (1928) claim that a child at the age of 11 is still on the verge of the formal-operational stage, and is only *beginning* to develop their capability of abstract thinking. To assume, then, that they will be able to conceptualize all the grammar constructs they are explicitly presented with is simply naive.

The Piagetian theory met with much criticism, including from two other forerunners of cognitivism - Brunner and Vygotsky — who claimed that there is no reason for seeing a child's development as divided into separate stages, but rather as a continuum. Others (Keating, 1979; Dasen, 1994) indicated that a significant percentage of adults will never reach the formal-operational stage. Vygotsky challenged Piaget's allegedly-universal stages with his social constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978), which in general posits that a child's development is dependent upon social influences. This criticism, however, is of minor importance to this discussion, as it does not defy the claim that explicit grammar teaching to primary school learners is a mistake.

One can reasonably ask, then, what alternative can be offered to language instructors. Theoretically, the most effective remedy would be to consistently implement the principles of Krashenian unsequenced and meaning-based SLA, through teaching procedures that increase student-talking time, in line with Vygotskian social constructivism, and gradually focus more on form, for instance through the process of noticing, not through practice. At the same time, the focus on form should be tailored to the current capabilities of the learner, which in practice might mean that it should be postponed until the learner is able to sufficiently conceptualize explicit grammar rules. This conceptualization is certainly unlikely to materialize before junior high school. In short, such an approach would simply combine the assumptions of Communicative Language Teaching with the achievements of cognitive linguistics.

Yet apparently, the above proposition can be more than difficult to put into practice. There is certainly a lot of pressure from the learners themselves, their parents, and school authorities to produce rapid learning success, as well as the social and political expectations that Poland's youth should receive foreign language instruction in an institutionalized form with its systematic evaluation and teaching procedures from the earliest years of their schooling. These issues will be addressed in the following section of this article.

FL instruction in Poland

Foreign language education, like any educational process, has a complex structure. Its separate elements interact with each other, exert pressure and influence, and contribute to its continuous evolution. In Poland, real classroom processes are affected by research in Applied Linguistics, teacher training, and social needs and expectations, which involve examinations, parental conceptions of SLA, and governmental policies. Actual teaching is also influenced by legal documents which serve either as a guideline for appropriate language instruction or regulations that a teacher is obligated to abide by. There are three such formal documents. The document which appears to occupy the top of the structure and provides the methodological basis for designing curricula and teaching materials is (1) Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment, issued by the Council of Europe (2003). It outlines the general policies in FL instruction and the methodological concepts underpinning them. (2) The core curriculum is issued by the Ministry of Education and prepares the ground for the design of (3) curricula to be applied in the context of teaching.

Cefr Core curriculum

Pre-sett

Social needs and expectations

Figure 1. Poland's foreign language education structure

The following sections discuss three elements of English Language Teaching in Poland - CEFR, core curriculum, and the selection of course books available in Poland and used for teaching English to primary learners -

in terms of their compliance with the methodology outlined in section 1 of this article and their possible effect on actual classroom practices. The issues addressed in the analysis include (1) ELT methods recommended in the documents, (2) the question as to whether the structure of the material analyzed call for the application of the method recommended, and (3) the compliance of the documents analyzed with the theory outlined for SLA.

The Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment

As shown in Figure 1, the document which has, or at least should have, the greatest effect on syllabus design and eventually on actual class-room practices is *The Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*, which "provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe" (2003, p. 1),. This elaborate publication presents the achievements of contemporary Applied Linguistics in a very accessible manner and offers a guideline to applying them in FL classrooms. Although it states that the document does not directly recommend certain teaching procedures, its value in this respect should not be underestimated.

The primary merit of the document is its comprehensiveness. Although some of the methodological concepts may be disputable, the publication does raise issues whose conceptualization is instrumental in teaching a foreign language. These include Common Reference Levels, learners' competences, language learning and teaching, task types and their role in language teaching, curriculum design, and learner evaluation.

CEFR does not point to any specific method of teaching foreign languages. Instead, it discusses teaching and learning processes as a set of possibilities a teacher can implement in the classroom. This article is most interested in the analysis of learners' competences, which CEFR underlines as of prime importance. CEFR (2003, p. 9) describes them as comprising general competences, that is "those not specific to language, but which are called upon for actions of all kinds, including language activities" and communicative language competences. The latter are broken down into linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic components and are thoroughly discussed. Although this framework of competence differs from those presented in Section 1 of this article, it should be noted that it attempts to cover all the domains of language communication. What is perhaps missing from the discussion of communicative competence in CEFR is the stress which the authors of the document should have placed on the balanced development of all the components of the competences discussed.

In relation to the analysis of communicative language competences, CEFR suggests how the given competence components can be scaled in practice. The descriptions of the scales include general linguistic range, vocabulary range and control, grammatical accuracy, phonological control, orthographic control, sociolinguistic appropriateness, flexibility, turn-taking, coherence and cohesion, spoken fluency, and propositional precision. However, one looks in vain for references to these language communication aspects in L2 educational institutions, reports, guidelines, and other legal documents. Although certainly a study should be carried out to confirm this observation, it seems that the above do refer to CEFR, yet predominantly with reference to a global scale for a description of proficiency levels. This scale, naturally simplified, by no means covers the whole spectrum of language communication and, as it is fuzzy and superficial, is unlikely to help appropriately measure a learner's actual competence and may in fact wrongfully outline the actual aims of foreign language instruction.

Core curriculum

The core curriculum specifies learning outcomes which should be achieved at a given educational stage. An apparent weakness of these specifications is the imprecision of the terms used to refer to the skills and competences given. The gradation of the learner's progress is underscored, yet, for instance with reference to an expected linguistic repertoire, it is attempted through the use of unspecific or vague descriptors such as *very basic* for Stage I, *basic* for Stage II and *relatively developed* or *rich* for Stage IV. Consequently, without proper training in standardized interpretation of the evaluation criteria for learners' competences, their actual assessment will be mainly intuitive and marked with a high degree of imprecision.

In addition to the stipulation of the expected degree of competences and functional topics, the core curriculum gives some information on teaching procedures, which, however, boils down to just a few remarks, such as the one that "a condition which must be met for teaching a foreign language to be successful and achieving desired outcomes is to group learners according to their approximate language proficiency" (p. 32).

Still, to do justice to the core curriculum, it states that in the case of Stages I to III "a teaching priority is the learner's skill of achieving various communicative goals, whereas grammatical accuracy, although playing a significant role, is not a supreme instructional objective" (p. 32). And so, the core curriculum appears to place linguistic demands on young learners which are likely to be within their capabilities, although at points, one might wonder if the authors of the document are not particularly realistic

about the young learners' cognitive capabilities still in their formative stages. After all, they suggest a learner entering the fourth grade should "know that people speak different languages and to communicate with them one has to learn their language" (p. 68).

The core curriculum is very economical in recommending a specific action for or an approach to teaching a given aspect of language. They do, however, underline the complexity of communicative competence, indicating that development of the separate subcompetences is not linear and is multidimensional (p. 69), which corresponds with the spirit of this article. The methodological tranquility built into the document is broken, however, when its authors state that the core curriculum, in fact, describes the expected acquisition of knowledge, not the development of competence (p. 70), which does indicate how strongly the perception of learning processes is still rooted in a traditional methodology.

Textbooks

Teaching material designers now follow the core curriculum recommendations and begin to develop textbooks, which become an important element, if not a determinant, of the language instructor's teaching style. In teaching English to very young learners (grade 1-3), ELT textbooks are limited by the learners' intellectual capabilities as such, hence their structure may include little language and a lot of visual material. This section examines four randomly-selected student book series available on the Polish market for their compliance with the methodology recommended in Section 1 of this article.

As illustrated in Table 2, all twelve of the textbooks in the four series contain grammatically sequenced material, focused on product learning. The majority of the textbooks restrict the language used to L2 only, although in three books L1 is indeed used for giving instructions. These include two textbooks designed for Grade 1 and one for Grade 2. Textbook designers, then, appear to assume that first graders are not able to process English written texts, whether short or long, as they have just begun to develop their reading skills in Polish. Yet if this is the case, including instructions in the Polish language may come as a surprise. After all, the role of an English textbook is not to help develop L1 reading.

A similar remark applies to teacher books, which in most cases are offered in the Polish language (*English Adventures*, *English Quest*, *Discovery Land*). This seemingly insignificant observation may in fact have far more negative teaching implications. The use of L1 in teaching materials is likely to intensify the feeling, which many teachers may have, that the EFL class-

room for young learners is and should be a bilingual environment, not a naturalistic, L2 setting. In addition, this horrifying observation sheds light on the actual methodological awareness of some material designers. Not only does it indicate that some are still lacking in appropriate methodological perspective; their false assumptions suggest that many of them might indeed be lacking in common sense.

As regards the use of L1, *English Quest* is an interesting case. Its levels 1 and 2 contain L2 instructions and it is only at level 3 that the textbook is completely based on L2. Interestingly, it is also at level 2 that elements of explicit teaching are included. This is a somewhat surprising observation since the authors of the textbook seem to have assumed that it is the third-graders' readiness for consistent L2 instruction, not their ability to think abstractly, that justifies the introduction of explicit learning.

Table 2. Student books - Stage I

Table 2. Student books – Stage 1									
Student book	Grammatically	The use of	Explicit instruc-						
	sequenced	L1	tion						
English Adventure 1	yes	yes	?						
English Adventure 2	yes	no	?						
English Adventure 3	yes	no	?						
English Quest 1	yes	yes	?						
English Quest 2	yes	yes	?						
English Quest 3	yes	no	Yes						
Our Discovery Land 1	yes	no	?						
Our Discovery Land 2	yes	no	no/?						
Our Discovery Land 3	yes	no	Yes						
Incredible English 1	yes	no	?						
Incredible English 2	yes	no	?						
Incredible English 2	yes	no	?						

In most textbooks, however, explicit learning is not imposed on the learner (this finding is represented with a question mark in the table). Yet whether this type of language instruction is really not an integrative element of classroom practices is an open question. It seems that course books give a lot of latitude in this respect to the teachers and it is certainly they who eventually determine actual language instruction in the classroom.

The above analysis produces a relatively optimistic picture of primary EFL education at Grades 1-3. Although all the textbooks contain grammatically sequenced material, most of them do not impose other methodological elements and leave decision-making in this respect to the teachers them-

selves. It seems then that the teachers' capability of making the right choices is instrumental in teaching English to young learners.

Table 2. Student books – Stage II

Student	Gram-	L1	Linguis-	Sociolin-	Pragmatic	Explicit
book	matically		tic	guistic	compe-	instruction
	se-		compe-	competence	tence	[%]
	quenced		tence	[%]	[%]	
			[%]			
Evolution	yes	yes	80	20	0	40/60
1						
Evolution	yes	yes	80	20	0	40/60
2						
Sky high 1	yes	yes	80	20	0	40/60
Sky high 2	yes	no	80	20	0	60/40
Sky high 3	yes	no	80	20	0	60/40
Today 1	yes	yes	80	20	0	60/40
Today 2	yes	Yes	80	20	0	60/40

An analysis of the student books used for teaching English at Stage II (Grades 4-6) is cause for rather less optimism. Instructions are predominantly still given in L1, which is neither methodological nor commonsensical. The reasons for such an approach could be numerous. The learners, for instance, might be at this stage of their linguistic development expected to comprehend instructions. The textbook designers seem not to have noticed that the instructions themselves are similar throughout the book, and therefore could easily have been learnt. This finding fills one with dismay, as it not only hinders naturalistic second language acquisition, still within the students' cognitive reach, but also triggers the mechanism of first language transfer, whose implications learners will certainly have to grapple with in the long term.

A similar observation can be made with reference to the place of explicit learning. *Evolution* promotes explicit learning to a significant degree and its proportions move at both levels towards the middle. In *Sky High* and *Today*, the proportions clearly favor explicit learning, which indicates that formal instruction might begin to become prioritized in ELT as the age of the learners increases, still before they reach or enjoy the fruits of the formal-operational stage of their intellectual development. This finding is consistent with the claim made in Section 1 that there might be too much optimism as to the actual abilities which the learners have in conceptualizing explicit grammar constructs.

As regards the components of communicative competence, the student books tend to discriminate in favor of grammar competence, which seems to take a central position across all of the student books, and then sociolinguistic competence, which appears to be the other of the two subcompetences that fall within the methodological objectives of the teaching materials analyzed. This finding confirms the fear that, in the legacy of orthodox EFL methodology, it is still a focus on *form* that determines the perception of foreign language learning processes, not an *awareness* of the complex and multi-layered nature of communicative competence.

Conclusions

There are certain ELT-related facts that need to be reiterated: foreign language instruction in Poland began to radically change a quarter of century ago; an average high school graduate has now at least nine years of L2 learning experience; and a dominant portion of the learning population at secondary level choose to study English as a foreign language, predominantly finishing this education at the level of B1, optimistically B1 PLUS. On the surface, these facts point to a success in Poland's foreign language education. And indeed, the number of people who are able to communicate in the language has increased. Poland no longer occupies the periphery on the English language map, as it has managed to move its linguistic potential from a communications backwater significantly towards becoming a European linguistic metropolis. In this sense EFL education in Poland is a success. Yet, in terms of the magnitude of the efforts invested in this enterprise and their somewhat disappointing effects, it is not. After all, nine years of L2 training (approximately 1200 contact hours) should produce better results than a proficiency level of B1 PLUS, which is usually accomplished safely within 600 contact hours of language instruction. What happens to the remaining six-hundred is a mystery.

As this article indicates, a lot of L2 instruction may be shallow and no more than marked with semblances of methodological appropriateness. It seems that Poland has failed to benefit directly from the bonanza period, when a completely new system of foreign language teacher training was established, with foreign language training colleges implementing innovative models of L2 and teacher education, and the implementation of numerous ELT programs with the participation of renowned institutions such as the British Council. Consequently, as the methodological narrative of this article suggests, a curious contrast with actual classroom practices has been observed. On the one hand, foreign language teachers have caught the spirit of the times and accepted that method of teaching foreign languages designed

to respond to the learners' real communicative needs: Communicative Language Teaching. On the other hand, they may not have been able to successfully implement the principles of the method, which has a well-known capacity for sowing seeds of confusion within foreign language classrooms.

Such is the case with communicative competence too. This ethereal phenomenon has over the years turned into a slogan and has, consequently, received unfairly superficial treatment. The above sections, then, clearly show that a debate over communicative competence should indeed be put back on the menu to at least emphasize the multilayeredness of the issue. Otherwise, its conceptualization will be superficial and a new lease of life under the rubric of Communicative Language Teaching will be a waste of its potential.

To remedy the situation in Poland's schools, a new alliance between well-known, yet often misinterpreted, theories and actual classroom practices should be established. Such theories include Krashen's SLA Theory and Piagetian cognitivism, which both recommend refraining from teaching those aspects of language that exceed the current capabilities of the learner. Such unrealistic expectations are often observed in teaching materials promoting explicit learning in the case of young learners and are likely, also for this reason, to be found in foreign language classrooms.

The system fails not because the binding regulations are wrong, but because the pace at which they are being developed is sluggish. The core curriculum is methodologically sound, yet why it discusses issues already well-known in the teaching profession in the mid-nineties of the previous century, now under the heading of the 'new' core curriculum, is at least thought-provoking. The same, somewhat daring remark, might apply to how teachers are evaluated, monitored, and supported in their daily teaching endeavors, and how their further professional development actually proceeds. To better understand the successes and failures of Poland's L2 teaching, these issues should certainly be put to a systematic and conclusive analysis.

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FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT AND ITS EFFECTS IN THE TEACHING PRACTICE

Indroduction

Formative assessment (FA), i.e. the assessment of students' learning process is a relevant condition for improvement of students' achievements³² and teachers' teaching. Students' results and the improvement of teachers' teaching are primarily a result from the efficient and effective realization of the formative assessment in the teaching process, which basically means a continuous assessment of students' achievements – the teacher is constantly gathering information on which he gives a quality feedback. In that sense an efficient and effective FA which is a guarantee of students' success during the teaching process means a timely support for students' achievements by means of continuous feedback for the quality and correctness of answers to certain questions, a given test or for every realized activity, and exactly those answers, reactions or actions give the teacher's feedback for the adopted material and students' progress or possible setback in the learning process and according to this the teacher makes the adjustment to his further teaching. In that way the teacher acquires the information about his teaching, while the student acquires the information about the quality of his learning and his achievements. Furthermore the whole process of planning the further teaching activities as well as the adjustments of the types of learning and the size of the realized content to the individual features of the students depend on the effective and efficient FA. Considering this, through the analysis of the surveys answers and the informal conversations with teachers, the paper makes an attempt to perceive the effects from the application of the FA on the improving of students' achievements which is an indicator of quality realization of the formative assessment during teaching and learning in the teaching process.

FA characteristics

FA is an integral part of the teaching planning, the teaching process, i.e teachers' teaching and students' learning. This is a rather new concept

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³² The knowledge is not a homogenous concept, it obtains achievements on cognitive, psychomotor and socioemotional plan. They contain knowledge, skills and other competences (Popovski, 2005, p. 40).

in our everyday teaching practice, but it is characterized by a certain stability and the basic characteristics of the FA can be clearly pointed in the part that follows. Regarding this FA is characterized by the following features: continuity – the teacher is continuously following (observing) students' achievements and he is continuously gathering information on their achievements; continuity of the feedback³³ – the teacher constantly gives feedbak on students' achievements and receives feedback through students' reactions which gives him the opportunity to see the realised effect and according to it to plan and upgrade his work; FA is developmental, current, i.e assessment for learning, assessement happenning while students are still in the learning phase, i.e. when the teaching material is not finished and it takes place during the lesson when the teacher gives instructions on a new concept; FA is preventive – it affects students' further learning and results (success); individual - FA is directed to every student's achievements and the feedback is personalized - meaning that in order to give feedback the teacher starts from students' individual characteristics. The teacher needs to use different approaches appropriate to the individual characteristics of the students in order to realize an effective assessment of the learning process; directed the feedback should direct student's learning to its improvement, its motivational function is important; students active involvement - students are actively involved in the process of acquiring the knowledge, the goal is clear and they get constant feedback of their learning; a focus on the teaching and learning process – FA is in fact in function of assessing the results from the teaching and learning because it leads to an assessment of the obtained results. It could not be possible for the teacher to assess the results from the learning and teaching, if that same process of learning and teaching has not been previously assessed.

Which fa is both effective and efficient?

FA can complete its function only if it comes as a result of constant following of the students' individual progress and provides direction of individual developmental needs of the students in accordance with the defined goals of the educational process. Namely, the single role of the effective and efficient assessment is to affect student's work in the sense of supporting the progressive changes that take place during the learning process and in that way giving an opportunity to draw ultimate results at the end of the learning process. Considering this one of the presumptions for both effective and efficient formative assessment is the same to be practised continuously

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³³ For the type, character and the content of the feedback (Popovski, 2005), and for the motivational function of the feedback (Pejchinovska, 2011).

at every class, i.e. in every situation when the teacher gives a certain task and the students give an answer to it. During this interactive process according to the quality of the obtained answers, results from tests and other work done, evaluation of students' achievements is done and on that basis the assessment of the learning process too. This leads to the fact that an effective and efficient formative assessment means that the teacher has to collect information on students' achievements very carefully in order the assessment to be well grounded.

In order the previously mentioned function to be successfully realized the effective and efficient formative assessment needs to be planned in advance. Every teacher 's task is to plan which strategies and techniques he is going to use in order to provide effective feedback from and for the students. In his daily preparations he clearly defines lesson's objectives, his activities and those of the students so it is necessary in that part to define the techniques and strategies he needs to follow students' activities, for instance, in which part of the lesson he intends to use the techniques – strategies, which part he uses for his comments, what kind of feedback he gives to his students, whether the feedback is individual or it refers to the achievement of a specific group, whether he is going to to apply self-evaluation activites, in what way he follows the relations of mutual cooperation in groups and so on. In this sense, formative assessment incorporation in the teaching planning especially in the planning of a single lesson is one of the most important segments in the organization and realization of the teaching.

For both effective and efficient formative assessment, the learning goal for each student has to be transparent and clear so he can independently estimate his level regarding the defined goal. Right before teaching a new concept the teacher has to define the goal of that concept, i.e he has to explain the benefit and importance of knowing that same concept. All students will not adopt the material at the same level. However, this component refers to the fact that the teacher should help students to get to know the standards they have to reach and it is more than clear that not every student can satisfy the set standards. Therefore, the objectives defined in the curriculum should put an accent on the individualized approach in the realization of the tasks so within the globally defined teacning objectives – objectives are defined according to the competences and abilities of every student. That involves variety of methods, strategies etc. needed for the teaching objectives to be accessible to students who are different in terms of abilities, knowledge, emotional and social development etc. It is necessary to emphasise that from teachers' point of view this is a complex activity and although the tasks are individualized, that practise is more and more intuitive than systematic

and planned and it is mainly based on teachers'experience. Furthermore they bring up the need for their further education and inclusion in the process of creating the teaching objectives in order to implement the FA in the teaching practice with more competence, and to improve its quality.

FA and its efectiveness and efficiency are closely related to the characteristics of the feedback from the teacher and students. Students' feedback is essential for the teacher considering the fact that it indicates to what extent the foreseen teaching objectives and teaching contents have been adopted, then students' progress, their behavior, style of learning and communication, how successful or unsuccessful the teaching methods and strategies are, the strategies and techniques for assessing the students's achievements, how valid, reliable and objective the assessment is, teacher's weaknesses and strengths as an educator etc. According to all the information he will make further modification to his teaching with a single goal of improving students' results³⁴.

From all the obtained information during FA, the teacher estimates which aspects are relevant for improving students' results and on that basis his task is to explain the student how to use it to make his own learning and results better. This exactly is the essence of the effective teacher's feedback – to estimate well so the aspect for which the feedback is given will be relevant for students'achievements – that is why the teacher needs a solid preparation, as well as psychological and pedagogical competence so he can be able to perceive all the information, to work on it and to make the right estimation. An effective and efficient FA in fact means teacher's feedback which has a motivational function, which will boost students' activities in their further learning, all that will mostly depend on the planning and application of the suitable techniques of the FA as well as to what extent the teacher modifies his further work considering the results from the assessment of the learning process.

Research methodology

Both causal and descriptive methods are the methods of scientific knowledge for the goals of this paper. Through a qualitative analysis as an operative method of the questionaires and informal conversations with teachers an attempt is made to notice the effects of the application of the formative assessment on students' results which is an indicator of a successful realization of the FA during teaching and learning in the teaching process. The research methods and instruments for gathering

 $^{^{34}}$ About the modifications and adjustments in teaching (Janusheva, Pejchinovska, 2011).

information are: surveys and questionaires which give the teachers' attitudes and opinion on effects of the formative assessment in the teaching practice and the informal conversations with the teachers for examining the causal relation of both effective and efficient FA with students' results in the teaching practice.

The sample is intended and includs 50 teachers from the three high schools, one primary school from Bitola, and one primary school from the village Capari — Republic of Macedonia. Through the questions from the questionaires we expect to get a clearer picture of the FA effects on the teaching practice from those directly involved in its implementation, primary school teachers from 1-3 grade, primary school teachers from 4-9 grade, high school teachers, as well as of its effectiveness and efficiency regarding the features which in the vocational literature are considered as paradigmatic for effective FA. The obtained results are compared in order to be seen if there is a difference in teachers' opinion in all three groups considering the subject, while the answers showing considerable declination regarding the all three groups are additionally pointed out and analyzed. In the analysis the information from primary school teachers from 1-3 grade and primary school teachers from 4-9 grade will be examined as one group.

Analysis of the information from teachers' questionaires, informal conversations and discussion

Teachers from both groups who are familiar with the essential characteristics of the FA as assessment which is current and helps a student to make progress, and as assessment during which he gives and gets feedback are bigger in number. This is an equivocal indicator of the fact that there is a solid base for FA implementation and that its effects provide quality in the teaching process, i.e. teacher's teaching and student's learning. This is also an indicator of teachers' realization that FA is a constituent part of the teaching planning, the teaching process, teachers' teaching and students' learning. Although it appears to be less probable mostly because of the numerous workshops on FA where a lot of teachers took part yet unfortunately teachers from primary schools and small number of teachers from high schools have serious weaknesses in defining the FA, i.e in its relation with assessment during which the teacher is recording the descriptive or numeral grade in the grading book. When the basic characteristics of the FA are taken into consideration and the fact that recording of the descriptive and numeral grade refers to the summative assessment then it is evident that there is a serious setback for these teachers which has to be taken into account in their further progress regarding the FA with a single goal of its effective and efficent implementation in the teaching practice.

The analysis of the results from the surveys and the informal conversations shows that all the teachers from both groups have the formative assessment planned in their annual and thematic preparations (generally the techniques and the methods for assessing students' achievements) and in their daily preparations too (more detailed description of the techiques, methods and instruments for assessment of students' achievements and their implementation in a current situation). Only one teacher from primary school does not plan the formative assessment at all which should be not be neglected but it can not influence the realization that FA stands on very solid grounds in terms of stability and that the teachers are aware of the fact that the incorporation of the FA is a solid segment of the organization and relization of the teaching regarding the effective and efficient implementation of the FA in the teaching process, though, surely information about students' achievements in the teaching process are gathered without previous planing.

According to the information obtained from the informal conversations mainly most teachers from both groups pay attention to the connection of the FA with the teaching objectives, while a small number of teachers from both groups do not take into account the teaching objectives during FA. This is a strong indicator of the fact that the teachers operationalize the teaching objectives defined in the curriculla for all the students, differentiate and individualize the approach in the realization of the tasks. Thus, within the globally defined goals (objectives) the teacher has in mind the needs and abilities of the student in defining the goals. Teachers' awareness of the connection of the teaching objective with FA points to the fact that assessment criteria are shared by both students and teachers although there is a certain inaccuracy in the already used criteria especially in the assessment of essays with a detailed answer (Talevski, Janusheva, 2011), and this is understandable if we consider the fact that it is difficult to define valid, precise and objective criteria in order the adopted teaching objectives to be measured in every segment of the teaching, i.e. assessment of students' results. Our longterm practice and the informal conversations with the teachers show that besides these results, the criteria are partially shared with the students and in primary school the teacher introduces the criteria to the parents at individual or collective meetings because of the age of the students. The individualization and differentiation of the tasks is a systematic and planned activity, which undoubtedly speaks of their competence in implementing of the FA. The relation of the FA with the teaching objectives is a vital condition for effective and efficient implementation of the FA, which is a condition for promoting of the quality of teaching and learning, i.e. the quality of the teaching process in general. Thus, solid grounds for advancement of the teaching quality are provided.

The feedback is a relevant segment of the both effective and efficient assessment. The results from the surveys and the informal conversations show that most of the teachers belonging to both groups always plan the form and the time of the feedback they give to the students, while a smaller number of teachers frequently plan all these segments of the feedback. The obtained information clearly shows that the feedback is essential for teachers and their awareness of the fact that as a integral part of the FA, it is also an integral part of the planning of the teaching process, i.e. the teacher's teaching and student's learning. A planned feedback is a condition for effective and efficient FA, so in that sense a planned feedback is an indicator of teachers' competence in implementing of the FA and it clearly affects students' results and the quality of the teaching process.

The information from both groups regarding the surveys and the informal conversations shows that most teachers during group work always plan the way that group is assessed as a whole regarding the class, but also the contribution of the individual within that group. Smaller is the number of teachers who frequently plan these segments, and the smallest is the number of teachers who do not plan the assessment of the group achievements and of the individual within the group. Again the teachers' awareness of the importance of the mutual relations between the effective and efficient FA and the planning are pointed out as well as with the advancement of the quality of their work, students' learning and their achievements. Furthermore this implies the presumption that teachers are paying serious attention to the preparation of the assessment criteria, which makes their approach to the implementation of the effective and efficient assessment also serious.

Most teachers from both groups who very frequently on the basis of the feedback from the students if there is need to change/modify their work in order the students results to be improved, and smaller is the number of teachers who if there is need to always modify their work, and the smallest is number of teachers who rarely or never take into consideration the feedback in order to improve the quality of students' results. Most teachers from both groups on the basis of the feedback alter the way they teach, numerous teachers on the basis of the feedback find a way to change something in their own work, while there are not so many teachers who alter the techniques while teaching. Teachers teach students who are different in terms of their abilities, competences etc. Thus the feedback that comes from the students is indicative for the teachers pointing out the changes they need to make in their work. This is a clear indicator of the raised awareness of the teachers

about changing their teaching practice on the basis of the feedback from the students.

According to the teachers from both groups applying the FA techniques considerably improves students' results. A smaller number of teachers state that applying of the FA techniques slightly improves students' results, while a dozen of teachers state that students' results are not improved at all with the application of the FA techniques. Almost same results from both groups are obtained regarding the fact that the FA techniques condition students' motivation and activitiv. On one hand these results show that the application of the FA techniques to a great extent conditions the success, activity and motivation of students and that the effective and efficient FA influences positively on the results, activity and motivaton of the students. On the other hand the results from the surveys and informal conversations which point to the the statements that students' success is very small or not improved at all, and that the motivation and activity are not increased, can be a sign of teachers' incompetence in defining the FA and its implementation, then of constantly using the same techniques, of uninventive teachers, inappropriately chosen methods, the time necessarily intended for the FA, the number of students in the class etc. but also that can happen for many other reasons, which recquire additional researches, and they are not the elaboration subject of this paper.

The analysis of the results and the informal conversations show that according to teachers from both groups, from all the FA techniques an accent is put on the tests and oral presentations, as instruments of gaining optimal results regarding students' success, then discussion, techniques of selfevaluation, projects and structured conversations, and at the very end is the portfolio. These results are an indicator of teachers' variety of FA techniques. Even though some of the teachers state that students' results are not improved at all, it can be clearly seen from the survey that all teachers mention one or another technique, which is contradictory to the statement that the FA techniques are not related to students' better results. It can be seen that different teachers get better results regarding students' success using various techniques, which shows that choosing one or another technique depends on many other factors such as how adaptable a technique can be regarding students' age, how appropriate one technique is to the teaching content, then the selection of a technique regarding the nature of the subject etc., (about the use of techniques as a result of teacher's work modification, p. Janusheva, Pejchinovska, 2011).

The surveys and informal conversations point to the fact that as a result of FA techniques most of the teachers get better feedback from the students and their work makes considerable progress. A very small number of

teachers do not gain better feedback as a result of the FA techniques and very small number of them reckon that the application of the FA techniques does not make their work better. These information are in a way contradictory, because there is a slight probability that the teachers' work will get better and that will not affect students' achievements in a sense of their improvement. The reasons for this may be located in the insufficient competences of the teachers regarding the effective and efficient implementation of FA or in the resistance that some teachers show towards the modern approaches in the teaching.

Conclusion

Many aspects of the analysis of the surveys and the informal conversation with the teachers show that regarding the period several years ago (in 2011 a research about formative assessment through the prism of the teachers was conducted) the improvement which refers to more serious and more systematic approach towards effective and efficient FO in the teaching practice is evident. This is noticed, primarily in the increased consciousness of the teacher for the essential characteristics of FO as assessment which helps the student to improve his achievements, because of fact that FO is a constituent part of the teaching planning, i.e. of the teacher's teaching and of the student's learning, then because of the connection of effective and efficient FO with the teaching goals which imply their operationalization and adjustment towards the individual capabilities of the students, as well as the implementation of objective and precise criteria for assessment, because of the type and the character of the feedback, then the large number of techniques for FO which help them to achieve optimal results regarding the student's achievements etc.

Though the analysis implies that certain weaknesses are still present regarding this subject primarily taking into consideration the deduction of those teachers which presume that FO does not improve their work neither the success of the students, the issues mentioned above presents a strong confirmation of the fact that the concept formative assessment, in a large extent, has provided a high level of stability in the teaching practice, which on the other hand indicate the solid basis of the educational process for effective and efficient implementation of FO in the teaching practice, for the increased competences of the teachers regarding its implementation, for the relation between the FO an student's achievements, as well as for the great effects from the implementation of FO in practice. This shows that in this manner the quality of the teacher's teaching and the student's

learning is advanced, i.e. the quality of the teaching process generally is promoted.

The analysis clearly shows that referring to effective and efficient FO there are needs for further researches in the way that teaching goals have been operationalized and for their adjustments to the individual abilities of the students, for defining more objective and precise criteria on which basis the assessment of the student's achievements will take place, for the way the feedback is given etc., with a purpose to provide more profound picture of the effects of implementation of the FO in the teaching practice. Also, there is a need to analyze the reasons why some teachers do not practice FO in its complexity and even show certain reaction towards this concept.

The gained knowledge from the analysis may not give a very precise and complete pictures of the complex issue connected with the effects from the FO, but it surely is an indicator for the current situation in the teaching practice related to FO regarding its realization and the quality of the teaching process. Thereto, this knowledge is a relevant starting point for further examinations of this complex issue which will contribute the precise definition and realization of the effective and efficient FO through clear determination of the teacher's and student's activities.

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BEATA ZIEBA-KOŁODZIEJ

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE FAR FROM THEIR PLACE OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE. CURRENT STATUS AND PERSPECTIVES OF DORMITORY UPBRINGING IN POLAND

Introduction

The right of the child to develop their own intellectual potential is in-extricably linked with their right to education. This right should not be restricted by economic, political and geographical considerations. The child's place of residence, especially in the distinction between city and village, should not be the obstacle. Unfortunately, in the present not the best demographic situation of many countries in the world, including Poland, associated with low birth rates and aging population, educational institutions related to education are being reorganized, in many situations making difficult access to education for the child or dooming them to choices incompatible with their predispositions and interests. Institutions that facilitate the organization of school educational process and respond to the social needs in the field of education are boarding schools and dormitories, undergo the mentioned changes.

This text is the presentation of the most important issues concerning the functioning of *dormitory* educational establishments in Poland. Its content refers to aspects such as the organization and methods of work, everyday problems, solutions for optimization of the institutional education and care away from home and school. The question of origin of pupils at dormitories and boarding secondary schools, their living environment, especially local, and activities often non-existent (for a small community), the lack of which makes it difficult for young people to start into a modern and demanding many new skills world, is also signaled in the work. Properly functioning *dormitory* educational establishments can be the chance to compensate these gaps and equalize educational and life opportunities of young people.

Establishments of dormitory upbringing in Poland

The tradition of dormitory upbringing, related to the education of the child far from the place of the family residence, is long and rich. It includes many forms of institutional care and upbringing, starting from monastic and convent schools, through dormitories, colleges to boarding school and inter-school dormitories. Initially, these institutions (outside

the known contemporary form of dormitories and boarding schools) were intended primarily for children from rich families, because, considering historical conditions, education was the domain of this group, and initially only for boys. Typically, however, places for students from poor families were funded at schools, although there were not too many. The development of dormitory upbringing and formation of methodology underlying the care and educational work with the pupil falls on the interwar period, i.e. the twenties and thirties of the XX-th century.

At this time the first publications from this area began to appear and new methods of dormitory work were formed. This period is also characterized by a variety of dormitory system. Next to state institutions there were dormitories of educational and cultural societies, religious organizations, and private boarding schools. After World War II the school system and its net had to be rebuilt. But just at that time the idea of equalizing educational opportunities for children and young people helped to increase the participation of poor children in education, especially secondary and vocational education, and boarding schools have become helpful in the realization of these aims. Many institutions housed in wooden buildings, inadequate to the needs of wards and their equipment left much to be desired. Just like in the interwar times, many institutions of this type were conducted by social organizations and from the initiative of school authorities, parents, teachers and the local community. There were areas of the country where dormitories developed intensively. This situation was connected with the development of industry (e.g. mining - Upper Silesia), and thus - the development of vocational and technical education. Among boarding pupils there were mostly the children of peasant origin and the workers, and the merit of '60 and '70 years of the XX-th century was the financial availability of this form of housing for many families. Dormitories and boarding schools have become means to social advancement and contributed to the migration of rural youth to cities by providing education, acquire education and occupation. The development of dormitory institutions in the postwar period till 1979 is presented in Table

Table 1. Dormitories and boarding-schools during 1955-1979 (chosen school years)

School year	1955/1956	1960/1961	1965/1966	1967/1968	1968/1969
Number of establishments	1562	1603	1773	1777	1792
School year	1970/1971	1971/1972	1973/1974	1975/1976	1978/1979
Number of establishments	1845	1881	1887	1905	1844

Own work, based on: Statistical Yearbook, GUS/ MSO (Main Statistical Office), Warsaw: 1969, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979.

The beginning of significant changes in the dormitory institutions connects with a period of political and economic changes in Poland at the turn of the '80s and '90s of the last century. Transformations in dormitory education are also linked to the decentralization of educational authority and transferring of broad administrative powers to municipalities and districts. Since 1980, one could note a decrease of this type of institutions, which in reality, more often, was the result of the replacement of dormitories by boarding - interschools. Such actions, especially since the decentralization of educational authority in 1990, were connected with lowering the cost of running the institution and were also the result of the diminishing status of young people getting the upper secondary education. State of institutions from 1990 until the current days are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Dormitories and boarding-schools during 1980-2013 (chosen school years)

School year	1980/1981	1982/1983	1983/1984	1985/1986	1986/1987
Number of	1816	1742	1730	1729	1717
establishments					
School year	1994/1995	1996/1997	1997/1998	1999/2000	2003/2004
Number of	1444	1345	1308	1230	993
establishments					
School year	2005/2006	2007/2008	2008/2009	2010/2011	2012/2013
Number of	896	706	778	733 (inclu-	728
establishments				ding 181	
				dormitories)	

Own work, based on: Statistical Yearbook, GUS/ MSO (Main Statistical Office), Warsaw: 1981, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1995, Small Own work, based on: Statistical Yearbook, GUS/ MSO (Main Statistical Office), Warsaw 1983, Own work, based on: Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland, GUS/ MSO (Main Statistical Office), Warsaw: 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2009, Statistical Yearbook, GUS/ MSO (Main Statistical Office), Warsaw 2011, Small Own work, based on: Statistical Yearbook of Poland, GUS/ MSO (Main Statistical Office), 2013.

In Poland, there are two forms of accommodation for pupils studying away from home at grammar and secondary schools. These are dormitories for students of mother school and boarding schools, where live young people from different schools from the city and the students of teacher training colleges under the age of 24. Boarding inter-schools are autonomous institutions, not related to any school in an administrative way, but cooperating with schools their pupils attended to. Apart from the mentioned institutions, forms that link dormitory and school in Poland are: special educational centers, youth upbringing centers, rehabilitation and education centers and social

therapy centers. However, these educational and upbringing units are not in the center of my attention in this text.

Determining factors of the decrease number of boarding schools and dormitories are beyond the mentioned - demographic low and economic reasons, greater availability of own automotive resources and the development of communication infrastructure. Many students get to school by car, often together with colleagues, that greatly reduces costs and save time. From many small towns one can get to the city, which is a major center of education, by private and public means of transport (bus), although this trend begins to change in some parts of the country and unprofitable services are eliminated. This situation is particularly painful in remote areas with low population, geographically difficult and with rare educational infrastructure, as well as in areas with high unemployment and what goes with it - the poverty.

Another factor reducing interest of discussed institutions is the increase of upper secondary schools in small towns. In families with material problems or families of low pedagogical culture and less educational aspirations, often parents are willing to send their child to school in the same place where they live than to pay for boarding school in a distant city. Even if the direction of education at school is not compatible with child's interests and predispositions.

The cost of the child's stay in dormitory or boarding-school is not high. Full board consisting of three meals costs about 160 to about 300 zl (about 40 - 80 euros) per month, depending on the institution and location, as well as the number of days the presence of a ward in an institution. Parents also cover the cost of the so-called fixed fee from 50 to 100 zl per month, which does not entirely cover the costs of maintaining a ward in an institution, and is only a symbolic fee. For many families, the costs are still high. Families living in poor housing conditions and low-income practice to cover the cost of the student's stay in the institution from the resources of assistance institutions (public, associations and church organizations), of course, under certain conditions. Such situations are, however, rare, and help is often the initiative of the management offices.

Taking into account the current trends in Polish education, one can predict further decrease in the number of dormitories. This situation closely correlates with the decreasing number of students in the near future, also, with the liquidation of some of the upper secondary schools. This process is dictated by economic reasons, and the declining number of students. Unfortunately, it does not influence on quality of education because of the existence of the school, as well as dormitory decide not socio-educational, but financial reasons. The existence of educational institutions in Poland

is currently influenced by the number of pupils and the granted educational subsidy, so the greater is the number of children and young people in the institution, the greater is chance of its functioning and development. In the case of boarding schools and dormitories problem is even more complex, because only part of the students uses this form of accommodation, so the number of pupils of institutions will always be much smaller than the total number of students.

Pupils of boarding schools and dormitories are mostly students from remote areas, far from the place of science village, often very small and poorly stimulated the development of environments not only local, but often family. It also happens that some pupils of institutions are from dysfunctional or even pathological families. For this group of people boarding school and dormitory creates not only a chance to graduation, but it also becomes a place where the pupil sees other opportunities of life, where they are motivated to take the effort to improve their own fate, build their own future, the place where they start to believe in themselves, in the sense of getting the knowledge and occupation; places where they can count on the help of colleagues and educators, the place where they recognize the correct patterns of behavior and relationships.

Functions, tasks and activities undertaken in institutions

Boarding schools and dormitories, as institutions supporting family and school in its task of education and further the educational aspirations of children and young people fulfill three basic functions: social, caring and educational. Social function is defined as the creation of conditions for the realization of the needs of society in education. Nowadays, this function takes on another meaning, namely - increasingly dormitories and boarding schools perform additional tasks related to the rental of rooms for individual users and groups, thereby becoming an alternative and cheap lodging place. Moreover, these institutions still looking for other solutions for strengthening their own budget - rent room for companies, organize various events, provide cooking services for external customers. A group of beneficiaries of institutions services thus becomes ever wider. The caring function should be understood as providing adequate conditions for pupils' stay at the establishment, meet their basic needs, including the need for security and help in solving problems. On the other hand the educational function is to assist the pupil in their development, equalization of educational and cultural gaps. In boarding schools and dormitories there are favorable, but not always fully used, conditions to know a pupil / student to understand better, support them in solving school, family and peer problems.

Particular functions consist of tasks carried out by the institutions. Among them there are: didactic, socializing, educational, caring, upbringing and preventive tasks. The didactic tasks closely correlate with educational function of school, and the role of boarding schools and dormitories in this area is to develop the interest in cognitive skills, to complement and broaden their knowledge, to help in learning and to protect against school failure, develop educational, professional and general-life aspirations, and to implement to self-education. The implementation of the socializing tasks has to prepare pupils for life in society and perform specific roles, respect the principles of social coexistence, as well as form the attitudes conducive to self-government and civic activity. Both socializing and educational tasks combine with culture function of institutions and serve cultural transmission. Educational tasks performed in boarding schools and dormitories connect closely with the tasks of prevention and are designed to produce favorable changes in pupils' personality. The role of institutions in this area is to help the wards to understand the complexities that rule this world, implement them to comply with social standards and perform specific roles, prevent addiction through the development of healthy behaviors and creating alternatives to risky behavior (Zięba-Kołodziej, 2011, p. 76-82), and teach them assertiveness, to identify weaknesses and enhance strengths, build adequate self-esteem and help to increase self-confidence, realize their own efficacy and consequences of the actions, both positive and negative. It is important also to support the ward in the quest for self-development (self-creation), to prepare to undertake a self-education and to participate in the culture and its creation.

The most important aspect of functioning of boarding schools and dormitories is caring of wards. With reference to four aspects of care (Badora, 2006, p. 32), the next group of tasks assigned to mentioned establishments:

- 1. Primary care. In this aspect, dormitories and boarding schools, among other things: meet the material and emotional needs of pupils, organize the necessary conditions for life and development, create conditions for learning, leisure, social contacts, support in solving the problems of wards and their families, including social problems (often in cooperation with other specialists), raise awareness of the risk connected with taking risky behavior and form the social climate favorable to education;
- 2. Upbringing care. In the area of upbringing care boarding schools: form appropriate intra- and interpersonal attitudes, learn pupils to be responsible for themselves and others, to achieve their potential in overcoming life's difficulties, but also to look for specialist help,

train to self-education, encourage to action for the common good (self-government), favor the development of interests and inspire to look for new areas of own activity, provide opportunities to participate in cultural life and activities conducive to the formation of a healthy lifestyle;

- 3. Supportive care. The tasks realized in the framework of supportive care include: diagnosing of pupil's difficulties, their family, school and peer situation, and taking action to release ward's own activity, in the care and upbringing activities taking into account the risk of reduced quality of life or individual, specific needs of pupil; taking up by educators preventive actions, supporting and stimulating the development, organization of help to the ward outside the institution in situations that require assistance in overcoming the health, educational and psychological problems, support for ward's family by pedagogical teaching and identifying possible sources of assistance social, psychological, therapeutic;
- 4. Compensating care. Among the tasks coming within this care include, in particular: taking action to equalize all kinds of deficiencies that threaten the proper development of the pupil educational and cultural deficiencies resulting from family environment negligence, unbalance the physical, intellectual, moral and health development of ward.

Mentioned group of activities in which specific care and upbringing actions are taken, require from educators constantly updated knowledge of new methods of working with individual and group, knowledge how to help in a specific problem situation of ward and their family, knowledge of psychoactive substances addictions and behavioral addictions, social maladjustment, eating disorders (anorexia, bulimia, obesity), emotional disorders and health problems faced by some pupils (e.g. epilepsy, diabetes, schizophrenia), and complete knowledge of developmental period and its crises, in which there are pupils of institution.

At the care and educational work, beyond the basic knowledge which makes up the canon of pedagogue methodological workshop, certain skills and social competencies of tutor are also required. Because knowledge itself is not enough, it must still be able to use practically. Therefore, in working with the group negotiating skills are needed, and those related to the creation and development of group, knowledge of group processes and the ability to apply the sociotechnical methods. In conducting lessons with a group there is needed creativity and the ability to apply activating working methods with the student and the ease of making contact and its support, but at the individual contact - the necessary therapeutic skills are often associated with supporting conversation and raising the awareness of ward and mobilizing

the internal forces. Awareness of educators concerning their importance in ward personality development, to influence their choices, behavior, taking up their challenges is also needed at the care and upbringing work in an establishment.

Unfortunately, current educational rules devalue the achievements of the previous methods of work in the dormitory and undermine the need to have appropriate qualifications and competence to be an educator of children and adolescents. Range of fields of study and specializations, thanks to which one can be a tutor in a boarding school or dormitory is quite broad and questions the value of teaching, and the teacher is even pushed to the lower position, as nearly everyone may be - even educator, although the work at these institutions is far from the school system of work, and other people who have completed postgraduate studies in accordance with the direction taken in institution activities, much shorter than the process of studying pedagogy.

Organization and selected problems of dormitory establishments

Children and teenagers living in boarding schools and dormitories are divided into groups. Number of pupils in the group depends on the educational rules regulating the condition and is different for boarding schools, dormitories, and listed in the publication centers (establishments) connecting in its structure dormitory and school. Also the number of tutor hours of work with a group of pupils varies, and for dormitories (higher secondary education) it is 49 hours per week, and for boarding schools - 55 hours per week, although new educational rules for boarding schools allow to change the number of groups, and time of care and upbringing work with the group.

The boarding school and dormitories meet with various difficulties. Generally speaking, the problems of dormitory institutions functioning in Poland can be divided into three main groups: organizational, welfare and upbringing problems. I assume that some of these difficulties are also present in institutions of a similar type in other European countries, especially of the former political system, and, in a certain range, in European schools.

Economic and business problems of educational institutions are particularly important, especially in the current system of financing of Polish education. They affect the organization of the process of care and upbringing establishments, as well as the level of students safety. Today, many institutions, thanks to EU projects, targeted subsidies, and their own, worked out means of economic activity, take the renovation and modernization work to raise the standard and increase the safety of residents. Repairing and adaptation of buildings (mostly old and poorly planned out) to the requirements of

EU and national laws relating to the safety staying in such institutions require great involvement of employees. However, more and more boarding schools and dormitories become a competitive lodging place for other forms of accommodation, especially short-term and at the same time these institutions are becoming more and more attractive place to stay for children and youth learning far from the place of residence. Rooms for 2, 3 or 4 people, more often with separate bathrooms have already become standard in many dormitories. Aesthetics of rooms, basic equipment - public computers with internet access, Wi-Fi for individual users, television, audio-video equipment look much better. In many boarding schools and dormitories laundry and ironing, as well as sport gyms (e.g. fitness) is a norm. On the principles of collaboration young people use sport halls and playgrounds of schools they attend to, and other recreational sporting forms available in the city, though often for payment.

Another group of problems in the institutions there are difficulties from the care and upbringing area. Problems to tutors and wards are caused by so-called second life, especially if combined with violent behavior. This phenomenon is rarely controlled by adults, often difficult to detect, sometimes extremely subtle, especially among girls, if we speak about aggressive behavior, it is a disruption of the normal interpersonal relationships and is present not only in boarding schools and dormitories, but also at schools. It is not also the domain only of our country. Decisive action of tutors in many institutions have led to a situation in which "dormitory" violence is symbolic and is associated with some, less than ever, drastic behavior or humiliating rituals. The problem of boarding schools and dormitories are also such behavior of wards as smoking, drinking, experimenting with drugs, designer drugs, truancy or vulgarity. These phenomena are attributed to the life of today's youth and present not only in our culture. This does not mean, however, that it should be accepted by adults. Such behavior is not acceptable in the boarding schools and wards are punished including deprivation of the right to live. However, it is not the end of the work of educators – they are responsible for the fate of a young man and take a various actions to change pupil attitudes and motivation, working in this aspect with their parents, pedagogue, police and, if necessary, indicating the possibility of specialist help. In these institutions the emphasis is on prevention, especially on the prevention of first and second level, which is associated with continuing training of educators, raising their knowledge about addiction and the evolution of therapeutic skills. Another group of problems is related to the unwillingness of students to learning, lack of motivation and educational aspirations. Impact of educators in the field of eliminating these difficulties consist, among others, on: helping pupil in science, controlling their progress, talking to strengthen the motivation to explore the knowledge, highlighting the relationship between dreams and getting education and profession, transferring the knowledge about ways of learning, memorizing techniques and effective time management. It is also important in the care and upbringing work to support a ward in solving their personal, peer, family, school, existential and those related to the age of adolescence, problems. The educational conversations - individual and in small groups, psycho-educational classes, meetings with experts, including prevention and health serve mentioned above issues. The help to ward, their support, being with them in difficult emotional moments and events, builds a strong connection, affects the development of relationships based on understanding the needs, mutual trust and a feeling that this is the adult educator, you can count on. Proper relationships influence the development of positive social climate in the institution, and the strengthening of individual activities undertaken by the wards allow them to believe in their own efficacy and opportunity to create their own lives.

Methods and forms of dormitory work

The basic form of work in a boarding school and dormitory is work with a group and individual contact. In the first case - the group participates in activities organized by teachers and at the same time pursue their own ideas which contribute to their development, among others, through the local government activities. A variety of methods and forms are used at the group work – psycho-educational, socio-therapeutic, recreational and sports, preventive lessons, the elements of art therapy, including psychodrama; interpersonal training, meetings with interesting people - specialists in various branches (police, family court judge, psychologists), regular events inscribed in the tradition of the establishments (e.g. Hazing, World Hello Day, Boyfriend Day, Women's Day). An interesting form is interactive prophylactic theater; young people in institutions organize discos, movie nights, different games. The big attraction for young people are classes that allow them to relax and not require specific mental activity like at school. Among them there are playful activities - various competitions or sports games, musical fun modeled on television programs. Youth can also participate in various kinds of circles of interests, for example, a reading club, film, drama club, cabaret, plastic or sports circle. Group classes can also be arranged on the open air and on the basis of the city offer (local events, cinema, museum, etc.). Working with a group includes also meeting in small groups with the housemaster, frequently spontaneous, during which various youth issues are dealt with. The interaction with group and inspiring its activity requires from the educators the ability to create a team, knowledge of group processes, sociotechnical methods, maintain the attractiveness of the team, so that its current and potential participants want to belong to it, identify with the goals and standards of group team.

Individual work with pupil, beyond the purely care and upbringing aspect, have therapy elements. The basic form of personal contact is conversation, but also help in learning, individual support program serving to solve ward problems, working with their family. This action often requires discretion and is based on mutual trust. But the conversation with ward serves also for learning about their interests, aspirations and dreams, experienced difficulties associated with the period of adolescence, family problems. In this case, from educator it is required comprehensive knowledge, not only diagnostic but also operating - used in organizing assistance when necessary. Personal contact also requires specific skills - making contact, listening, searching, and strengthening the capacity of ward. The basis of individual work with the student, as well as with a group of pupils in boarding school and dormitory is accurate needs analysis, being the output for action and creation process of care and upbringing process, based on the programs and work plans.

Therefore, what should be noted, educator in the boarding school and dormitory cannot be occasional person. Proper tutor behavior patterns, their friendliness and openness to the problems of pupils, readiness to support and creativity in organizing different leisure and educational activities allow young people to believe that they are not alone and the adult world is favorable to them. It is important here the knowledge, skills and social competence, as well as a certain kind of personality that is not "aging" as the years pass. There is nothing more disastrous in working with children and young people than routine, fatigue, lack of creativity and passivity.

Conclusion

Boarding schools and dormitories should be seen in a broad perspective, because only such a view can show the importance of institutions in building the life way of young people. These institutions not only support the school in its task of teaching, but also replace family for 5 days a week, and sometimes a whole week. But above all, support the young people, on condition that the process of socialization and upbringing takes place properly. Of course, dormitory upbringing requires continuous improvement, creating new forms of work adapted to the needs of the pupils and the changes that are and will be the consequence of social change.

Boarding institutions, to be attractive, must respond to the changes taking place in the thinking of young people, but also recognize new problems in their mentality, their experiences, dilemmas, sometimes in solitude in not always hospitable to young people worldwide. Without a slightest doubt one can say that it have not been found yet another form, such good and effective, providing care and upbringing to the students who learn far from home than a boarding school and dormitory, although it is true that any institution will not replace the family.

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DOBRI PETROVSKI

THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE TEACHING STAFF IN TERMS OF THEIR CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The current situation in the actual educational processes confirms that the human factor is a key component in the work of every organization. Treating the human factor only as a number and a teacher's qualification structure is dropped not only by the theorist but also by those who do practice, that is those who directly create the educational organization politics. In this area there are few things that stand out, such as:

- Having the necessarily knowledge, skills, abilities and
- adequate behavior and engagingness.

There's one question that stands out in this issue, and that is how will the school create this kind of quality teachers? The answer is pretty simple: either they will be "bought" from the labor market using some of the human resources management functions, like recruiting or selection (of new teachers) or using the other way is for them to be "created" in the school itself through adequate development of the existing permanent staff. The choice between these two alternatives "to buy" or "to create" the necessary teacher, depends on:

- The outlay (the one to "buy" and the one to "create");
- The urgency of the school goals;
- The necessity of teacher motivation;
- The school's culture and its tradition.

Looking at our school's experiences so far it seems that the second alternative (creating adequate organization and realization of teacher's development staff) is more acceptable. This follows the conclusion that regardless of the fast science and technical development, teachers are still the key factor for gaining quality education. The number of developmental changes that occur in everyday educational situations can't be realized in practice without staff that is qualified not only to successfully understand and accept changes, but to successfully use them in practice too.

The term definition and development of the teaching staff

The development comes after its etymological meaning refers to the transition from one state to another, the movement from one point to another, in other words referring to transitional and dynamic approach to the observation of things. This concept applies equally to all areas, including education as one of them. From the previous explanation can be concluded that the development of human resources and development of teachers in terms of dynamic changes daily, many innovations in all fields etc. as the need arises. That necessarily includes the training of educational organizations; particularly schools follow the modern trends of the new age in order to ensure competitiveness on the domestic and world market. The question is how the school will provide for the monitoring of such processes. The answer usually lies in the development of the teaching staff.

Therefore, the development of the teaching staff is required to be a continuous process of investing in a systemic perspective, i.e. investment in their future quality and value. An obligation arising from such continuity famous definition of human resources, development is defined as the process of providing learning and development opportunities for training in order to improve individual, team and organizational performance results (Armstrong, 2001, p. 513). Therefore it can be said that the development of the teaching staff should be a strategic goal of every educational organization, or an integral part of its strategic development as a process that contributes to achieving long-term goals.

Considering the great importance of the development of the teaching staff in the overall process of successful implementation of the educational process, my thoughts led to the construction of a suitable model (Figure No. 1.) for the development of the teaching staff that consists of successful implementation of three very important segments:

- Basic professional education;
- work introduction;
- work improvement and development.

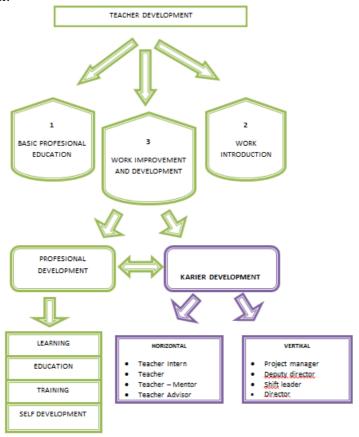
The basic professional education is part of the teacher's development in which they use the educational institutions to gain knowledge, abilities, skills and opinions as a wide contexts for successful realization of the work related tasks. With solid and successful finish of this part of professional development they get an acknowledged certificate (diploma) for certain degree for technical ability that enables right to work and right to continue toward higher education.

Work introduction is a level of relative finalization of the gained education, regardless of its degree. The main function of this developmental

step is the teacher's professional adaptation in certain school as a condition for successful realization of the work and work related tasks.

Work improvement and development is a phase when teachers are required to have appropriate professional and career development, as a subject upon which the following part of the paper is focused on.

Figure no.1 Development of the teaching staff – Model Career development of staff.



Although the theory of career development has many definitions, they all have a common core, which is that career development is tasked to connect knowledge, skills, abilities and needs of employees with existing and future needs of the organization - the right people at the right time

the right place. It is the organizational process that is based on the assumption that people are the most important resource in any organization.

In this sense, the career development of teaching staff as well as in all other professions has its own role and importance because it is common knowledge that the work is a key factor in achieving quality of life, social equality, self-respect, self-control and of course managing your career. The rise of the professional competence, commitment to the profession and personal career will lead to changes in perceptions of the processes by teachers. Aware of their knowledge, skills and abilities, teachers will not easily accept authority, hierarchy or domination or more we strive to be active participants in all processes, not passive carriers of subordinate commands. In a sense, there should be enough attention paid to the career development of teaching staff. If this does not happen, there is a high risk of developing career teachers to go in completely the wrong direction. It would be wrong if their career takes place primarily in order to help attain elitist privileges and status in society. Good teachers know that their authority not well be based on bureaucratic - hierarchical authority, but the power of their pedagogical knowledge and skills. This leads to the conclusion that the best solution is for teachers when their career is geared towards the profession and not the hierarchy, or vertical progression.

Precisely because of its great importance, the career development of teachers and staff is the focus of attention of the European Union (EU) as a result of which in recent years it has released several important documents that concern this issue. So in 2000, the Council of Europe has set strategic objectives for education and training of teachers entitled "Education and Training 2010". In the Detailed work program on the follow-up of the objectives of Education and training systems in Europe (2002/C 142/01) in the part of Strategic objective 1 (Improving the quality and effectiveness of education and training systems in the EU) it is emphasized that "Access to knowledge is of the highest importance in a knowledge society. Teachers and trainers are therefore key actors in any strategies targeted at stimulating the development of society and the economy. Attracting and retaining well qualified and motivated people in the teaching profession, which is faced with massive recruitment needs due to the ageing of the teaching population, is a short and medium term priority in most European countries.

If Europe is to succeed in this objective, which is becoming more difficult across the continent as a whole, it must improve the ways in which teachers and trainers are supported as their role changes, and as public perceptions of them change; it must be supported by a general consensus, with

³⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/doc/compendium05 en.pdf

those in the teaching and training professions, as to the skills which they all should have". 36

The career development of the teaching staff is also mentioned in the Conclusions of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council of 15 November 2007, on improving the quality of teacher education (1) (2007/C 300/07) "In view of the above considerations, Member States should give high priority to sustaining and improving the quality of teacher education within a careerlong perspective". ³⁷

As a very interesting category in the development in general, the career development of the teaching staff is part of the framework for building a more effective teacher profession (A framework for building a more effective teaching profession) published in 2012 a document entitled SABER (Systems Approach for Better Education Results).³⁸

Figure No. 2 The 8 SABER- Teachers Policy goals, The World Bank, produced by members of the core team of the SABER



Source: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1290520949227/SABER-Teachers-Framework-Updated_June14.2012.pdf.

As it can be noted from the picture above, this policy contains 8 (eight) significant points from which the second point titled as "Attracting the best into teaching" is of a significant importance for the subject of this

³⁶http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2002:142:0001:0022:E N:PDF

³⁷ http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2007:

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³⁸ http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-12905 20949227/SABER-Teachers-Framework-Updated_June14.2012.pdf

paper. In the realization of this purpose, four important activities are being mentioned such as ensuring of the:

- 1. Minimum requirements to enter pre-service training and teaching.
- 2. Competitive pay.
- 3. Appealing working conditions.
- 4. Attractive career opportunities.

The fourth activity is in regard to ensuring Attractive career opportunities for teachers. "Career opportunities are important to attract talented individuals into teaching and provide incentives for them to stay in the profession. Top candidates can often choose among many occupations, most of which offer them opportunities to grow professionally. Virtually all education systems offer teachers the possibility of being promoted to principal positions at some point in their careers. In addition to these "vertical" promotions, case study research on high-performing systems shows that most of these systems offer teachers the possibility of "horizontal" promotions, to academic positions that allow them to grow professionally as teachers and yet remain closely connected to instruction, instead of moving up to managerial positions (OECD, 2012; Darling-Hammond, 2010). Based on this evidence, this level explores whether there are multiple opportunities for career advancement, and whether these opportunities are linked to performance."

Carrier development of the teaching staff in the Republic of Macedonia

Modern trends in education, unreservedly confirm the main point that the educational institutions in the country will be able to successfully follow and meet the high standards of compatibility, efficiency and effectiveness in the implementation of modern educational practice will necessarily have to hold teachers staff with their knowledge, skills and abilities and will be able to bear the heaviest burden in the implementation of this practice. Therefore, as a key segment a question whether we will be able to shift time and define the right way and our teachers will provide general development despite adequate career development has emerged.

The field of career development of teachers in the Republic of Macedonia has made some very important steps. One of the more significant is the adoption of the "National Program for the Development of Education in the Republic of Macedonia 2005-2015". Among other elements of the development it contained significant elements of the career development of teaching staff. Sequence of drawbacks were established that relate primari-

40 http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/mak-strategija-mk.pdf

 $^{^{39}}$ http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1290520949227/SABER-Teachers-Framework-Updated_June14.2012.pdf

ly to equality in status and remuneration of teachers, taking into account the knowledge and skills for contemporary teaching and learning, in which many of them create resistance to professional obligations. If this is added to the lack of objective evaluation, it is obvious that the modernization of teaching and learning is impossible to execute without change in status and remuneration of teachers, in order to avoid situations in which all teachers have the same status and value (reward) may, regardless of the quality we possess, approach practiced in teaching and the results it achieved in working with students. In this *Act of the Ministry of Education is committed to build a system model for career advancement for teachers in primary education, which comprises four steps, namely: teacher – trainee, teacher, a distinguished teacher and teacher - mentor.*

That obligation, the Ministry of Education implemented in the Law Amending the Law on Primary Education. With this move, it is my opinion that Macedonia has established good practice of career development of teachers, ensuring that there are appropriate criteria for their promotion in two major segments (horizontal - in the field and vertically - in management structures).

Horizontal career development

Horizontal career development of professionals in the Republic of Macedonia has been organized and started since the beginning of 2010, i.e., determining the conditions and criteria for advancement of teachers in the following 4 levels or titles:

- Teacher Intern;
- · Teacher:
- Teacher mentor;
- Teacher advisor.

The teacher who was first employed by the school obtained the title teacher – apprentice and can thrive in positions teacher, teacher - mentor and teacher – counselor. Advancement of the classroom teacher positions and teacher – a mentor is monitored and performed by the school committee that is established by the school principal. The committee is comprised of by a school teacher and a teacher of primary education, educator or school psychologist, a parent, school principal, school board member who is a representative of the founder and advisor of the Bureau for Development of Education in Macedonia. In advance of classroom appropriate title, the school committee must take into account the results of external testing contained

⁴¹ http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/mak-strategija-mk.pdf

in the report about the work of teachers, and the evaluation of the teacher's professional file.

The advancement of the teachers in the profession of teacher - councilor is monitored by a committee established by the Minister. In advance of the classroom teacher title - advisory committee which is established by the Minister, must take into account the results of external testing contained in the report on the work of teachers, and the evaluation of the teacher's professional file.

An elementary school, if it has 50 employees at the end of each school year, the proposal of teaching tips, it can perform the advancement of two of its employees from the ranks of teachers in each of the adequate titles.

An elementary school, if there are more than 51 employees, upon completion of each school year, and with the proposal of the Teachers' Council, can perform up to three advancement of employees from the ranks of teachers into each of the adequate titles. The salary of a teacher is determined by its acquired title.

The method of professional development, training and advancement of teachers and associates in positions is determined by the Minister upon the proposal of the Bureau, the State Examination Centre and the State Educational Inspectorate (Macedonian Law on Primary Education).

A positive feature of this established system of career development is that it is in parallel with the promotion to a higher position and created prerequisites for achieving the higher income or salary of the teacher to be in accordance with the acquired title. Thus, under Article 35, group VII- 2 of the Collective Agreement for primary education in the Republic of Macedonia⁴², established gross ratios for level of complexity since March 2010 are:

- 2.002 for teacher trainee,
- 2.503 for teacher,
- 2.803 for teacher mentor.
- 3.104 for teacher advisor. 43

Vertical development

It is certain that the successful passage of previous levels are solid grounds for promotion of classroom management structures such as heads of

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 $^{^{\}rm 42}$ http://www.pravdiko.mk/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Kolektiven-dogovor-zaosnov n Oto-obrazovanie.pdf

⁴³http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CC gQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.sonk.org.mk%2Fdocuments%2FSonk%2520K oeficienti%2520Mart%252010.xls&ei=QwWrUr3OIsrOygP_goEw&usg=AFQjCNF Yr6mgg4YoR6uevCPcjoP_kHaIjA

local schools, shift leader, heads the class teachers or subject teachers, deputy director etc., including the highest office as a management director. Good practice would be when the promotion of the teaching staff is done in accordance with the value systems of respect, which unfortunately in our environment does not function good and generally promoting the teaching staff in the management structure is a politicized process. Therefore, efforts in the country in the direction can be positively assessed for, at least, to overcome the significant weaknesses in the classroom promotion director, bringing legal obligation that the Director must be elected from among the candidates who have undergone training on dedicated directors and then passed director's exam (Macedonian Law on Primary Education).

When talking about the previously mentioned promotion of teaching staff with respect to the value systems, I bore in mind those value systems that have been built throughout the entire process of development of the teaching staff. So no doubt we can say that there is a close connection between all three phases in the development of the teaching staff in the completion of the entire process (Figure No. 1).

Conclusion

Eventually it would be good to once again point out that, although legislation in the country provides an adequate framework for career development of staff, or the opportunity for adequate horizontal and vertical progress, although wage compensation for various positions are aligned with collective agreements and the evaluation of teachers involved all important elements, however in practice does not apply. This leads to the conclusion that only the institutionalization of career development in legislation and some laws are not enough. Overcoming this problem is possible only if detected, and then remove all obstacles that hinder the application of client legal solutions. In this context of great benefit may be the results of research on Macedonian Civic Education Center (MCEC) Skopje and the Bureau for Development of Education of the Republic realized within the project of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Professional career development of teachers.

According to the results of the aforementioned research published in 2013 in the publication "policy analysis and practice of professional and career development of teachers in the country" as important reasons for problems incurred the lack of financial resources, poorly developed criteria and procedures for promotion to positions the small difference in the ratio

of complexity between various titles, as well as restrictions on the number of teachers in a school that can be promoted to certain positions were mention. Such detected problems present a solid basis and offer recommendations to overcome them:

- The most important recommendation is that all relevant factors in the period ahead will need to make further efforts to overcome the unfavorable financial situation, or to provide sustainable funding to not only use the system for advancement titles, but higher pay for teachers.
- The second important step that you should take is to finally begin the process of moving into positions but previously prepared standards for successful assessment of the conditions for obtaining such positions.
- In order to successfully meet its objectives, those that track and evaluate the work of teachers should have appropriate continuing professional development.

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ALINA GÓRNIOK-NAGLIK

THE VALUES OF ART AS A BASE OF AN AXIOLOGICALLY ORIENTED CULTURAL EDUCATION

Introduction

Talking about an axiologically oriented cultural education we think about a conscious receipt of cultural texts by pupils, the ability to read and interpret senses and the values which are involved in them (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, 2012). Suggesting further, that works of art are cultural texts, teacher's activities should concentrate on organising contacts with art connected to different spheres, leading students to the world of timeless values.

Art, as a means of good, truth and beauty can be interpreted in spiritual categories, higher and having an absolute, timeless and objective character, treated in some perspective as the highest ones. Considering the truth, good and beauty as the highest values that can aim at treating them as the values being a creation of a human mind, in particular, a kind of abstraction, added to some detailed values (Stróżewski, 1982, p. 13). Such a view has dominated the modern times. However, in the light of discussion shown in this text, truth, good and beauty 'make categorical values for a person who accomplishes a form and a goal typical for himself/herself: in behaviour towards other people and themselves – the good, in cognition – the truth, in making and contemplating true things, causing love and desire – the beauty' (Olbrycht, 2002, p. 41). In Karol Wojtyła's dissertation, a spiritual human's life concentrates on truth, good and beauty, too.

However, we have to remember that 'a paragon of a perfect beauty may never come true. A man will never stop fighting with himself/herself in the way he/she could stop trying to get higher degrees of moral freedom. [..] Unattainability (of values – AG.N.) comes not from the illusion but from inexhaustible resources of values, in other words – from infinity raising above every reality' (Hessen, 1997, p. 70-71).

Communing with values carried by art, we are still on the way to achieve something impossible. But even this piece of infinity given us in a direct experiencing of art and having creative relations with it, has a great impact on making and stabilising models of a life space, produced and realised by a man as a world's picture.

From experiencing the values of art to their cognition

Desisting from the cultural education, aesthetic, depriving a person of a possibility to deal with the highest values would be equal with stopping an evolution, both in an individual and social dimension. However, 'a person who stops trusting in a positive world order, at the same time stops being sensitive to anything that could threaten it (and a human being, too – A.G.N.)' (Czapiński, 1995; Czapiński, 1988).

The values make a power that actuates a receiving behaviour. Their understanding is the most important and may lead to their acceptance. A man has a necessity to discover, possess and realise the values which enables him/her to commune with art in an active way. Experiencing the values of a work is not only a passionless perceiving of an object but having an attitude dominated by an emotional act. In these acts we refer to a work of art by taking into account its recognisable value, as a result of which an emotional consciousness gives back its proper attitude. Thanks to an aesthetic attitude, it is possible to experience something that is expressed directly in a piece of work. It is an independent attitude, free from prejudice, lacking various external biases. Such an attitude actualizes significant qualities of a piece of work in an aesthetic way and leads to creating aesthetical values on a basis of these qualities and makes it possible to commune a subject with values in a direct and intimate way (Dziemidok, 1992, p. 88-92).

The recognisable values impose on us, in some way, overwhelm our feelings, and make us answer with emotional acceptance or rejection. In a process of communing with art we should aspire to a full recognising and describing the value which has affected us. Then it becomes possible to move from experiencing (feeling) values to knowing them (Morszczyńscy, 2003, p. 58).

This is what is happening in a process of those who experience a piece of art and it guarantees an optimal perception of this work. The world of art created from a projection enables a projection which, according to Edgar Morin, depends on escaping from itself and every- day life to the world of values (Dziemidok, 1992, p. 108). We have to remember that we usually concentrate on chosen values and we strive to make them real. It results from the fact that our axiological consciousness has a limited capacity and it cannot comprise all the values. 'Various elements decide which values are in a centre of our going through and experiencing and Hartmann distinguishes 3 the most important ones: condition of life, similarities and differences between the values and a variability of axiological consciousness' (Morszczyńscy, 2003, p. 58). While looking at young people's education, a well-organised and realised axiological education seems to be the most crucial component.

Cultural education as an axiological one

There is a particular need for an axiological education, considered as the education for a conscious choosing of values and defying their hierarchy on a basis of constructing their own life philosophy, their own programme of self-creation (Olbrycht, 1994, p. 77). The students should discover and classify the values as free and conscious creatures trying to understand themselves, others and their own world and trying to make the way of discovering values real.

At first, realizing of values takes place in an individual-subjective-psycho-spiritual act when a man meets with values existing in an objective way (not only in works of art). Then, after a subjective psycho-spiritual act of a man's meeting with values, a process of realizing values through acts begins as their certificate, a certificate of fulfilment at the same time, fulfilling themselves as a person.

In order to make the value realized, some sensitivity to a certain situation (a work of art) is needed, which J. Tischner (1985) describes as a touch of reality. Thanks to this touch of reality 'we perceive this value (or a lack of it) in a particular situation and then imperative, not exactly defined feeling of obligation, we complete with an activity answering a question: how to realize this value?' (Ablewicz, 2003, p. 238).

Every educational situation, and that is the situation of realizing a work of art actively, makes the world of values and a concept of a human being manifest. In educational activities we have to deal with a constant travelling across the way from ideal values to those which are revealed by a concrete situation (an aesthetic situation). Although, the values fulfil in a human experience and by the same man, it does not always happen that a subject of this experience is responsible for a process of their realization.

Other people (teachers, parents, colleagues) and some situational conditions are also responsible – coincidences that mix together different values which could lead a person to many axiological vagueness and conflicts (Ablewicz, 2003, p. 244). It makes students aware of the fact that the world is full of values and they are not living in an axiological vacuum. The world of values is permanently present in a man's world, which appears as a whole in a historic perspective of coexistence of the world with universe.

Every man's world depends on a type of culture he or she is combined with and a power of relations with it. Our way of perceiving the world comes mainly from our culture, which we are part of in a conscious or unconscious way. In education, apart from exposing our freedom to choose and subjectivity of students, it is also important to pay attention to various concepts

of the world and a human being together with their consequences for a hierarchy of values caused by their conscious choice (Puzynina, 1994, p. 18).

Discovering the values included in works of art and defying their essence, an individual can experience a creative enthusiasm. A person has a chance to exceed his/her own limits of experiencing an internal development. Communing with the values makes a new working horizon for a person, changes his/her point of view, which is no longer seen as a definite and allows a person to take part in its shaping. First of all, a person's uniqueness expresses a strive for values and making them real, not a dissimilarity created from individual systems (Morszczyńscy, 2003, p. 52).

A good teacher should broaden a range of students' individual decisions and deliver them some data to make positive decisions at the same time. Demanding a receipt in self-creation of a horizon individual of objective values, it must be emphasized that a human being needs to learn in an objective and right way in order to make his/her own choices and make it true what belongs to them. The role of a teacher in this process aims at helping students to be aware of the existence of an objective sense of the world and values, which leads to obtain duties and make them realize their freedom and responsibility to sense which is being discovered (Olbrycht, 2002, p. 146).

It has a crucial meaning in times of a modern fragmentary culture. In other words, we are observing a change in people's relation with values which is one of the most important determinants of cultural changes that are happening nowadays. It is connected with a changeability of choices, simultaneous acceptance of opposing values belonging to axiological orders. A fragmentary culture which is cited above 'means, first of all, a permanent – as it seems - breakdown of a system of traditional values as a foundation of human existence in different cultural contexts and attempts to construct a substitutive and still actualized axiological whole from different fragments coming from various cultures' (Kubinowski, 2000, p. 359).

Creating individual systems of values in a process of axiological education

'Educational impact may be described as a generous form of understanding the values by a student and leaving him/her, at the same time, a final decision, if he/she reached a moment of a serious decision' (Grzegorczyk, 1998, p. 91). An effect of a teacher's help should be recognition, acceptance and understanding the values by a student. The structures of values (individual systems) are created on a basis of different configurations of component values. 'Learning values is learning their combinations in different formations' (Zalewska, 1994, p. 92).

In order to create different configurations of values and provide a regulative function of values against people's behaviour in a process of axiological education, it is necessary to (Zalewska, 1994, p. 93):

- Include individual experience with ranging and choosing life choices by students;
- Take care of emotions in experiencing and creating values which have a direct relation with shaping emotional attitudes (which is not difficult in a process of communing with works of art).

All the emotional attitudes shown in point 2 have a regulatory function and are related to emotional sensitivity, cognitive structures, customs and habits. It makes that a certain ability gained while learning of values by experiencing them, can be transferred into an independent learning of other values which guarantees a continuity of education and a process of person's self-creation.

It is necessary to emphasize that axiological education is not considered in a cognitive perspective here because then it would be just cognition for cognition, and it can't be reduced only to emotions. K. Obuchowski (1985) directs our attention to a system of a code – emotions. 'Axiological education would be a creation of superior structures on a basis of a code – emotions over hierarchic (cognitive) system, as well as a creation of their mutual relations' (Zalewska, 1994, p. 94). Next to the system of a code – emotions created over a cognitive system (based on a hierarchic code) D. Zalewska (1994) demands the existence of a third system and calls it axionormative. The system aims at mixing structures built on code-emotions with a hierarchic code.

The conception described above reflects a complexity of processes that create their own system of values understood as a diversity of an oversystem the man – the world, in which a man, as a causing subject, has various relations with elements of the world and creates himself/herself which affects others and the world s/he lives in.

It is necessary to show students different ways to such a creation of consciousness so they could choose a system of values, respect them and take a responsibility for their realization individually. They should also learn to accept duties and obligations following from their decisions.

A teacher should react deliberately and consequently to draw the line between the beauty and ugliness, the good and the bad, the truth and the lie. S/he should set requirements for students to obey the rules and norms. At the same time, a teacher should treat their searches and individual attempts and views, different from his/her own, and be ready to exchange opinions with patience and respect. In such a broadly understood axiological education, it assumes an intellectual education, educating of feelings and desirable

behaviours aimed at anything that is valuable and consciously known and experienced. It results not only from psychological correctness of a development of evaluation processes but from 'considering an integral conception of a human being as a person' (Olbrycht, 2002, p. 122).

Educating in a spirit of values has not only a temporary, defined in a period of time and educational dimension, but a whole living, depending on a harmony between a structure of acquired culture (art) property and a spiritual structure of an individual (Gajda, 2006, p. 187). It needs to be emphasized that the more the autonomy of an individual arises, as a possibility and ability to achieve the highest stadium of values' development, the more it is necessary to carry on an axiological education simultaneously.

The culture knowledge versus young people's axiological maturation

A role of education in a process of young people's axiological maturation cannot be overestimated. However, it requires a definite intensification of such education in relation to what we have recently observed. There is a chance to spread this idea by realizing a subject of *culture knowledge* in secondary schools. Its content should concentrate, more than it used to, on the aesthetical education which displays art in correlative, historical, chronological and epochal perspective (Górniok-Naglik, 2002). It is about putting students' knowledge about all fields of art in order. In other words, a reception of a work of art is very important including a specification of media which transfer it. Thanks to such a reception, it is possible to search of the unity in variability, by analysis which provide students with relations between works presenting different fields of art.

A man wants and should overwhelm a whole of his/her life and sense it can have for himself/herself and others in a process of existence as *en pr se* – being, which is shaped (after M. Gołaszewska). Finding sense is strictly connected to valuation.

The problem being discussed here is that students are familiar with art in a category of calling and classifying it but they don't reach art itself and values it represents. A process of clarifying values is very important in shaping an axiological attitude of young people and it should be done on a level of school education. It is essential to make introspective questions by young people in relation to aesthetic feelings taken from a contact with culture for example: what do I appreciate and find beautiful and noble? What makes me amazed and disgust? What don't I appreciate, find ugly, bad etc. (Denek, 1999, p. 56)?

A process of art's valuation is one of the aims of 'a new cultural education' together with the ability to analyse and interpret (Ministerstwo

Edukacji Narodowej, 2012). Due to clarifying of values, an individual becomes a conscious recipient of cultural texts and his/her life would become of a certain quality.

By exposing literature, music and art in table of contents, not only do we cite particular works but we also teach the ability to a dialogue and open-minded attitude. We stimulate world's curiosity, shape sensitivity to value and fortune of a human being who is suffering from a drama of his/her existence, a man who is looking for support in transcendence. We teach understanding of art in a way that makes it ready to act, shape opinions and sensitivity to anything new, opposing. It should be concluded, at the same time, that culture (including personal one) is shaped mainly thanks to a man's contacts with great authors and their works. It is used to awake creative and expressive attitudes.

An active and conscious art's reception becomes a ground to gain as much as possible for its own development. It prepares a person to overcome competent and will-dependent barriers in achieving the presence in the world of art and transferring them on a level of earthly and daily existence at the same time.

While communing with values of art, a man chooses them and make a basis for all personal activities. A man puts all the chosen contents over himself/herself. S/he can change a present situation in a way that every activity is directed to values. Therefore, a main task of the cultural education is to make young people aware of who they are, who they are going to be and who they should be. It is done by internalization of values in works of art.

Conclusions

Art is a means of values that make a source of basic goals and tasks and should be realized within a complex, school-educational reality (Tchorzewski de, 1994). That's why, cultural education aims at serving an individual to achieve a real possibility to participate creatively in a symbolic world of culture. This allows an individual self-recognition, self-realization, self-determination, self-creation and self-fulfilment which are a key of importance to a high quality of people's life.

The education done so far performs a task to prepare a participant to master a ready knowledge rather than preparing a co-creator and self-educator. The priority task is the equality of paradigms for an active receiver and co-creator, self-educator. In a process of education, we demand not only an increase of perceptive effort, but mainly a fulfilment of a possibility to create our own system of values. We develop all valuable properties of our

own, strengthen individualities and tastes of a person saving a possibility to defence our own autonomy. This postulate is possible to fulfil thanks to intensification of contacts with art connected with a process of clarifying values that are represented by art in the course of education of *culture knowledge*.

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VALENTINA GULEVSKA

ENHANCING TEACHER COMPETENCIES WITH EMOTIONAL AND ETHICAL CAPACITY

Introduction

Improving the quality of teacher education at the same time means improving the humanity as a whole. Good education simply presumes high quality of teachers. The goals of the teacher education need to be framed to cultivate not only knowing one's subject, learning the right techniques or methods, and being efficient, but also emotional and ethical competencies. Emotions are dynamic part of the human beings. Because of that all social organizations, including schools, are full of them. The impact of the emotions in the domain of education actually emphasizes the ethical dimensions of teaching and upbringing. Consequently, the most powerful energy in education is creating autonomous system of values among the learners, especially among the young people. From there, emotional intelligence facilitates understanding about the limitations of the cognitive intelligence. Qualified teachers are not just professionals who demonstrate various forms of knowledge and ability to apply them in their work. Moreover, they are emotional and passionate beings who are connected with their students on many levels. Teachers fill their work and their classes, not only with knowledge and skills, but also with pleasure and joy, albeit they may have worry, hurt, and despair.

In simpler words, the "cult of efficiency" that was imposed in the classrooms from the outside, by the external surveillance, appears as shadow upon the teaching which has a need of sensitive approach to the children's minds and hearts.

Recent changes and challenges in Macedonian educational system

In the last ten years the educational system in Republic of Macedonia was undergoing radical changes in area of designing curricula, establishing of models for assessment, improving of the conditions for schooling and promoting of professional development for the teaching staff. The initiative for these reforms has emerged from combination of numerous and significant social and political events in the country.

Regarding the state's efforts for Euro integration, principally, we should point out the acceptance of the Bologna process in the higher education and collaboration between educational institutions of all levels with intention to contribute for the exchange of opinions, experiences and information about the common issues of European education.

Simultaneously, the cultural and ethnical diversity of the civil society in Macedonia creates such circumstances in which educational institutions get a crucial role in promotion of ethical values and ideas like justice, equality, freedom, peace, compassion and charity, which are valued by many cultural traditions among young people.

Also, the permanent growth of intercultural communication in the field of education motivates the teachers to look for a reasonable solution for the newly created situations in the organization of the school life.

Perhaps, more important is to know that after military conflict in Macedonia in 2001, academy has discussed whether the teaching of ethics in the frames of the educational curricula can really contribute students to get a larger picture for the social macrostructure and to strengthen awareness about existing biculturalism in Macedonian society on better way? The renewal of the spirit, after above mentioned turbulences, has consisted in the enrichment of people's thought with the belief in possible better future in the country. In particular, this has related to the youth.

Having in mind that school is still the most important factor which builds common goals and values among people, national policy makers met with a necessity of finding curricular solutions in Macedonian educational system in order to cultivate welfare and goodness in society. This approach couldn't bypass the faculties of education. Moreover, it could start only with university's support.

In Macedonia three are faculties of education. All three have proposed the subject *Ethics* as elective. At the Faculty of Education in Skopje the subject is offered in the first semester, for preschool teachers, and in the third semester, for elementary school teachers. Weekly fund of classes is 2+1. At the Faculty of Education in Bitola the subject is offered in the first semester, for preschool teachers, and in the second semester, for the elementary school teachers. Weekly fund of classes is 3+2. At the Faculty of Education in Shtip the subject is offered in the third semester, for preschool teachers, and in the seventh semester, for the elementary school teachers. Weekly fund of classes is 1+1+1.

The Ethics curricula at the faculties of education have to contribute developing of the following knowledge, competences and skills among the students:

• knowledge of ethics in education,

- ability to apply theory in practice,
- · self-awareness for professional duty,
- ability for collaboration and communication,
- multicultural competence,
- capacity for empathy and social justice.

With this measure, already ten years teacher education in Macedonia tries to enhance teacher competencies with emotional and ethical capacity (Gulevska, 2013).

Open questions in the area of competency framework for teachers

According to the *National Framework for Higher Education Qualifications for Republic of Macedonia* (2011), the learning outcomes can be categorized and specified in various ways and may be expressed in a "qualification descriptors" for each of the cycles or levels. There are general descriptors of the qualifications in the National Framework, and they reflect the usual skills and accomplishments of the students and relate to the qualifications that indicate completion of specific study cycle.

Specific descriptors of qualifications that determine learning outcomes for individual study program from the corresponding cycle are prepared by the higher education institution. Data on skills and accomplishments acquired by the students, as well as the use of qualification are disclosed in the Diploma supplement. Although the NF-HEQ has the flexibility to accommodate diversity and innovation, and to accommodate new qualifications, generally, the qualifications that signify a successful completion of the first cycle of study (180 – 240 ECTS) are awarded to person who meets the following descriptors of qualifications:

Knowledge and understanding

- Have demonstrated knowledge and understanding founded upon prior education and training within the main field of study, including knowledge about the rang of theoretical, practical, conceptual, comparative and critical perspectives in the field within appropriate methodology;
- Understanding in a particular area and familiarity with current research issues and new sources of knowledge;
- Have demonstrated knowledge and understanding of various theories and methodologies.

Applying knowledge and understanding

Can apply their knowledge and understanding in a manner that indicates a professional approach to work or vocation;

- Have demonstrated competences for identifying, analyzing and solving problems;
- Be able to devise and sustain arguments within their field of study. *Making judgment*
 - Ability to gather, analyze, evaluate, and present information, ideas, concepts from relevant data;
 - Exercise appropriate judgment, taking into account relevant personal, social, scientific or ethical aspects;
 - Ability to evaluate theoretical and practical issues, to explain the reasons and choose an appropriate solution.

Communication skills

- Can communicate and discuss information, ideas, problems and solutions on the context where criteria for decisions and the scope of the task may be well defined to both specialist and non-specialist audiences;
- Take shared responsibility for collective results;
- Ability for independent participation into specific, scientific and interdisciplinary discussions, with a professional approach.

Learning skills

• Take initiative to identify and address learning needs for further knowledge and ongoing learning, with a high degree of autonomy.

Nowadays, in order to accomplish this mission, teachers have devoted considerable energy to define the field of their professional competencies.

On the basis of NF-HEQ in Macedonia has been developed *Catalogue of Key Competencies for Teachers* (which will be published soon) through analysis of national and international teacher competencies and consultation with members of the teaching profession. The Catalogue contains three main parts:

- Professional values;
- Professional knowledge and skills;
- Indicators for professional practice.

In the text is emphasized that this three parts are connected mutually. Item in the first chapter is said that the professional values and beliefs of the teachers are important factor which influences the teachers' decisions. From this factor depends how the teachers will plan the teaching process, how will conduct oneself towards the students, colleagues and broader community. The chapter continues with statement that professional attitudes and values can be acquired and can be changed in the time through professional improving and practice. Next, the text enumerates six key professional values for the teachers:

- Believes that each student can learn and develop himself;
- Understands teaching profession as process of lifelong learning;

- Dedicated is to the profession and contributes for its affirmation in the broader community;
- Develops partnership relations with all factors in the teaching process;
- Promotes equality, inclusion and social justice;
- Accepts and represents the principles upon which is based educational system in Macedonia.

In the other two chapters presented are identification of key competencies and development of indicators by which the competencies can be evaluated. Emphasized is that key competencies, described in the Catalogue, refer to the knowledge, understandings, abilities and skills which should have each teacher in order to realize his work good enough.

In continuation, the text of the Catalogue analyses only the key competencies which are grouped in certain domains, for example as knowledge of subjects, planning and realizing of teaching, creating climate for learning, collaboration with the parents and local community, professional development end so on. Finally, in the end of the Catalogue, just is mentioned shortly that competencies are connected with professional values.

It seems that actually only two last chapters in Catalogue are really connected. Obviously, between the first and other two chapters exists detachment.

Striving for revelation of the love's wonder in teaching and learning

In general, this paper is not an attempt to incite consideration for development of new catalogue, but rather a theorisation to integrate particular philosophy in the available model of teachers' competencies framework.

It has found that there are substantial reasons for defining more clearly the competencies that teachers should deploy in the social contexts' complexity of contemporary world.

What society expects from teachers? The investigations in this field showed that parents usually want public schooling to support children's ability to become lifelong learners who are able to love, work, and act as responsible members of the community (Cohen, 2006, p. 201). Whether, these values are substantively integrated into our schools or into training we give teachers?

According to opinion of some scholars, competence is defined as complex combination of knowledge, skills, understanding, values, attitudes and desire, which leads to effective embodied human action in the world, in a particular domain (Deakin Crick, 2008). In this sense, the teachers should demonstrate his qualities on different ways: through

the structuring of the lectures and its evaluation, through the choice of the curriculum and pedagogy, through the cultivating of intellectual and moral virtues, finally, through his own behavior in the classroom and workplace. In other words, the teacher's skills and competencies should be conceptual, empirical, and interrelated with sensitivity for professionalism and school culture (Campbell, 2003). Therefore, researching of the each of this elements, singly contributes for the creation of clear perception about what is quality teaching staff. In this context, teachers are seen as key players in values education. Also, it's clearly that teachers' emotions, endeavors, desire and hope can motivate, help or inspire their students.

On the contrary, contemporary tendencies in developing competency framework for teachers make unwarranted marginalization of the discourse for emotionality and ethical capability in the teaching. Admittedly, the identification of behaviors which manifest certain values isn't simple and discernible, but rethinking education must take into account the love which focuses on the growth and development of children.

Key indicators which are treated as valid for these competencies usually anticipate applying the Code of Ethics and identifying statutory grounds and procedures for disciplinary action. In our opinion, knowledge of the ethics' codes for professional conduct in education isn't overriding in development of teachers' ethical capacity. More important is making efforts to protect students from conditions harmful to learning, devotion to truth, pursuit of reasonable standards that will guarantee freedom to learn and will provide equal opportunity for all.

A good teacher should maintain a climate in the classroom that promotes cultivating positive emotions and bridging the gap between children regarding their background, particular weaknesses or disabilities and their different talents (Lovat et al. 2010). Of course, teachers cannot make always children understand or love each other, but they may create conditions making it increasingly possible, because in the schools students have not only to learn, they also have to soar.

It is wrong to regard some occupations as more important as such than others, but the teachers' profession requires more reconsidering and more introspectiveness than other professions. In this sense, the teachers should possess capacity for autonomy, i.e. ability for independent making of decisions and accountability for them (Strain & Robinson, 2005). Also, they should acquire stronger self-monitoring skills. Exclusively is important, the future teachers to acquire knowledge about how to act, not only as a specialists in the educational field, but as citizens of a given society.

According to Aristotle, the human being is destined to live in community, and therefore his nature has a moral character. From there, understand-

ing of the competencies as "skills free from theory and philosophy" is criticized with a good reason, owing to underestimating of significance of the beliefs, the attitudes and the values as important aspects of the teacher's profession (Pantic, 2008, p. 34). The key document for this issue is *Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications*, in which, besides knowledge, contents of the curricula, pedagogical innovations and researching, emphasized is the cultural and social dimension of the teaching. In the frames of the expertness included are principles which have ethical dimension. For example, such principles are: ability for critical thinking, development of an own system of values, devotion upon profession and work with children, ability to make and maintain positive interpersonal communication with the students, colleagues and parents, ability for good discipline in practice, ability to be a moral model for the children and so on.

Anyway, deeper analysis of ethical nature of teaching and recognition of the emotions' immense impact in this process there are missed.

The "soft" aspects of pedagogy emphasize interrelationship between social-emotional capacity and ethical dispositions in human life. In order to better understand role of emotional intelligence some educational researchers try to find a stimulus which will provoke emotional reaction. According to them, emotional logic is different from intellectual logic. For its functioning is not essential direct connection between the reason and the consequence because emotional logic refers to the sequences of facts which are inside of the human needs and pleasures (Pharand & Doucet, 2013). At the same time, emotions bring immense energy in actions. This energy isn't danger by itself if is properly directed. Moreover it is something valuable as much as intellect. In teaching, emotional energy plays a crucial role. It makes influence upon teaching style and students' successes or failures. Also, this energy creates such human closeness which draws down "professional walls", and opens a new horizons in education.

The empiricists claim that human knowledge comes from impressions made over us by physical objects. Consequently, the deepest knowledge will come from the objects which impress our mind particularly. Such marvelous object which impress children's eyes and mind is teacher in his whole nature and emergence, with his body and soul, with his mind and heart, with his intellect and feelings. So, we can conclude that the teacher is main source of knowledge in the schooling. This epistemological perspective of the teacher's position, according to Zembylas is grounded in post-structuralist views (Zembylas, 2011, p. 31). The issues of culture, power, and ideology, developed by Foucault in his later works, demonstrate how the teacher can cultivate his ethical "self" through a range of reflective practices that are deeply connected to his emotions. The teacher should define certain mode of being

that will serve as his moral goal, and this requires him to act upon himself, to monitor, test, improve and transform himself. In this point appears in sight the big picture of teacher's power and accountability. Knowledge is always an ethical practice. It is principally power for government of the self (Ball, 2013).

Also, exclusively is important to include into teachers' competencies knowledge and awareness about the one's own identity. Actually, this kind of knowledge resurrects the old philosophic questions: What it means to be a happy and good human being? What it means to act and live according to own ideals?

According to Clarke (2010), identity is an indispensable resource for teachers in thinking about what they believe, what they stand for and what they do: in short how they define who they are. Also, emphasized is that the pursuit of identity is entwined with tension and paradox, stemming from its dependence on many different relations. There are ever-frustrated efforts to capture and define the plenitude of life that always exceeds these attempts and therefore the teacher is crucified between his thoughts and emotions, between actuality and desire. This medial state is state of uninterrupted desiring, irresistible striding in unknown, because love makes us, as human beings, vulnerable and that vulnerability invites loss and grief. These are the necessary shadows, the natural corollary to a loving engagement. Learning how to deal with these losses is a part of life and ought to be part of learning if we are learning to be creative, human, and wise (Liston & Garrison, 2004, p. 2).

Finally, in contrast to professional "cold blood" we encourage emotional warmth in teaching. Teachers may develop such kind of emotional and ethical competencies which will refer to all educational practices (Lafortune et al., 2008). For example:

- Analyzing one's own emotions and how its affect students;
- Identifying own values;
- Recognizing own feelings, interests and strengths;
- Evaluating motivation of students;
- Preventing interpersonal conflicts;
- Making decisions based on the own ethical beliefs;
- Celebrating students success;
- Providing students opportunities to talk about themselves, etc.

This list can be very long. It is transversal perspective of the embracing love in teaching as common line in all teachers competencies.

Conclusion

Having in mind all above mentioned, we have to acknowledge that is certainly difficult to find quantifiable measuring of the teachers' emotional and ethical capacities according to standards, dictated by predefined indicators of successful performance and effectiveness. Among other things, it is additionally complicated by the outlook of specific cultures, regions and societies.

With regard to this, should be noted that even in the latest educational researches highlighted are those technical dimensions of teaching which emphasize procedure, clarity, transparency, and application to rules. Also, asserted is that learning from experience may be valuated highly in this context, too (Ellis & Orchard, 2014, p. 10).

But, in spite of all, contemporary educational policy makers very often face to question how to harness in the field of teaching those human powers and capabilities which don't function always according to canons of rationality. For example, isn't easy to explain why ethical efforts of the human beings, on its merits, doesn't always promise happiness or why the pure love for mankind is sometimes more esteemed than money, name or fame?

Following from this, some experts criticized subjecting of the teachers competencies to tests concerning their immediate use and applicability as underestimating the aims and values underlying teaching (Cowen, 2002).

In our "rational", "efficient" and "technical" society docility of the formal control and regulations becomes necessity. But, power of knowledge shouldn't be used in any kind of pressure (even of moral pressure), but in revitalization and cultivating human liberty conceived as freedom from having beliefs.

As we have seen, attempts for changes in this education area are numerous, but the reforms must go further and more boldly.

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BISERA KOSTADINOVSKA

TEACHING ESP: DEVELOPING THE FOUR LANGUAGE SKILLS OR "PURE GRAMMAR" AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

"General (language for no purpose) courses at any proficiency level almost always teach too much, e.g., vocabulary, skills, registers or styles some learners do not need, and too little, e.g., omitting lexis and genres that they do. Instead of a one-size-fits-all approach, it is more defensible to view every course as involving specific purposes..." (Long, 2005).

Introduction

The teaching of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) is viewed as a separate activity within English language teaching (ELT). It is believed that for some of its teaching ESP has developed its own methodology and its research draws on research from various disciplines in addition to applied linguistics – this is the key distinguishing characteristic of ESP. ESP, if at times is moved away from the established trends in general ELT, has strived towards preparing learners to communicate effectively in the tasks prescribed by their field of study or work situation. The emphasis of ELT is always on practical outcomes. The theory of ESP could be outlined based on specific nature of the texts that learners need knowledge of or need-related nature of teaching (Bojović). 45

Distinction between English for Special Purposes (ESP) and General English (GE)

According to Dudley Evans (Paradiž, 2012)⁴⁶, there are some differences between ESP and GE but they are not so differentiating. Evans states that ESP:

- meets specific needs,
- serves a particular discipline,
- learners are usually intermediate/ advanced level,
- it has specialized lexis,
- the learners are goal-oriented,

45 http://www.pef.uni-lj.si/atee/978-961-6637-06-0/487-493.pdf

⁴⁶ http://fl.uni-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/PARADIZ.pdf

• involves learning also separate business correspondence.

GE, on the other hand, is the basis from which ESP is derived, and it represents "an approach to language teaching in which all decisions as to content and method are based on the learner's reason for learning" (Hutchinson, 2006, p.19).

GE has more:

- general lexis,
- general methodology,
- social skills are more present,
- the writing, learning, speaking and reading skills are more general and more encompassing.

Both types of English require a great deal of devotion, methodology adaptation, developing appropriate materials, and constantly monitoring the new developments in the labor market.⁴⁷

Defining ESP

As with most disciplines in human activity, ESP was a phenomenon grown out of a number of converging trends of which the three most important will be mentioned: 1) the expansion of demand for English to suit specific needs of a profession, 2) developments in the field of linguistics (attention shifted from defining formal language features to discovering the ways in which language is used in real communication, causing the need for the development of English courses for specific group of learners, explored in more details below), and 3) educational psychology (learner's needs and interests have an influence on their motivation and effectiveness of their learning). Definitions of ESP in the literature are relatively late in time, if taken into consideration that ESP emerged in the 1960s. Hutchinson and Waters (Hutchinson, 2006) define ESP as an approach rather than a product- meaning that ESP does not involve a particular kind of language, teaching material or methodology. The basic starting point in ESP is why the learner needs to learn the foreign language (Bojović). 48 The purpose of learning English became the core, and in this example, as will be pointed out further on, ESP for medical purposes. Strevens' (1988) definition of ESP makes a distinction between 1) absolute characteristics (language teaching is designed to meet specified needs of the learner; related in content to particular disciplines, occupation and activities; centered on the language appropri-

48 http://www.pef.uni-lj.si/atee/978-961-6637-06-0/487-493.pdf

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 $^{^{47}}$ Here, it is meant that new jobs and new positions in companies, institutions etc., require for the employees to learn English.

ate to those activities in syntax, text, discourse, semantics, etc., and analysis of the discourse; designed in contrast with General English) and 2) two variable characteristics (ESP may be restricted to the language skills to be learned, e.g. reading; and not taught according to any pre-ordained methodology).

English for specific purposes is recognizable activity within the broader professional framework of English Language Teaching (ELT), with implication for the design of syllabuses and materials as well as its present and then evaluation. On the other hand, ESP is the way how to teach English with approximation method for specific purpose. It is not focus on the kinds of language; but rather, it means that ESP brings into line what field the learners need. For example, English for doctors, lawyers, tourism and nursing, architecture, accountant, medical scientist, civil engineering, etc. Therefore, English will be taught differently among one field with others (Sofiyana, Satabiatun, Ismiyati).

Ann Johns states that while teaching English for Specific Purposes "all language teaching must be designed for the specific learning and language use purposes of identified groups of students" (Johns, 1991, p. 67). The specific needs of the subject content may not require grammar or phonetics but the letters are always integrated into the process of teaching as they make an important part of the conveyance of the meaning both of the entire utterance and of its separate parts (Sofiyana, Satabiatun, Ismiyati). ⁵⁰

Types of ESP

ESP is traditionally been divided into two main areas according to when they take place: 1) English for Academic Purposes (EAP) involving pre-experience, simultaneous/in-service and post-experience courses, and 2) English for Occupational Purposes (EOP) for study in a specific discipline (pre-study, in-study, and post-study) or as a school subject (independent or integrated).

Another division of ESP divides EAP and EOP according to discipline or professional area in the following way: 1) EAP involves English for (Academic) Science and Technology (EST), English for (Academic) Medical Purposes (EMP), English for (Academic) Legal Purposes (ELP), and English for Management, Finance and Economics; 2) EOP includes English for Professional Purposes (English for Medical Purposes, English for Business Purposes – EBP) and English for Vocational Purposes (Pre-vocational English and Vocational English). EOP refers to English for professional purposes

⁴⁹ http://satabyattata.blogspot.com/2011/11/paper-esp-vs-ge.html

in administration, medicine, law and business, and vocational purposes for non-professionals in work (language of training for specific trades or occupations) or pre-work situations (concerned with finding a job and interview skills) (Bojović).⁵¹

Learning ESP also has a very strong linguistic basis and requires certain knowledge about the different kinds of lexis that exist in the language. The hierarchy of types of Special English presupposes the existence of language variations. Regionally or socially determined language variations are referred to as dialects. Degrees of formality account for stylistic differences. The combination of real-life situations where a language is used is characterized by "a special set of vocabulary (technical terminology) associated with a profession or occupation or other defined social group" (Spolsky) which constitutes a specific jargon. This combination of situations depends on social factors, namely the place where the interaction takes place, the topic, and the roles assumed by the interlocutors (Some Issues in Teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP), Kornelia Choroleeva, Bulgaria).⁵²

Research

The aim of the research was to investigate an ESP course regarding the teaching materials and how the teaching materials influenced the progress of the students. For the purpose of this research, a class of ESP for the Medical profession was taken into consideration.

Framework of the research

The research was conducted among a group of 40 divided into 2 groups of 20. The doctors were of average age of 40-55 years. Their level of English knowledge was evaluated as B1 according to CERF.⁵³ Also, what was presupposed is that the "students" i.e. the doctors already posses a certain amount of knowledge of the medical-specific terminology. The course for the medical staff employed in the hospitals in Bitola, Republic of Macedonia was designed so that they will learn the English language so that they will be able to attend a further qualification abroad so they mostly needed their communicational skills developed. What is important for this research is to mention that the placement testing of the candidates was made

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⁵¹ http://www.pef.uni-lj.si/atee/978-961-6637-06-0/487-493.pdf

⁵² Some Issues in Teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP), Kornelia Choroleeva, Bulgaria.

⁵³http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Common_European_Framework_of_Reference_for_Languages

by an outside factor (employees at the Ministry of Health in the Republic of Macedonia, and not by the teachers who conduct and teach the course). The selection of the teaching materials- books was made partially with consultation with the teacher.

The research aimed to find out if the selected teaching materials affect the level of progress with the students. Both groups were presented with the same learning conditions: both groups had classes 2 times a week, 90 minutes per class. Both groups were studying in the same conditions, the same classrooms. The teaching methods employed were the same the CLL method (Community language Learning)⁵⁴, explaining as a method of instruction, and the grammar-translation method.⁵⁵ Methods of research employed were the observation and questioning.

The teaching materials i.e. the books used in the classes were, on purpose, different for the two groups. The employment of two different types of books is actually the factor that would give totally different results.

The first book were learning from a book called *English for medicine* and dentistry, from a Macedonian author Pandora Dimovska, published on 1996, and it is a book that is being used in Ist year undergraduate studies in General Medicine, which was structured in the following way: every unit is divided into 3 parts: 1) linguistic part- derivation of new words, derivation of specific terminology, pre- and post- modification, word-formational processes; 2) text from the field of general medicine, usually text describing a certain system, body part, or other already described medical-related occurrence; and 3) grammatical part containing grammar rules, grammatical formulations, pure grammar content. In this book, the exercises given in each unit are exercises that require "filling in the blanks" with one or two words, but the answers to the exercises were given in the above-mentioned parts. So, minimal thinking processes were required for solving these exercises. We can say that they, as such, were not meant for learning and supporting the creativity of the students but for simply existing as such.

The second group was using the book Career Paths: Medical, by the authors Virginia Evans, Jenny Dooley, Trang M. Tran, M. D., published by Express Publishing. Career Paths English: Medical addresses topics including hospital employees, parts of the body, patient care, common illnesses and career options. The series is organized into three levels of difficulty and offers a minimum of 400 vocabulary terms and phrases. Every unit includes a test of reading comprehension, vocabulary and listening skills and leads students through written and oral production. Included features

⁵⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Community_language_learning

⁵⁵ http://voices.yahoo.com/top-10-english-as-second-language-teaching-methods-1334507.html

in this book also are: a variety of realistic reading passages, career-specific dialogues, 45 reading and listening comprehension checks, over 400 vocabulary terms and phrases, guided speaking and writing exercises, complete glossary of terms and phrases.

Results

After semester-long classes, the oral testing of both groups gave different results. The group that had the *English for Medicine and Dentistry* stayed on the same level of knowledge of English. They still expressed difficulties expressing themselves with correct sentences, still showed signs of difficult understanding of questions and difficulty formulating their answers. What they said was that they did not learn anything new but rather, they just reaffirmed what they already know. They also expressed that the grammar segments of the units were a bit difficult for them to understand and felt that they were learning only rules and translation and not much conversation. The book not offering audio scripts, the listeners in this group were only exposed to listening to the teacher's accent.

The second group that used *Career Paths: Medical* was much more successful on the final oral exam. They were much more able to answer the given questions, they acquired new vocabulary, new grammar rules and were able to employ the new knowledge; they were given-real life situations with the texts in the book and could relate to the content. They also stated that they were learning grammar rules but felt rather comfortable employing them in the exercises given in the book. Given that the book offers audio scripts, they were also exposed to native speaking of English, so they were working on developing their pronunciation. They thought that this book is more "hands-on" and more preparational.

In conclusion, it can be said that the second group, at the end of the semester, was more fluent and communication-capable in English. The speakers of the first group were exposed to a previously acquired knowledge and texts that they are not just known to them but offered no real situation that they could relate to, but just rather repeat something familiar. The speakers of the second group were exposed content that developed the 4 language skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking, whereas the first group only to (limited) speaking, reading and (limited) writing. The speakers of the second group were more confident when using the language to communicate to each other and with the teacher, whereas the speakers form the first group had some restraining and doubts.

Conclusion

ESP teachers are provided with the necessary knowledge and tools to deal with their own students' specializations. ESP teachers are not specialists in the field, but in teaching English, their subject is English for the profession but not the profession in English. They help students, who know their subject better than the teachers do, develop the essential skills in understanding, using, and/or presenting authentic information in their profession. The teacher brings the necessary teaching aids, frameworks, and principles of course design to apply them to new material. The material (the content) should be provided by the professors or experts in the subject. It should always be authentic - the main purpose of teaching skills is to enable students to deal with authentic information despite their level of English, up-to-date and relevant for the students' specializations. Yet, teaching ESP includes much more than the teaching of English through specific material and content. Teaching ESP combines development of linguistic skills together with acquisition of specific information. 56 Teaching ESP also influences the methodology being used in the classes. The traditional methods in teaching English may not give the wanted results. The selection of materials, the methodology employed when teaching ESP lessons, even the homework influences on the results that the students will reach.

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BILJANA CVETKOVA DIMOV, MARZANNA SEWERYN-KUZMANOVSKA

VISUAL ART-MATHEMATICS PLAYS

Learning through play and the importance of play for early childhood development $% \left\{ \mathbf{r}_{i}^{\mathbf{r}_{i}}\right\} =\mathbf{r}_{i}^{\mathbf{r}_{i}}$

Many scientists talk about the importance and significance of the plays in the period of early childhood development. Some state that it is a specific way of learning for preschool children, but also in subsequent periods of personality development and even in adulthood (Fagen, 1976; Lorayone, 2004; Pickering, 1971). These researchers compared children's play with scientific research including the fact that children in play experiment, they pose problems to solve.

The play helps guide children's development, indirectly teach and educate the children, and open development potential for new plays. That's why we can not neglect the importance of play in the organization of educational work with children in early stage of child development and in the lower grades of elementary school (Kopas - Vukashinoviħ, 2006, p. 176)

Considering the nature of children way of teaching and learning and that children perceive the world in his holistic nature, the play completely follow the nature of children way of teaching and learning. If learning is seen as an obligation to someone and sometimes like a daunting task, and person learn because they have to, not because they want to, in play persons are involved because they want to not because they must do. It is this feature of the play as an activity emphasizes its didactic - methodical value. It is an activity through which we adopt and develop physical, intellectual, emotional abilities of children.

According to J. Huizing play follows the previously established rules and takes place in a fictional world in space and time separated from the rest of the world, and its performance monitor feelings of joy, satisfaction and sense that it is something other than everyday life.⁵⁷

Learning through play it is fun and interesting and it is considered as a very important and specific way of teaching and learning.

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⁵⁷ http://studenti.rs/skripte/pedagogija/znacaj-i-vrste-igara-u-predskolskom-uzrastu

Visual Art - mathematical concept of play as appreciation of the developmental needs of children

The educational work through the play integrate in self many different activities and contents from different educational areas. For example, the adoption of logical - mathematical operations and the adoption of the visual language can be adopted together through play. Such linkages is not limited solely to the content of the mathematics and arts education, rather it is just one segment or one way of connecting content. It is transition from one level to another, or transfer to importance of holistic approach and necessity of using program of activities instead program of different subject in early child development.

The main goal is to find opportunities for the application of visual art and mathematical plays which deliver content from mathematics and visual art education. Here we give an example of how logical- mathematical operations can be adopted through adoption of art language and vice versa.

Logical - mathematical operations	Visual art language
Classification – grouping of items according to common characteristics according to one or more criteria color, shape, size. The criteria and the complexity of this operation occurs by increasing the number of criteria and the number of items to be classified (Markovih, 2006, p. 211)	Visual art elements (line, color, shape, direction, size, texture, space, tone) and visual art principles (contrast, harmony, balance, gradation, proportion, repetition
Correspondence – joining of objects from one group to another group of subjects. Through this procedure children build concepts more, less, equal (same)	size, contrast, balance, symmetry, asymmetry, unity, contrast, proportion
Serialization - ordering of objects according to the level of a property in a growing or declining range – ascending, from shortest to longest	gradation, tone and tone grading, color, direction, size, harmony
A double serialization -offer multiple items of which some of them can be grouped according by two criteria (same)	repetition, rhythm, gradation, unity by analogy
Correspondence - series of logic operations which simultaneously performs serialization and tracking. (same)	gradation, tone, harmony
Tranzitivity – understanding of the relativity of the size of an object. (same)	relativity of size, tone and tone grading, texture
Cross classification-classification by two criteria. (same)	relations of art elements and principles of composition

Following just a couple examples of plays

Plays and activities

Find and Draw

Goals: To encourage the development of tactile perception, visual perception, concentration, attention, motor dexterity, visual memory

Tasks: the recognition of the similarities and differences of the objects and to approach the visual expression

Assets: a box full of toys or objects in pairs

Activity: The children after finding two of the same items in the box before pulling, then they need to draw objects or made them from clay.

Help the mothers

Goals: Development of perception, perceiving the quantitative relationships, solving space in drawings

Task: observing and naming the groups and their relationships

Assets: drawings of animals representing mothers: sheep, cow, goose, pig... and drawings of animals representing children

Activity: Children are asked to group animals mother goose with small children goose, cow with small calves, sheep with young lambs, pig with small piglets. The number of children living does not have to be anywhere with an equal number, so for example the cow may have only one calf while pig can have more pigs. Children will discuss for the quantitative relationships. Then children in different groups will designed living space for animals on which can stick drawings of animals.

Funny looking pond

Goals: Development of perception, development of creative thinking, motor sensitivity, logical thinking, imagination, comparing the sizes and proportions

Task: to draw certain parts of animals **Assets**: Visual art material for work

Activity: In this activity, children are asked to maximum attention and silence, before the division of tasks we tell to children that everyone should work by itself and not telling others what is asked for him to draw. Depending on the number of children in the group, are defined animals and insects in the pond. Every child is given a specific task and thus should be especially important for child to concentrate on the task. The activity continues with division of tasks such as: draw the head of a frog, draw the frog body, draw head of duck, draw body of the duck, draw the head of a stork, draw the head of the fly, draw body of the fly, etc. everything that lives in pond. When children then find their pair will merge animal. This is especially fun

because it comes up with some hilarious moments, head of duck can be larger than its body. This activity leaves a lot of space for conversation and discussing about sizes and proportions.

Sort them by size and color them

Objective: Development of perception, motor dexterity, comparing

Task: grouping of items and sort objects by size

Activity: Children need to align objects according to one or two criteria and then fill with color.

Instead conclusion

Teachers should use their imagination and can create a lot of interesting plays for different goals and can make teaching and learning easy and interesting.

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KATARZYNA WALOTEK-ŚCIAŃSKA, PAWEŁ SARNA

THE ROLE OF A WRITER - IN COMMUNICATION PERSPECTIVE

Reconfiguration of culture. The problem of literature autonomy

Maryla Hopfinger (2010, p. 29; 2002, p. 9) associates the reconfiguration thesis with the breakthrough of 1989, recognizing this date as symbolic, when, among others, the dethronement of literature as the main word art for the benefit of other texts of culture took place (many of its social functions was taken over by e.g. film). Besides, 1989 itself draws a significant cesure in the history of Polish literature, yet we need to add that all time cesures are, of course, a matter of agreement. The transformation of the socio-economic system entailed the expectations of a breakthrough in literature. Experts' opinions (vide e.g. Uniłowski, 1998, p. 25) as for whether such breakthrough occurred or not, have become the reason for numerous discussions.

Thus, the abovementioned thesis on culture reconfiguration describes the repositioning of literature which, to some degree, yielded to media expansion, the latter resulting from fast development of technological infrastructure. The shifts on the stage involve not only literature but the whole art that used to occupy high position whereas today the role of social communication has increased. Of course, the conditionings regarding infrastructure development are not the only ones and not all changes result from it, however we can surely talk about the interlacement of various factors. First, it is worth to stop by the issue of disappearing autonomy of word art as, undoubtedly, this problem - not new at all - has revealed itself both in a new form and a new context. As Przemysław Czapliński (2013, p. 214) reminds, throughout all the 20th century the debates regarding art were carried out marked by the argument about the matter of literature autonomy, and the whole century in the history of literature is a history of gaining and resigning of this autonomy. Looking at this process one cannot avoid taking a closer look at relations between literature and other media, and an attempt to answer the question: what led to literature dethronement, as the transformation of 1989 should be viewed as one of the key elements in a long-term process.

The process recalled by the aforementioned author had two main moments in the previous century, which can be seen in a wider context of arguments about culture. The first one happened at the beginning of the century when popularization of education, commercialization of art market took place

and when mass media emerged. The so called first popularization threshold entailed the increased press print volumes, densification of cinemas network, popularity of radio - these changes are the result of over-individual mechanisms. According to pessimists it was to lead to rebellion of the masses against traditional systems which guaranteed high culture and values, and as a result - to the degradation of art. Optimists were reminding that the mass is not a formless crowd but it is bound by common interest of the groups which strive to fulfill their needs. Machines become both tools and elements of art, they outline new sensitivity. The second popularization threshold, due to the widespread presence of television and emerging of culture industry, leads to the internationalization of the culture goods market. In the 50's and 60's of the 20th century the canon of high art was ideologized and popularized. The commercialization of art and the lack of alternative to mass communication ties up literature and social communication in the nod of interdependencies, depriving the first one of part of its autonomy. It is worth to ask here about the place of a writer in this new space. Let us cite P. Czapliński (ibidem, p. 214) once more; he states that: "A writer cannot move out of this communication but neither can he remain within this sphere under the rules dictated by this hegemon. What remains for him is the reluctant collaboration, serfdom subversion, submissive sovereigntv".

The characteristics of the 1989 breakthrough will be presented in the further part of this paper, together with the possible approaches toward the ongoing, after all, process of changes in the place of literature as well as the place of a writer.

Literature and media

The situation of literature were influenced by such events as freeing authors from political servitudes and censorial constraints, the development of audiovisual type of culture, democratization of participation in culture as well as termination of the literature's historical mission (Hopfinger, 2010, p. 43). After 1989 literature and its authors are released from the obligation adopted in the romanticism era and lasting, with inter-war break, till now. The changes in the situation of literature and in the dominant role of literary culture became the fact.

The change of the institutional conditions of literature functioning, decentralization of literary life are the critical events and that is an unquestionable fact. The answer to the question, whether the transformation of external conditions is dominant for the character of the literature itself is yet not so obvious. As Marian Kisiel (1998, p. 226), the literary historian writes:

"The dispute whether changes within the literary culture are enough warranty for the description of the transformation of literature itself has been carried out for a while now. What is "external" does not have to correspond precisely with what is internal". Michał Głowiński (2000, p. 219) points out that the conditions necessary for "literary transformation" are not limited solely to the fact of generational shifts but it must entail the change in possibilities of action, transformations in the sphere of esthetic ideals and values. Let us remain, then, with the reflections upon relations towards literature and other factors that affect it as well as the possible changes in its character to a large degree determined, or not, by these factors.

In reference to the future of literature's position M. Hopfinger foresees the following further changes which, despite loosing its leading position and limited autonomy, may turn out to be, in fact, positive. First, the end of the era based on literacy and books. Second, creating of a new form of artworks and new communication practices. And third, further changes in the role of authors and receivers. M. Hopfinger (2010, p. 43) finds the division into mass culture and elite culture inadequate. She states that there is one (global) culture and various social circuits of literature have their adjacent points: "[...] literary culture is co-created by its many circuits and each circuit connects the selected features of authors and senders, works recognized as literary and their readers. But the circuits do not form closed spheres. Literary texts may travel within various circuits, undergoing promotions or degradations. And the same writer and the same reader may change circuits or participate in few circuits at the same time. Finally, in the dynamic modernity the circuits themselves may transform and change" (see also: Kłoskowska, 2007, p. 473). As she points out, literature as communication and literature as the art will and should be situated in relation to each other and complement each other.

The diagnoses of the new situation of literature in the pessimistic version approach the communication ontology where the main thesis is the assumption that communication means have the decisive impact on social life.

The motive of literature oppressed by media has appeared from time to time in some publications, for example in 2000 Kinga Dunin (2000, pp. 92-99) wrote an important paper *Normalka* where she included a thesis that literature is created by the mass media. Agnieszka Nęcka (2010, p. 244) presents the voices of other commentators: "And so literary life is supposed to be led under the "dominating media discourse", that is under the supervision of high print volume media, editors and - as Czapliński argued - [...] communication mentality".

Dariusz Nowacki (2011, p. 9) develops in his diagnoses the pessimistic vision of literature's dependence on media, which leads to the reduction of

artistic values for the benefit of adjusting the message to the discourse dominating in the mass media: "[...] The further we get since 1989, that is, the closer to the present year, the more it is visible how artistic prerequisites yield under the pressure of beyond-esthetical verification systems". According to these words, contemporary literature is realized "beyond the autonomy principle". Not only it is increasingly dependent on the market and promotion but it is employed to the "illustrative and educational" work and intercepted by ideological apparatus. Today's social demand comes directly from the mass media which set a certain height before literature and writers, a level which an artwork cannot exceed if it is to exist at all. As a product it must be adapted to the level of a reader who will buy it and to the level of media which will establish its interpretation, direct the reading process, namely - bring near and reduce, paraphrasing in a way useful for themselves. Contemporary mass media not only preselect but also select the artworks. The so called professional criticism has lost its meaning, as well as literary periodicals whose influence has been marginalized.

The discourse on literature has shifted towards the mass media - it is them that decide about the forms of presence, who exists and who does not, which phenomena are doomed to media, and at the same time, real nonexistence. They impose the attendance lists and game rules. Building other hierarchies, relocations in popularity charts (and the popular does not necessarily mean the most valuable) is also joining the game with the rules already set: "[...] a poll which is supposed to rapidly rebuild the existing hierarchies will not be a counterweight to media creations; it will not be because, even though it may take place in a low print academic, elite magazine, it imitates the mode of calling into and renouncing from the existence used by the mass media" (Czapliński, 2002, p. 38). Literature, and this is also the result of mass media influence, in the holistic picture (if ever we can talk about such), has been strongly personalized - experts themselves also write and speak not about styles and trends but about names. "The difference in today's writers presence is in the fact that it is always 'wrong' (improper, inadequate, disproportional, shifted); it is created by the means of mass media; it is changeable" - P. Czapliński (ibidem, pp. 40-41) wrote.

Regardless of how far has contemporary literature been subordinated to the media, disbelief that it still has the ability to enter the game with the media, to reveal the cracks between communication and the world we experience and, above all, the power to create would partly result from pessimism and partly from some time perspective limitation. Even if the outlined view of the present situation is true, it needs not necessarily remain like that in the near future. Therefore, on the other hand, the Braudel's long term perspective is important. Even modernist artists were not beyond the society

and were not exempt from social responsibilities (they are analysts, diagnosticians and designers of their age) (Uniłowski, 1998, p. 17). It is worth to ask about the fundamental matter namely, the place of a writer in a community.

"A writer is not a newcomer from somewhere else" - one of the most distinguished Polish literature specialists, Janusz Sławiński (1998, pp. 40-41) emphasized. A creator is placed in a community and what decides about him being a writer is situated in relation to the socially determined auditorium (also in relation to the history of literature, literary tradition, achievements of the great predecessors). Thus, a writer is not a newcomer from somewhere else - as he comes from a certain community. He knows both the community itself and its requirements towards his role. His settling in the social role due to the system, social, economic transformations that have the consequences for the culture may be easily perceived in the changed conditions, it may also entail the necessary redefinition. Thus, if that what is promoted in the media does not meet social demand in terms of ideas, vision, the way of presenting the world, it may cause a discrepancy and, in result, an invigorating breeze of "something new" the media will follow. This, however, requires taking up risk. The sociologist, Jan Szczepański, points out to some irremovable problem connected with fulfilling their role by a writer, a problem that in some periods grows into the conflict determining esthetic choices, that is, experiencing social pressure. Whether an artist replies or not to the social order, is not some abstract problem. It is connected with the strive to take a place in the social structure. The gravity of both those worlds is mutual.

Concepts of artists

Writer's profession is not clearly determined, the field of art - also the field of literature - is also characterized by the low degree of codification. It is an "unsure" place in the social space that offers positions requiring shaping rather than fully shaped (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 346; Kacperczyk 2005, p. 174). The mass media influence has one more effect as it intermediates other types of contacts between author and audience, it distances them in the physical space. Marian Golka (1995, pp. 27-28) lists four main sources which affect the formation of social concepts of authors:

1. Mediated contact. This type of contact involves publicly known persons. But, first, it is about non-incidental but constant presence in the media as well as some commonness of image resulting from the performed art so it rather refers to the artists such as actors, musicians. One can say, like Przemysław Czapliński (2002, p. 34), about the figures constituting

themselves at the joints of roles or maybe also at their extension. Such case was the presence of poets - the Nobel prize winners in the public discourse: "[...] their presence takes on the character of omnipresence: the poet and essayist turns into a historian (Miłosz) [...], the poet begins to represent the Polish culture (Szymborska)". Second, this group also includes the artists known mainly through their works, the fruit of their creation. They are usually persons remaining hidden, whose names exist in the public discourse thanks to other people who discuss their artwork, presented through reports, reviews. M. Golka, for example, lists painters, writers or composers here. These artists show themselves publicly mainly on meet-the-author sessions, vernissages or as expert-guests in mass media, most often on the occasion of typical circumstances (literary awards, anniversaries). Alina Świeściak (2010 p. 14) notices that during the last decade the new forms of author's presence emerged, described as celebrity model occurring in two versions serious one ("new dandy") and buffo ("new scandalist"). The difference of these behaviors against the established patterns would involved rather the use of many available today and non-existing previously forms of popularity and a jugglery of tricks taken out from various property-rooms.

In case of the younger generation authors there is entering into another type of a specific romance with the mass media. Karolina Pospiszyl (2010) presents the characteristics of the strategy used by the poet Jaś Kapela. Consistency is its discriminant: "First, in building the image and driving the sale of self [...] and his products, which could be the source of envy for many entrepreneurs or celebrities. Second, in inscribing himself into the pop cultural context - from using diminutive name to marketing activities". Undertaking such activities is connected with a special adaptation to the market functioning, building one's image alike pop culture artists while this gesture may be interpreted as ambiguous, assuming the possibility for unmasking actions. A. Matuchniak-Krasuska (2010, p. 175), referring to P. Bourdieu, writes about two attitudes an intellectualist can take towards media activities - "cynical" (improvement of functioning) and "clinic" (fighting the field pathology).

2. Direct contact: The second case of creating concepts about artists are the direct contacts, most often unofficial. Artists may be neighbors or coworkers, or members of the same social circles. Of course, it is not only about people known publicly, this also includes poets not known to a wider audience as they are, after all, the most numerous. The fact that poets fulfill various social roles - of actors, journalists, editors, professors - is important. A typical, however probably ever rarer, manner of contact are meet-the-author sessions.

- 3. The influence of fictional characters. This refers to artists who - clothed in some stereotypes - are the characters of novels or biographical movies. We need to point out that in many cases we deal with the characters somehow inspired by the living persons or with certain types that consolidate common traits. The Poet form Wesele (The Wedding) by Wyspiański is such character. Wyspiański modeled this character after the poet Kazimierz Tetmajer. Literature characters, especially in this drama, speak words which entered the common language, even though the receivers while using them often are not aware they use quotes: "[...] the gallant heart would thither race, all its strength and courage brace for glorious deeds surpassing bold, but bleak reality croaks "Hold!" (Act One, scene 24: p. Wyspiański: The Wedding. Translated by Noel Clark, London 2013, p. 51). Literature may both create stereotypes and expose them. Fighting stereotypes or popularization, that is creating, of stereotypes depends not only on author's intentions but also, or maybe primarily, on further life of an artwork. The original idea may be differently read or a trick used may work opposite to what the author wanted to achieve. As Zofia Mitosek writes: "It seems that Don Kichot and Emma Bovary are the artistic prototypes of uncritical readers from the mass culture era, who interpret the reality in the category of their reading - and ever more frequently - visual experiences.
- 4. The fourth type is connected with artists of the past, still present, even though indirectly, in the social memory. They live on the pages of history or in artworks. One may ask to what extent this case, in reference to biography, differs form the previous one, for example in *Total Eclipse* (1995) by Agnieszka Holland, the film biography of Artur Rimbaud an Paul Verlaine. Another interesting example is also *Wojaczek* (1999) by Lech Majewski. The title character is played by the poet Krzysztof Siwczyk. How much is it the creation of a different self? Biography as a text also undergoes interpretation, it is tied into the plurality of contexts. This issue exceeds much the framework of this chapter, however it is worth, as to signal the problem, refer to the notion of narrative identity (Burszta, 2004, p. 26-37).

Marian Golka (1995, p. 28) concludes that in the common concepts about artists "[..] there are always more stereotypes [emphasis - P.S.] than the fact-based knowledge". Of course, "common knowledge" are the key words here, however, one can wonder if such a downright statement should not be slightly corrected. Thus, we need to add that an image is indeed a subjective image, yet it does not need to be stereotypical.

Modern ways of promoting authors by means of new technologies

Without a doubt, new technologies support promotion and sale of books as well as creating writers' image. The Lubimyczytac.pl portal, for example, offers a mobile application for Android and Iphone users (www.targi-ksiazki.waw.pl, 14.10.2014).

We can scan a cover or a code of a book and be redirected to its webpage. If we like it (we can read an excerpt from it) we can go to the bookstore website and make a purchase. We can also use the price comparison site. We can search for the genre we like. The application allows receivers to be involved consumers that is, prosumers. It allows to write opinions, reviews and to comment on forum. Users set up their profiles within the application and create virtual libraries (add books, place them on shelves in various categories). Today, readers also have the opportunity to watch meet-the-author sessions through the streaming window.

LubimyCzytac.pl. is visited monthly by about 2 million individual users who generate 12-13 million page views. The base of the registered accounts amounts up to 400 thousand. The combination of new technologies and the book market turned out to be a success.

Social media (Walotek-Ściańska, Szyszka, 2014; Bocheńska, 2004), thematic blogs in particular, are the popular area of promotion of authors and their books. Among the bloggers there are both, professionals who know the publishing market well and amateurs who like to read and share their impressions with others. The publishers recognize the blogs' potential and willingly present their authors with free copies of the books they want to promote. So, the reasonable doubts as for the objectivity of bloggers-reviewers may also arise.

If our review in a frequently read blog contains the link to the publisher's or writer's website they will be located higher in the search results. Thus, there will be a better positioning of the websites we care about. We can also obtain information on how much the presentation of books in bloggers' sites have impacted our sales. One simply needs to introduce the option of redirecting the user to publisher's or on-line bookstore's webpage after he or she clicks the book picture or link with the title.

An extremely popular form of promoting writers and books are Facebook applications which allow to:

- create profiles for people with similar reading likes,
- write and read reviews.
- send book recommendations to friends,
- present information about the news on the publishing market,
- present the writers, post interviews with them,

- take part in readers' contests,
- some writers (especially authors of children's books) organize contests for writing a part of a story, a plot or creating a character this way readers can become co-authors of a new book,
- readers can also use a price comparison site and e-books.

"According to the Megapanel results the reach of Facebook in Poland is 77% and 16,7 million of Poles (increase by 591 thousand since March), and 15,56 million in case of YouTube. In the USA the so called SMAD syndrome that is, Social Media Addicted Disorder has been discussed for some time now. The research show that the average employee in the States spends 24% of his/her working time using various social media" (SocialHearts, 08.2014). No doubt, social media are the perfect platform for writers to communicate with their readers. Non-standard activities are also available. The promotion campaign of the book "Klub Matek Swatek" ("The Matchmaker Mothers Club") by Ewa Stec, for example, began with posting want ads on Gumtree website from a "matchmaker mother" who was looking for a perfect husband - a prince charming - for her daughter. A few hundred people responded to the ads via e-mail. The VanguardPR Agency (responsible for the promotion) also decided to use the tools of social media, buzz marketing and media relations. The official Facebook profile of the book was created where the fictional "Matchmaker Mother" was giving advices on getting married, trying to match and present the best, in her opinion, future husband candidates. The Best Demotivator contest was announced. Bloggers and active forum members were involved in the promotional activities.

Today, writers must reach readers with the information about their work through many communication channels. They can, among others: use Internet websites to promote and sell books efficiently; use e-mail marketing, newsletter; use viral marketing; cooperate with bloggers to promote their publications; create their profile in social media; run a Facebook fan page promoting a book and thus win fans, engage readers into activities; use commercial posts; engage a group of people to take part in readers' forums discussions or initiate conversations about a certain book (buzz marketing); win partners and sponsors through social media; cooperate with on-line services in order for the news about books and press information to appear in the network.

The role of a writer, the writer-reader relationship and, finally, the concepts about authors are undoubtedly changing in today's communication perspective. Of course, the ideological-artistic dispute about the supreme values in an artwork is still being raised. However, this artwork exists in the world where utility, multiplicity, typicality, standardization and finan-

cial outcome are what matters most. A book is today both, sacrum and commoditum.

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MARIANNA DABROWSKA-WNUK

THE MAN – A FUTURE FATHER – IN SEARCH OF NEW IDENTITY

Introduction

Masculinity and paternity are the issues which are more and more frequently becoming the subject of theoretical discussions as well as research in various scientific disciplines. Stressing the importance of the father, a lot of attention is being drawn to his indirect as well as his direct role and involvement in the child's development at all stages, not only during their childhood, but also before they are born, i.e. during the prenatal and perinatal periods.

In the 1980s, psychologists began to pay more and more attention to the place and role of the father in the family, including the earliest stage of its creation. It can, however, be observed that more interest was shown for the man – a future father – especially in the context of maternal experience. The man was perceived as a person supporting an expectant mother, both during pregnancy and in childbirth. However, this role was clearly underrated and treated as a supporting one.

Nowadays, it is more and more common to analyze the issues of fatherhood in the context of individual experience of the man himself, appreciating his individual and subjective dimension. However, it should be clear that the change in the model of masculinity and fatherhood and the model of femininity and motherhood inseparably associated with it is a long and difficult process. Like in the case of any change, the stereotypes rooted in the social consciousness that have been shaping our personal and social identity for generations need to be overcome.

The nature of paternal involvement as one of the main areas of interest of contemporary research on fatherhood (cf. Kurcbart, 2011) is being analyzed, more and more often, in the context of future fathers searching for a new formula of parenthood, including also the period of awaiting the birth of a child. This entails the need to redefine the parental role and determine the manner of its fulfillment in the way that is different from the traditional one. It includes a number of functions that are increasingly gaining public acceptance and are ascribing the man appropriate status already while he is awaiting the birth of a child, and not as it still used to be a recent practice – after his/her birth. The process of becoming a father,

the process of becoming mature enough to become a parent, is a task which modern men, the "new fathers", undertake as early as during planning to set up a family and preparing themselves for childbirth. They often treat it as equivalent or even competitive compared to their work tasks.

Sources of a new paternal paradigm

Making fathers feel more important and expanding their parental competences significantly in the field of reproduction has many different sources. They can be traced both in the feminist sociology, as well as in psychological concepts that describe the nature of a human being (mainly the humanistic one), in the concept of androgyny and the concept of gender as a social category. In the context of the issues that are being described, one should also emphasize the achievements of reproductive psychology.

The assumptions adopted and described in their framework constitute a certain paradigm of masculinity and femininity. It shows that the way in which marital roles and parental roles integrally related to them are fulfilled is not only the result of biological conditions, but - to a very large extent - of social expectations directed at men and women.

Biological sex (female, male) is the basis for constructing a social category of a cultural gender (femininity and masculinity). It is regarded as a configuration of personality traits and patterns of behavior, roles and gender stereotypes considered in a given culture/society as feminine or masculine (Renzetti, Curran, 2005, p. 8). Thus, as noted by E. Mandal (2007, p. 8), sex is not perceived exclusively as an individual characteristic, but as a socio-cultural category, perceived as a type of information upon which people make judgments and behave in a certain manner.

Gender stereotypes as the most common and strongest ones are understood following M. W. Matlin (1996, following: Grabowska, 2007, p. 20) as a set of beliefs concerning the traits characteristic of men and women. Gender stereotypes are simplified descriptions of a "masculine man" or a "feminine woman". As a result, people act according to them, treating men and women in a different manner. Hence, the existing system of biological sex and cultural gender has considerable impact not only on the lifestyle, but also on the life chances of women and men (Renzetti, Curran, 2005, pp. 8, 9) regulating the way in which parental roles are assumed and the way of functioning in them.

The feminist paradigm is the one which has been gaining increasing recognition and giving better possibilities of explaining social life in its present form. It is the opposite of structural functionalism which was popular in the 1940s and 1960s and which, in its assumption, implied

the inequality of sexes and discrimination of women by their subordination to the dominant position of men. This paradigm assumed biological differences between men and women. Biological differences, especially in terms of reproduction, determined the social roles which were treated as the opposing, yet complementary, ones. Supporters of the presented paradigm identify biological sex with cultural gender, treating them as natural and unchangeable. Hence, the reproductive role of women determines its social role, which is limited primarily to giving birth to children, caring for them and being housewives. The role of a man, as a complementary one, comes down to economic functions, such as maintaining the family and defending it (Renzetti, Curran, 2005, pp. 11, 12). In practice, the acceptance of a traditional model of marriage - based on the standard division of sexes - results in certain consequences for the way in which parental roles are fulfilled. The role of the father in the sphere of reproduction, in a traditional family, was almost exclusively limited to the very act of conception. The man was perceived then as a passive and distant participant of pregnancy and childbirth, i.e. the one who, in most cases, stood on the side and expected to hear the decisions of medical staff. He was an observer. According to the described paradigm, being involved in pregnancy and childbirth (not only in public, but often also in a man's personal relationship with his wife), did not fall within the stereotype of a real man. As noted by P. Summersgill (1995, p. 113), being involved in pregnancy and taking part in childbirth could, in a negative way, lower the man's status and undermine his true masculinity. By assessing the position of men in retrospect, the author describes them suggestively as marginalized fathers.

The starting point of the feminist paradigm is the assumption that cultural gender is not biologically determined at birth, but - to a large extent is formed within the frames of a specific, social and economic structure, is the result of social expectations which are copied and handed over in the process of social learning. Thus, the feminists initiated a continuously ongoing process of eliminating the strict distribution of social roles. feminist movement (the women's movement) oriented The at the development of public awareness of the issue of equalizing the positions of women and men in all important spheres of life (Renzetti, Curran, 2005, p. 16, 21).

Classification of modern feminism proposed by Judith Lorber, a sociologist, distinguishes gender reform feminism as one of the three main categories. It is based on the assumption that the similarities between the sexes are much greater than the differences between them. It results in the demands for the right of full participation in all spheres of social life

according to the choice of one's own (Renzetti, Curran, 2005, p. 33). Consequently, it gives not only the women but also the men the ability to engage in these areas of activity that were previously reserved only for the opposite sex. However, as noted by A. Maciarz (2004, p. 7), by doing this the feminist movement which directs women's aspirations at selfrealization in different spheres of public life and liberation from home isolation infringed the value of motherhood, which is often emphasized by the opponents of the movement. However, in E. Badinter's opinion (1993, p. 149), it had paradoxical influence exactly on emphasizing the role of the father. The change of the way in which it is fulfilled must be preceded by changing the image of not only the man himself, but also the femininity and motherhood integrated with it. E. Badinter (1993, p. 29) by quoting M.S. Kimmel (1987) argues that masculinity cannot be understood without reference to its femininity and vice versa. Similarly, H. Bullinger (1997, p. 24) treats the roles of men and women as complementary ones, which means that they need to be changed in parallel. Otherwise, they will remain in mutual conflict. Therefore, the re-evaluation of the status, the change of the role and place of women in the society, which has its roots in the emancipation movements, resulted in the fact that men needed to confront themselves with the women's new self-consciousness. According to A. Ceranek-Dadas and E. Neumann-Schmidtke (2004, p. 37), challenging the existing distribution of tasks between men and women in the marriage and family forced the men, especially the fathers, not only to adopt the new image of a woman, but also the creation of their own image. Although in the literature there is only the concept of a "new father", it is hard to deny that it is a specific response to another method, different from the traditional one, of fulfilling the maternal role by women (the "new mothers") (cf. M. Dabrowska-Wnuk, 2013).

Destabilization of the settled order of the conflict between the sexes is also rooted in the concept of the humanities. It emphasizes the pursuit of self-actualization, understood as constant striving after the realization of one's own potential (Gerring, Zimbardo, 2008, p. 442). According to its assumption, a human being striving after self-realization commits himself/herself to performing the roles not always compatible with the current stereotypes in a given culture.

Self-realization understood as striving after the fullness of humanity through one's own potential becomes possible based on the idea of androgyny (from Greek *andros* - a man, *gyne* - a woman). This term combines the behaviors and personality traits that are traditionally considered masculine or feminine (Badinter, 1993, p. 145). Through this bisexuality an individual discloses and combines the traits that seem apparently contradictory,

since exhibiting female traits pre-excludes being a real man. Now, however, the researchers of *Men's Studies* unanimously reject the idea of masculinity, trying to prove that there is no universal model of a man, hence male identity is not unchangeable and clearly defined (Badinter, 1993, p. 41). Therefore, if the concept of masculinity is the result of a social contract, it can, of course to some extent, be changed and shaped.

The idea of self-realization and androgyny allows men to function in a very vivid and creative manner also on the ground of the family. They let their personalities to explore and express the nature of a woman without sacrificing their masculinity. It is extremely important to exhibit both the feminine and masculine traits in direct contact with the child. As H. Bullinger noted (1997, p. 20), the condition for authentic performance of the role of the father is the discovery and re-evaluation of the female part of a man's personality by opening up access to his own feelings and becoming sensitive to the environment, which according to E. Badinter (1993, p. 154) is already present during the pregnancy of his wife.

Formulating her theory of androgyny, Sandra Bem (1994) proposed an alternative to the classical model of a well-defined masculinity and femininity. In her opinion, having only the traits typical of a given sex reduces the behavioral repertoire of an individual, and androgyny extends it extensively. It is especially important when it refers to the attributes (stereotypically attributed to women) such as sensitivity and caring, which are so much necessary in contact with children.

Pregnancy undoubtedly starts and allows for the manifestation of the traits or modes of behavior which are treated as masculine, such as strength, firmness, resistance, efficiency and responsibility. However, maintaining a sexual relationship with a woman who is often emotionally labile and sensitive to a wide range of ailments certainly requires delicacy, sensitivity and tenderness, i.e. the features which so far have been hidden deep behind social stereotypes. H. Bullinger (1997, p. 22) believes that the change in the role of a father gives men a real chance for their emancipation. According to the author "taking care of the children puts men in completely different situations. They gain "qualitatively" new experience, previously unattainable. It can help them to free themselves from the old stereotype of masculinity." Therefore, the type of a new father seems perfectly fitted into the idea of androgyny, enabling self-realization of a man and using the potential hidden inside him.

Showing appreciation for the father's interactions also has its source in the achievements of the relatively new field of psychology - reproductive psychology. According to one of her assumptions, conception and awaiting the birth, as well as childbirth itself, are not the phenomenon dealt with only

in biological terms. If it were the case, they would be accessible only to the child's mother. Psychological and social dimensions are also attributed to them, which contributes to the fact that a man - a future father - becomes involved as well (cf. Bielawska-Batorowicz, 2006, pp. 59-64) Therefore, in B. Mierzwiński's opinion (1996, p. 25) transition from the one-sided and narrowed term of "conscious parenthood" to the term of "responsible parenthood", involving in full both the man and the woman and giving them equal rights and obligations, is justified.

New nature of paternity

For an increasing number of men the role of a father understood in the traditional way is no longer a model. Understanding masculinity based solely on its professional activity and occasional participation in the process of raising children gradually evolves towards masculinity based on partnership and commitment. Traditional masculinity understood and demonstrated through strength, dominance and competition, called hegemonic masculinity (Connel, 1995, following: Kwiatkowska, Nowakowska, 2006, p. 19), is more and more often contrasted with a new model of masculinity, a strong and responsible one, yet caring and empathetic (Kwiatkowska, Nowakowska, 2006, p. 19).

The image of the father that is being shaped and which is becoming a part of a new family model allows for the man to be perceived not only through the prism of an economic function he performs, but more and more often through the prism of emotional, educational and protective functions. For an increasing number of men performing functions of this type, traditionally perceived as feminine, is becoming a source of satisfaction and the way to achieve fulfillment.

Emphasizing personal relations in the family allows for the creation of a supportive father, involved in the family life also at the stage of its development, i.e. while expecting the birth of a child. Extension of the meaning of the reproductive function and not limiting it to the very act of conception is an important element in the realization of the idea of partnership between a woman and a man, thereby equalizing their chances on how to fulfill their parental roles. In this way, men are put in quite different situations thanks to which they gain qualitatively new experience, previously unattainable to them. Paternal involvement, unheard of in traditional societies, introduces important elements in the life of the whole family. It not only strengthens mutual relations in a marriage and gives them new quality, but, more importantly, allows to accompany the child from the very moment of his/her

conception, initiating the formation of a bond that shall last all life long (cf. M. Dabrowska-Wnuk, 2013a).

J. Delumeau and D. Roche (1995, p. 399) draw attention to the fact that "fathering" as one of the criteria for the new role of a father functions as a kind of a special social sign, tangible evidence of profound changes in the family, parental functions and status of the father. From a psychological point of view, "fathering" can be interpreted as the ability of men to express their true paternal identity, which until now was marginalized or even rejected. It starts to be formed at the time of being informed about the child's conception, and then strengthened and reinforced by experiencing pregnancy and childbirth together, as well as by performing protective functions and exhibiting emotional involvement in the relationship with the child after he/she is born.

The way in which a man adapts himself to the role of a father is a measure of his emotional and social maturity. Full maturity to fatherhood is expressed by accepting the state of affairs with no sense of being forced: "I want to become a father because it is my choice" (Pilch, 2004, p. 804). Such attitude increases the repertoire of paternal behaviors, making the man open to new experiences. Consequently, changes in the male identity give fathers equal chances in the family life (Dabrowska-Wnuk, 2013).

Couvade as an expression of the search for future fathers with new identity

Going beyond the limitations of a biological sex, the new paradigm allows to redefine the existing concept of femininity / masculinity, and following this track - maternity / paternity. This results in certain practical implications. The man not only becomes a woman's equal partner while taking care of a child and upbringing him/her, but more and more often he also participates in expecting his/her birth.

The new paradigm that is being created predisposes men to search for their own couvade rituals⁵⁸, which follows from their beliefs about the importance of emphasizing publically and confirming their participation and role in the social aspect of parenting.

The concept of couvade was used for the first time in the second half of the nineteenth century. As noted by P. G. Riviere (1974, following: Summersgill, 1995, p. 111), in the traditional meaning it refers to "all behaviors associated with childbirth that require fathers to give up their

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⁵⁸ The concept of couvade comes from the French word *couver*, which according to a dictionary entry means "to brood, to hatch". See: W. Kopaliński, *Słownik wyrazów obcych i zwrotów obcojęzycznych*, www.słownik-online.pl

ordinary daily activities and take up new ritual behaviors, such as delivering the child together, sexual abstinence, avoidance of physical work and certain types of food, and even imitating appropriate behaviors during simulated labor."

Currently, the scope of this concept has been significantly expanded. However, some researchers limit it to psychophysical complaints similar to those experienced by their expectant wives (cf. Bielawska-Batorowicz, 2006, pp. 126-127), while others use this concept to define any activity the purpose of which is to guarantee and confirm the parental status of the father in the broadest possible way, including the acceptance of the new forms of behavior (cf. Summersgill, 1995). All of these, however, are aimed at public confirmation of the change of the status and entering into a new social role. This, according to E. Bielawska-Batorowicz (2006, p. 127), is the result of radical changes in the situation of a man and the process of adapting to them.

Until the nineteenth century, men had couvade rituals that were clearer than those currently established and which gave them a specific position. Until modern times, only few rituals were present in Western culture which helped determine the role and status of the father. The change took place only in the 1970s when many unhappy men began to re-establish couvade rituals and demand to lend credence to their social significance as early as at the stage of the child's birth (Summersgill, 1995, pp. 112, 124). As a result, it allowed fathers, who had been omitted so far, to take the role of a "new man" who C. Romalis (1981, following Summersgill, 1995, p. 118) describes as a "progressive father." Ch. Brasch (1993), in turn, classifies him as one of the four types she distinguishes, in particular as a compassionate type (die Mitleider). According to the author, he represents the latest group of future fathers who have understood that parenting cannot be appropriated exclusively by women, but it requires the same kind of commitment on their part. In turn, J. Raphael-Leff (1991, following Bielawska-Batorowicz, 2006, pp. 127-128) distinguishes two categories of men. Apart from renouncers who are less likely to engage themselves in pregnancy, preparations and participation in childbirth, and neonatal care, she speaks of participators who play a very active role at all stages of pregnancy and childbirth.

To improve their situation, men are becoming more and more active in looking for modern couvade rituals. Among others, during pregnancy they include: taking over of new responsibilities in the family, such as getting involved in taking care of previously born children, preparing the house or flat for welcoming a newborn child, taking extra work or a more responsible position, abstinence from sexual relations, preparation for childbirth in a childbirth school and active participation in childbirth (cf. Summersgill,

1995; Kornas-Biela, 2002). However, constant search for couvade rituals possible to perform in hospital, for example controlling the manner and administration of analgesics, learning about the technical details of labor and how to use equipment for monitoring the progress of labor contributed to the formation of a group of the so-called counteracting fathers described by Bradley as "pregnancy policemen." They are potentially dangerous because instead of supporting the women and responding to their needs, they become allies of medical staff (Summersgill, 1995, 121-122).

Sharing the experience of pregnancy with expectant women is expressed in the aforementioned psychophysical symptoms which future fathers suffer from, and which C. Romalis (1981, following Summersgill, 1995, p. 114) calls their own "symptomatology of pregnancy". These include: nausea, vomiting, fatigue, sleep disturbances, headaches, dizziness, toothache, stomachache, backache, weight gain, constipation, leg cramps and problems with digestion such as appetite changes, excess or lack of appetite, skin changes, diarrhea and polyuria. There are psychological problems, such as: mood changes, depression, tension, insomnia and even stuttering (Mason, Elwood, 1995; Eisenberg, Markoff, Hathawey, 1998; Bielawska-Batorowicz, 2006). The results of research carried by American and Canadian scientists also indicate that fatherhood can trigger specific biological changes in the man's body, consisting in an increase or decrease in hormone levels before, during and after childbirth, similar to the changes observed in the body of a pregnant woman (Czapczyńska, 2004, p. 23). Fathers awaiting the birth of a child undergo hormonal and brain changes similar to those that occur in their children's mothers (Brizendine, 2006, p. 102).

According to statistics, depending on the studies in 11-65% (Eisenberg, Markoff, Hathawey, 1998, p. 419) and even in about 90% of future fathers, at least one physiological symptom typical of pregnant women was observed (Czapczyńska, 2004, p. 23).

In order to get more detailed information on the type and frequency of the psychosomatic symptoms experienced by "pregnant" fathers, my research included a group of 224 men who expected the birth of their first child. ⁵⁹ They were still married, and at the time of the study their wives were in the third trimester of pregnancy. Almost ³/₄ of the total number of respondents were men aged 21 to 30 years, the smallest group was composed of men under 20 and above 40 years of age (average man's age being 28.3 years while their wives' – 26.1 years of age). The largest group

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⁵⁹ These tests are part of a research project carried out as a doctoral seminar (University of Silesia 1999-2004) under the supervision of Prof. (of the University of Silesia) Katarzyna Popiołek, PhD.

consisted of fathers with secondary and higher education, assessing their financial situation as good or average. Most marriages (64.3%) made a decision to have a child in the first and second year of their relationship. The number of marriages awaiting the birth of a child systematically decreased with time of the marriage. Vast majority of future fathers (¾ of the total) declared that pregnancy had been planned by both spouses.

To learn about the type and frequency of psychophysical symptoms which future fathers clearly identify with pregnancy, I constructed a Questionnaire of Increased Psychophysical Symptoms [Polish: Kwestionariusz Nasilenia Objawów Psychofizycznych (KNOP)]. The task of the respondents was to take a stance on each of the eighteen symptoms by marking a certain number on an ordinal scale from 1 to 5, where: 1 meant no symptom, 2 very rare occurrence, 3 rare, 4 frequent and 5 very frequent. The tables below present the obtained results.

Table 1. Number of men suffering from psychophysical symptoms

Symptoms	Number of persons	%
YES	184	82
NO	38	18
Total	224	100

Vast majority of future fathers, i.e. four out of five, admit that they suffer to a different extent/with different intensity from at least one of the psychophysical symptoms that their pregnant wives suffer from.

Table 2. Psychophysical symptoms intensity mean value

Item	Symptom	total	mean value
1.	vomiting	249	1.1
2.	nausea	291	1.3
3.	toothache	325	1.4
4.	constipation	317	1.4
5.	leg cramps	331	1.5
6.	diarrhoea	331	1.5

7.	polyuria	352	1.6
8.	stomach ache	350	1.6
9.	headaches and vertigo	388	1.7
10.	excessive appetite / lack of appetite	390	1.7
11.	spinal pain	410	1.8
12.	depression	399	1.8
13.	appetite changes	429	1.9
14.	increase in body weight	428	1.9
15.	increased fatigue	447	2.0
16.	sleep disorders	497	2.2
17.	mood swings	554	2.5
18.	excitability	570	2.5

On a 1 (never) to 5 (very often) scale the results fall within the average results from 1.1 to 2.5. It proves that the symptoms future fathers point to appear with a very low frequency, which can be described as very rare (the symptom which is ranked the highest belongs to the low-level results). Nausea and vomiting are the symptoms which are the least experienced ones in the respondents' answers. Mood changes, like emotional lability and excessive excitability, appear relatively most frequently.

It was already in the 1960s that a systematic research into the couvade syndrome started. It proved that men expecting a child suffered from specific complaints during their partners' pregnancy, especially in the third and ninth months (Summersgill, 1995, p. 114; Bielawska-Batorowicz, 2006, p. 127). These symptoms are more common after the conception of the first child, which is caused by greater concern due to experiencing a completely new situation (Kornas-Biela, 2002, p. 84).

The theories which explain the causes of modern forms of the hatching syndrome include: the need for arising public awareness to the sources of problems being the result of the lack of social recognition of the changed role and status of fathers, empathy and identification with one's wife, jealousy caused by being neglected and the resulting desire to draw attention to oneself, the sense of responsibility for putting one's wife in an uncomfortable situation, stress caused by living with a woman who has become too excitable, volatile and often sexually unavailable, uncertainty resulting from the fact that the family is becoming bigger, a sense of the lack of parental

competences, peculiar pseudo-rivalry with the child, identifying with him/her and being jealous of the ability to give birth that future fathers are unaware of. Couvade is also regarded as an expression of the struggle not only with one's own assumption of fatherhood, but also with the partner's transition to motherhood (Summersgill, 1995; Bielawska-Batorowicz, 2006; Eisenberg, Markoff, Hathawey, 1998).

Introduction of couvade rituals is very important due to the possibility of the appearance of serious problems between spouses during pregnancy arising from interpersonal and sexual changes. Fathers can be proud and happy, but without certain rituals they feel uncertain about the future and the responsibilities associated with the role of the father. It can cause a number of problems with adjusting to a new situation, manifested, among others, by a sense of being moved away and separated from pregnancy and childbirth, a sense of loss of control over the situation and the difficulties in assuming the parental role and fulfilling it in the future (Summersgill, 1995).

Conclusion

Gradual involvement of future fathers in the process of expecting the birth of a child, performing an eternal role of the father in a new way which does not fit the existing stereotypes is the result of profound changes in the way of understanding male identity.

The new paradigm has allowed men to search their own place. Many authors emphasize, however, that extending the scope of the role of the father is not tantamount to the fact that it has been clearly and precisely defined. According to E. Badinter (1993, p. 149), exposing the role of the father is not the same as defining the scope of his responsibilities and the way of being a parent. Therefore, the issue of paternity, according to the author, in the opinion of some researchers is becoming part of more controversial issues.

Parental roles are closely dependent on how marital roles are performed. In Polish reality, a mixed model of a family is still a dominant one where the elements of a traditional model and equal partnership are combined. Thus, it determines the way in which specific tasks in the family are performed by fathers.

One of the important effects of the emancipation of women is a significant expansion of the procreative function by new, previously unknown aspects, such as joint preparation and a man's participation in childbirth. More and more young fathers consider it not only their duty, but also a privilege. Sharing their maternity by women is becoming natural, and what

is most important, accepted by a growing group of men. It is becoming to be treated as an intrinsic, inherent element of family life. It is also becoming a common belief that taking care of a child does not devaluate masculinity. As a result of the change of the roles men not only do not lose, but they benefit from it.

Having specific rituals allows task-oriented men to constructively adapt themselves to a new situation. A clear framework of activities for future fathers and setting out their responsibilities and privileges are important especially when a man becomes a parent for the first time. New scenarios entail its difficulty (both from the personal/individual point of view as well as from the social one), and therefore socially and culturally sanctioned rituals define the role of the father. In this way, they strengthen his position in the society and specify his place in the family.

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LJUPČO KEVERESKI, JASMINA STARC

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE COMMUNICATION TODAY - THEORY AND PRACTICE

Introduction

The current interdisciplinary in the study of the human nature and essence is a challenge which is inevitably imposed before the experts of different scientific areas. We can say that the constructivist, relativistic and dynamic - holistic systematic observing of the human dominate sovereignly in the modern psychology (Mandikj, 2003, p. 7). But, the typical holistic approach in the study of the personality is dominant, theoretical empirical orientation of the contemporary psychologists. Trying to conciliate the tense debate between the biologists and the sociologists for the essence of the human personality, Alfred Adler concludes that the human is a biological, social being. Same as him, but on a totally different way, Jung stated that when we enter in the depth of the individuality, we will meet the collective, and when we enter in the depth of the collective we will meet the individuality. The research through the labyrinths of the human being is an eternal enigma which is woven through the interdisciplinary scientific system. But, only the psychology has that privilege and legitimate right to research its essence and nature. To try to research and talk about the personality, the researcher risks to be confronted with unpredictable laic and scientific labyrinths, in which there is no rapid and successful exit, but conflict with traditions, orientations and concepts. Sometimes, exactly that uncertainty is the scientific challenge for its research. Besides the evident progress in the theoretical and empirical research of a great number of psychological phenomena, the personality still remains a black box for the traditional and contemporary scientific concepts which search for it and are confronted for its solving. In other words, what is that subtle interaction of the integrative totals which makes its totality and how is it found in its functioning in and around itself? In many introductory elaborations of the psychology of the personality, the authors begin with paraphrasing of the Olport's words from his famous composition *Personality* (1937). Everyone thinks that he/she knows what personality is, but no one can describe it. And besides that, this conclusion of Olport sounds very strictly, considering the high degree and progress in the scientific explanation of the structure, dynamism and development of the same personality; nevertheless, because of its complexity, we remain to the attitude that the personality is indeed unusual, enigmatic and mystical construct – challenge, even for the human itself. This conclusion would be pointless that this specific attempt for research of the personality would allow and would be one and only attempt, which tries to come closer and solve the personality, which is jealously kept in its own armor, protected of the curious researchers of its mystery.

If we start from the universal assumption that only the changes and conflicts are eternal in physical, psychic and social context, then we could say that the communications are also unavoidable, present, and constant and they are around us. That constant discrepancy and reconciliation all over again in the physical, psychic and social phenomena follow the human and are part of its surrounding.

Theoretical – empirical discourse

If some notion or action can be put on the pedestal as primacy of the human being, that is the communication as evident distinction of the rest species. The privilege of the human to have the power of the communication puts him in the centre of the creation of the two Freud's phenomena, Eros and Thanatos, as final postulates of the human survival. The human was always inevitably positioned to communicate with the others around it, implementing different communication forms, beginning from those where its records were put in the caves and stone slabs till the current contemporary internet communication. Doing this, its basic preoccupation was its communicational messages to be more successful with the others and for itself. The genesis of the human communication begins in the prenatal period, when the foetus on its own way maintains independent systems of connections and communication with the mother, through the so-called physiological communication, communication through the behaviour and emphatic communication. Later these communicational relations are developing, innovatqualitatively enriching in transforming and the everyday communicational relations between the people. But, considering the impressive increase of the intensity of the communication of the contemporary human, the imperative need is that the communication should get contemporary efficient and functional overtone. The communication represents the basis of the interpersonal relations. There is no way not to communicate. The way we function and work is inseparable from the communication, even when we are thinking or we are alone, we communicate. That's why the imperative need for thinking is posed in front of us whether our established style of communication ravage and enkindle the entire communicational process and course with those with who we are in everyday communicational relations? Or, on the other side, our established style and practice of communication presents relaxing communicational composite, in which the primary rules and principles are obeyed.

The anthropologist Ray Berdvistel was the first who studied the non-verbal communication – or as he called it later kinesics. He claims that approximately every individual, during the day, uses the verbal communication totally 10 to 20 minutes, and the average sentences lasts around 2.5 seconds. The same author states that he made an estimate and he can recognize 250 000 facial expressions. Besides Mehrabian, Berdvistel ascertained that the verbal communication measures at least 25%, and more than 65% of the communication is done nonverbally (Allan and Barbara Pease, 2005, p. 23-24; Jordanov, 2006, p.7) (Psychology of the communication – The Silence Speaks too) states that the empirical researches confirm that 87% of the information which comes to the brain derives from the eyes, 9% from the ears and 4% from the others senses.

The current interdisciplinary in the study of the human nature and essence is a challenge which is inevitably imposed before the experts of different scientific areas. We can say that the constructivist, relativistic and dynamic - holistic systematic observing of the human dominate sovereignly in the modern psychology (Mandikj, 2003, p. 7). But, the typical holistic approach in the study of the personality is dominant theoretical empirical orientation of the contemporary psychologists. Trying to conciliate the tense debate between the biologists and the sociologists for the essence of the human personality, Alfred Adler concludes that the human is a biological, social being. Same as him, but on a totally different way, Jung stated that when we enter in the depth of the individuality, we will meet the collective, and when we enter in the depth of the collective we will meet the individuality. The research through the labyrinths of the human being is an eternal enigma which is woven through the interdisciplinary scientific system. But, only the psychology has that privilege and legitimate right to research its essence and nature. To try to research and talk about the personality, the researcher risks to be confronted with unpredictable laic and scientific labyrinths in which there is no rapid and successful exit, but conflict with traditions, orientations and concepts. Sometimes, exactly that uncertainty is the scientific challenge for its research. Besides the evident progress in the theoretical and empirical research of a great number of psychological phenomena, the personality still remains a black box for the traditional and contemporary scientific concepts which for it and are confronted for its solving. In other words, what is that subtle interaction of the integrative totals which makes its totality and how is it found in its functioning in and around itself? In many introductory elaborations of the psychology of the personality, the authors begin with paraphrasing of the Olport's words from his famous composition *Personality* (1937). Everyone thinks that he/she knows what personality is, but no one can describe it. And besides that, this conclusion of Olport sounds very strictly, considering the high degree and progress in the scientific explanation of the structure, dynamism and development of the same personality; nevertheless, because of its complexity, we remain to the attitude that the personality is indeed unusual, enigmatic and mystical construct – challenge, even for the human itself. This conclusion would be pointless that this specific attempt for research of the personality would allow and would be one and only attempt which tries to come closer and solve the personality, which is jealously kept in its own armor, protected of the curious researchers of its mystery.

If we start from the universal assumption that only the changes and conflicts are eternal in physical, psychic and social context, then we could say that the communications are also unavoidable, present, and constant and they are around us. That constant discrepancy and reconciliation all over again in the physical, psychic and social phenomena follow the human and are part of its surrounding.

Defining of the basic notions

The essence of the human life is based on the connection with the other people, and the connection depends on the communication which is established through different kinds of communicational forms. The communication is a dynamic process in which, consciously or unconsciously, the awareness and feelings toward the others are affected, and is done with the help of the symbolic communication. The communicative process is a conscious process motivated by the satisfaction of certain biological, psychological, social and other needs. The verbal and non-verbal communications are essentially inseparable, and their separation is done for scientific research and later for easier use in the practice.

If we make one retrospective view regarding the communication during one socially – historical context, we can ascertain with good reason that the communication undergoes particular evolution, progress and transformation looked through different scientific perspective. With the development and change of the social, socio – cultural and other conditions and opportunities, we will notice particular content – communicative innovation. In this context we have in mind the understanding, defining, models, prejudices, functions, implications and the other implications which are products of the same communication, which are searched by the authors from the different educational – scientific areas.

If we start from the fact that the World Health Organization defines the quality of the communication as one of the five essential skills for healthy and happy life, as well as the Socrates striving that the words should be precisely defined before their use, then a more precise defining of the notion of communication is needed implicitly at the beginning. The word communication comes from the Latin word "communicare" which means to communicate. In the dictionary encyclopedic literature, the notion communication is defined (EN. Communication, FR.L Communication) as every message which is a subject of reciprocal exchange of informative contents between equal subjects of the communicational action and which in the process of exchange between the communicator and the recipient is subjected to the possibilities of dialogical elaboration, which is included in it. (Reardon, 1998, p. 13).

The communication presents a dynamic and complex process in which the people send and receive verbal and non-verbal messages, so that they can understand the other people and that they can be understood by the other (Hargie, 1994). Other authors define the communication as reversible process of accomplishing mutual understanding, in which the participants are not just exchanging (coding and decoding) information of different kind, but they are creating and sharing knowledge, thoughts, feelings and other informative material.

A lot of authors are occupied with the defining of the notion of communication. For S. Pricea (1994) the communication is individual production of some symbolic content in accordance with some code, which anticipates the reception of that content from the other subjects to be in accordance with the same code.

Cooley even in 1909 writes that under communication we can realize a mechanism which helps the human relations to exist and develop, and it is involved in all of the symbols of the spirit with the means for their transmission in the space and time. The communicologist Paul Watzlawick et al. (1974) considers that the communication is conditio sine qua non of the human life. Others consider that it is essential prerequisite for every social life. The communication is essential element of the human understanding. Franc Vreg considers cooperating and totally involvement in the society. But, it could be said that the notion of communication isn't used uniquely with one meaning, which is confusing and overlaps with other notions such as: reaction, interaction, behavior and others. Because of this, Kethleen K. Reardon, in her study for interpersonal communication begins with stating 6 basic characteristics of the communication.

People communicate because of many different reasons:

• The communication results with expected and unexpected effects;

- The communication is usually reversible;
- The communication involves at least two people with different influence:
- The communication happens even when it isn't successful;
- The communication involves use of symbols.

In 1976 Frank E. Dance stated that the American theorists state 16 definitions for communication. This shows the complexity of the notion of communication, also on many sub-disciplines and specialist theories, which for a subject of research have the notion of communication.

In the book *More Than Words*, by the authors R. Dimbleby and G. Burton (1992) the communication has three essential characteristics:

- The communication is a process of accomplishing the relations between the people. Those relations can be between two people, groups, individual and a group etc.;
- The communication is an activity. Even when the person reads a book, watches, listens that person is active;
- The communication can be learnt. The people communicate so that they can satisfy their needs.

There are numbers of different definitions for communication, what they have in common is that they always involve that:

- There is relation, interaction, the individuals who can be human beings and animals;
- There is emitting of signs on which the one side reacts, accepts them and doing that it changes the behavior in some way.

Most of the definitions for the notion of communication point out to several associations that can be recorded in most of the authors. Those are: dynamism, interaction, individual, group, activity, message, code, emitting, connection, purpose, power, transfer, signs, understanding, reaction, need, relation, process, space, time, place The previous associations constitute complex conglomerate of actions, which constitute one and only notion communication, which is the focus of this paper.

When it comes to the phenomenon of the communication, the psychologists show interest more from the aspect of the functioning of the personal attributes and mechanism in conditions when the human problems are emphasized, which happen in the communicative process of initiation, transmission, reception and reaction in that process. Maybe the statement that the successful mastering of the communicative alphabet is still an enigma and hard (in) surmountable lesson for the mankind is too harsh, especially in the contemporary conditions of living where the communication is 24-hour, survival condition. It is doubtless that the communicative model

today is one of the predominant in the modern psychology (Mandikj, 2003, p.7).

Conclusion

Everyone has an unhidden wish and need to improve its own style of communication, i.e. to be more successful in the everyday communication with itself and with the others, without reference to the social, professional and other organizational environment. That means how we can find the secret/s of the successful communication. Those may be small individual specific recipes which improve or disturb our psychic balance. But, in each of us there is the dilemma and the problem how and the way we can make that? In other words, how each of us can stop the failure and the problems in the communication. But, before finding the so wanted secret recipes of the communication, first we will state the most common communicative mistakes: insufficient thinking about the thing that we are going to tell before we begin with the conservation, overload of the message with unnecessary information, no account for that how much the person that the speaker communicates with is familiar with the topic of the message, the content of the message is not in accordance with the attitudes of those who receive the information, insufficient attention towards the recipients of the message, before we hear the message to the end, we think about an answer, spending too much time on the details with which we lost the totality of the message, before we hear the message to the end we judge the interlocutor whether he/she is right or no. The previous examples, in which we can find our personality, can, i.e. most often disorient our behavior and functioning and make the relation with the social environment problematic. In those conditions, our personality loses the ability for efficient functioning in the family or other working environment. What can we make on the road of finding the cure for efficient communication?

Why do we need that? There are many reasons, but one unites all, and that is the instinctive need of the human to maintain the biological and psychological balance or maintaining of so-called homeostasis. In other words, in condition of disturbed biological and psychological balance of the organism, in the organism there is a need for returning to the previous condition, i.e. condition of normalization or restoring of the disturbed balance. In those conditions the entire psycho-physical potential in the personality is put in function of removing of the reasons that lead to the disturbance of the everyday functioning. With the basic satisfaction of the biological and social need of the personality a condition of reduction of the tension occurs, which allows the attention or the energy of the organism to concen-

trate on other activities. What are the characteristics of the personality in the efficient everyday functioning in *intercommunicative* and *interpersonal* sense and what do we understand under these two notions?

The efficient functioning in intercommunicative sense means relative coordination of the endocrine system, psychic composition and body constitution. In those conditions, the person has good or better control on the changes which result from the own neuro – physiological functioning, relative balance and control of the psychic processes and conditions and of course real and rational observation of the own physical constitution. These persons, who have better intrapsychic and intercommunicative ability for self-control, don't relate, nor resolve the problems in the communication, but most often they avoid, and prevent them.

That, in biggest rate, enables their inner organization and knowledge of the so-called pre-signal indications that potential problems in the communication or some other sphere may occur. The efficient functioning in this sense can be noticed in two ways and the first can be noticed in its inner harmony, and the other is noticeable in the more efficient way of interpersonal communication with the others.

The communication as a dynamic system of exchange of thoughts, feelings and other kind of messages is unique planetary phenomenon which is alert 24 hours. To communicate means to live, because the communication, with good reason, can be said that represents the blood flow of the life, of which depends the biological, physical, psychic, social and other balance of the human in ultimate rate. The human's (supremacy) power, privilege and legitimacy, which are acquired with the help of the communicative abilities as a result only to that advantage, oblige the human to justify it all the time with the striving for establishing more efficient communicative relations with itself and the environment. The previous stated leads us to the conclusion that the success in the communication in the family, the working process depends on how much the words that are said are accompanied by well - designed and controlled gestures and nuances in the verbal communication. It would be necessary to mention that this paper doesn't have that dominant manager discourse in the operationalization and elaboration of the communication and the communicative phenomena, but it is more oriented toward the psychology of the communicating, exactly form the aspect and prism of the psychic science. Part of the content units has atypical definitional construct, as well as content composition which deviate from some established communicative clichés

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INTERCULTURALITY AND THE CRITICAL LITERACY DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Modeling of the teaching practice by using the principle that what has worked for yesterday will work for today and for tomorrow for each participant in education opens a door for isolation of the children or students that represent different cultures. The perception of the world itself differs from one student to another depending on the cultural or ethnical background. The teaching process is shaped by the curriculum that usually and most likely represents the values and views of the dominant group. The dominant group has direct impact on the choice of the books, the textbooks and the texts that the students would be using in school, and the teaching strategies and methods or educational methodologies as a whole. Consequently we should reexamine the school practices if we agree that a multicultural society as Macedonia is, should incorporate intercultural practices that impose mutual respect, tolerance and appreciation.

The stories that the students read in the textbooks create fictive worlds that are similar to the real worlds by many things. In addition, are they similar to all potential real worlds, knowing the fact that each student is unique and therefore – not repeatable and original existence of body and thought? Are they similar to the world that includes child with satisfied existential needs, with cultural characteristics and values that are close to the mainstream culture, with family that appreciates the reading and writing, and actively engages in electronic communication and information interchange? Are those fictive worlds also similar to the real worlds of a child whose existential needs are not quite satisfied, a child whose parents are absent most of the time, a child that has only one book that has received as a gift, a child that speaks on another language – different then the majority group, i.e. a child that represents another culture, ethnic group, family with low incomes or a marginalized group by some other factor?

The students enter into fictional words when reading literary texts. In addition, if a student finds the fictional world similar to the real world that s/he lives in, then the entrance into the fictive world would be more realistic and holistic experience. However, it is very likely that the student, who

doesn't find the fictive world familiar or realistic, cannot really enter into it and grasp that kind of unreplaceable experience. Knowing this, we must take the consideration of the fact that the texts that are read and analyzed in the classroom in most cases portray the real worlds of the main-stream or dominant culture. Consequently, we are asking ourselves: what can teacher do for the students of marginalized groups in order to fully experience the fictive worlds? What can or should teacher do to persuade the student whose family doesn't appreciate the knowledge and therefore - school that the literacy issues are of great importance for someone's personal development, but also – for the society development?

Interculturality: terminological determination

The term *culture* stands for an aggregation of all processes, changes and products that has emerged as a result of the physical and spiritual activity and the purpose of its existence is to ease the processes of maintenance, continuity and the progress of the human society (Илић, 1971, p. 255-256). The culture is constituted of two essential elements:

- Transferring the acknowledged culture flaws and values, i.e. tradition:
- Creating new values, i.e. progress.

The notion stated above, refers to the statement that the culture represents a link among the generations, but also is contradictory, because of its role in the transfer and creation of new goods and values (Недељковић, 1999, p. 208). The language, religion, family, marriage, ownership, incest prohibition are the main categories of the universal culture issues. In other words, the culture background is consisted of language, mythology, folklore, customs and everyday forms (Ђорђевић, 2005, p. 145).

There are no static and territorial isolated societies. Every society is a hybrid of different cultures and identities and the interaction among them becomes incredibly complex and burdened by various cultural, economic, religious and political demands. Many countries around the world have a mix of subcultures that have different values and norms then the main-stream culture (Giddens, 1988).

Multicultural societies include: various cultures, nationalities, ethnic and religious groups that live in one area. In some multicultural societies there is limited number of contacts among the participants in that society. If that is the case, the people in that kind of society have negative or at least neutral attitudes toward the differences. Consequently, the minorities are acknowledged, but not accepted and appreciated. Therefore, the multicultural society is a state, and not a process. Interculturality stands for inclusion,

cultural exchange, communication, interaction and other constructive manners of bringing people together. Hence, the multiculturality means existence of different cultures in an area, and the interculturality emphasizes the need for interaction among the cultures. Interculturality represents the dynamic nature of the human existence in a society that is consisted of different countries. The intercultural identity is reflected in:

- The acceptance of the existing, but also the new cultural elements.
- Broadening and deepening the views;
- Self-understanding, self-acceptance and self-confidence is at high level:
- Openness and flexibility at high level;
- High level of creativity that enables facing with new challenges (Kim, 1991, p. 259-275).

In the intercultural societies where various cultures are appreciated and there is an open communication and interaction among the inhabitants, there are no superior or inferior, better or worse cultures. Interculture is a process and not a goal (Kajiš, Medič, 2001, p. 55).

One of the social fields in which the interculturality can find a place for nourishment is education. We cannot inherit intercultural values, hence it is something that needs to be learned, felt and accepted as part of our existence. In the UNESCO (1993) document titled as *Directions for educating the values that will enhance the humanistic and international dimension in education* there is a concept referred as *social responsibility* which is the most likely the most holistic concept related to the understanding and accepting the differences. The historical attempts of creating homogenous environments have always been described as failures that entailed many human sacrifices and societal setback. Moreover, the differences are not social disease that should be treated, but bright spot of the human community evolution – evidence that whereas a human exists there is also a desire for growth and progress.

In the same UNESCO document there are several intercultural principles that should be followed in order to achieve intercultural education. Those principles are:

- 1. Becoming aware of the cultural interactions;
- 2. Becoming aware of the various culture's values without hiding the dominated relations and to improve the culture of immigrants;
- 3. Interculturality to be guiding principle in every school activity,
- 4. To question the evaluation criteria that are ethnocentric;
- 5. To introduce intercultural approach in all organization's and schools' domains;

- To develop solidarity and mutual acceptance in the school community;
- 7. To acknowledge and appreciate the symbolic presence of the mother tongues in school;
- 8. To stimulate pluralistic approach in the process of learning,
- 9. To recognize that the arts are of great help in the process of appreciating the various cultures;
- 10. To encourage intercultural activities among the students and to acknowledge that they depend on the quality of cooperation among the teachers that originate from majority or minority groups;
- 11. To enable communication among school, family, environment and the whole community (migrant and domestic);
- 12. To acknowledge that the intercultural education brings the future that is equally important to domestic countries and the foreign countries that have its ethnic minorities in other countries and seeks for solidarity among the countries with different status of wealth:
- 13. To develop at teachers the necessary skills and competencies that will provide these principles to become efficient practice.

We conclude, here, that the principles for building intercultural societies are widely accepted in paper. Therefore, we should all be aware of the need to employ our consciousness in order to become better citizens that will contribute to one's well-being during the process of self-realization.

Critical literacy: terminological determination

The idea of critical literacy has been impregnated many years ago as part of the ideologies of many great thinkers. Still, it is concept that has been brought to the world recently by recognizing the need for redefinition of what we mean by *literacy*.

In the past years the concept *literacy* was defined by identifying the one's skills for doing something in societal frames, but without any relation to the contexts that the literacy practices can take place. At the beginning, the literacy was meant to represent one's ability to read and write. This determination was broadened by adding different skills such as ability or competence for adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing numerical data, or communicating by using numeric data, and oral competencies.

Later on, as a result of the New Literacy Studies movement, the term literacy is adopting different methods and terminology. According to Street (2003) the traditional understanding of the literacy is alike the autonomous

model for literacy acquisition where the literacy and its manifestations don't depend on the context in which they emerge. Consequently, the literacy is a mechanical process of developing skills that could be implemented everywhere. The new understanding of literacy which Street names as ideological model stresses the importance of the context that the literacy practices are exercised in, because the literacy skills and its manifestations are social practices that are dependable on the specific situations and sets of circumstances. Therefore, they include certain ideological implications on the individuals that are engaged in literacy practices. Family literacy and functional literacy appears as terms that only point out the social orientation of the literacy practices influenced by the New Literacy Studies.

Driven by the need for recognizing different ways of sign representation and different ways of communication, a term multimodal literacy is coined whereas the possibility for communicating by using signs of various sign systems is welcomed. The concept multiple literacy arises from the need to read the world in many contexts that as a result of the technology revolution and the human society development have become more complex and unpredictable. Therefore, we can make a distinction among math literacy, political literacy, health literacy, economic literacy, media literacy, critical media literacy, (...) critical literacy.

Critical literacy has arisen from the Dewey philosophy of education, post-structural philosophy, critical social theories and the Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed. Dewey (2008) stresses the point that the process of thinking is shaped by the one's experience and that the human is responsible for his own actions, and therefor for his process of learning. Thought or reflection, ... is the discernment of the relation between what we try to do and what happens in consequence. No experience having a meaning is possible without some element of thought (Dewey, 2008)... Not knowledge or information, but self-realization, is the goal. ...Learning is active (Dewey, 1902).

Critical literacy comprises treating the text as a product of certain social and historical conditions, hence the reader does not seek the real meaning of the text, because there is no such thing (the post-structuralistic influence), but the reader reconstructs the meaning itself once again (the author has made the first construction). Under the manifested structure of the text there is a hidden structure that needs to be questioned (influence of Derrida). The reader should ask him/herself about the author of the text, the purpose of the creation of the text, its role, the way of its construction, alternative views that can contribute to the overall impression, the individual use of the read text, creating alternative texts as exploring the inter-textual connectedness to the original text and fostering creativity and creative writing. Critical literacy teaches that people should be conscious about their own position

in the society and the position of others in the social hierarchy (influence of the critical social studies) in order to protect themselves from being exploited and not accepted. Paulo Freire (1970) speaks out for creating a world whereas all people will be equal. He also stands for dislocating the power (the empowerment of the marginalized groups in the society), providing access to education for all, educating by giving freedom to think, act and gain knowledge in the process of active learning by becoming responsible for self-development. Freire emphasizes the importance of taking initiatives by engaging reflection and action. The main condition for educating critical citizens is making them believe that they should become very self-conscious and conscious for others. Critical literacy represents developing consciousness for self-identity and socio-political worlds at the individual by reconstructing the texts (oral and written), reflecting and acting in order to address the requirements for providing social justice.

Fostering interculturality by implementing strategies for critical literacy development

Lately, there are many voices raised for equity in many spheres in the society, for accepting the multicultural nature of one's society, for providing atmosphere and practices in the spirit of interculturalism, for enabling education for all, for inclusive education in a very broad sense etc. But, in spite of the constant strives of the teachers and the policy makers there are still many situations of inequity in education. ... There are structural and cultural contexts, including inequitable access to resources and institutionalized racism, that problematize the concept of the achievement gap, but these differences in academic performance still carry significant social, economic, and political consequences (Morrell, 2009, p. 96).

There are many implicit aspects of the teaching and learning processes that can be linked to the cultural and inclusive education issues. Karen Gallas (2000) informs about her failure to motivate little Denzel (7 years old African-American pupil) to read and write or even to listen to the story that someone else is reading. At the beginning, she thought that the child originates from poor family in which the value of the book is not recognized, but that wasn't the case: his parents were well situated and had university degree. Then she thought that maybe he hasn't got love in the family, and again she was wrong: little Denzel was loved by his parents and closest ones. After many attempts and strategies that she has implemented in order to motivate him to read and write, she found out that she has adopted not suitable approach to enter the Denzel's world, shaped by the African syncretic art

as part of his culture, the book should be used as a tool for learning to read and write, but not to read stories. According to the Denzel's perceptions, the story should be told, not to be read. Story telling as an activity enables the listeners to enter into the new creative worlds of fiction, by the power of the spoken word, music, dance, and drama. Reading would mean death for the story, because of the lack of the magic spread by mimics, gesticulation, singing and dancing. Knowing this, Gallas could understand Denzel's constant resistance to the story reading activities, at last. Therefore, she introduced herself with her pupil's culture and considered more suitable teaching and learning approach to the reading process.

Ladson-Billing (1995) points out the non-correctness of the educational methodologies that teachers use in their classrooms, because that kind of approach cannot be used for paying attention to the cultural differences among the students, i.e. there is a cultural mismatch in schools. In addition, she notes that the constant low school performance of the African-American students is not related to their mental capacities, but to their position that they have in the broader social environment as minority and marginalized group. Ladson-Billing proves that the school performance of the students will improve if the cultural aspects of the Afro-American are respected and appreciated and stresses that the previously used terminology for this cultural mismatch pointed on the extent of unsatisfied accommodation of the marginalized groups to the main-stream culture. Only the term culturally responsive appears to refer to a more dynamic or synergetic relationship between home/community culture and school culture (Landson-Billing, 1995, p. 467).

Young people, nowadays live in a quite different world then their teachers' world. This is pretty much shaped by the information and Internet revolution that have provided real access to many sources of interest. Therefore, the practitioners realize that there is a constant decrease of the academic performance of the young people related to the new technology emergence. There are also subcultural issues that impact the academic performance. Ernest Morrell (2002, p. 72) agrees with the most New Literacy Studies theoreticians that ... often, the failure of urban students to develop 'academic' literacy skills stems not from a lack of intelligence but from the inaccessibility of the school curriculum to students who are not in the 'dominant' or 'mainstream' culture. Morrell has tried working with nontraditional poetry texts (used rap songs in contrast with traditional poetry) in order to motivate young people to learn, think upon their thoughts and actions, and find themselves in the society that appreciates them, and not makes judgments about their social beings. Morrell and Duncan-Andrade (2005, 2005/06) introduced popular culture into the curriculum in order to attract youngsters' attention and to develop critical literacy.

Campano et al. (2013) put accent on the importance of critical literacy development for human relations' development. In the spirit of mutual care and love they have come with the term coalitional literacies which are necessary for building up human social environment in which the human personality will be loved, appreciated and respected.

We define coalitional literacies as critical social practices whereby community members enact language and literacy across cultural boundaries in order to learn from others, be reflective with respect to social location, foster empathy, cultivate affective bonds, and promote inclusion in the service of progressive change (p. 315). Coalitional literacy practices involve constantly questioning whose perspectives are included, excluded, or given more weight, what our own status is vis-a-vis those with whom we work, and how intellectual authority may be (re) distributed more equitably (p. 324).

From the Campano et al.'s (2013) determination of the coalitional literacy we can conclude that it is a kind of critical literacy practice that relate and bond people, feelings, thoughts and actions by creating cross-cultural friendships and blocking the stereotypical thoughts. It includes practices that foster empathy and 'joint work for common community goals'.

The relations in whom there is unequal allocation of power are not likely to be obvious in every context. By providing equal access to the education system for all children in a society, doesn't mean that we have made them subjects whose rights are guaranteed. The children that represent minority group in a society, bring specific culture elements into the classroom (traditional songs, oral stories, traditional dances, specific clothing, specific manners, ideology,...). On the other hand, the school, according to the national curriculum, exposes all students to the songs, poems, stories, plays, music, texts that represent the dominant culture. These practices make the minority group believe that the types of the texts that are in the official curriculum and are analyzed in the classroom are valuable for reading and appreciating, and the rest of them (i.e. the traditional elements of specific subculture that are excluded from the official curriculum) have less or no value. Also, the students might think that the behavior that have been portrayed in the texts of analysis is acceptable, good, positive, appropriate and the other views that are excluded - are not acceptable. It is not unlikely that the students – representatives of the minority group will identify with the dominant group, because they might be embarrassed of their own true ethnical and cultural background.

In a critical literacy classroom the main aim is to put the student in an active role and to make the student feel as important part of the community. The classroom is a multicultural community in which interculturality should take place. In a critical literacy classroom the subjects that are participating in the process of learning are important structural element. The students are active subjects that are engaged in self-realization by being conscious about their own position in a group and the position of the others as well

Since literacy acquisition includes reading, writing and analyzing texts, critical literacy puts the text (written, oral and represented by images text) in the center of the activities. The form and the content of the text depend on the author's position, the intended meaning and the purpose of the text, which will be determination of the language used for representation of the main ideas (specific choice of words, sentence organization, images and described contexts). Because the texts are ideological constructs, in the critical literacy classroom, the teacher will ask questions like these: Who is the author? What kind of language is used? Is the author trying to convince us to believe in something? If yes, what is it? Whose voices are present, and whose voices are excluded in the text? Whose perspective is been taken when telling the story? While the students understand how the language functions and what its power is, the teacher can introduce writing of alternative texts that are similar to the original ones. Writing of alternative texts as part of the reconstruction methods encourages the students to change the original text by changing some of its parts. This is an opportunity for the marginalized students to speak with their own voices on their own way. By co-writing the texts other alternative worlds in which the marginalized people live are open for exploring, experiencing and appreciating. This practice will enable minority groups recreate their own self-esteem, because they will understand that there is not only one right path to choose in life, or there is not certain way for one to behave, but there are various paths that one can take in order to reach self-actualization and selfcompletion depending on the set of moral and ideological principles that a culture or a subculture constructs on a conscious or unconscious level. Therefore, the teaching process that involves critical literacy practices becomes closer to the students themselves; because they will feel that they are seen as very important subject that are empowered to think critically, to stand upon their views and believes and to take initiatives for changing the worlds they live in every day.

Conclusion

Cultural values usually serve as driving force for people's behavior and actions. In a multicultural society that has embraced the intercultural principles, cultural values of the various cultures and subcultures are seen as something that enriches the spiritual coexistence. It also strengthens peo-

ple's moral qualities, because of the basic cultural values that unifies and brings together people of many subcultures such as: love, forgiveness, appreciation, positive thoughts and mutual respect. Education that is organized for developing critical literacy makes the student to be active participant who is responsible for his/her own actions and learning. Critical literacy, also, enables the students to reconstruct the meaning of the text which is a step for empowerment, because every human has a right to interpret texts without being told what to think. Critical literacy asks from the students to be more critically involved when reading texts and to explore the other readers' point of view, which helps in developing and maintain interaction and communication among people from different cultures, i.e. to promote and practice interculturality. It also provides circumstances for appreciating the human itself, regardless the majority or minority group belonging in a society. Therefore, education for critical literacy development creates an atmosphere of belonging to a whole group whereas mutual respect, intercultural dialogue, love and care, appreciation of attitudes and thought take place and individual differences and similarities are seen as advantage.

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DIMITAR PANDEV

MACEDONISTYCZNY PROFIL POLSKIEGO LINGWISTY - MACIEJ KAWKA

Spośród polskich językoznawców zajmujących się problematyką macedonistyczną, Maciej Kawka wydaje się być badaczem o najszerszym zasięgu poruszanych przez siebie tematów poświęconych językowi macedońskiemu, literaturze i kulturze tego kraju. Konstatacja ta odnosi się do liczby jego książek oraz artykułów dotyczących wskazanej problematyki. W tym kontekście należy podkreślić, że Maciej Kawka zajmuje się problematyką języka i kultury macedońskiej od wielu lat i stale kontynuuje swoją działalność.

Z punktu widzenia dyskursu językoznawczego, jego praca naukowa ma wysoką wartość, zajmuje on z pewnością ważne miejsce wśród najlepszych polskich językoznawców, którzy już od dłuższego czasu zajmują się problematyką macedonistyczną (warto w tym aspekcie wymienić również Mieczysława Maleckiego, Zuzannę Topolińską, Zbigniewa Gołębia). Polskie doświadczenia i osiągnięcia w dziedzinie lingwistyki niemal równocześnie mają zastosowanie w dziedzinie języka macedońskiego. W tym sensie, należy podkreślić, że teoretyczne rozważania współczesnego językoznawstwa polskiego były regularnie dostosowywane do językoznawstwa światowego, tj. językoznawstwo polskie wykazywało uderzającą otwartość wobec nowoczesnych nauk lingwistycznych, które w dużej mierze przekraczały sztywne ramy, po pierwsze pozytywistycznej, ale także strukturalnej lingwistyki.

Biorąc pod uwagę otwarty kontekst polskiego językoznawstwa (w tym polskiej i słowiańskiej filologii), należy podkreślić, że problematyka naukowa którą podejmuje i aktywnie zajmuje się Maciej Kawka w najszerszym znaczeniu obejmuje tekstologię oraz lingwistykę tekstu. Ten szeroki zakres zainterowań zawiera także szereg filologicznych kwestii: od krytyki tekstu po jego analizę, macedoński dyskurs kulturowo-historyczny, artystycznoliterackie spojrzenie oraz społeczno-politycze konteksty. Kawka subtelnie wybiera z macedońskiego korpusu literackiego przykłady mogące zilustrować współczesne podejście w tekstologii i teorii w lingwistyce tekstu oraz szerzej w etnografii wypowiedzi, analizie dyskursu (zależności tekstu od różnych dyskursów).

Jego działalność wyraża się poprzez liczne artykuły, które są m.in. wynikiem publicznych wystąpień na konferencjach naukowych, w szczególności w macedońskim środowisku naukowym i dlatego też publikowane są one w macedońskich zbiorach naukowych, a także innych wydawnictwach.

Na szczególną uwagę zasługuje jego najnowsza książka "Diskursite za Makedonija" (Dyskursy o Macedonii), opublikowana przez wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie w 2013 roku.

Działalność ta oraz zainteresowanie tekstologią i lingwistyką tekstu, patrząc z perspektywy czasu, koresponduje m.in. z bezproblemowym władaniem językiem macedońskim oraz solidną znajomością literatury i kultury kraju. Maciej Kawka jest wytrawnym znawcą, z jednej strony, podejścia do tekstu w filologii oraz teorii tekstu w lingwistyce, a z drugiej strony podejścia do macedońskich tekstów, przedkodyfikowanych, które z pewnością mogą być przedmiotem badań tekstologii jako fundamentu dla naukowych, tj. dla krytycznych wydań tekstów danego okresu czasu, jak i współczesnych, niezależnie od tego, w jakiej formie są dostępne: ustnej, pisemnej, a nawet elektronicznej.

Tak więc, jego zainteresowanie w formie rekomendacji dla nowych wydań starego macedońskiego piśmiennictwa zostało poparte w artykule "3a развојот и потребите на македонската текстологија односно за научното издаваштво" rozwoju i potrzeb macedońskiej (Dla i publikacji naukowych) (Tom: XXVIII Konferencja Naukowa XXIV Międzynarodowe Seminarium Języka Macedońskiego, Literatury i Kultury, Skopje, 2002). Z kolei zainteresowanie w stosowaniu teorii lingwistyki tekstu szczególnie widoczne jest w całej grupie kolejnych artykułów publikowanych w zbiorach naukowych "Ochrydzkich międzynarodowych dyskusji", wśród których szczególnie warto wyróżnić "Основните показатели на 'спојноста' во македонскиот јазик – анафорската функција на членот", (Podstawowe wskaźniki spójności w macedońskim języku - anaforyczna funkcja artykułu) (2008) i "За поетските антоними во песната Огнот не знае, пепелта не знае од Петре М. Андреевски" (O poetyckich antonimach w pieśni Ognot ne znae, pepelta ne znae Petre M. Andreevskiego) (2011) і "Македонскиот парламентарен дискурс" (macedoński dyskurs parlamentarny).

Mowa o reprezentatywnych badaniach, w których Kawka poprzez jeden fragment powieści "Големата вода" (Golema Voda) Z. Czingo, wskazuje wszystkie wskaźniki kohezji i koherencji tekstu, grupuje najważniejsze problemy w językoznawstwie jako wprowadzenie do analizy (fragmentu) tekstu oraz podkreśla wkład analizy tekstu i dyskursu do dziedzin językoznawstwa, jak np. semantyka, postrzeganych uprzednio jako czysto strukturalne.

Problem jednak wskazany w trzecim artykule otwiera miesce dla głębszych badań dyskursu w książce "Dyskursy o Macedonii" ("Dyskursy o Macedonii", 2013) z Pawłem Planetą jako współautorem. Biorąc pod uwagę te dane, możemy zauważyć, że ta książka "w retrospekcji" związana jest

również z naukowym zbiorem "Македонскиот дискурс на непокорноста" ("Macedonski duskurs niepodleglosiowy, redakcja Irena Stawowy-Kawka, Maciej Kawka & Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, Kraków 2011), i w prospekciji przez współpracą z Pawłem Płanetem, o perspektywy dalszych badań w tej dziedzinie na przykładach z publicznego macedonskiego życia w polskim (zwłaszcza w krakowskim) środowisku naukowim.

Innymi słowamy, Maciej Kawka, oczywiście we współpracy z Ireną Stawową - Kawka, aktywnie przyczynia się do rozwoju Macedońistyki (która w szerokim znaczeniu, zgodnie z podtytułem Wydania Zbiorowego "Historia, Kultura, Literatura, Język, Media" niewątpliwie tworzy rodzaj szkoły, której teorie komunikacyjne zostały zauważone w mediach macedońskich.

W tym kontekście szczególnie zauważalna jest obecność Macieja Kawki. W wspomnianym wydaniu zbiorowym, w bardzo ważnym artykule "O pomnikach i statuach w macedonskim dyskursie parlamentarnym (pytania parlamentarne – Zapytania poselskie, p. 91-98) rozważa autor temat szczególnie istotny we współczesnym dyskursie prowadzonym w Macedonii. Z kolei w książce "Duskursy o Macedonii" wyraźnie określa lingwistykę, jako podstawową naukę o społecznej komunikacji naukowej, wymienia korzyści wynikające z zastosowania nowoczesnych studiów językowych w wyjaśnianiu zakresu spraw publicznych: komunikacji językowej, literatury i kultury i omawia istotne zagadnienia o szczególnym znaczeniu o kognitiwistice kulturologii jaki jest na przykład temat językowego obrazu świata. W tej książce autorzy bardzo odważnie zmierzyli się z niemal wszystkimi palącymi problemami społecznymi, politycznymi Macedonii ostatnich dwóch dekad.

W takim kontekście, jeżeli dokonamy porównania pierwszej części książki, z drugą (w której przedmiotem zainteresowania są media i polityka, a autorem jest Paweł Płaneta) zauważa się, że w odniesieniu do stosowania analizy tekstu i dyskursu ma macedońskich przykładach, wyraźnie odróżniją się dwa podejścia: podejscie Macieja Kawki który analizuje dane teksty w szerokim kontekście, odpowiadającym aspektom poznawczym i kulturalnym badania tekstów (i dyskursu) oraz podejscie Pawła Płanety, w którym tekst jest analizowany w węższym kontekście, a akcent pada na strukturę i elkementy wewnętrzne.

W tym sensie, w książce szczególnie widoczne jest studium tekstów, stanowiących dokumenty o szczególnym znaczeniu dla historii języka macedońskiego. Mianowicie, dla Kawki jest szczególnie ważna, adekwatnie do jego terminologii, *kodyfikacja dyskursu*, którą w zakresie nowoczesnych teorii lingwistycznych uznaje dyskusje wokół kodyfikacji języka macedońskiego (od 1944/1945 roku), co jest ważnym wydarzeniem w historii macedońskiego języka literackiego. Ten temat jest szczególnie widoczny, jeśli weźmiemy pod uwagę, że w przywołanej książce, w innych rozdziałach,

prospekcija rozwiązywania problemów literatury współczesnej (na przykładach Zivko Czingo i Petre M. Andreevski zestawiona została z retrospekcją ewolucji literackiego języka Macedonskiego w 19 wieku (przez przykładach Marka Cepenkova).

Maciej Kawka, niewątpliwie należy do najlepszych współczesnych polskich językoznawców, którzy od początku akceptowali całym sercem nowoczesne językoznawstwo głównego nurtu, i niemal natychmiast stosowali jego osiągnięcia w badaniu języka maceodnskiego, w opisie literatury i kultury tego kraju.

Ponadto (niewątpliwie jako retrospekcja logistyczna) trzeba podkreślić, że Maciej Kawka już w pierwszych publicznych wystąpieniach w naukowym środowisku badaczy języka macedońskiego, podejmuje wysiłek konfrontacji struktur składniowych, semantycznych w języku polskim i języku macedońskim, jest to obszar bardzo istotny, biorąc pod uwagę znaczący wkład wielu językoznawców polskich, słowiańskich i macedońskich. Dowodem na to jest jego artykuł "Некои прашања за синтаксичко-семантичкиот речник на глаголите во полскиот и македонскиот јазик", (Kilka руtаń o składniowej - semantyczne słowniku czasowników w języku polskim i macedońskim), Wydanie zbiorowe pracach z V dyskusji naukowej, Ohrid, 28-31. VIII 1978 Skopje - w 1979 roku.

Trzeba podkreślić, że tylko w 2013 roku Maciej Kawka brał aktywny udział w wielu ważnych międzynarodowych konferencjach w dziedzinie macedonistiki. Szczególnie istotny jest artykuł "Околу истражувањата на македонскиот дискурс" (Niektóre badania macedońskiego dyskursu) wygłoszony na Międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej "Македонистиката меѓу традицијата и современите предизици" (Macedońistyka między tradycją a nowoczesnym wywłanach) zorganizowanej z okazji 50 rocznicy utworzenia Instytutu Języka Macedońskiego, odbyła się w dniach 21-22 listopada 2013 w celu prezentacji badań w tym obszarze.