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TRUST, COOPERATION AND EDUCATION
IN THE MIRROR OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

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Doroty Bazuń
Mariusza Kwiatkowskiego

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REDAKTOR NACZELNY/REDAKTOR JĘZYKOWY

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65-246 Zielona Góra, ul. Podgórna 50, tel/faks (68) 328 78 64

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INTRODUCTION

We are pleased to invite Readers to read the first English volume of the “Rocznik Lubuski” annual. The texts gathered here are the result of cooperation between employees of the Faculty of Education, Psychology and Sociology of the University of Zielona Góra and the colleagues from national and foreign scientific centres. Invitation to cooperate has been accepted by researchers from Germany, Spain, Turkey, Ukraine, Romania, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Some articles are the result of joint projects, others are such projects’ announcement. We assume that the edition of the English-speaking volume of the annual will provide a boost to the development of international research ventures involving researchers from our faculty. There are strong indications that this plan has a chance of success.

The volume contains more than twenty studies on issues of trust, cooperation and education and mutual links between these phenomena. It has been divided into three parts. In the first part we have placed texts which deal with the issue of trust, in the second part cooperation is the dominant feature, while the last part is focused on education and its relationship with cooperation.

The topics proposed by the authors of the articles suggest that social researchers do not hide themselves in an ivory tower, they are not afraid to deal with tough, but socially important and current topics. Therefore, texts relating to the refugee crisis in Europe, populism, the situation in Ukraine, social conflicts and the situation in the labour market will be found here. The volume begins with the article written jointly by the editors of this collection. It contains an attempt to characterize the contemporary times as the era of increasing isolationist trends. Above all, however, It is an invitation to research cooperation for the strategy of building a “common space”, a space for encounter, dialogue and interaction. We would like all the volume to contribute to breaking down barriers between groups and human beings. Our expectations have already come true to some extent, as in the course of the preparations we have experienced goodwill from many people. Thank you for your trust and support. Have an enjoyable and fruitful reading.

*Dorota Bazuń
Mariusz Kwiatkowski*

Dorota Bazuń*

Mariusz Kwiatkowski**

COMMON SPACES IN THE DAYS OF ISOLATIONISM. OUTLINE OF THE INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH PROGRAMME

“The touchstone of morality in a global society is leveraging connectedness for utilitarian ends: achieving the greatest good for the greatest number of people” (Khanna 2016, p. 384).

The specter of isolationism is haunting the world. Manifestations of this trend can be observed in both the international, national and local relationship, and in the sphere of politics, economy and culture. More and more representatives of various social groups, regions and states concludes that their problems can be solved best by separating from others. This tendency manifests itself both in mild forms, such as nurturing and strengthening national identity, and extreme ones, such as religious fundamentalism and terrorism related to it.

The aim of the article is to present the outline of the interdisciplinary research programme, which is supposed to be a response to the isolationist tendencies, as a serious challenge of our times. Three proposals are formulated and justified here. The first concerns research issues. As the subject of the analysis, we intend to make the ability to create good and lasting connections among social groups, cultures, institutions, or-in short- to build and support “common space”. The second proposal refers to the way of articulating the indicated issues. It concerns going beyond the narrow boundaries of the disciplines and the creating an interdisciplinary research program. The third proposal relates to forms of research cooperation. We propose to use the already existing contacts and create an interdisciplinary

***Dorota Bazuń** – Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: social change, revival, social economy, sociology of body; e-mail: bazun@interia.pl

****Mariusz Kwiatkowski** – Ph.D. in sociology, Associate Professor, University of Zielona Góra, head of the Unit for Social Networks; research interests: sociology of organization, social networks, social economy; e-mail: m.kwiatkowski@is.uz.zgora.pl

research network, as the most adequate to the identified needs, objectives, and, above all, research tasks.

The article consists of three parts. In the first part we characterize the research subject, that is a “shared space” in the context of the isolationist trends present in different spheres of social life in the modern world. In the second part, referring to the common achievements of the researchers who publish in this volume, we formulate a demand to take interdisciplinary research on the ability to create good connections among social groups, communities, institutions. Finally, we propose to carry out the outlined research programme in the form of international, interdisciplinary network of research collaboration.

Why “common spaces”?

The common space is—simply speaking— a place of encounter, dialogue and cooperation. Its existence is an essential condition for the well-being and welfare of communities and individuals. Today, trends can be observed that pose a serious threat to common social space, and cause its contraction. These trends constitute a phenomenon of “isolationism”. The term “isolationism” refers here to a wide variety of forms and expressions of aspiring to diversity by social communities, due to the search for solutions for problems which affect these groups. Both phenomena from the sphere of politics and economy or culture can be found to be expressions of isolationism.

In recent years, we have witnessed a phenomenon of isolationism in the activities of governments, political parties and movements. Such trends are also not rare in case of religious movements. Popularity is gained by populist leaders who promise their followers to improve the economic situation, by getting rid of “foreigners”, by separating, with visible and invisible walls, from “hostile” environment. The victory of Donald Trump in the presidential elections in the United States in the autumn of 2016 is an important example. One of his flagship ideas was to remove illegal migrants from the USA and the construction of a wall on the border with Mexico.

Under the influence of isolationism rhetoric the UK citizens voted for leaving the European Union. During the referendum campaign migrants were often pointed out as the cause of economic problems, therefore, a series of aggression acts against Poles, and visitors from other countries in the summer of 2016, shortly after the referendum was not a surprise. This example shows how easy the isolationist logic descends down, sprawling in local communities, in daily life, poisoning inter group and interpersonal relationships. Political isolationism is, therefore intertwined with inter group isolationism. The latter one manifests in xenophobia, various forms of exclusion, ethnic

nationalisms, religious fundamentalism and cultural wars.

The contemporary world is characterized by movement of people, cultural patterns, goods, money, which also is connected with negative phenomena and threats. Isolating seems to some people, a way to reduce risk. However, it is a kind of escape, an approach that does not solve problems, but also generates other. Ann Applebaum (2016) points that out, exposing the restrictions and illusiveness of isolationism: “nuclear deterrence requires allies and coordinated responses; barbed wire cannot stop a cyberattack. The small-minded, shortsighted isolationists ignore reason and logic, instead substituting panic and fear”.

One of the important reasons for the growth of isolationist trends is the financial crisis of 2008. Considering its social consequences, French sociologist Alain Touraine recognises the need to “rebuild society as a common home on a foundation of an individual subject and his/her relationships with other individual subjects” (Touraine 2013, p. 138). The foundation of this reconstruction should be, according to Touraine, a return to the idea of human rights and respect for his dignity (ibid., p. 17).

Emphasizing the need for a systematic research reflection over defense, creation and development of common spaces in the context of the growing isolationist trends, as quoted above Touraine, we recognize that the starting point should be the recognition of basic, common values. We are in fact witnesses of the weakening and undermining the consensus concerning the axiological basics of social life. The German Chancellor, Angela Merkel found the need for emphasize such attitudes necessary, in the face of the victory of a populist politician in the US presidential election, in the autumn of 2016. Congratulating Donald Trump on his victory, she declared cooperation, but on the basis of common values, which until recently had seemed indisputable, but Trump as a candidate repeatedly questioned them during the election campaign:

“Germany and America are bound by common values – democracy, freedom, as well as respect for the rule of law and the dignity of each and every person, regardless of their origin, skin color, creed, gender, sexual orientation, or political views. It is based on these values that I wish to offer close cooperation, both with me personally and between our countries’ governments” (Merkel 2016).

The set the value indicated above is the axiological basis for the concept of “shared space”. They are the essential point of reference in efforts to rebuild society as a “common home” (Touraine 2013, p. 138). Common space, as already stated – is a space of encounter, dialogue and cooperation. Speaking of an encounter space, we mean both physical and virtual

space. One of the factors and most important expressions of isolationism, the decay of modern societies to “new tribes” is such an organization of public space, that hinders contacts between people belonging to different social categories. Pope Francis points out the moral implications of this phenomenon: „This lack of physical contact and encounter, encouraged at times by the disintegration of our cities, can lead to a numbing of conscience and to tendentious analyses which neglect parts of reality” (Francis 2015, p. 35). In the same document Francis gives a kind of praise of cities which are organized to integrate the residents. He indicates the pro-growth aspect of this solution:

“How beautiful those cities which overcome paralyzing mistrust, integrate those who are different and make this very integration a new factor of development! How attractive are those cities which, even in their architectural design, are full of spaces which connect, relate and favour the recognition of others!” (Francis 2015, p. 114).

The second highlighted element of the common space is a “space of dialogue”. The deficit of encounters goes hand in hand with the deficit of an authentic dialogue between various communities. An significant example of a breakdown between the leftists and rightists onto “tribes” closed to dialogue is an analysis of blogs carried out by Christakis and Fowler. It turns out that blogs, in which a content of published authors from the opposite camp is quoted or referred to is a negligible minority (Christakis, Fowler 2011, p. 160).

The third manifestation of the common space is a cooperation. It seems particularly important to create conditions for cooperation of people belonging to different cultural and social categories. The issue of exclusion is a good example. Solving the problem mainly with material and financial support does not bring the expected result. Richard Sennett, referring to his own experience, related to the life in slums, shows how important in helping the excluded is to communicate respect through establishing contact and cooperation: “social assistance recipients need stronger ties with others” (Sennett 2012, p. 209). “Participation of the excluded” (Danecka 2014) it’s still mainly just a postulate. In the era of isolationism it is preferred to solve the problem of exclusion with measures, which do not take into account the importance of direct contacts and activities.

Instead of striving to enhancing encounters with “others”, attempts to create a world solely for narrowly understood “us” can be observed. Instead of an authentic dialogue, being a common search for the truth and solutions to common problems, we see a desire to discredit adversaries. Instead of cooperation, we have an absolute rivalry, which makes most vulnerable

become victims.

In the face of growth of isolationist trends, social researchers' task should be to take a systematic, interdisciplinary study of what people are linked with, what promotes understanding and cooperation between them, what supports the creation and development of common spaces.

Why interdisciplinarity?

Taking interdisciplinary studies on common spaces is justified for three reasons. Firstly, due to the complex, multidimensional subject of the analysis. Secondly, due to the need for integration and cumulation of a distributed research concerning this issue. Thirdly, due to adequate theoretical framework that significantly exceed the boundaries of one scientific discipline. The subject of research outlined above is so complex, that it should focus the attention of ethicists as well as political scientists, sociologists, psychologists and educators. Taking into account the aspect of the evolution of public space and virtual space, a cooperation of city planners and IT specialists is also necessary.

Three essential dimensions of common spaces can be distinguished: (1) the structural dimension, that is, conditions -capabilities and limitations- of access to certain places, conditions for establishing and maintaining relationships in a given space; (2) the symbolic dimension, that is, the meaning which the social actors give to a certain space and the relations established there (3) the institutional dimension, that is, formal and informal rules of using the given space.

Theoretical framework to the outlined issues can be found in the three streams. In the new institutionalism, with particular reference to the concept of social capital. In the network approaches, which partially relate to the concept of social capital, but in many interpretations, extend this framework by far. Finally, in the stream that can be called a "humanistic urban planning". What undoubtedly connects the mentioned theoretical streams is the focus on relationships. Common space, in this approach is a place to connect, develop and contribute to interpersonal and inter-group relationship.

The new institutionalism is the collective name of several theories in the field of sociology, in particular sociology of organizations and law, but also economics, economic history, political science and more. The subject of the analysis of these theories are social and organizational forms taken as a meditative variable, and even as a constitutive element of economic, political or social processes. The approach puts particular emphasis on the role that institutions play in solving fundamental problems by a human (Skap-

ska 1999, p. 323). From the point of view of the subject matter and purpose of the exploratory analysis proposed here, the new institutionalism is important and interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it highlights the role of institutions and institutionalization, in other words, creating and observing the “rules of living together”. Secondly, it is an “intrinsically” interdisciplinary stream (Kwiatkowski 2013). Thirdly, the stream contains studies on social capital, which assume an important role of interpersonal relationships in dealing with individual and common problems. Piotr Sztompka defines social capital as:

“... a network of individual relationships or relationships permeating the community as a specific personal or group resource that is replaceable to other goods and services valued by people, bringing benefits in various areas, and giving its holder additional chances of getting rich and broaden the relationship, and so earning even greater benefits in the future” (Sztompka 2016, p. 285).

A valuable feature of the study on social capital is (1) focus on the relationships among individuals, groups and social institutions; (2) linking the analyses concerning the micro meso and macro social levels; (3) reintroducing to the scientific discourse the issues of values and standards (rules); (4) emphasizing the features that social relationships play in collective actions.

To emphasize the importance of our mutual interdependence and the abundance of everyday interactions, some authors revive the old English term “connexity” to describe “coherent space” (Gilchrist 2014, p. 11). Being in a network of appropriate links (being well connected) is recognized as a source of strength (ibid., p. 12). This thought is the basis for the work on the development of the community that focuses mainly on strengthening and expanding “weak ties” or “bridges” and “links”, in the terminology of social capital, particularly in those cases when people have difficulties in encounters and establishing communications (ibid., p. 90).

Social capital literature provides many examples of creating a space for encounter, dialogue, cooperation and development. An interesting example is the research conducted under the auspices of the World Bank (Coletta, Cullen 2000, Dudvick et al. 2006, Grootaert 2001). Inspiration may also come from the studies on the ability of local communities to cope with the effects of natural disasters (Paton, Johnston 2006). The latest work by Robert D. Putnam (2015) is an example of analysis of needs and ways to improve the situation of young people, by strengthening their social relationships.

The network approaches, often associated with social capital, are propo-

sals interesting from the point of view of the search for new interpretative suggestions, including the proper language to describe building common spaces. The author of the study concerning the network approaches in sociology, presents the following advantages of them:

“First of all, they develop very dynamically. Secondly, they are recognized by social researchers, as well as representatives of other fields as being among the most effective forms of dealing with the complexity of the modern world (...). Thirdly, some of these approaches have a very high potential for application in practice (which is often made outside academic environment). Fourthly, in many aspects they constitute a clear counterpoint against the standard sociology and its nomenclature, focused primarily on the different types of communities, such as: groups, classes, communities, nations, and so on, and not on individuals that make up networks” (Pietrowicz 2016, pp. 11-12).

We propose initiatives to create space for encounter, dialogue and co-operation in the context of isolationist trends to be recognized as the analysis unit and to be made the subject of comparative research. That means initiatives at a global as well as national, regional and local levels. A project organized in Lebanon called “Common Space Initiative” may be a good example. Organizers characterize its objectives and tasks:

“Common Space Initiative” is a Lebanese independent and inclusive initiative supporting a dynamic of dialogue and consensus building that is based on shared knowledge, and that aims at reaching common understanding around key national issues. By focusing on shared national interests through the creation of safety net spaces, permanent dialogue forums, and joint knowledge creation, our ultimate aim is to promote common values, cooperation and solidarity among Lebanon’s different communities” (Common Space Initiative 2016).

Another example which is worth attention and analysis is a joint initiative of Catholic circles and LGBT people under the slogan “Let us offer each other a sign of peace” taken in Poland in 2016. Its primary purpose is to increase the acceptance of homosexual and transgender people among believers (Znaki pokoju 2016). Initiative as a unit of analysis is a large category, and includes both big institutional projects as well as small, informal ones. Such recognition of the issue creates a wide field of research exploration concerning, among other things, motivation, determinants, dynamics of the initiative, social acceptance, factors of success or failure, short-term and long-term consequences.

In Polish sociology, there is a rich tradition of research on antagonism towards foreigners and reconciliation in multicultural environments (Kur-

czewski, Herman 2012). By proposing the issue of “common spaces” we consciously refer to this tradition. The difference is that the mentioned studies were conducted in a different context. Here we are committed to consider the circumstances of a rapid growth of isolationist trends.

Why research network?

Parag Khanna considers “connectivity” as the most important consequence of globalization and the specific feature of the modern world. At the end of his dissertation under the significant title “Connectography”, he formulates a kind of manifesto, which considers the desire to weaken limits on the one hand, and to increase the quantity and quality of various connections on the other hand as an essential objective of joint efforts. We suggest launching international, interdisciplinary network of researchers, which would study conditions for the development of common spaces. We recognize that Khanna’s postulate aptly expresses the challenges that we identified:

„We need a more borderless world because we can’t afford destructive territorial conflict, because correcting the mismatch of people and resources can unlock incredible human and economic potential, because so many billions have yet to fully benefit from globalization. Borders are not the antidote to risk and uncertainty; more connections are. But if we want to enjoy the benefits of borderless world, we have to build it first. Our fate hangs in the balance” (Khanna 2016, p. 391).

International, interdisciplinary network of researchers taking up the indicated issues in a similar manner, would be an appropriate form of cooperation. It should include three levels. The first is the exchange of information, data, publications and discussions concerning the activities in individual centres. The second level is carrying out “parallel” projects. The idea is that researchers in several places lead independent research, but in accordance with rules established jointly, so that it could be possible to compare the results. The third level of cooperation, requiring the greatest commitment and proper coordination, would be making joint research projects. We propose launching a research network under the working name of “Common Space Lab”. We propose this network to gather researchers, who share a set of mentioned values, intention to adequately respond to contemporary challenges, interest in the outlined issues, cognitive passion and a will to cooperate.

An important form of cooperation will be a website co-created by the participants of the network, as well as systematically organized scientific seminars. We hope that our initiative will be understood and that it will be able to create a cooperation network, which will interestingly and creatively contribute to the development of the research on what unites us, despite

the imposed gaps between us.

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Dorota Bazuń
Mariusz Kwiatkowski

**COMMON SPACES IN THE DAYS OF ISOLATIONISM. OUTLINE
OF THE INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH PROGRAMME**

Keywords: isolationism, community, space, social capital, social relations.

The article presents an outline of the interdisciplinary research program. The program is a response to the growing isolationist tendencies. The term "isolationism" refers here to a wide variety of forms and expressions of aspiring to diversity by social communities, due to the search for solutions for problems which affect these groups. Both phenomena from the sphere of politics and economy or culture can be found to be expressions of isolationism. The authors propose to carry out an interdisciplinary, international research on the ability to create good and lasting connections between social groups, cultures, institutions, or "common space" of encounter, dialogue and cooperation.

I

BETWEEN TRUST AND COOPERATION

Tamara Merkulova*
Tatiana Bitkova**

TRUST MEASUREMENT: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EXPERIMENTAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS

Introduction

Trust is the most important factor determining the predictability of human behaviour. Numerous theoretical and experimental studies, which were conducted in the world show the importance of trust as a factor, which explains people's behaviour. The key issues of our paper are the following: analysis of the content of "trust" definition and the possibilities of trust measurement; exposition of sociological and experimental methods of trust measurement and comparison of their results; results of Public Good (PG) experiments, which were carried out in the Ukraine, and trust measurement. This set of the tasks defines the structure of the article.

Concepts content and measurement capabilities

With all the variety of definitions¹ the following types of trust are distinguished in contemporary studies: *interpersonal one* (which, in its turn, is divided into *trust in strangers* and *trust in known others* – relatives, friends, etc) and *institutional one*, which is also analyzed by various state and public institutions (Newton 2013). These types of trust have their own features, which determine measurement capabilities.

One of the most general approaches to the content of trust is associated with the emerging expectation of the members of the community that other members will behave predictably in accordance with certain general rules, approved by the community (Ostrom 1998). Within this approach interpersonal trust has the most operational interpretation, according to which

***Tamara Merkulova** – Sc.D. in Economics, Full Professor, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University; research interests: economic modelling, input-output analysis, economic experiments; e-mail: tammerkulova@gmail.com

****Tatiana Bitkova** – Ph.D. in Economics, Associate Professor, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University; research interests: system dynamics; e-mail: tbitkova@karazin.ua

¹Review of trust definitions can be found, for example, in Newton (2013).

trust is detected under the following circumstances of agents' interaction. Firstly, one agent passes freely (without enforcement) to another agent some good (good is interpreted very broadly), not having the ability to control the further actions of the second agent or respond to them. Secondly, trust motivation should be provided: trust will bring greater benefit to the agent than distrust (if his partner justifies trust) and will bring losses – if the partner is unworthy of trust (Naef, Shupp 2009). Just such an interpretation allows to measure the level of trust by means of laboratory experiments using game theory.

Institutional trust definition is not as operational as interpersonal trust one. Using the expectation-based approach mentioned above one supposes, that trust in institutions (in the rules of the game, or in the organizations, which implement those rules) is formed in people, depending on how those institutions match their expectations. But if people are expecting from others some actions, their expectations from institutions are usually associated with the efficiency of their functioning and with certain reasonable values, on which they are based. Expectations depend not only on the conformity of institutional rules and regulations with these criteria, but also on the quality of the work of people and organizations, involved in the implementation of these rules and regulations. Trust in institutions can be projected on the people and organizations, as well as vice versa. The complex internal structure of institutional trust and definitional vagueness of the term make the task of its measuring more difficult.

Methods of trust measurement and comparison of their results

There are two ways to measure trust – experimental one (by means of laboratory or field experiment) and sociological one (by means of survey, opinion poll). Both are widely used by researchers.

Experimental method

This method of trust level measuring is based on game approach in the framework of experimental economics, the main instrument of which is the laboratory experiment. Experiments are aimed at ascertaining the hypothesis of trust, according to which trust is an important behavioural factor, leading to deviation of behaviour from the theoretical forecast, based on the assumption of exclusively selfish preferences of economic agents. Experimental results allow to obtain quantitative estimates of interpersonal trust in a group of participants.

The basic design of the laboratory experiment to verify trust hypothesis is a game on trust (*Trust Game, hereinafter – TG*), having rather a long history. Reviews and examples can be found, for example, in: Berg et al.

(1995), Jonson, Mislin (2011), Cox (2004) and Cox et al. (2008). Trust Game simulates a situation, in which partners' trust can lead to better results (income), than a purely selfish behaviour. The core of the game is the following. Two players have equal initial funds (money), which they manage on their own (for example, 10 monetary units). The first player has two options: to leave the game or to transfer his money to the second player, thus inviting him to cooperate. If the first player quits the game, the game is over, and each of the players will remain with the initial fund (10; 10). If the first player decides to transfer his money to the second one, then the total sum of money is multiplied (for example, is tripled: $10 \cdot 3 = 30$). Then a player No2 has two options: 1) to distribute the full amount of his own and other people's money ($30 + 10 = 40$) between a player No1 and himself as follows: (15;25) – in response to cooperation; 2) to appropriate the entire amount of money himself – (0; 40). Therefore, by entrusting his money to a partner, the first player can increase his capital, receiving 50% of income on his initial contribution.

Selfish behaviour model predicts that a player No1, foreseeing partner's selfish choice in his/her own favour, will prefer to quit the game. Nash equilibrium here is (10;10): each participant remains with his initial capital. However, the game has a more efficient solution for both participants – (15;25) – provided that the first participant trusts his capital to a partner. Many laboratory experiments² have shown that the outcome of the game significantly deviates from Nash equilibrium. For example, in (Cox 2005) the following results are presented: of 30 participants, acting as No1 players, 13 have chosen exiting the game, and 17 players have trusted their funds to No.2 players. Of the latter, 13 participants chose to keep all the funds for themselves, and only 4 participants have shared money with the partners.

Sociological method. The level of interpersonal and institutional trust is measured by means of surveys

Interpersonal trust

As is known, the most extensive sociological research of the level of trust, such as the General Social Survey (GSS, <http://gss.norc.org>), World Values Survey (WVS), European Social Survey (ESS, <http://www.>

²Design of the experiments varies, depending on a set of tasks, among which is studying the influence of various factors (such as initial capital, the coefficient of its multiplication, awareness of the participants and other) on participants' choice. Variations of Trust Game (TG) is Dictator Game – DG (Engel, 2010), and their combination – TG-DG, in which the difference between such behavioural characteristics as trust and reciprocity is studied (Fehr, Gächter 2000, Fehr, Gintis 2007).

europesocialsurvey.org) measure the level of interpersonal trust according to respondents' answers to the question: "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?". Answers to such a question may be given with varying degrees of accuracy³. Studies of trust, realized in Poland, Ukraine and Russia⁴, use a similar approach for interpersonal trust measurement⁵.

However, as a tool of trust level measurement, the question cited above was criticized for two main positions. Firstly, the question is not correct from point of view of blending of trust and caution, which are not mutually exclusive characteristics of behaviour. Thus, the results of the study, conducted with using GSS methodology (Miller, Mitamura 2003), show that Japanese students demonstrate more trust in other people than the American ones. At the same time, while exploring separately trust and caution, researchers note, that American students are more trustful, but at the same time more cautious, than Japanese ones.

Secondly, the problem of interpretation arises in treatment of a person (a subject of trust), with respect to whom trust is measured. A respondent may think that the "majority of people" includes only strangers or that it's a mixed pool, where there is some portion of more or less familiar people (the known others) (Reeskens, Hooghe 2008). Respondent's individual interpretation of "majority" affects his response. These arguments of critique were taken into account, for example, in the study, which was conducted in the framework of German Social-Economic Panel (SOEP) by the modified GSS procedure⁶.

Institutional trust

Trust in institutions is detected by using a similar question: "Do you trust political parties, social organizations, etc.?". OESD in its questionnaires

³Yes/no; more detailed: completely agree/rather yes/ rather no/do not agree; on a point scale, as in ESS – from 1 to 10.

⁴Extensive panel studies are conducted by Razumkov Center sociological service (<http://razumkov.org.ua>, Ukraine), by the "Public Opinion" Foundation (<http://fom.ru>, Russia) and Non-governmental polling and sociological research organization Levada Center (www.levada.ru, Russia), by Central Statistical Office (<http://stat.gov.pl>) and by the Centre for Public Opinion Research (<http://www.cbs.pl>) in Poland.

⁵"Can one trust in the majority of people or in the relationships with people one should be very careful?" (Levada Center).

⁶The question was divided into 2 parts. In the first part respondents were asked to evaluate their attitude to the statements: "In general, you can trust people" and "Nowadays, you can not rely on anybody" (Naef, Shupp 2008, p. 6). The second part of the question refined the category of people, with respect to which trust is measured: "How much do you trust strangers you meet for the first time" and "When dealing with strangers it is better to be cautious before trusting them" (ibid., p. 7).

recommends the following wording of this question: “For each [institution], please indicate whether you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it” (OECD 2011)⁷. Or the following modification of the question may be used: “Do you support the activities of. . . ?”⁸.

We can address the above comments towards the first form of the question, which is about the ambiguity of interpretation of trust and its addressee. Distrust in the representatives of an institute can be projected on the system of rules and regulations itself. Thus, a negative answer to the question “Do you trust in trade unions?” can mean respondent’s lack of trust in trade unions’ functionaries, and can express his negative attitude towards the necessity and effectiveness of this institution in general, or in its particular design. Or, for example, among those, who do not trust in church, there is a significant part of convinced atheists and people, who believe that church representatives are compromising it by their own behaviour.

From the point of view of these observations the accuracy of the second question is higher. Firstly, it does not require special clarification of what does “support” mean. Although the interpretation of trust is reduced here to support, in this context it may be justified. Support of somebody’s activity means, that this activity corresponds to the expectations of a respondent, to his ideas about the correctness of the behaviour of a person – either of a specific one (the president, for example), or of a group of people, staff, community (government, NGOs and other). Secondly, institute activity is perceived by people as the activity of its representatives. For example, while answering the question about their attitude towards president’s activities, people first of all evaluate the activities of a particular person in this position, and do not express their attitude to the institute of presidency. Therefore, the question about support can reveal, rather, the level of interpersonal trust of a special kind – trust in the representatives of the institutions.

Comparison of the results of experiments and surveys

A lot of research⁹ is devoted to the comparison of experimental data and the results of interpersonal trust-measurement surveys/polls. The main critical remarks of the polls-based method, boil down to incorrectness of a question-indicator and to lack of strictness of “trust” definition. As is noted in (Naef,

⁷Variants of answers are: trust it a great deal /tend to trust it/tend to distrust it, distrust it greatly/ not sure or don’t know.

⁸“Do you support the activities of the President Ukraine?” (http://razumkov.org.ua/ukr/poll.php?poll_id=67)

⁹A review can be found in Naef, Shupp (2009).

Shupp 2009), the first systematic study of the correlation between experimental results and polls ones was undertaken in 2000 (Glaeser et al. 2000): it was shown that the answers to GSS question do not correlate with the results of TG experiments. The study, which was conducted in the framework of SOEP, using modification of GSS methodology, has confirmed, that survey results are consistent with those of TG experiments. This allowed the authors to conclude, that experimental results can serve as a valid assessment just of the level of trust in strangers (Naef, Shupp 2009). Criticism of experimental method is mainly associated with the structure of the participants in the experiment, i.e. with the representativeness of the sample: as a rule, these are students, what means that a pool with sufficiently homogeneous set of attributes (among which, at least, are age and education) takes part in experiments.

This problem with experimental method is general in nature, regardless of the specific experiments. It emerged together with experimental economics, and rather an extensive discussion and numerous studies are devoted to it. Analysis of the problem suggests, firstly, ascertainment whether “student” features are essential when testing specific hypotheses; secondly – ascertainment of this in controlled experiment and with using participants selection procedure. There is rather a great cumulative experience of comparative experiments, differing in the composition of participants: students and “non-students”. Researchers present different results. In a number of experiments it was found out, that the behaviour of “non-students” usually doesn’t differ from students behaviour, and there were no significant differences in the results of the experiments (Smith et al. 1998, Dyer et al. 1989). Some studies showed, that students have offered to their partners smaller contributions, than non-students (Fu et al. 2007), however, in some experiments with a representative composition of the participants no significant differences in students behaviour were found (Carpenter et al. 2007). In a study (Naef, Shupp 2009) students, on the contrary, passed to their partners contributions, which were 21% larger, than those of non-students.

Measurement of trust in the Ukrainian society

Measurement of trust in the Ukraine is carried out through surveys. The results of experimental studies of trust are not presented in publications, and there is reason to believe that such studies were not conducted in the Ukraine – at least, by domestic researchers. This situation reflects the fact, that experimental economics is not yet sufficiently developed in Ukrainian scientific space. However, one can talk about some advancing, bearing in mind “Public Good” (PG) experiments, which we’ve conducted with the students

of Ukrainian universities¹⁰. The results of these experiments¹¹ provide an opportunity to make certain assessments, regarding trust, which we will use for comparison with polls results. Under the terms of PG experiment a participant can make some contribution of his income to the general fund, in which the total contribution of all the participants is multiplied by a given coefficient, and then is divided equally between all the participants. In the game there is a possibility to obtain benefits on condition of cooperation. However, if a participant contributes, but his partners do not support him (the decision about contribution is taken independently and anonymously), then he will suffer losses. These terms are known to all the participants, therefore making contribution testifies that a participant trusts in his partners. Strictly speaking, there is another motivating factor – participant’s altruistic system of preferences, so we assume that an experiment can give us an upper estimate of trust.

In our experiments, it was found that: 1) almost 100% of the participants made non-zero contributions; 2) average contribution was 50% of participant’s revenue and was a very stable value. If we assume that the scale of 0 (fully trust) to 10 (absolutely do not trust) corresponds to the scale of contributions (in % of the initial income) from 0 to 100, then the average participant’s contribution of 50% may correspond to the value of 5 on the scale of 0 to 10.

Let’s turn to the results of sociological research. For example, a survey conducted in Ukraine in 2012 in the framework of ESS, showed the index of trust in the countrymen equal to 3.3 points (Ukraina pletetsja...2013) on a 5-point scale (1 – completely do not, 5 – fully trust). The same assessment (3.3) was obtained regarding the level of trust in neighbours and somewhat higher one – regarding trust in colleagues (3.4). Experimental assessment of 50% corresponds to 3 points on the survey scale. It also correlates with the results of surveys, conducted by the Institute of Sociology of National Academy of Sciences: the percentage of respondents, who have chosen “Generally trust”, while answering the question about trust in colleagues, is about 52% on average for 2002-2010 (Goch 2012, p. 245).

Finally, let’s focus on the comparison of interpersonal and institutional trust. The level of trust in institutions in Ukraine is measured by surveys, which give significantly lower scores compared to interpersonal trust. For example, Razumkov Center provides such data on the results of the survey, held in March 2015: only 3.9% of respondents fully support the activities

¹⁰We’ve used PG experiment design, provided by dr. Benedict Herman.

¹¹The results of our PG experiments are presented in Merkulova (2012) and Merkulova, Bitkova (2012).

of the Supreme Council (Verkhovna Rada), and 4.5% support government activity; the most trusted institution in the Ukraine now is the Church (66.2%) – (Otzinka gromadianamy...2015). For comparison among OECD countries (following OECD model of survey questionnaire procedure) the greatest level of trust in government is in Czech Republic (75%) and Norway (70%), the lowest one – in Slovenia (18%) and Greece (19%) (OECD 2014).

We'd like to note, that a similar pattern for the relation between interpersonal and institutional trust is observed in Poland, although the levels of both types of trust are higher than in the Ukraine: the results of polls in Poland (GUS 2015, pp. 2-3) confirm that the assessed level of interpersonal trust (in people in general) is 78%. Among the institutions most trusted in Poland is fire service (94%).

Conclusions

In our opinion, the experimental and sociological data give grounds to say that in the Ukraine there is a combination of a high level of interpersonal trust and low level of institutional one. In the modern web world such a relationship can serve as a prerequisite for self-organization of the society, which begins to exist independently of the government, creating parallel structures due to self-ordering and displacing those institutions, which are illegitimate from the point of view of trust, or subordinating them. The potential of interpersonal trust in the Ukraine may become a real factor of positive changes, reducing the costs of transformation, and thus contributing to their implementation and effectiveness.

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Tamara Merkulova
Tatiana Bitkova

**TRUST MEASUREMENT: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS
OF EXPERIMENTAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS**

Keywords: trust, laboratory experiment, sociological survey, PG game.

There are 2 ways of trust measuring – experimental (using laboratory or field experiment) and sociological one (survey). Both are widely used by researchers all over the world. Therefore, comparison of experimental and sociological results is a hot topic, considered in many scientific works. In Ukraine laboratory experiments are not yet widespread in studying of trust, and mostly sociological methods are used. The paper examines the following issues: comparative analysis of sociological and experimental methods of trust measurement; an overview of the basic laboratory experiments used to study trust and cooperation; comparative analysis “experiments versus surveys”: presentation of the results of laboratory experiments Public Good Game (PG), conducted by the authors in the Ukraine; matching of the results of sociological and experimental measuring of confidence in Ukraine.

The known laboratory experiments on verification of behavioral hypotheses, related to trust and cooperation, are the following: Trust Game (TG), Dictator Game (DG), a combination of TG-DG, Public Good Game (PG) and its modifications. Regarding the first three experiments, studies have shown that: 1) the outcome of the game significantly deviates from Nash equilibrium and the participants show deviation from self-regarding behavior; 2) experimental results may serve as valid assessments of the level of trust to people, namely trust to strangers.

We have conducted a number of PG experiments among the students in order to assess the level of trust and to compare it with the results of surveys in Ukraine. In our experiments, it was found that: 1) almost 100% of participants made non-zero contributions; 2) the average contribution was 50% of participant’s revenue and is very stable. Outcomes of experiments allow to talk about certain coherence with the results of sociological surveys to estimate trust, held in Ukraine.

Sönke Friedreich*

Ira Spieker**

REFUGEES AND EXPELLEES IN RURAL SAXONY: LIFE AFTER 1945

“We are the receivers of a terrible legacy. Cities and villages lay waste, industry and agriculture shattered, transportation infrastructure smashed and damaged, the people decimated, the societal health undermined, families torn apart, the people spent – everything in a state of collapse. (...) Want and misery is to be found on every street. Millions wander homelessly through villages and cities reduced to rubble, through deserted fields, without subsistence or a roof over their heads.”

So drastically did the President of the Saxon State Administration (*Landesverwaltung Sachsen*) Rudolf Friedrichs (SPD) describe the situation after the end of the Second World War in his inaugural speech on 18 July 1945 (Just 1989, p. 145). This plain wording was undoubtedly due to the gravity of the occasion which provoked a certain kind of rhetoric. Nevertheless, it described very accurately the situation in Germany and Saxony at the time. The task of rebuilding, as well as democratizing the society, appeared to be rather overwhelming in the immediate post-war period. The task extended to, and especially included, the rural society in industrial Saxony.

As a consequence of the war unleashed by the National Socialists, approximately 14 million Germans lost their homes in a mass movement of peoples through flight and eviction¹. About 4.3 million of them wound up in the So-

***Sönke Friedreich** – Ph.D. in European Ethnology/Cultural Anthropology, Institute of Saxon History and Cultural Anthropology, Dresden; research interests: regional culture, culture and everyday life of the industrialization era, work and work culture, biographical research, culture and history of Saxon; e-mail: soenke.friedreich@mailbox.tu-dresden.de

****Ira Spieker** – Ph.D. in European Ethnology/Cultural Anthropology, Associate Professor, Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena, Institute of Saxon History and Cultural Anthropology, Dresden; research interests: regional and community research, historical everyday culture, gender, history of science; e-mail: ira.spieker@mailbox.tu-dresden.de

¹Forced migration in European perspective cf.: Piskorski 2013, Halicka 2013.

viet Occupation Zone (SBZ – subsequently the territory of the GDR) – one million of them in Saxony alone.



Figure 1. Emergency shelter: This woman was not able to continue her way because of illness (1945).

Source: Archiv Hanns Tschira, © Wolfgang und P. Christian Tschira.

Core problems such as the provision of food and clothing, livable housing, employment, and the building of schools had to be solved for the new arrivals who were officially designated as “resettlers” (*Umsiedler*). In addition, the plan was that they were to be given a “new homeland” and that they were to be integrated into their new societies. Any support towards a possible return to their previous homes from which they were driven out was to be prevented as far as possible.

The Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD – *Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland*), the Central Administration for German Resettlers (ZVU – *Zentralverwaltung für deutsche Umsiedler*), as well as the respective authorities of the states, districts, and municipalities viewed these tasks not least of all under the standpoint of communist power consolidation. This included the political considerations of the Soviet Union and the neighboring socialist countries. Emerging conflicts between various groups of people were to be suppressed as well as any openly expressed

resentment against the failure of the transformation process in the countryside.

The refugees and expellees were in no way a homogeneous group. For example, there were great differences in the time-point and the conditions of the forced migration west: already in 1944 the flight from the encroaching war front had caused a growing stream of people into the western parts of Germany. The evacuation from the threatened areas often came late and under chaotic conditions. In the first weeks after the end of the war it came to “wild evictions”, especially in the areas of East and West Prussia, Silesia, and the so-called Sudetenland. On the basis of decisions made by the Allies at the Potsdam Conference in July-August 1945, the “planned” evacuation of the remaining Germans in Poland (i.e. Polish administered areas), Czechoslovakia, and Hungary were carried out (Kossert 2008, von Plato, Meinicke 1991, p. 15).

After this phase of flight and eviction, it was also these various backgrounds that assured that no homogeneous identity could be found among the refugees. “Resettlers” was a designation for the refugees and expellees from the former German and German-speaking areas of eastern Europe. This was also meant to include members of the German minorities that had lived in Russia, the Ukraine, Hungary, and Romania. While the state showed no interest in the different fates and needs of the expellees, these various regional differences were of the greatest importance for those concerned in the post-war period.

As the use of such terms as “refugees” (*Flüchtlinge*) and “expellees” (*Vertriebene*) was not very convenient for the communist rulers for political reasons, the more euphemistic term “resettler” (*Umsiedler*) was introduced as early as the beginning of October 1945. This term drew attention to the forced integration while disguising the involuntary change of geographic location and the impossibility of ever returning. Nevertheless, for a long time, there prevailed uncertainty over the use of this designation. Thus the following statement in mid-1947 from the Head Office of Resettlers in the Ministry for Employment and Welfare (*Hauptabteilung Umsiedler im Ministerium für Arbeit und Sozialfürsorge*), the authority responsible for implementing the “evacuee policy” (*Umsiedlerpolitik*) in Saxony:

“Resettlers” are considered to be all Germans who left their place of residence that was situated after 12 March 1938 beyond the current borders of German. The reason for leaving is of secondary importance. The designation “resettler” can never be taken from these people. The use of the term must be maintained as a mark of identification of a particular section of the population. Nevertheless the term should vanish from public use, no later than

after the completion of assimilation (HStA Dresden Nr. 418).

Here the goal of a quick and complete absorption of the refugees and expellees into the population was clearly expressed. By 1950, the “resettler” term was to have disappeared from official use, since by this point in time the “resettler question” (*Umsiedlerfrage*) should have been resolved. The persons in question were to be referred to as “new citizens” (*Neubürger*) from this point on (Schwartz 2003, p. 87; Wille 2000, p. 207; Schmidt 2006, p. 4). Nevertheless the designation “resettler” found a firm place in official use and even today is, at least to some extent, still used (Schwartz 2000).



Figure 2. Abandoned manors served as provisional accommodation like this building in Wurschen (1945).

Source: Lebensgeschichtliches Archiv für Sachsen, ISGV, Teilprojekt 45: Neubauern.

The Conflicts over Scarce Resources

In Saxony, more than 80 percent of the refugees and expellees were settled in rural areas (Friedreich, Spieker 2014, p. 14; Spieker, Bretschneider 2011, p. 8). The new arrivals – who, in general, had brought few belongings and in many cases were completely without means – were distributed throughout the districts and communities in accordance with predetermined quotas. Once in their new location, they received some sort of domicile. The lack of resources that prevailed in the country, along with the forced

quartering of “resettlers”, lead to conflicts in many places that often turned critical (Schrammek 2004, p. 247; Moritz 1995, Satjukow 2007). For example, in Thüringen in 1948, the refugees and expellees only had a mere 7.6 square meters space on average available to them to live in. In Saxony, the native population, depending on district, had, on average, 0.7 to 2.0 square meters more living space per head than the “resettlers” (Leiser 2011, p. 148; HStA Dresden Nr. 2970).

The difficulty of the different groups living together was noted with great concern by the local authorities. The district administrations maintained regular “status reports” (*Stimmungsberichte*), in which the political leadership attempted to offer an overview of the situation in their given areas. One example comes from a report from the District Office (*Kreisrat*) of Meißen at the beginning of October 1947:

On the question of whether an expansion of the gap between the older and the newer citizens can be determined in the local district, it must be answered that a certain distance exists between these groups. The main reason for this is that most of resettlers arrived with no furniture, no beds, and no household supplies. The necessary supplies had to be taken from the local residents, most of whom had no way of replacing any of these items for themselves.

[...] due to the lack of the most essential materials such as building supplies, ovens, oven pipes, etc., it is often not possible, despite the best efforts, to provide adequately heated rooms. Therefore it frequently occurs that the resettlers have to live in rooms without any heat and, on top of that, they are dependent on the native citizens for the use of kitchen facilities. Furthermore, it may be noted that the majority of incoming resettlers are members of the Roman Catholic confession, while the overwhelming majority of the native residents of the local districts are Protestants. All of these reasons taken together obviously make conditions very difficult for the integration (Verschmelzungsprozess) so desired by the Saxon Government (HStA Dresden Nr. 3013).

The District Council of Döbeln reported that a large number of the native citizens considered the “resettlers” to be unwelcomed guests who should not be given the *slightest concession*. This rejection in turn gave rise to a great bitterness amongst the refugees and expellees who saw themselves as victims of the National Socialist war, and who had by far lost a lot more than the local residents (HStA Dresden Nr. 3024a).

That this tension in the difficult post-war situation sometimes led to violence was duly remarked upon by the authorities with growing concern. In particular, when it came to quartering the “resettlers,” incidents

arose time and again. In Bautzen, the District Housing Commission (*Kreiswohnungsausschuss*) received at least 20 complaints per day from local home owners who felt completely overwhelmed by the housing assignments. The complaints also concerned insults and verbal abuses that were directed not only at the “resettlers” but also at the local authorities in charge (HStA Dresden Nr. 2111).

*“We received the smallest of two rooms to live in. Next to this however was a magnificently large kitchen with running water, drainage, [. . .] with a storage room. This is where the maids were housed – they had it much better. From the first floor (second – Am.), we had to go down into the basement to fetch water. We then had to carry the waste water down into the basement. At the very bottom we had a toilet available to us, even though there was a toilet located half way down the stairs. So one could say, it was pure chicanery. When not even one of the employees, who practically lived next to us, ever came and said: “You can quickly grab a bucket of water” so that you did not have to go all the way down to get it. Eight years (we lived there). (Margarethe Gärtner, *1936 in Schlesien)².*

Sometimes those who were most critical of taking in refugees and expellees were themselves members of the SED, or Party functionaries in their home towns. In Tautewalde, District Bautzen, it was the chairman of the Association of Mutual Farmer’s Help (*Vereinigung der gegenseitigen Bauernhilfe – VdgB*) who, during a meeting of the SED-Ortsgruppe in April 1947, declared that he would not take in any “resettlers” unless the local council guaranteed him in writing “that they would replace anything that was stolen by the resettlers.” In the face of such rejection, the refugees and expellees complained again and again to higher authorities and the SED about the treatment that was being meted out to them. Four years after the end of the war, an expellee living in Meißen wrote:

“We still cannot speak of having a new home (Heimat), and there are many of us who do not even want to be buried here – so much suffering have we already endured in Saxony from the local residents. [. . .] Here, the people sit in their beautiful homes, have their wages, their land, gardens, etc. For them, the war is long forgotten. [. . .] The home owners live in peace, and we, we who had to leave behind all our valuables, have to live in a den without any sunshine. (Die Neue Heimat 1949, p. 14).

²The data has been collected within the context of our research project; the interviews are filed in the “Lebensgeschichtliches Archiv für Sachsen” (Dossier No. 45).



Figure 3. Temporary accomodation in a school (1945).

Source: Archiv Hanns Tschira, © Wolfgang und P. Christian Tschira.

Home Sickness

Along with the open conflicts between “resettlers” and the native populations, the status reports of the district and state authorities reflected a generally high degree of homesickness and the desire to return. One could hardly speak of a willing and quick “resettlement” (*Neubeheimtung*). Here a selected list of comments from numerous local councils (*Gemeinde*) of the Bautzen District:

- “They all have – without exception – a desire to return to their homeland” (Burkau),
- “Desire for their original homeland” (Neudorf/Spree),
- “All of the resettlers from Bautzen want to return to their homeland” (Stadt Bautzen),
- “a large part of the resettlers are still hanging onto the belief that they can return to their homeland. This fact proves that they cannot come to grips with their fate, and therefore they do not participate in politics” (Auritz),

- “The mood is lousy; all of the resettlers want to go home” (Dubrauke),
- “It is especially the resettlers from Silesia who wallow in the hope that they will be able to return to their home region. The co-existence with the native population is, in part, harmonious, though sometimes complaints can be heard about how the resettlers are treated by the locals. This, however, can be traced back to the lack of understanding and unreasonableness on the part of the resettlers” (Kirschau),
- “The mood amongst the resettlers is for the most part not good. In no way can their desires be met to their satisfaction, be it in reference to ration coupons, or fuel for fires, etc. They are often very indignant” (Steinigtwolmsdorf),
- “The mood is not what it should be, since there is still a lack of so many resources” (Nechern, Wurschen) (HStA Dresden Nr. 889).

Less than half a year later, in October 1947, District Bautzen reported that the wish to return home had “grown in an ever greater mass amongst the new citizens” (HStA Dresden Nr. 893). And, accordingly, it turned out that despite the increasing distance in time from the events of the forced eviction, the old homeland had in no way been forgotten. Certainly, the unfavorable material situation contributed to the miserable mood. In early 1948, the Head Office for Resettlers (*Hauptabteilung Umsiedler*) made the following sobering observation:

Thanks to the state of crises amongst the resettlers in reference to insufficient housing, the lack of ovens, furniture – especially beds, – household equipment, clothing of all kinds, shoes, fuel for burning, etc., the mood of the resettlers is not the best. Most of the resettlers still live as subtenants and therefore often come into conflict with their landlords.

Material help is now only possible through collections of the Volkssolidarität, which itself is not up to the task of dealing with the extreme extent of the current plight. As a result, most resettlers do not have their own bed and are therefore forced to sleep on the floor. The relationship of the resettlers to the local population has still not improved in the slightest. It is demonstrable that the resettlers feel discriminated against and feel forced to always take a back seat. The desire to work can only be found among very few of them.

The financial and material means are in no way sufficient enough to allow them to feel satisfied and to give them a new feeling of having a new home (HStA Dresden Nr. 2750).

And in the year-end report for 1948 of the District Council Bautzen it was noted: *The mood is mixed. A large part (of the resettlers) view the political events as they really are and make an attempt to consciously participate in the rebuilding. There are others however who swim in the channels of a reactionary movement, who, though publicly holding back their true feelings, are secretly raging within* (HStA Dresden Nr. 3024b).

As worrying as the status reports of the districts and villages were, the (Saxon) State Government (*Landesregierung*) saw themselves powerless to do anything to counteract these developments. At best, the question of the general atmosphere was seen as a propaganda problem, so that the negative expressions concerning the situation could be attributed to enemy or “reactionary” elements.

Particularly in the border districts there was cause for concern over the adverse atmosphere, because the resettlers there showed a special dispensation toward viewing their new homes as no more than a provisional solution (HStA Dresden, Nr. 2746a). And if the new home lay only a few kilometers away from the old home – yet remained out of reach – then it was especially difficult for the “resettlers” to come to terms with their new situation. Characteristic are the following examples taken from a Status Report of the Head Office for Resettlers to the Soviet Control Commission in July 1950:

The CDU-Chairman of the Community Steinbach/District Niesky, New Citizen H., expressed a typical sentiment: ‘We will never forget our homeland, and we will never give up the hope of returning there.’ New Citizen G. from Oybin/District Zittau is of the opinion that it is pointless to settle down in the Republic. He rejected purchasing a bed offered to him from the Community and said: ‘What should I do with the bed? How will I be able to transport it when we cross back over the Neisse?’ In the municipality of Oybin, there are still today beds in storage that were intended as the first delivery of furniture to the New Citizens. 70-year old New Citizen N., from the same village, recently bought herself a hay cart (she has a monthly pension of only 50 DMs) so that she can load up her ‘stuff’ when she returns to her home (HStA Dresden, Nr. 2746b).

As can be seen here, the evocation of the “old homeland” was not simply sentimental reminiscence, but rather a top theme, ever-present in the everyday life and consciousness of numerous refugees and expellees. Even the short-term improvement of the material situation did little to contribute to extinguishing the desire to return home. In connection with the general desire to return, it was not uncommon to hear rumours in and around the borders of Poland and Czechoslovakia about imminent border revisions

or even the outbreak of a new war. In a report of the Saxon Interior Ministry to the Soviet Control Commission from September 1950 it was noted, for example, that *revisionist, chauvinistic Western propaganda* was being used to spread disharmony among the population (HStA Dresden Nr. 2746a). Rumours were being spread to destabilize the political situation, and news about possible border revisions were providing false hope to the “resettlers” that they could one day return to their homeland. At the beginning of 1948, District Council Bautzen reported to the Interior Ministry that a negative mood had emerged as a result of the breaking off of the London Conference on 15 December of the previous year and as a result of the intensification of the East-West conflict:

Reactionary forces have noted the growing demoralization of certain groups and thus have developed intense propaganda to the effect that a new war is unavoidable and that those in positions of authority would be hunted down. To what extent this propaganda has made ground amongst the population – especially among the resettlers – can already be seen in the meetings of the De-Nazification Commission. It is rare to find effective witnesses coming forward, as they are afraid that – should the political situation suddenly change – they will be the ones to have to worry about prosecution. It is particularly among the resettlers that the rumour has spread that it will not be much longer until they will be allowed to return to Silesia (HStA Dresden Nr. 2112). In District Bautzen, as in the great Upper Lusatia (*Oberlausitz*) area in general, conditions were especially favorable for the spreading of rumours, since any possible border revisions would have made a direct impact there.

Land Reform, New Farmersteads, and Collectivization

The difficult co-existence of the various peoples in the rural areas as a result of the revolution of the war years that brought them the challenge of having to survive was a known state of affairs to the authorities in charge. However it was made even more complicated on the SBZ/GDR territories through the land reform that was enacted in the autumn of 1945. Every estate over 100 hectares in size, as well as the property of National Socialists and war criminals, was confiscated, divided up, and distributed for the most part to landless and poor rural population groups (Bauerkämper 1994).

In the SBZ, a total of 3.3 million hectares of land were expropriated: about one-fourth of the estates affected were to be found in Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Saxony-Anhalt. Saxony and Thuringia only had a share of 14 percent and 11 percent respectively (Kramer 1957, p. 18); in these states, it was more typical that the smaller and middle-size farms domi-

nated instead of the great estates of other regions. During the implementation of the land reform, refugees and expellees competed with the locals for the new land. However, often the refugees and expellees suffered a handicap due to the fact that the local land commissions were made up of a majority of local people. In addition, it may be that they simply settled in too late. In Saxony, farm parcels were made up of 6-8 hectares of land, allotted out to around 18,000 people, 7,500 of whom were "resettlers."

After the farm assignments, other problems continued to fester: in general there was, beyond the lack of suitable housing and the lack of animal stalls, a wide-ranging scarcity of livestock and draft animals. To compound the problem, there were not enough farming machines to work the land (Seraphim 1954, p. 85). The harvest year 1946 – notable for having low yields – laid bare without question the problems faced by the new farmers, despite being recipients of multiple aid programs. In a report on the land reform at the end of 1946 it was noted:

While in individual communities (Gemeinden) of the emergency areas Weißwasser, Hoyerswerda, etc. the situation of the new farmers is bad in numerous ways, those in other villages are, on the other hand, often better off than the native farmers. This can, in the main, be attributed to the special assistance that the new farmers have benefitted from, including receiving livestock, farm equipment, etc., at the behest of the government and the SED. So it may be said that the economic situation of the new farmers is more or less determined by the collective economic situation of the rural population in Saxony, meaning that this year the harvest turned out to be particularly bad.

Furthermore, it must be considered that the economic situation of the new farmers is likewise strongly dependent on whether one is dealing with native populations, with refugees, or with new settlers unfamiliar with the land. Up until now, these differences have been given very little consideration. These differences also become clear, when it is seen that nearly all the native populations have access to livable housing, and – through the possession of barns or other such building – are able to house their livestock. On the other hand, the resettlers, for the most part, are still housed en masse in the large estates homes expropriated in the land reform (HStA Dresden Nr. 3069).

The new farmers were then either dependent on help from the Association for the Mutual Help of Farmers, founded for just this purpose, or they were forced to turn to the better-off native farmers in their village. And although the SED was interested in providing the new farmers with the sufficient supplies, they did not show themselves capable of alleviating the general shortage of materials.



Figure 4. New farm house of a “resettler” family in Wurschen (1951).

Source: Lebensgeschichtliches Archiv für Sachsen, ISGV, Teilprojekt 45: Neubauern.

Although the land reform could have meant an easing of the situation, at least for a part of the “resettlers,” the extremely difficult conditions that reigned in the beginning lead to a very low level of motivation for the new arrivals to integrate into their new home regions. State measures, such as Order 209 of the SMAD from September 1947 which ordered the construction of 37,000 new farmer houses (HStA Dresden Nr. 1724), or the “Law for the Continued Improvement of the Situation of the Former Resettlers” (*Gesetz über die weitere Verbesserung der Lage der ehemaligen Umsiedler*) from September 1950, intended, among other things to assist in providing housing, household equipment, and training. However, instead of bringing about any tangible results, they remained more of a mere expression of solidarity.

As the results of the land reform suggest, the transformation of the economic and social relations in the rural areas was a multi-faceted process that affected individuals in different ways, while, in the end, it had an effect on every population group. The political constellation was in great flux at the end of the war, and the consolidation of communist rule had to be established. Therefore, one could speak of an orientation phase and an exploration on the part of both the individual farmers as well as

those in political positions. When the refugees and expellees arrived, they did not encounter a stable rural social order. Rather, they found themselves placed into a “society in flux”, whose structure and form were not yet foreseeable, and in which they would actively participate in many ways. Then, just a few years after the land reform, collectivization was introduced which brought about a further restructuring of the farmers’ social order. And even though this step was clearly rejected in the immediate post-war period, the SED-Politburo decided at the beginning of June 1952, under pressure from Moscow, on doing an about-face concerning their policy of the collectivization of the farms – this, despite the government’s issuing only two months earlier a statement that they would not do this (Piskol 1995, Schöne 2008, p. 101; Bauerkämper 2003, p. 16; Scherstjanoi 1994).

Although the official history of the GDR would later interpret the collectivization as the next logical step after the end of the land reform (Unger 1987, p. 334), this decision arose from the knowledge that numerous new farmsteads were so unprofitable that their self-sufficiency could not be guaranteed in the long-term. Clear symptoms of the problem were the growing number of abandoned new farms and the swelling of the number of refugees going west (Schöne 2005, p. 28). By the beginning of 1950, about 2.600 new farmsteads had been abandoned alone in Saxony. This corresponded to about 12 percent. One in four had belonged to a “resettler” (HStA Dresden Nr. 3166).

Since the lack of equipment, lack of capital, and rising delivery costs threatened the existence of an increasing number of farms, the fluctuation in Saxony rose even further in the following years (HStA Dresden Nr. 197). The founding of the Agricultural Cooperatives³ in the summer of 1952 was meant to solidify communist rule in rural areas while at the same time solving the economic problems of the farmers.

However this new development was hardly greeted anywhere with anything resembling enthusiasm. The policy even quicker came under fire within the Party. The unprofitability of the Cooperative Farms (*Genossenschaftsbetriebe*), the lack of labor, the deterioration of the food situation, as well as the politically motivated “class war” led the LPGs – and thus the rural society of the GDR – into a crisis that by early 1953 could no longer be ignored. In May of the same year, the founding of further LPGs was put on hold. At the beginning of June, an assurance was given that existing farms would be given better support.

Nevertheless, this policy of the “New Course” could not do anything to

³Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaften (LPG).

eliminate the growing dissatisfaction: as with the larger cities on the 17th of June 1953, uprisings sprang up in the countryside. There were spontaneous protests, refusals to work, and attacks against authorities (Schöne 2005, p. 146). While the violent suppression of the rebellion restored order on the surface, collectivization from then on could only be advanced haltingly and reluctantly. Finally in 1959-60 forced collectivization was implemented, wherein all farmsteads were turned over to the LPGs. After hundreds of thousands were forced under immense pressure to join a LPG, collectivization was considered to be completed in May of 1960 during the so-called “Socialistic Spring” (*Sozialistischer Frühling*).



Figure 5. Propaganda Poster: Join the LPG (ca. 1960).

Source: Archiv des Hennebergischen Museums Kloster Veßra BI 7a Nr. 53.

Conclusion

In a time frame of only a few years, the refugees and expellees in Saxony saw themselves subject to thoroughly contradictory treatment from the State. On the one hand, the official “resettler” policy aimed at swift integration into the host communities. On the other hand, resources such as land, livestock, and mechanical equipment were unfairly distributed, often to the advantage of the native farmers. However, while the “resettlers” were to serve as the vanguard for the politicization process in rural areas, the Party (SED) nevertheless always viewed them with suspicion and considered them to be potential ‘revanchists’.

The land reform, that had offered at least a few of the refugees and expellees a chance at self-sufficiency, was later superseded by the collectivization. This then made any sort of self-sufficiency impossible. All of these events only made the new beginning for the refugees and expellees even more difficult in a time of great uncertainty. In addition, making the topic of the expellees a taboo theme, i.e. suppressing the topic as a theme for public discussion (including the official ignorance of what caused the misery), only ensured that they would remain feeling like strangers in their new homes.

Towards their goal of discrediting any idea of return, and of ‘integrating’ the expellees and refugees as quickly as possible – and with that to, if not to solve an acute political and moral problem, at least to hide it away – the SED had to pay a high price in the long-run. Making the theme of flight and eviction taboo in the GDR, and suppressing the “second catastrophe” (Schwartz 2004, p. 9) of the arrival of the refugee in their ‘new homeland’, inhibited in many cases a possible positive identification with the new socialist state. The prospect of finding a new ‘home’ after settling down in a new place of residence remained unfavorable even after the consolidation of the post-war order and the ‘construction of socialism’.

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Sönke Friedreich
Ira Spieker

REFUGEES AND EXPELLEES IN RURAL SAXONY SINCE 1945

Keywords: migration; flight and expulsion, borderlands, rural societies, social and political transformation, World War II.

As a consequence of the Second World War unleashed by Germany, millions of people were forced to stream into the areas that subsequently became the two successor states of the German Reich. The acceptance and integration of the refugees and displaced persons presented the society and the political leadership of the GDR (German Democratic Republic) with an enormous challenge. This article will analyze the contradictory processes of the refugees' arrival that was marked by diverse conflicts, not only at the political level, but also in everyday practice.

As the official files of the years up to 1952 show – and the testimony of eyewitnesses' accounts confirm – it was, in particular, the conflicts over such issues as scarce resources (livable housing, furniture, work materials, etc.), attempts to return to the home territories, as well as the state's intervention (land reform, collectivization) that were the decisive factors in the transformation of rural society. Furthermore, the theme of the 'resettlers' was made officially taboo in the GDR which only rendered the new start under socialist auspices, as well as the public dealings with the neighboring states of Poland and Czechoslovakia, even more difficult.

This article comes out of the research project "Strangers – Homeland – Saxony. Expellees as New Farmers. State Integration Measures and Individual Adaptation Strategies" ("Fremde – Heimat – Sachsen. Vertriebene als Neubauern. Staatliche Integrationsmaßnahmen und individuelle Adaptionsstrategien") lead by the Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde (*Institute for Saxon History and Cultural Anthropology*). Within this project, the collections of several state archives as well as community archives have been analyzed. Furthermore, sixty interviews with contemporary witnesses were conducted and carefully assessed.

Ira Spieker*
Sarah Kleinmann**
Uta Bretschneider***

CONTACT ZONES. CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY IN THE POLISH-CZECH-GERMAN BORDER REGION¹

Borders are fundamental elements of national states; they shape and limit territories, they control migration, trade, travelling. Borders can be closed for a certain period of time or for certain groups of people. They are guarded, marked, and video-monitored. State borders are often considered to be more or less natural, but in fact they are historically developed. However, they are sometimes linked to natural barriers like rivers, lakes, or mountains. Borders are prominent metaphor and political reality at the same time.

Large-scaled regions in Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany passed through a drastic process of transformation. Due to the politics of the German Nazi regime, and as a consequence of World War II, the borders shifted; millions of people lost their homes and were obliged to resettle. This forced migration caused the emergence of, in some cases, new societies. At the same time, the three nations were transformed into socialistic regimes. Rural areas in the border regions in particular experienced a major change: a significant transfer of, and an increase, in population. It can therefore be said that these zones represent a kind of social and political laboratory, almost unique in Europe.

***Ira Spieker** – Ph.D. in European Ethnology/Cultural Anthropology, Associate Professor, Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena, Institute of Saxon History and Cultural Anthropology, Dresden; research interests: regional and community research, historical everyday culture, gender, history of science; e-mail: ira.spieker@mailbox.tu-dresden.de

****Sarah Kleinmann** – Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology, Institute of Saxon History and Cultural Anthropology, Dresden; research interests: gender research, border research, cultural and historical politics on national socialism; e-mail: kleinmann@isgv.de

*****Uta Bretschneider** – Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology, Institute of Saxon History and Cultural Anthropology, Dresden; research interests: GDR everyday culture, history of rural areas, biography research, industrial culture; e-mail: bretschneider@museumklostervessra.de

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Figure 1. 3-country-corner near Zittau.

Source: Uta Bretschneider, 2016.

This article is a result of the research project “Contact Zones. Cultural practices in the German-Czech-Polish borderland” (www.isgv.de/projekte/volkskunde/kontaktzonen, www.facebook.com/kontaktzonen/); it will give an insight into the work program and discuss our methodological approach. The core questions of the project concern how representations and functions of commemorative culture are performed and how the past and the present are dealt with in the border regions. The time frame for this project is set in reference to the historical caesuras in these borderland areas since World War II: the German occupation of Bohemia/Moravia and Poland, the end of World War II, the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989, the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, and the abolition of frontier controls three years later. These demarcations of cultural-political engagement are displayed, represented, staged, and transmitted by media and communication; they affect protagonists, initiatives, and various activities.

The main questions of the research project are: How did (and do) people cope with their own past and the official representation of history? Which consequences are still visible today, after the Czech Republic and Poland became EU-members in 2004? How does transnational cultural cooperation

work in that context? What kind of new impulses derive from those (mostly young) residents who have come to choose the border regions as their home today? In this sense the article deals with the parameters of constructing ‘new’ identities and the needs of affiliation.

Borderland – Characteristics of the Research Area

Within the geographical area of the study, political borders shifted several times; attributions and affiliations have changed accordingly. Since 1991, the association “Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa” has existed as one of the first accepted ways of cross-border co-operation in Central Europe (<http://www.neisse-nisa-nysa.org>). However this region is in no way a historical entity. Since 1945, the composition of the population has completely changed. The majority of the German-speaking population was expelled, and people from the eastern regions of Poland and Bohemia/Moravia were settled there. But even before that, in autumn 1938, many Czech, Jewish, and leftist people had fled the German-Czech border region after the German invasion of the Sudetenland. Today, there are few points of reference to the older structures. The river Neisse, originally a dividing factor, is now stylized into a factor of identity. As a national and natural border, it has only been familiar to its neighbours for three generations. These circumstances evoke the question of the implications to the region. Is it possible to implement “a new transnational identity” (Weger 2011, p. 93)?

Until the Second World War, a regional identity beyond national borders was an everyday experience in this area. As Katharina Eisch has pointed out, the Bohemian-Bavarian border was widely opened in the 1920s and 1930s – until 1938, when National Socialist policy led to the division of Czechoslovakia (Eisch 1996, p. 155). Furthermore, Moritz Csáky speaks in terms of a “multilingualism of the space” (2004). This means that, despite their affiliation to a communication space of their own (the “national culture”), the inhabitants participated in numerous “alien” cultural elements. These practices promoted “multilingualism” in the literal and the metaphorical sense. As a consequence, they caused a multi-polarity of individual and collective identities which became evident in the practical bi- or multilingualism of its residents. Since 1945, this integration of the regions through language has disappeared: today, only a fraction of the population speaks the language of their neighbors. Nevertheless, many Germans today believe that the German language is understood in the Czech Republic – which is certainly not the case (Lozoviuk 2012, p. 160). Due to these language barriers, collective regional identity today is mainly the result of the following factors: the promotion of economics and tourism, the self-positioning in pha-

ses of increasing globalization, as well as the implementation of historical-political interests.



Figure 2. Former border station between Germany and Poland.
Source: Uta Bretschneider, 2016.

The Polish-Czech-German border region connects three countries with an intense history of conflict, especially in the period of the 20th century. Since 2007, regular border controls have been abolished. However, state borders have recently seemed to become again more relevant in Europe. About 25 years after the end of the Cold War, the Schengen Agreement was partly suspended by several European states. The main reason for this measure is the increasing number of refugees.

As it has been since World War II, the area is still home to many migrants. These migrants are, for example, the former GDR-“Vertragsarbeiter” from Asia, refugees from Greece and resettlers from Western Poland. There are still many material traces of the former border controls, like that in Zittau, where an abandoned building tells of the past. The Polish-Czech-German border region is, as a periphery, “a zone of multilingualism and dialogue, of ambiguity and polyphony, of asynchronicities, contradictions and resistances.” “[C]ulture happens as change [...]” there (Eisch-Angus 2016, p. 244).

(Doing) Memory and (Doing) Identity

The quick succession of political upheavals and changing power structures has also influenced Eastern European commemorative cultures (cf. Jarowski 2005). Coherent historical spaces of experience cannot easily be defined. Furthermore, there is a competitive situation that exists in reference to the remembrance of the Stalinist acts of violence and the National Socialist crimes. The Eastern European societies are also struggling nowadays with increasing nationalism. After clear orientation systems had disintegrated, new patterns have had to be found. The disruption of a long-term creation of tradition led to “new” and creative manifestations – although not limited to regions with a ‘broken national biography’ (cf. Hobsbawn, Ranger 1983). According to Maurice Halbwachs, we only remember what is communicated, passed on, and represented in the present, what can be localized within the social frame of reference of the collective memory (Halbwachs 1985, Assmann 2007)². The collective memory is the key to the shaping of cultural identity. In our project, we will deal with the construction, the deconstruction, and the reconstruction of memories. Basically, we aim to explore the question of which events in the border regions, if any, are relevant in regard to commemorative culture and the creation of identity.

The Research Project: Theoretical Framing

The title of our research project – “Contact Zones” – refers not only to our subject but also to a specific approach. While contact zones refer to certain regions, they also describe primarily social spaces: i.e. constructs, where different cultures clash, collide, or maintain relationships with each other (Pratt 1991). Mary Louise Pratt’s concept of contact zones – originally developed in the context of post-colonial studies – not only considers equal relationships, but also asymmetrical or hierarchical relationships. It also takes into account the ongoing impact of exposure to political violence. James Clifford (1997) further developed this concept by using it to interpret museum situations and social contacts in differentiated modern societies. The idea of contact zones will be used within this project on transnational initiatives and activities in the German-Czech-Polish borderland (beyond regional administrative council administrators or political actors).

²Several studies have further diversified this cultural-memorial approach (Olick 1999, Olick, Robbins 1998, Assmann A. 1999). Aleida and Jan Assmann divide the collective memory into communicative and cultural memory, the communicative memory being the short-term resp. generational memory, referring to the nearest past that is negotiated in communicative processes: The image of history constituted through these memories and narratives is a ‘history of everyday life’.

This project focuses on current transnational phenomena by analyzing mutual processes influencing transnational cultural flows: the key aspect being the analysis of trans-border activities, (cultural) exchange and the demarcation of (cultural) difference. Using the examples of contacts e.g., cultural events, sporting events, and socio-political commitment, we will view such initiatives as structures and modes of action to be examined as contact zones in borderlands. The spectrum of events and initiatives will involve a wide range of players and projects: cultural associations, informal groups, or institutional (regional and local) projects of cultural and economic cooperation. Our main focus is on the question of how history and memory are constituted within these contact zones and how the representation of the present (time) is negotiated. Who “owns” sovereignty in interpretation (the power of definition)? What is the meaning (evocative power) of material or non-material artefacts of cultures of remembrance?

In the German-Czech borderland, contact zones do exist and constantly emerge anew, providing the basis for the mutual transfer of ideas, knowledge, and different cultures or various cultural practices. At the same time, the border region as a whole is a contact zone – not only as a geographical unit with a connecting and dividing history of events and common or differing cultural traditions, but also as a communicative entity in everyday life. The economic dimension of the spaces of action is a crucial momentum: In general, the Polish-Czech-German borderland is said to be a structurally weak region; it is, apart from its attraction to tourists, also characterized by truck transit, prostitution, and drug trafficking.

Therefore, promotional plans of the respective provincial or federal governments, and especially of the European Union, may give impulses to cross-border co-operation. This means that transnational activities derive (also) from initiatives coming from the “outside” or “above” and tend to be due to the economic situation more than a neighbourly interest in contacts. Furthermore, concepts of cultural memory interfere and melt into each other, but sometimes they are in competition with each other. Which effects, if any at all, do they have on everyday life, on transnational cultural activities, co-operations, or dissociations? This is another point that we shall analyse. Along with the analysis of the constitution of history, the present, and memories in the contact zones, we will also look at the factors that possibly shape and create identity. We will investigate their relations to the past on both sides of the border, and consequently, how recent history (or histories) is (are) currently dealing with these.

Data Collection and Analysis

The research design combines various methods. As contact zones are mainly constituted through communication, we will look at homepages of communities and institutions in the framework of a media analysis, concerning cross-border activities and innovative potential, as well as traditional discourses and images. More specifically, we will include (self-) representations in social media (e.g. Facebook) in order to take into account the scope and significance of (digital) media. In the near future, memories of historical events (like World War II) will be mainly passed on through media. Thus, identity is generated, among other factors, within “the context of a media and cultural field that is digitized and globalized” and therefore constitutes a “global memory field” (Reading 2011, p. 377). That is to say that the creation of new “national” identities refers to earlier “national memories that are reassembled and shared with new kinds of rapidity, extensity, and transmediality”. Consequently, we have to take into account the mediatized relationship between memory and identities (ibid.).

In addition, we will conduct about 20 expert interviews referring to cross-border activities. These qualitative, guided interviews put the subjective perspective of the actors into focus and reveal the individual motives, the approaches and the scopes of action of cross-border commitment. However, they also hint at what is not – or what is not – or what is just implicitly – expressed. Internal structures, decision processes, and processes within the contact zones, or within the initiatives committed to them, can be determined on this basis. This discloses the impact of external funding and structural programs on the transnational transfer of ideas, knowledge, and culture.

The reception of these offers will be collected on the basis of quantitative analysis on a wide scale survey. This approach allows a description of the attitude of a larger number of persons (e.g. in connection with their participation in activities), and then it allows the quantifying of statements in relation to the biographical data.

In addition, we will actively observe cross-border initiatives and activities: by doing this we hope to gain insights into participatory potential in the borderland as well as into individual practices of appropriation. Cross-border activities include, for example, the Neißer Filmfestival (Nisa Film Festival/Nisky Festiwal Filmowy), or the “Sächsisch-Böhmische Bierfest” (Saxon-Bohemian beer festival) of Bärenstein, which takes place at the joint centre of Bärenstein and Vejprty.

The Focus of Research

In the following, we would like to present some core themes of our research more closely. First, we are focusing on two border communities in the Czech-German border district (Bärenstein and Vejprty). They are only separated by a creek, but between 1945 and 1991 they were also separated by a national border without any possibility of crossing over. Although this special proximity has already given rise to a work on how historical events are dealt with in a local region (Scherer 2009), with our project we want to, in particular, bring the current transnational cooperation between the two communities into focus. So, for example, the Historical Association for the Preservation of Monuments, Weipert – a German association that is dedicated to the preservation of the traces of German and German-speaking peoples in Bohemia – works together with the Czech Historical Association Vejprty.

Here it is key that the borders – for the Germans interviewed up to now – are no longer conspicuous, and it is even a matter of course that they can be routinely crossed-over. Simultaneously things are organized (for legal reasons of course) along these formal dividing lines which play a large role in the differentiations and attributions between ‘here’ and ‘there.’ The borders are therefore relevant and are thought of in terms of ‘German and Czech’ and less in reference to tourists or migrants in the region in their respect to statehood. However refugees and “gypsies” are relevant to ethno-graphic discussion. Their presence in the border area appears to be worthy of serious discussion.

Furthermore, the desire to work together and the tranquility on the border area is remarkable. Despite the yearning perspectives from the German side for Weipert, that previously held a lot of Germans, (that, among other things, can be seen in the artistic design of the public circular trails around the Bärenstein mountain – there, for example, a wooden bench can be found where, when seated, one looks eastwards and in which the words “view over Weipert” are etched in) there is no serious political attempt at border revision or any serious attempt to change the current reality. On the contrary, there are even joint projects between the neighboring communities.



Figure 3. View from the wooden bench over Vejprty (Weipert).
Source: Sarah Kleinmann, 2016.



Figure 4. Wooden bench "view over Weipert".
Source: Sarah Kleinmann, 2016.

Interestingly, when talking with Germans there, one could almost get the impression that Weipert had always belonged to Germany. In fact, the community was actually a part of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy and then it became part of the first Czechoslovakian Republic in 1918 until October 1938 when German troops marched in. The effects that this violent history have left behind here is the topic of this research.

In 2013, the communities received a joint centre, the “Gemeinsame Mitte Bärenstein/Vejprty.“ This new town centre is meant to, as was the intention of the EU-sponsored project, provide a space for meetings and exchanges, as well as for providing tourist information. We will explore how Czech and German inhabitants experience this specially constructed transnational space. The tourist potential of this region is also supposed to be enhanced by cross-border activities. Here, using the above example, motivations for and impediments against such initiatives can be studied. What is already evident is that, despite great interest, there are barriers to contacts and cooperation: it is not only a lack of linguistic understanding but also the different economic situations of the German-Polish and German-Czech border. For example, it is much more expensive for people from the Czech Republic to join cultural events in Germany than vice versa. In any case, the confrontational history of the 20th century still plays a role, and recently the European disagreement towards the handling of the refugee crisis has also played a role.

Secondly, we have put our focus on the city of Zittau, which is located at the border of Saxony with Poland and the Czech Republic. For it is located at the so-called 3-country-corner (*Dreiländereck*), Zittau is pre-destined to be an ideal city to study concrete examples of transnational activity. Here, it is true that the initiatives tend to be much more strongly oriented towards the Czech Republic – e.g. due to its proximity to Bohemia – than towards its Polish neighbor.

Thirdly, we are interested in an analysis of social media. In this case, it is the mechanisms of the boundaries and affiliation definitions in the internet that most concern us. Along with this is the question of how the border regions are (re-)produced in their historicity in the internet. This basic substance forms, among other things, the homepages of transnationally active groupings with respect to the German-Czech-Polish border regions, as well as the private posts on Facebook pages for corresponding initiatives. In general, borders in virtual space will be a continuous point of discussion: essentially in reference to claims for openings or closings (of borders), as well as in the recourse towards national stereotypes based upon experiences in the border area. Comments found on Facebook offer, for example,

insights into group-related communication, in circulating various interpretations of borders, as well as dominant views of history and their relationship to the present.

“zaniklár” – the Vanished Ones³

The following example introduces a private Czech initiative. Today, the villages that disappeared, or were destroyed and damaged, where mainly Germans had lived until World War II, belong to the landscape of the Czech border region. They are overgrown and/or are in ruins. These places, or non-places (cf. Augé 1994), illustrate the layers of the past that have inscribed themselves into the landscape. They bear witness to German-Czech history and its later reception. After the “Velvet Revolution” in 1989, they became destinations for a new excursion culture: students from the University of Ústí nad Labem, for example, developed a hiking tour alongside the vanished villages in the Bohemian low mountain range (Zanikle obce 2009). Also, outside the academic context, there was a need to explain the present historically. A group of people interested in this topic named themselves the “zaniklár” (a new terminological creation). They search for traces of the past and try to make them readable for others. Roads have been rendered accessible again and older German texts on the area have been re-published. In this context social media plays a significant role: in the region of northern Bohemia, it is mainly websites that deal with the now invisible – mainly in reference to architectural structures (<http://zanikleobce.cz>, <http://usti-aussig.net>). Interview-based research will allow us to trace the motives and the objectives of this voluntary memory work. Through participating in these events (such as the hiking tour) and through the analysis of websites or letters to the editor, the effect and the scope of activities like those of the zaniklár will be observed and detailed.

Expected Outcomes

After the analysis, the data will be accessible to comparable studies on the online portal “*Lebensgeschichtliches Archiv*” at the ISGV. Apart from documenting results in the form of conventional academic lectures and articles, we are looking for ways to communicate results to a broader public. For example, a tri-lingual website will be designed to present the project, offering a virtual “map” of the initiatives. It is intended to provide an exchange forum for all users. Furthermore, we plan a scenic reading (or a documentary drama). In this type of event, interview sequences could be contrasted with medial presentations, and thus a multi-perspective image of the contact zones in the borderland could be given. This participative

³“zaniknout“ (cz.): to vanish.

approach makes it possible to involve the actors into the communication as well, and thus re-link the research results to the research field (cf. Löneke, Spieker 2014). Furthermore, methodological and theoretical approaches, as well as epistemological questions and (interim) results, will be discussed at an interdisciplinary workshop in Hellerau – at European Center for the Arts Dresden in November 2016. With these various forms of presentation of our data we are trying to break the borders of representation. In this sense we aim at producing new contact zones from our results.

Last but not least, an important remark: In the future, we will certainly have to reconsider and broaden our concepts due to the changes in the borderland. The humanitarian disaster in Europe and the Middle East, that is forcing so many human beings to flee their homelands, has also affected our work. It will shape the structure of these regions, the social contacts, and the mentality of the population. Let us hope that the results of our study can give a positive contribution to mutual understanding, respect, tolerance and inter-cultural exchange, for good connections in this borderland in the heart of Europe that has seen so many wars and armed conflicts.

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Ira Spieker
Sarah Kleinmann
Uta Bretschneider

**CONTACT ZONES. CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY
IN THE POLISH-CZECH-GERMAN BORDER REGION**

Keywords: contact zones, remembrance, Polish-Czech-German border region, World War II, Cultural Anthropology.

This article results from a research project recently started at the Institute of Saxon History and Cultural Anthropology (Dresden) which aims to analyse “contact zones” in the Polish-Czech-German Border Region. It gives an insight into the work programme, discusses the methodological approach and presents some interim results. The time frame for the cultural-anthropological research project is set with reference to historical developments in these borderlands since World War II. The core questions of the project are how representations and functions of commemorative culture are performed and how the past and the present are negotiated in the border regions: How do people cope with their own past and the official representation of history? Which consequences are still visible today, after Germany, the Czech Republic, and Poland became EU-members? What kind of new impulses have been derived from those mostly young residents who have chosen the border regions as their home today? How does transnational cooperation work in this context? The thesis is that there are many cross-border activities as well as many obstacles that hinder cooperation.

Krzysztof Lisowski*

**LACK OF TRUST OR NO TRUST STRATEGY?
THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNE
AUTHORITIES AND TOWN AUTHORITIES IN ZIELONA
GÓRA IN THE PROCESS OF MERGING THE TWO
ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES**

In recent years the issue of merging local governments has become important in a number of local government units. It results from social processes and strategies implemented mostly by municipalities that are supposed to give a new impetus to development or prevent degradation. Successful and unsuccessful attempts to incorporate suburban areas into the boundaries of central cities have been made in Rzeszów, Opole, Lublin, Elbląg, Gniezno, Kołobrzeg, Słupsk, Poznań, Zielona Góra, etc. However, so far the only successful consensual merger of local government units have been carried out in Zielona Góra, where the governments of the town and rural commune became united.

Social processes that affect the pressures to integrate local governments include urbanization (Jałowiecki, Szczepanski 2006) and suburbanisation (Kajdanek 2011, 2012) as the mechanisms that at first cause the rapid growth of towns and then their sprawl into suburban areas. These two stages in the demographic and structural model cycle of urban life (Van den Berg et al. 1982) can be found in relations between the populations of central towns and surrounding communes. The phenomena of urban depopulation and demographic forecasts (GUS 2014) indicating the intensification of the process and, on the other hand, population growth in suburban areas illustrate the changes in the population size.

These processes in Poland, which have become more intense during the last two decades, have made the administrative division mismatch the formation of the actual areas and territorial communities. Development barriers resulting from this neighbouring and fragmentation of local governments (communes, districts) have been identified in government documents

***Krzysztof Lisowski** – Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: methodology and methods of social research, local communities; e-mail: k.lisowski@is.uz.zgora.pl

(Ocena sytuacji... 2012). Their authors point out that the administrative division into numerous units of local governments do not fit into contemporary challenges. They encourage communes to merge as it has the potential to bring benefits in service provision, management and finance.

Incorporating adjoining villages into the boundaries of the town is not a new phenomenon. In almost every big city there are areas which used to be separate territorial units – mostly suburban villages. However, the procedures which define the relations between local authorities and the conditions for making a decision on the merger are new (Dziennik Ustaw 1990). In the past decisions on the merger were made in the offices of politicians, now the law provides that they must be widely consulted with inhabitants and experts.

Ideas to merge face a series of obstacles, the most important of which is the resistance of commune authorities and inhabitants who fear of marginalization and loss of identity. In recent years these concerns have been repeatedly expressed in public consultations regarding possible mergers of local communes¹. In the communes that have discussed the merger conflicts often occur at various levels and with varying intensity.

The article presents just one dimension of the public debate and conflict situation in merging local governments of the town of Zielona Góra and the commune of Zielona Góra. It focuses on the relations between the authorities of the commune (commune head and commune council) and the town (mayor and town council). The article analyses the strategy adopted by the commune authorities to run the debate on the merger. The title of the article contains the question “lack of trust or no trust strategy?”, which I will try to answer.

Background for the merger of the commune of Zielona Góra and the town of Zielona Góra

The concept of incorporating the commune of Zielona Góra into the town of Zielona Góra appeared three times. For the first time in 2001, but the only effect of actions taken at that time was the resolution of intent adopted in both councils and the creation of a joint committee. The idea returned in 2005, when Bożena Ronowicz was the mayor, but consultations conducted at that time were not successful. Once again, the concept was presented on

¹The inhabitants of the following communes were against the merger of their communes with Rzeszów: Trzebowisko (94.7% against), Krasne (63.0% against). Similarly, the inhabitants of the following villages located in the commune of Dobrzeń Wielki were against the merger of their commune with Opole: Borki – 100% against; Brzezcie – 98.6% against; Czarnowasy – 99.1% against; Dobrzeń Mały – 99.8% against; Krzanowice – 99.7% against; Świerkle – 96.0% against.

October 10, 2012 at the University of Zielona Góra, when the meeting took the form of a public debate on the conditions of the merger (Osękowski 2014). For the first time the proposed merger was presented in a detailed form as the general terms and specific schedule of the merger were presented. It was also stated "... that the merger may take place after being discussed with the inhabitants of both administrative units, after which they should feel convinced that any decision on the merger is right and the principle of partnership and balance of both governments must be followed" (ibid. p. 7).

The authorities of the commune found the proposal made by the mayor unnecessary and they pointed out that the good cooperation between the two local authorities should be continued. The commune head sent a letter to the inhabitants in which he outlined his position:

"Cooperation between the town and commune has been and still is very effective and based on partner relations; it is based on concluded agreements and mutual support aimed at improving the living conditions of the residents both in the town and the commune, and this includes a common sewage system, public transport, and now a common waste management and the creation of the economic zone. I want to emphasize that there is no indication that the merger would be a 'lifeline' for our commune. We are developing dynamically, the population is growing, we are implementing all scheduled investments, the inhabitants become more involved in the lives of their village, the budget is stable"(Zalewski 2012).

In his letter the commune head also stated that the decision on the merger should be taken by the citizens themselves in a referendum, because everyone has the right to decide where they want to live. An indication of the participatory decision-making model (Lewenstein et al. 2010) did not automatically prevent the authorities from presenting their positions. From the very beginning, they were clear and unambiguous. Having let the citizens make the decision "the fight" for the votes of the residents in the planned commune referendum began. Lack of major conflicts before the announcement of the merger project and the evaluation of the existing cooperation between local authorities would suggest correct partner relations that had to be based on shared goals and mutual trust.

Local communities perceived these relations in a similar way. The surveys² showed that 71.5% of the town population and 75.7 % of the com-

²In all the surveys the population consisted of adult residents (18+) of the two administrative units (town of Zielona Góra and rural commune of Zielona Góra). Each community was treated separately as an autonomous whole, and the same procedures for the construction and sampling were applied. Quota sampling was chosen as it guaranteed the representativeness in view of characteristics which were most important from

mune population described the relations between the town authorities and commune authorities as rather good or as very good. Moreover, they were of the opinion that this cooperation was definitely or rather necessary (commune – 78.0%, town – 90.0%). This would suggest a stable situation in mutual relations, which were not disturbed by conflict, lack of confidence or any “games” but quite normal. This peace was disturbed by a new situation that is the desire of one party (the town authorities) to incorporate the commune. After all the commune authorities were generally against the merger project and said that explicitly during meetings and debates as well as in the media. A growing conflict situation resulted in the rural commune being presented by the town authorities as a stowaway. The mayor described the situation in the following way:

The mechanism is simple. It is the town that invests in better and better services, industrial zones, advanced education, culture, roads etc. As a result, both the town and the commune are good places to live in. With municipal investments we improve the quality of life. It attracts new residents who settle in the town. They work here, they start families, earn money. Later, some of them move to the neighbouring villages (Czyżniewski 2012a, p. 2).

The crisis of trust?

The public discourse and conflict emerging from it revealed a big deficit of trust in municipal authorities on the side of the commune authorities. A clear difference of interests leads to the question whether this lack of trust was based on real premises, or it was a kind of strategy of campaigning against the merger. In the absence of substantive arguments, this strategy could bring the desired result, namely the residents of the rural commune not giving their consent to merge the two local governments. The question is even more justified by the fact that before the merger project the cooperation between the local governments was perceived by residents as very good.

In human activities, regardless of whether they relate to individuals, social groups, communities and nations, the element of trust is extremely important (Sztompka 2007). Trust is based on the knowledge or belief that the actions of other entities (people, institutions, organizations, societies, nations) are in line with one’s predictions or expectations. It becomes espe-

the point of view of the study (gender, age, education). An additional factor in the rural commune was the division of the sample into 17 villages proportionally to the number of their adult residents. In the urban area starting points were drawn to provide proper territorial deployment. Finally, the survey conducted in January-February 2013 covered 758 respondents – 375 residents of the rural commune and 383 residents of Zielona Góra. In October 2013 the sample size in the rural commune was increased from 375 to 600 respondents and the number of respondents from the urban area remained unchanged.

cially important in a situation of uncertainty and risk often connected with new situations or the situations that one cannot control. Defining trust Piotr Sztompka (ibid., pp. 69-70) claims that: "Acting under uncertainty and lack of control, we take risks, we count on something, we take a bet on uncertain sovereign future actions of other people. This leads to a simple, most general definition of trust: Trust is a bet on uncertain future actions of other people".

It can be assumed that lack of trust means that all "transactions", including social ones generate higher costs, and it is not just about their economic dimension. In the relations between entities in which at least one of the parties does not trust the other, mutual contacts and reaching an agreement is much harder. This situation may foster the formation and the escalation of conflicts. The starting point for the verification of the thesis on the no trust strategy is to examine whether in the public debate the representatives of the commune authorities used the arguments concerning the failure to fulfil promises, instead of their substantive content. For example, the commune authorities did not use an argument that teachers working in the rural areas would lose their privileges nor did they discuss their compensation (full compensation was guaranteed in the merger offer). Instead, they questioned the credibility of the offer, arguing that the town government would not keep these promises, and sooner or later teachers would lose everything. Any resolutions could be changed and the next mayor might want to introduce different ideas.

The proposals of the merger offer were first presented at the University of Zielona Góra; they became a subject of public debate and, consequently, took the form of a social contract (called Zielona Góra Contract) containing the commitments of the municipal authorities to the residents. Some of its promises were fulfilled long before the formal merger, treating them as a pilot programme (the integration fund³). The town council passed relevant resolutions. These actions were also to give credibility to the town authorities and their promises (statement of the mayor of Zielona Góra):

I want to convince the residents of the commune that our intentions are honest. Proposing the merger of the town and the commune we offer something in return: lower taxes, cheaper bus tickets and extra money (Czyżniewski

³The ministry was to give 5% more tax income as a bonus for consensual merger of local authorities; the whole amount (about 100 million PLN) was intended for the development of the rural commune. Since the funds could be available after the merger (on 1 Jan 2015 or later), the town authorities offered a pilot programme, implemented in 2013-2014, for which they allocated 3 million zloty per year. The villages themselves had to decide how to spend the allocated amount.

2012b, p. 4).

The analysis of the public statements made by the representatives of the commune⁴ reveals that their numerous opinions fit in the no trust strategy. It occurs when the credibility of other entities – in this case the credibility of the municipal authorities – is undermined. One of the major points of the merger offer was to allocate the entire ministerial bonus, resulting from greater participation of the local government in income tax, to the development of the commune areas. It was estimated that in time of five years it could be the amount of about 100 million zloty. In his statements the commune head claimed that he had no doubt that after the merger Zielona Góra would receive the bonus, but he did not trust the assurances of the mayor and expected more guarantees (commune head Mariusz Zalewski): *This plus is covered by the minus: lack of guarantee that about 100 million zloty, according to my calculations, will be destined for the commune. I cannot find a warranty which would guarantee that to the inhabitants of the commune* (Radni o połączeniu 2012, p. 7).

The credibility of the mayor's proposals were also questioned with arguments referring to ministers failing to keep promises. It was to lead to the conclusion that it would be even more probable at the lower level (councillor Krzysztof Wołczyński):

Perhaps the mayor's intentions are honest, but it will not be up to him how it will be implemented in the future. It's about credibility. Even ministers' promises are not kept. It is our duty to ensure that promises are kept. Although we sign contracts, no one can guarantee they will be performed. We can cooperate without the merger. My trust in the Town Hall is very limited (ibid., p.7).

Natural changes in the office, resulting from the election calendar were also to be an obstacle in the implementation of the commitments of “the town” to “the commune”. One of the councillors argued her lack of trust in this way (councillor Antonina Ambrożewicz-Sawczuk):

In two years we may have another government and the money we are talking about can only be virtual. How are we to believe? (ibid., p. 7).

The chairman of the commune council doubted the town authorities would keep their promises because after the merger there would not be another partner (commune) to be the guarantor of the contract provisions (chairman of the commune council Jacek Rusiński):

There is one difference between the contract to build a sewage system and a contract to merge the town and the commune. The former did not inclu-

⁴The analysis included statements published in local press and on websites.

de the liquidation of one of the parties which would be a guarantor of the contract. And this is the basic problem. As the representatives of the commune residents we were elected to defend their interests, protect from being harmed (ibid., p. 7).

The resolutions of town and commune councils form local law provided they comply with the law of a higher order. This local law is the basis for actions taken by mayors and commune heads. Expecting that local issues related to the merger of local governments should be settled in the “higher regulations” cannot be an argument of a councillor, who is supposed to know more about the complexities of local government functioning:

The project of Zielona Góra Contract does not refer to the future. This means it does not give any guarantee for the future. Resolutions of the town council can be changed at any time. This should be written in legislation of a higher level. . . (Czyżniewski 2014, p. 3).

Lack of trust was also reflected in discrediting the social contract, calling it “a vague contract” which does not guarantee the contents of the contract: *The mayors of Zielona Góra, as I see it, tantalise us, try to bribe us with a vague contract. This document is no guarantee that, for example, village schools or libraries will not be closed. Anyway, let the residents decide about it in a referendum. I will accept their decision (Iwanowski 2013).*

The pilot Integration Fund programme, which started in 2013, was also criticised. The town authorities were to give the villages 3 million zloty a year on investments chosen by the residents themselves. This time procedural issues were questioned and the commune authorities were of the opinion that the commune council should make key decisions in this regard otherwise the programme would be untrustworthy (one of commune councillors):

The Integration Fund lacks credibility. This project was not sent to the council, which will be the decision-making body in the implementation of the budget, but to the residents on the pages of newspapers. And it will be us who will implement these investments (Radni o połączeniu 2012, p. 7).

In the debate the mayor of Zielona Góra repeatedly referred to the lack of trust and arguments of the commune authorities, and he emphasized that the greatest guarantor would be the residents who should decide to merge or reject this project (mayor Janusz Kubicki):

You’re talking about guarantee without which nothing can be done. We never have full guarantee for anything. It may also happen that the state will liquidate your local government. Ms Ambrożewicz says the commune will not be represented. I can guarantee with all my property that the commune will be represented. We want to run a referendum in 2014 and then we will know

the opinion of the residents. But first we want them to be well informed. If the residents sign under something they, as voters, will be the guarantors. Politicians will not have the courage to withdraw from such arrangements (ibid.).

The analysis of texts, a small portion of which is shown above, leads to the thesis that lack of trust presented in the statements was a specific action strategy and distrust stemmed from reluctance to the destruction of the commune institutional order. It did not take into account social changes that were well advanced and resulted in a high level of integration of the commune areas with the town. Arguments related to the lack of trust referred to uncertain future, which might sound rational for many residents. Defending their opinion on the merger and trying to convince the residents of the rural commune to reject the project, the commune authorities (the commune head and council) adopted a strategy to undermine trust in the mayor and his offer. I assume that it was not a carefully planned and meticulously executed strategy. It probably resulted from the absence of other arguments, as it was quite difficult to convince the residents that lower taxes, better public transport, investments in infrastructure or in the economic zone were something improper for them.

It was also difficult to use the argument of the loss of the identity of small homeland, which because of suburbanisation had become more and more incorporated in the urban space with a clearly visible partition into old and migrant residents. 65.8% of the commune residents declared that they felt the inhabitants of Zielona Góra and it may be repeated after Florian Znaniecki and Janusz Ziółkowski (1984, p. 35) that “the town is in the realm of common experience and action, they constitute it as a very complex social structure”.

Another explanation for the adoption of this strategy may be lack of alternatives for the provisions of Zielona Góra Contract. The contract provided a kind of status quo for the commune after the merger. Schools, libraries, NGOs, employment of commune office workers, village councils and many other elements of social life in the commune were to remain unchanged. On the other hand, the contract offered a specific “leap forward”, connected with the development and greater financial and territorial possibilities. The commune authorities focused on undermining the credibility and good intentions of the town authorities, without giving their own vision of development. If it was mentioned it mainly concerned human potential which would grow because of the migrants from Zielona Góra. However, this would make the commune even more urban.

The adopted strategy of lack of trust in the town authorities did not

bring the expected results, and the proponents of the merger won in the referendum. On 1 January 2015 the rural commune was incorporated into the town. Nearly two years after the merger the provisions of Zielona Góra Contract have been executed and the social consequences of the merger may constitute an interesting topic for further research and study.

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Krzysztof Lisowski

**LACK OF TRUST OR NO TRUST STRATEGY? THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE COMMUNE AUTHORITIES AND TOWN
AUTHORITIES IN ZIELONA GÓRA IN THE PROCESS OF MERGING
THE TWO ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES**

Keywords: succesful consensual merge of local governments units, the strategy of lack distrust, the public debate, suburbanization.

The article is the attempt to describe the process of merging the two administrative bodies of city and communes governments units. In the first part I established the base for public process which was created for integration of self-government bodies. I characterized also relations of city and commune authorities before the appearance of the project to merge. While searching for the answers for the question put in the title of the article, I referred to the public debate (texts placed in the local media). The analysis showed the large lack of the trust of commune authorities in comparison with municipal authorities, which did not result from the levering of essential recordings of the prepared social contract but from lack of belief in their constancy and realization. Such manner was called the strategy of the distrust.

Duygu Doğan*

**THE BIBLIOMETRIC AND CONTENT ANALYSES FOR
THE CONCEPTS OF TRUST AND SOCIAL MEDIA
IN RECENT SCHOLARLY JOURNALS**

Introduction

Trust has been a key concept in interpersonal and organizational communication literature. There has been a trend to study trust not as a pure concept, but in interpersonal communication and relationship management. Trust-building or breaking behaviors were studied in employee relationships, in intra-organizational or inter-organizational communication settings. This broad area of study may also be seen in the conceptual associations linked to trust. Interpersonal trust, organizational and social trust reflect the frames of the community where trust behavior is realized. Consumer and brand trust are seen in the literature where financial and marketing needs define the roles related to trust and confidence. In recent years, with the increasing use of new media technologies and social networking systems in corporate and marketing communication, new media and social media have also started to be discussed on subjects such as privacy and security of information, confidence among users, credibility of information shared online. These issues have also put trust into the centre of communication practices.

This study has emerged with the research question on what types and aspects of trust have become more popular in recently published scholarly papers which treat trust and social media together. The study aims to contribute to the communication research area by analyzing and describing the mostly studied trust-based topics and the intersections of trust and social media in the last half decade. It also tries to list the mostly cited scholarly papers so as to help young researchers reach recent bibliography on these issues.

***Duygu Doğan** – Ph.D. in Public Relations and Publicity, Namik Kemal University; research interests: public relations and communication; e-mail: tanitimnku@gmail.com

Research Design and Method

The research has been based on the bibliographical survey method including the data collection and analysis steps. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were utilized to analyze the data. For quantitative analysis, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences on Windows program (version 18) was used while qualitative data were being assessed via content analysis technique was

The data for bibliographical search were collected from various databases registered at Namik Kemal University Library using OneSearch engine, which sorts out articles and publications from academic journals and e-books. In order to narrow the spectrum of relevant results, the criteria were limited to include only peer-reviewed journal articles accessible in full text and published during the period of 2011-2015 with January and December as starting and ending points. 2016 releases haven't been included as some of the publications might have been in press and not available online. Subject limitation was also been implemented by the exclusion of results from architecture, environment, engineering and natural sciences with the exception of computer and technology, for which social media seems to be a popular research issue. The data were collected and analyzed during June and August 2016.

The peer-reviewed articles have been compiled from the databases regarding their citation frequency, citation index, direct reference to the concept of trust and social media in the title or abstract of the work, or on the use of trust and / or social media tools as a key construct within the paper and within the keywords. The articles which do not combine both terms in content have been excluded. The search results have been classified under four categories as discipline, publication year, citation index, number of authors and number of total citations. The data were categorized under seven disciplines concerning the subject matter of the journal itself and the key issues discussed in the articles. Citation indexes of Web of Science and Scopus were considered to be two criteria with the mixed index as the third one under this category.

The quantitative data acquired have been analyzed for descriptive statistics in frequencies and crosstabs for Chi-Square scores via Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) on Windows in version 18. The content analysis technique has been utilized to analyze qualitative data with subject reference and key constructs of trust and social media tools.

Results and Discussion: Bibliometric Analysis

The search results revealed that 114 peer-reviewed articles were published

between 31st December 2011 and 1st January 2016, with reference to one aspect of trust together with social media use or tools. Table 1 displays the frequency distribution of all these publications with reference to seven disciplines, publication years, citation index, number of authors and total number of citations. Table 2 shows the titles of journals in each discipline with the highest number of relevant articles.

The largest group of articles (27%) was found in the discipline of Computer Science and Information Technology, in which Computers in Human Behavior held the highest rank regarding the number of related articles (n=12). The second largest discipline was identified as Communication, Broadcasting and Journalism (21.1%) in which European Journal of Communication, Journal of Communication and Communication Research held the highest number of cited articles (n=5, n=3). Two disciplines entitled Business and Economics and Political Science and Public Administration proceeded them with the rates of 15.5% and 13.2% respectively. Within these groups, Government Information Quarterly was found to include the highest number of trust articles (n=4). Journals matching the discipline groups of Health Sciences and Public Relations and Advertising had the lowest number of related articles (n=8 each) in which Public Relations Review had the highest number of cited articles (n=4). Education, Psychology and Society was listed to be 1% higher regarding the number of articles though an equal distribution was recorded among journals in this category.

Regarding years, 2013 came up with the highest number of articles (n=29) which comprised a quarter of all publications whereas 2011 was considered to have the lowest rate (11.4%) with less than half in number than 2013. Considering the citation index, Web of Science created a huge gap for Scopus with the rate of 70.2% while there were considerably a large number of publications determined to be cited in both indexes (28.1%). More than half of the articles were specified to be co-authored by two-three researchers (56.1%). There was also a similar result in each discipline category. It is possible to say that there is a significant association between discipline type and the number of authors ($p < 0.022$).

Trust and social media related articles seem to have taken a wide range of citations from researchers. Statistically, most of the articles tended to be cited once, twice or thrice (36% in total) in literature whereas much more frequently cited ones, which received at least fifteen citations or more, comprised 20% of all.

Table 1

Frequencies of Peer-Reviewed Scholarly Articles published in 2011-2015

Discipline	N	%	Total citations	N	%
Communication, Broadcasting and Journalism	24	21.1	1.00	15	13.2
PR and Advertising	8	7.0	2.00	15	13.2
Political Science and Public Administration	15	13.2	3.00	11	9.6
Business and Economics	18	15.8	4.00	6	5.3
Education, Psychology and Society	10	8.8	5.00	5	4.4
Computer Science and Information Technology	31	27.2	6.00	8	7.0
Health Sciences	8	7.0	7.00	5	4.4
Total	114	100.0	8.00	3	2.6
Publication Year	N	%	9.00	6	5.3
2011	13	11.4	10.00	7	6.1
2012	25	21.9	11.00	5	4.4
2013	29	25.4	12.00	3	2.6
2014	24	21.1	13.00	1	.9
2015	23	20.2	14.00	3	2.6
Total	114	100.0	15.00	1	.9
Citation Index	N	%	16.00	1	.9
All	32	28.1	17.00	3	2.6
Web of Science	80	70.2	18.00	1	.9
Scopus	2	1.8	21.00	2	1.8
Total	114	100.0	23.00	1	.9
Author number	N	%	28.00	1	.9
Single author	25	21.9	30.00	1	.9
Two-three authors	64	56.1	36.00	1	.9
More than three authors	25	21.9	37.00	1	.9
Total	114	100.0	42.00	1	.9
	Mean	Std Dev.	45.00	1	.9
Discipline	3.9386	2.03633	51.00	1	.9
Publication Year	3.1667	1.29613	67.00	1	.9
Citation Index	1.7368	.48065	69.00	1	.9
Author number	2.0000	.66519	93.00	1	.9
Total Citations	12.4123	20.82961	121.00	1	.9
			127.00	1	.9
			Total	114	100.0

Source: author's own work.

Table 2

Journals with Maximum Number of Articles related to Trust & Social Media

Discipline	Journal Title	Total Articles
Communication, Journalism & Broadcasting	Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication	2
	Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media	2
	Information, Communication and Society	2
	European Journal of Communication	5
	Communication Research	3
	Journal of Communication	3
PR & Advertising	Public Relations Review	4
	Political Communication	2
Political Science & Public Administration	Government Information Quarterly	4
	Social Science Journal	2
Business & Economics	Journal of Business Research	2
	Journal of Electronic Commerce Reserach	2
Computer & IT Sciences	Technological Forecasting and Social Change	2
	International Journal of Information Management	2
	Computers in Human Behavior	12
	Telematics and Informatics	2
Health Sciences	Health, Risk and Society	2

Source: author's own work.

Content Analysis

The second stage for research was to analyze the content regarding key concepts which were described by the researcher using the subject words, keywords and the content of each article. The qualitative data for 114 scholarly articles were grouped under seven trust-related terms as political trust, interpersonal trust, social / public trust, organizational / institutional trust, brand trust / brand loyalty, trust in communication and constructs of trust. In this section, each category is explained in relation to core concepts of social media, media effects and public relations with reference to selected articles exemplifying the category. Table 3 displays the mostly studied aspects of trust in peer-reviewed journals in the last half decade.

Table 3

Frequency of Trust Categories in Peer-Reviewed Articles

Category of Trust	N	%
Media Trust / Trust in Communication	32	28.0
Social Trust	20	17.5
Political Trust	14	12.3
Interpersonal Trust	13	11.4
Brand Trust	9	7.9
Constructs of Trust	9	7.9
Organizational Trust	8	7.0
Social Capital	7	6.1
Emotional Trust	1	0.9
Other	1	0.9
Total	114	100

Source: author's own work.

Political Trust

Political trust was found to be the leading term in 14 articles basically mentioning three main aspects a) political participation and civil engagement via digital media online and offline (Gil de Zúñiga 2012) b) trust in various governmental bodies and government authorities such as police institutions, local governments, politicians and government media (Lee, McGavorn 2013, Mossberger et al. 2013) c) participation of young generation in political issues via social media (Skoric, Poor 2013). Public relations of the government authorities online and social media use of political participants were also key elements in most of those articles.

Social Capital

Social capital was identified in relation to social and political trust with media effects on the society in 7 articles. According to the results, two articles which mentioned trust as a component of social capital, focused also on political participation via civic engagement on Facebook, Twitter and via the extent of news consumption by the population (Cao et al. 2015). The other three articles on social capital combined the theory with the knowledge integration and communication on social media by specific layers of society such as migrants (Dekker, Engbersen 2014, Rojas et al. 2011) and an article regarding social trust as an indicator of social capital (Hindman, Yamamoto 2011).

Interpersonal Trust

Interpersonal trust was found as a key concept in 13 articles in the research. The most interesting part of these articles was interpersonal trust was studied with regards either to community building and increasing self-confidence of mostly teenagers or regards to its impact on social cooperation with negative effects. Four articles studied community building concept, two of which focused on the use of social networking systems (Baek et al. 2013) and one on the cognitive and social use of IT by employees. Integration of interpersonal trust to new media was discussed by three articles based on increasing self-confidence and social cooperation via online video games (Gordon, Baldwin-Philippi 2014). However, the effect of video games on increasing cooperative behavior was criticized in two articles because of its risk to increase the extent of violence and aggression among teenagers (Greitemeyer et al. 2013, Rothmund et al. 2011). The last idea shared by two articles was the use of online communication to continue long-distance relationships and the effect of media on social participation of religions.

Social Trust / Public Trust

Social trust or public trust was studied in 20 articles. In more than half of them, “social trust” concept was used explicitly. In this study, public trust is used as a broad term, not limited to the public sphere trust in government, but extended to include all years of society and publics. Within this context, the articles merging social trust and media were analyzed to have four focal points:

- a) There were four articles about governance and social participation, two of which focused on enhancing civic participation, e-participation and e-governance via social media use (Bonsón 2012). The other two articles discussed civic participation via mass media and other ICT tools during post-disaster recovery terms.
- b) The use of public relations to increase public trust in public organizations was the second sub-topic. Two articles were found about the assessment of the efficacy of public relations and news media used to increase public trust mostly in governmental organizations (Hong 2013) and only one was to assess social trust in public and private institutions via external communication.
- c) The largest sub-category had nine articles combining risk communication and social trust. In this sub-group, changes in the level of social trust regarding risk perception of society due to news on mass media

was discussed in two articles while three more were assessing trust on information distributed on social media with the focus on food safety. Disaster management was found to be considered with social trust in three other articles.

- d) The assessment of public trust and the loss of public opinion on health care policies, advertising regulations and government media were considered in a sub-group as the loss of public opinion due to recent governmental regulations was the common discussion point (Leisero-witz et al. 2013).

Brand Trust / Brand Loyalty

Brand trust was discussed as a key concept in 9 articles, in association with the use of social media in business. In most of the articles, brand trust was considered in a closely connected aspect with the term brand loyalty, either reflecting the commercial use of social media or consumers' perspective and brand commitment (Turri et al. 2013). Brand commitment was also a key element in an article where consumer criticism on social media was studied as a factor contributing to it (Xia 2013). In three of the articles, brand loyalty was associated with social media use of consumers and social media assessment for civic participation by public institutions (Mergel 2013). Social media-based brand communities were studied in two cases where brand loyalty was the core point (Laroche et al. 2012). In two other articles, brand trust was described as a level of trust in social and electronic commerce (Hajli 2015).

Organizational Trust

Although this category included relatively less number of articles than others, it was significant to find out that it occupied different aspects of the concept. Organizational trust was studied with regards to business managers' use of social networking systems (SNSs) to provide customer orientation in one publication and in another, intra-organization trust was defined in hand with intra-organizational communication and organizational rhetorical practices (Huang et al. 2013). Trust violation in organizations by the use of various SNSs was the focus of two articles in the category while organizational trust, defined as "institutional trust" in news media as in some other articles revealed, was studied with the focus on religious and healthcare organizations as well as in higher education institutions (Kale 2013).

Media Trust / Trust in Communication

The largest category in the research findings was defined as trust in communication with the great combination of media trust articles, comprising 60% of 32 articles in the group. Trust in communication was divided into four subtopics according to the research results. Building trust in online communication, crisis communication and reputation were commented apart from the media trust compilation based on the discussions of security and privacy of online information, trustworthiness and credibility of the information on social media as explained below:

- a) Building trust in online communication was discussed in four of the articles where word-of-mouth on social media and social networking systems (SNSs) was the common issue (Flanagin, Metzger 2013). In two of the articles, trust was studied in the scope of consumers' confidence in user-generated communication distributed online for social commerce. Trust and societal communication in cross-country settings formed the key point for three articles in two of which trust on government media and public broadcasters were analyzed in two different countries while cross-country study of individual and contextual correlates of media trust being the subject issue for the third one (Tsfati, Ariely 2014).
- b) Reputation was found to be a widely studied concept in trust-related articles in communication research. There were 5 articles in total regarding reputation mechanisms on social media as well as personalized user recommendations based on trust and trust in the reputation of tourism enterprises such as hotels via user-generated content and comments published on social media or via advertising campaigns. There was also one article comparing and contrasting the differences and similarities of crisis communication practices carried out on social media vs. printed media (Utz et al. 2013).
- c) The articles found to be in the group of media trust had the issue of security and privacy of online information used for purchase intentions as the core concept. The privacy of information collected from social media was a common topic in four articles, one of which considered trust as privacy control on Facebook and online advertising (Zhou et al. 2012)
- d) In a large group of articles, credibility and trustworthiness of media information was discussed from several aspects. In this sub-group,

transparency of communication and trustworthiness of social media content was considered in three articles. The perceived media credibility of journalists by online community news readers was the focus in one article and self-exposure of the youth on social media was the core point in another.

It was interesting to explore that the credibility of health information and health organizations was discussed in 6 articles related to healthcare-based issues such as vaccine, nutrition education and specific disorders. Perceived trust based on health information related to multiplesclerosis distributed on social media was noted as a widely cited example (Marrie et al. 2013). The credibility of media coverage on mainstream media was represented by only one article in this sub-category.

Constructs of Trust

This category was composed of articles studying trust in a more theoretical basis, as well as in other concepts interchangeably used for trust or closely associated with trust such as confidence and commitment. In the theoretical aspect, trust was defined as a value developed on SNSs in one article and in another the theory of Giddens was discussed around social theory and identity whereas distrust and conspiracy theory were the focus of the third article in this subcategory (Kim, Ahmad 2013). With the conceptual framework, trust was considered as the commitment in customer engagement and in relationship management in marketing. Trust was also considered as confidence built in social media marketing or trustworthiness and assurance in online settings. An article discussed trustworthiness of police institutions with regarding the types of procedural-based trust and outcome-based trust (Sun et al. 2013). Two articles in this category focused on the power and authority shift via the use of social media in post-modern world (Cheong et al. 2011).

Conclusion

The bibliography search on the peer-reviewed articles with citations displayed that 114 articles had direct reference to the concepts of trust and social media during the last five years. 2013 was the top year with highest frequency of publications in that sense. According to the results, media trust or trust in communication was the leading category to attract interest of scholars with the focus on privacy and security of information, credibility of social media as well as reputation and trust together influential on online communication. Being the second most preferred subject issue, social trust was the indicator of discussions on the impact of social networking systems

on governance, civic participation and electronic participation of particularly young people to public issues. It is seen that social trust has been used as an aid for risk communication during post-recovery times after disasters like Fukushima and great earthquakes. It is also obvious that trust is still interesting for researches who would like to define trust with closely related concepts like confidence, assurance and trustworthiness. Defining trust as a strong component of social capital is also a popular discussion area. Social capital appears like a good reference for social and political trust research considering the shift of power through the use of social media and online communication tools. The concepts of brand trust and consumer trust are also seen as emerging trends after the introduction of social networking systems into customer orientation, social commerce and even into corporate communication areas.

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Duygu Doğan

**THE BIBLIOMETRIC AND CONTENT ANALYSES FOR THE
CONCEPTS OF TRUST AND SOCIAL MEDIA IN RECENT
SCHOLARLY JOURNALS**

Keywords: trust, social media, communication research, content analysis, media trust.

Trust has been a key concept in interpersonal and organizational communication literature in recent years. The use of new media technologies and social networking systems in corporate and marketing communication has brought about the need for studying trust and social media in various aspects. This study aims to contribute to the communication research area by analyzing and describing the academic trends and mostly studied trust-based topics in the recent literature. It also reveals the intersections of trust and social media by referring to the mostly cited scholarly papers in the last half decade. The research design is based on the bibliographical survey method proceeded by bibliometric and content analysis steps. The bibliography search has been carried out on OneSearch database with the access to peer-reviewed articles with direct reference to the concept of trust and social media during 2011-2015 in five-year period. The results have displayed 114 peer-reviewed and cited articles discussing trust and social media in nine categories with media trust as the leading one.

II

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF COOPERATION

Alexandra Gheondea-Eladi*

REVITALIZATION AND ACTION RESEARCH

The revitalization of public spaces and buildings has evolved to be a process in which the community and the residents of an area are actively involved in the process of changing and developing spaces and buildings of interest. In this way revitalization of public spaces comes very close to the empowerment goals of action research. The following chapter pursues the similarities and contrasts between action research and of revitalization of public spaces. Several practices in revitalization projects are presented and analyzed. Then, the main theoretical and methodological aspects of action research are described and critically assessed with respect to its assumptions and risks. The third section proposes an analytical framework for comparing action research and revitalization projects and summarizes the main features of action research that may be considered for future revitalization projects.

What is revitalization?

Revitalization is not such a straightforward concept in the literature, as many authors could admit. In general, revitalization of public spaces is a part of urban planning which aims to adapt public spaces to the needs of the community. Involving the community in the process of change is a recent achievement in the terms of history, and the extent to which the community is actually realizing the urban development varies from one project to another. For example, Cortie and Dijst (1988, p. 229) link both economic and residential revitalization to economic growth, while social needs of the community are not part of the scene at all. For them, economic revitalization is achieved thanks to the investments in services and industry, while residential revitalization appears to be a consequence of economic revival (*ibid.*) and investments in historical, cultural and entertainment sites. In one account of revitalisation in Japan, revitalization is regarded only from an economic point of view (Seta 2008), while in another revitalization project (Adishakti 2008) in Indonesia, the community is involved only in order

* **Alexandra Gheondea-Eladi** – Ph.D. in Sociology, Romanian Academy; research interests: social theory, decision-making theory, volunteering, health decisions; e-mail: alexandra.gheondea@googlemail.com

to support the preservation of historical architecture, despite the fact that this architecture shows no resistance to earthquakes, thus revealing community participation without answering the local community needs for safety. It is only in later years and in some parts of the world that revitalization has been performed in relation to community-driven needs. Two revival projects from Minneapolis, in the United States of America (USA) have been analyzed with respect to the extent to which they enforce the state institutions' neo-liberal agenda upon the local communities (Elwood 2002, p. 121), thus pointing out more clearly the differences between what I would call revitalization that uses community participation and community-driven revitalization.

Seta (2008) describes one revitalization project conducted in the town of Toyama, Japan. The main problem faced by the city of Toyama and other Japanese cities is the decay of downtown, simultaneously with the development of suburban areas. The cultural and economic context in which revitalization is performed is characteristic to Japan, in the sense that the economic and local community are organized in various voluntary and non-profit organizations considered responsible for downtown-revitalization. However, revitalization in the study performed by Seta (*ibid.*) is regarded only from an economic point of view, while involvement of residents is limited to residents who own businesses in the town centre or those who are members of neighbourhood associations, local merchant's associations and the Chamber and the Society for Commerce and Industry. Participation of residents is mediated through these professional and local associations. The social needs of the community are not an issue in the revitalization process described in this paper, and neither are social inclusion, inequality¹ or building community relations through the sense of place². In complete opposition to revitalization based on community driven needs, the paper of Seta concludes that "strong leadership with consensus among all entities in the downtown are necessary for planning and realizing effective strategies" (*ibid.*, p. 180), thus suggesting that failure to revive downtown Toyama is amenable to lack of strength in leadership and a lack of consensus among community members.

On the other hand, Bradford (2013) describes two federal-government-projects for community revitalization performed between 2000 and 2005 and 2004-2006, respectively, in Canada, based on the concepts of "new localism" and "place-based policy making" (PBPM). PBPM is built on "engag[ing] local actor networks" in solving "wicked problems – entrenched, intercon-

¹as is the case of Bradford (2013).

²as is the case of Billig (2005, p. 117).

nected and localized (...) across sectors and governments” (ibid., p. 158). The new localism accepts that “neighbourhood effects” originate in public policies, services and resources that are distributed in ways that underestimate certain neighbourhoods and support others. In order to solve such problems the new localism paradigm proposes that “experiential know-how of residents” and “professional technical advantage of governments” together with “street-level service providers’ organizing opportunities” should work together (ibid., p. 158). The two projects described in Bradford’s (2013) paper aim to tackle poverty and social exclusion through the main characteristics of PBPM, namely: incrementalism, interscalar links and learning from the local (ibid., p. 161). Incrementalism is based on “collecting experiences from small-scale, discrete pilot projects in selected neighbourhoods” (ibid., p. 161). Interscalar links refer to the manner in which small-scale experiences are scaled-up to national level policy. The mechanism which allows such generalization to take place is based on “systematic connections” between the two levels. At the same time, learning from the local should be based on “fine-grained qualitative knowledge of neighbourhoods, their community dynamics and individual and family pathways of connection” (ibid., p. 161).

In contrast to the revitalization work described by Seta (2008), in which the so-called systematic connections between different local communities and the local government policy are expected to be based on *consensus*, the Vancouver Agreement project described by Bradford (2013) managed to benefit from the *diversity* of opinions provided by the community. During the consultation period of the Vancouver Agreement (VA) the project has been discussed with the local community in 11 public meetings with about 200 attendees, in which it has been argued that “DTES [Downtown Eastside] residents possessed the local knowledge, community experience and skills to be partners in the VA and ‘outside experts’ must tap these resources and assist marginalized individuals to participate” (ibid., p. 164). This suggestion has been implemented by means of “task teams” which surveyed community needs and opportunities and proposed projects for evaluation to the Management and Policy Committee. On the other hand, another suggestion emerged during the public meetings with the local community, but it was not provided with an answer in the project implementation phase. The suggestion that the Vancouver Agreement should receive dedicated funding, was not met and the project began as an unfunded one in which “[t]hrough institutionalized dialogue, existing resources would be redirected around common priorities” (ibid., p. 165).

The second project described by Bradford (ibid., p. 168) was the Action

for Neighbourhood Change, “a two-year action-learning project [meant] to explore, test and articulate a resident-led approach to neighbourhood revitalization”. The community involvement was mediated by trained “community animators [who] created network-based projects for language training, youth and immigrant women” (ibid., p. 171). In this way, revitalization was directed towards the social and communication needs of the community which were expected to influence also urban space revival.

The revival of public spaces can be influenced by many factors. Consequently, the term should be separated from related concepts used to reveal the different factors which are assumed to have an impact over them. Turala and Sikora-Fernandez (2014, p. 242) give a definition and taxonomy of urban transformations and differentiate between restructuring and redevelopment (“restructuring the urban space in its social and economic dimensions”), urban renewal (“replacing slums and other run-down buildings with new developments”), rehabilitation and regeneration (“restoring past greatness of buildings”) and revitalization (a part of urban renewal, alongside renovation, modernization and revalorization which is meant to restore life and appeal of urban areas). For Turala and Sikora-Fernandez revitalization is a multi-dimensional process combining social, economic and spatial dimensions in response to a critical state of affairs in which the local actors act as agents of change, but in the absence of grand spatial modifications of the targeted site. Unlike the older perspectives presented by Cortie and Dijst (1988) economic, residential and communitarian revitalization go hand in hand.

However, as can be seen from the previous revitalization projects presented here, community involvement is not always a straight-forward activity with clear-cut methodology. This is why Elwood (2002) critically analyzes the extent to which either community needs at the grass-roots or government-lead policy agenda have been enforced in the Neighbourhood Revitalization Program (NRP) developed in the city of Minneapolis, USA in 64 out of 81 neighbourhoods over 20 years with funding available in two phases, amounting to \$400 million. The paper argues that despite enforcing a neoliberal agenda upon participating communities, it also fostered the pursuit of goals that were not among the initial NRP objectives.

In contrast to the project described by Seta (2008) in which non-profit organizations and professional associations aimed to revitalize downtown by taking into consideration only economic interests, and to the one described by Bradford (2013), in which the local community’s contribution was allowed to emerge only in the pilot test of the project, the project presented by Elwood (2002) used a set of practices which permitted the

initial policy objectives proposed top-down to be contested and improved in some local communities. Basically, for some communities, Phase 2 of the project included objectives which were derived from results of Phase 1. Not all neighbourhoods included in the project have produced “contest[ing] and re-thinking of revitalization through their NRP plans” (ibid., p. 128). Only neighbourhoods which were in “the most prosperous conditions” and those “facing the most severe problems” (ibid., p. 128) have deviated from the original objectives. On the other hand, only communities “whose neighbourhood organizations had the greatest stability and local political connections” (ibid., p. 128) contested the local state’s agenda. Although it is not clear from this paper how “stability” and “political connections” have been measured, one of the most interesting un-intended results of the project has been that community members were “more informed about city procedures and services, and technical aspects of housing, transportation, economic development, policing, and a host of other issues and more prepared than ever to challenge the city’s position” (ibid., p. 129). This conclusion was derived from the reaction of the communities to a scaling down of the NRP budget for the second phase, namely a “detailed and highly informed commentary on the financial, logistical and programmatic merits of several proposals for implementing phase two within the new funding constraints” described in local papers (ibid., p. 129). In other words, more than simply allowing the community to participate, the project empowered a part of the community by providing an understanding of the restrictions faced by public institutions, and thus granting the knowledge needed to improve them.

Action research

Action research emerged from two main critiques of current consultancy based on social research practices, both of them emerging from the inequality of power between the researcher and the researched. First consultancy research assumes that external entities may provide meaningful advice on internal practices. Secondly, practice is imposed on practitioners based on generalizations which may not reflect the characteristics of the organizations on which it is being imposed. Assuming that externals “know better” and that “what applies to most, applies to all” belong however to the old debates in the history of science. Nevertheless, on top of scientific debates, such criticism has also yielded an applied field of research, which will be presented in this section from a critical point of view.

Action research was first envisioned by the works of Dewey, Lewin, Collier and Moreno (Townsend 2014) and nowadays is applied in many forms (Bryman 2008), like participatory research, critical participatory action re-

search, practical action research, industrial action research, technical action research and many more (Kemmis et al. 2014). Kemmis et al. (ibid., p. 22) describe the differences between participatory research and social research and argue that in the former participation is aimed at overcoming unwanted consequences of practice, like “irrationality”, “unsustainability” and “injustice”. They oppose to critical participatory research the studies in which the objectivity of the researcher is presumed and in which the researcher is external to the practice field. From this point of view, the perspective proposed by them is similar to that of Winter and Munn-Giddings (2001, p. 8): “Action research is the study of a social situation carried out by those involved in that situation in order to improve both their practice and the quality of their understanding”. However, the definition given by Winter and Munn-Giddings differentiates itself from critical action research as purported by Kemmis et al. (ibid., p. 14) in that the purpose of critical action research is not just “improving control over outcomes” (also called “technical action research”) or “educating or enlightening practitioners” (also called “practical action research”), but mostly “*emancipating* people and groups from irrationality, unsustainability and injustice”. Such emancipation is performed through a feed-back loop, in the tradition of Lewin, based on the cycle: plan, act, observe, reflect, re-plan, act, etc.

Winter and Munn-Giddings (2001, p. 8) actually deny the role of professional social scientists if they are external to the organization: “we do not need to be dependent on outside experts on social science theory and methodology in order to be able to formulate issues or to determine appropriate methods” (Kemmis et al. 2014). While it is understandable why external researchers are not always desirable agents of change, it appears that the unstated implication of Winter and Munn-Giddings’ assertion is *that practitioners, on top of being professionals in their own field should also become professionals in research*. Kemmis et al. agree that the support of “consultants and collaborators can and do provide real and valuable support to participant researchers” (ibid., p. 9), still they are also vulnerable to the dangers of projecting their own self-interests upon the research and consequently upon the research participants. It is, indeed, a natural propensity of people engaged in group decision-making to project their own views upon the others (Stanovich, West 2000, p. 645). However, the interests of participants at all levels of an organizational hierarchy are not always convergent and so, practitioners engaged in action research, themselves, incur the same dangers as external researchers, in general. It seems clear that both Winter and Munn-Giddings (2001) and Kemmis et al. (2014) *look at practitioners at all levels of an organization as a homogeneous group both from the point*

of view of their interests and from the point of view of their power relations:

“[f]or action research, hierarchies of power and status (between academic and practical knowledge, between researchers and practitioners, between professionals and their clients, between experts and laypersons) are seen as inhibiting and impoverishing the creation and distribution of knowledge” (Winter, Munn-Giddings 2001, p. 8).

“we believe that insiders have special advantages when it comes to doing research in their own sites and to investigating practices that hold their work and live together in those sites – the practices that are *enmeshed* with those sites” (Kemmis et al. 2014, p. 5).

It is not clear whether insiders are always free to change their own practices without the support of hierarchical superiors and of their hierarchical superiors, and so on, who may or may not have different interests than practitioners. Especially in some organizational cultures, change is seen as the responsibility of superiors. Employees who engage in change incur the risk of losing their job or being deterred in their efforts. In such cases, external consultants act as mediators between two levels of power, namely, the practitioners and their superiors.

Townsend (2014) describes the different problems between research conducted by practitioners aimed at improving their own practices and the research conducted by research professionals aimed at obtaining generalizable principles that are applicable in practice. The first one is the creation of a hierarchy between the two types of research in which practitioner-led research is subordinate to professional-researcher-led studies. The second problem described by Townsend is based on the argument of Schön (1991) which shows that external researchers cannot comprehend the intricacies of practice from their ivy tower. I would argue, however, *that neither an ivy tower perspective, nor an internal perspective will offer the necessary and sufficient information needed to decide upon the best practices, in any conditions*. It is only through the corroboration of both reference points that a clear and accurate perspective can be obtained.

More than this, it is said that the privilege of participatory research is to create the conditions in which participants “speak a shared language” (Kemmis et. al 2014, p. 5). In the project presented by Bradford the community participated in discussions and a part of the issues raised in these discussions have been addressed, while others did not. Nevertheless, this type of participation did not lead to the type of contestation described by Elwood (2002). A shared language is not a guarantee of shared meaning.

Although recurrent meetings and discussions are necessary to reach shared meanings, they are not sufficient in order to achieve it. Some form of feed-back and efficiency of communication between different levels of power is required, such as the two phases employed by the project described by Elwood (*ibid.*).

Another issue emphasized by Townsend (2014) is that in action research the notion of “practice” is not particularly well defined. Thus, he investigates the way in which practitioners of action research describe the link between research and practice. Results reveal that participants evoke being informed and feeling empowered. Empowerment for Townsend’s (*ibid.*, p. 16) participants means:

- a chance to “have a say about what is important”;
- a chance to do things that are considered important;
- a chance to change things that do not seem important.

However, there is no mention of how it is possible to differentiate empowerment from the Hawthorne effect or the observer effect according to which participants who feel observed and monitored may simply perform their tasks better (Mayo 1945).

On the other hand, contrary to some of the principles of action research, participants in this study revealed the desire to have their endeavours “more widely used”. In some sense this means imposing onto others the practices that have been found useful in one area or in one setting. Some of this natural desire could be explained by psychological results revealing the fact that outcomes that have been obtained or produced by ones own effort will be valued higher than outcomes obtained by others (Ariely 2011). Townsend (2014) , himself states that further research should be carried out with respect to the transferability of action research results. Still, in this way, action researchers fall into the same problems of generalizability of qualitative research incurred usually by external researchers (Gheondea-Eladi 2014, p. 114; Polit, Beck 2010, p. 1451; Shadish et al. 2002).

A unifying framework for revitalization and action research

In the first part of this chapter, revitalization of public spaces has evolved to use local community participation and certain types of practice in order to place public spaces in use again. From the second part, action research appears to be a paradigm based on the empowerment of actors involved in the practice of a certain field. However, in general, while community

participation may lead to the empowerment of the local community (Sperer et al. 2013, p. 103), not all projects that involve participation lead to empowerment (Rogers et al. 2007, p. 785). In this section I will show that empowerment and the practice of participation are the common grounds based on which revitalization and action research can come together. The following paragraphs will give a brief overview of these two terms such that in the concluding part, the unifying analytical framework based on these two concepts can be applied to inform both revitalization and action research.

Despite the fact that there is a growing literature on empowerment and its meaning (Lemire 2013, p. 167; Perkins, Zimmerman 1995, p. 569; Yehuda 1998, Yeh-Yun Lin 1998, p. 223), the nature of practice is not as much the focus of analysis (Townsend 2014, Kemmis et al. 2014, Schwandt 2014, p. 231; Perkins, Zimmerman 1995). Empowerment appears in a variety of disciplines, from health (Lemire 2013, Koelen, Lindstrom 2005, p. 10) to organizations and management (Bowen, Lawler 1992, p. 31; Greasley et al. 2008, p. 39) to social problems (Kyem 2001, p. 5; Jennings 2011, p. 63), education (Limerick, Burgess-Limerick 1992, p. 19) and sexuality and gender (Peterson 2010, p. 307). Despite having at least as much applicability as empowerment, practice is usually taken for granted (Guillemin et al. 2010, p. 21; Onwuegbuzie, Leech 2009, p. 881) while being an issue only for action researchers (Schwandt 2014, Kemmis et al. 2014) and theoreticians (Scheer 2012, p. 193). Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (Hornby 1989, p. 972) differentiates between *practicing on something* which means “doing something repeatedly or regularly in order to improve one’s skill” and *practice* which means “making something part of one’s behaviour by doing it regularly”. The same dictionary defines the verb *to empower* as “to give lawful power or authority to somebody to act”. Departing from these basic meanings, various research has nuanced the two terms and has also provided connections and links between them.

Kemmis et al. (2014, p. 51) observe that “critical participatory action research (...), aims at changing people’s practices, their understanding of their practices, and the conditions under which their practices are carried out”. They go on to examine the main characteristics of practice, namely “meaning and purpose”, “structure”, “situated[ness]”, temporality, institutionalization, reflexivity and practicality (ibid., pp. 51-52). Therefore, for them, practice, means: *doing for this purpose, in this situation and at this time, in a way that can be repeated by others, reflected upon and improved*. Nevertheless, for Kemmis et al. practice is not only “doing”, but also “saying and relating” that is guided by “practice architectures” without conditioning them (ibid., p. 55).

On the other hand, for Schwandt (2014, p. 233), practice is to theory what application is to generalization. He points out that knowing what caused an event and acting upon it are two very different issues which “demand two different kinds of knowledge”. Also, he distinguishes practice from habit by arguing that practice is informed by necessary and sufficient knowledge, while habit requires only some knowledge. Consequently, the crucial step from knowing to doing is informed by the answer to the question: “what should I do now given this evidence” (ibid., p. 235).

Townsend (2014, p. 16) explores the relationship between practice and research by looking at action researchers’ accounts of their own work. In doing so he draws the link between practice and empowerment by defining the latter as “a chance to have a say about what is important” in ones activity (practice), a chance to do things that one thinks are important for the practice and a chance to change things that do not seem important in the practice. This is connected to the main characteristics of individual-level practice proposed by Scheer (2012, pp. 209-216) which entails: (1) “mobilization” of body resources for the repeated exercise of “habits, rituals and everyday pastimes” and “doings, and sayings”; (2) naming experiences and expressions of feelings in socially accepted and constructed ways; (3) communicating emotions “as means of exchange”; (4) “regulating and learning emotions”. These two perspectives are actually saying that, *empowerment is power over one’s practice*.

However, looking at empowerment from the point of view described by Townsend can be summarized in the terms used by Peterson (2010, p. 308) as “power to [do something]”, as opposed to “power over [someone]”. Peterson (ibid.) also points out that the scientific literature reveals uncertainty as to which of the two reflect better the concept of empowerment. On the other hand, Perkins and Zimmerman (1995) remind the readers of the special issue on empowerment of the American Journal of Community Psychology about the possibility to see empowerment as eliciting the persons’ *capacity and skills* sustained by a pro-active mental state considered “healthy”. Nevertheless, they also warn about the fact that aspirations to increase control may not lead to increases in quality of life in all circumstances. Laverack (2006, p. 113) points out yet another aspect of empowerment which is likely to lead to trouble: the fact that empowerment needs to emerge from cooperation between the powerful and the weak. This idea is only possible if one assumes that “the boundaries of power are neither natural nor inevitable, but are merely political mechanisms, which could be arranged in other ways” and if there is a “belief that change can occur” (Dworski-Riggs, Langhout Day 2010, p. 215).

Conclusions

Revitalization may lead to several degrees of community participation, it can be informed to different extents by community needs and it may lead to a certain degree to empowerment, but not necessarily and not in all cases. As the sequence of projects presented in the first section reveals, success³ generally depends on how the practice of revitalization is structured in order to encourage community involvement (as in the case of Seta (2008) or Adishakti (2008)), community participation (as in the case of Bradford (2013)) or community-driven revitalization (as in the case of Elwood (2002)).

Action research departed from the desire to handle existing power relations, but it inevitably disregards power relations that develop among practitioners themselves, at different levels of an organization. It also strives to balance the view of external researchers by opposing to it the internal view of the practitioner. However it is not based on a direct collaboration between the two. Thirdly it aims to foster participation of the local community, but it depends on how the practice of participation is performed and structured. It also aims to empower practitioners to influence their own practices, but risks falling into the traps set by generalization and transferability of practice. Nevertheless, in all these aspects, action research is revealed as pertaining to two of the aspects discussed for revitalization: empowerment and practice.

In light of the unifying framework where empowerment and practice have been described, revitalization and action research have two important aspects to learn from each other:

- action researchers may consider the collaboration between external researchers and internal practitioners, as it has been advocated by practitioners in revitalization projects;
- revitalization studies may consider the experience of participation practice available in action research projects, as this may prove effective in passing from revitalization based on community involvement to the one *driven* by the community.

³Defined as the achievement of revitalization which does not simply involve or consult with the local community, but is also driven by an interest in identifying and answering their needs with respect to the revival of the public space.

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Alexandra Gheondea-Eladi

REVITALIZATION AND ACTION RESEARCH

Keywords: revitalization, participation, empowerment, practice, action research.

The revitalization of public spaces and buildings has evolved to be a process in which the community and the residents of an area are actively involved in the process of changing and developing spaces and buildings of interest. In this way revitalization of public spaces comes very close to the empowerment goals of action research. The following paper pursues the similarities and contrasts between action research and revitalization of public spaces. Several practices in revitalization projects are presented and analyzed. Then, the main theoretical and methodological aspects of action research are described and critically assessed with respect to its assumptions and risks. The third section proposes an analytical framework for comparing action research and revitalization projects and summarizes the main features of action research that may be considered for future revitalization projects.

Justyna Nyćkowiak*
Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow**
Tomasz Kołodziej***

**INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COLLABORATION
IN THE ELECTORAL CONTROL IN EASTERN
EUROPE PROJECT**

Introduction

A major concern in Central and Eastern Europe is the role of elections in controlling the behavior of parties and parliamentarians. Studies of the early post-Communist era had found that, though there is much party switching in Central and Eastern Europe, repeated elections do function as a form of electoral control over politicians and parties (Zieliński et al. 2005, Shabad, Słomczyński 2011, Roberts 2008). Updated, comprehensive information about parliamentarians and candidates continues to be a fundamental resource for citizens and scholars to understand how well the electoral system functions and to hold parliament, parliamentarians, and parties accountable for their actions.

To this end, the Electoral Control in Eastern Europe project was formed. This project was based on the research grant, “Who Wins and Who Loses in the Parliamentary Elections? From Formal Theory to Empirical Analysis,” funded by Poland’s National Science Centre (Sonata Bis decision number 2012/05/E/HS6/03556) from 2013 to 2016. The Principle Investigator of this project was Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow, Associate Professor

* **Justyna Nyćkowiak** – Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: political sociology and methodology of social research; e-mail: jjustan@gmail.com

** **Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow** – Ph.D. in Sociology, Associate Professor, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology Polish Academy of Sciences and Lecturer and Coordinator, The Ohio State University; research interests: social stratification, political sociology, political inequality, gender and politics, Intersectionality, urban studies, sociology of sport; e-mail: dubrow.2@osu.edu

*** **Tomasz Kołodziej** – M.A. in Sociology, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: occupational careers and methodology of social research; e-mail: t.kolodziej@onet.pl

at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology (IFiS) of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN). The Electoral Control project built an international multi-disciplinary scientific team focused on the collection and use of data on parliamentarians and candidates in CEE to address critical issues in representation, accountability and political inequality. To that end, this project produced the East European Parliamentarian and Candidate dataset (EAST PaC), composed of all candidates who stood for national parliamentary elections in Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary from the first post-Communist election to the most recent and who are matched over successive elections. In addition to bringing the project team together to various events held in Warsaw and in scientific venues elsewhere, Poland's National Science Centre funded EAST PaC data and various scientific publications. The project is fully described in the book, *Towards Electoral Control in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Joshua K. Dubrow and Nika Palaguta (2016), that focuses on the methodology of EAST PaC.

In this article, we discuss this project in terms of its scientific aims and the experiences of its members.

Intellectual Foundations of the Project

Theories of democratic accountability tell us that voters can use elections to control parties and politicians. Theorists assume that political representatives anticipate sanctions for poor individual and party-performance and thus have an incentive to implement policies that correspond with citizen preferences. Citizens lose control when their electoral voice does not compel parties and politicians to act according to the interests of the people who put them in power. Repeated elections are supposed to function, then, as a mechanism of electoral control.

The winning and losing in parliamentary elections should be considered in broad context of demographic characteristics of candidates, of the party that they represent, and the electoral system. The Electoral Control project was concerned with questions directly related to how individual traits impact electoral success in CEE democracies. The implications of such a relationship are wide-ranging – who political candidates are and where they are from, not to mention who the winners and losers of repeated elections may be, is consequential for the evolution of the quality of democracy in post-Communist countries in terms of representation, accountability, and political inequality of voice.

The Universe of Candidates in the CEE

A key aspect of this project was to update and expand data on parliamentarians and candidates who ran for the national parliament in Ukraine,

Poland, and Hungary. The outcome was the East European Parliamentary and Candidate data (EAST PaC) for Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary, 1985-2014. Updated from data used in publications of Zieliński et al. (2005) and Shabad and Słomczyński (2011), are among others, key features of EAST PaC data as completeness and historical relevance: (a) we include here all elections that took place in Poland, Hungary, and Ukraine in the post-Communist era, and (b) we cover a long period of time that accounts for dynamics of the political party systems. EAST PaC data include the names of all candidates who stood for national parliamentary elections in Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary and generally spans from the 1990s to the 2010s (Polish data goes back to 1985). Candidates are matched over time, rendering a dataset that allows researchers to track the political careers of nearly every candidate, from the thousands who never won to the few political lifers whose parliamentary careers are decades long. By covering every parliamentary election and situating them in their particular historical moments, scholars can identify trends and dynamics of the political party systems and achieve major insights into electoral politics of the region. EAST PaC is an opportunity for scholars to better test theories of accountability, representation, and political inequality in Central and Eastern Europe from the fall of Communism to the present.

For each country, the data for all elections are pooled so that the candidate is the unit of observation. The personal characteristics and characteristics of electoral participation are the main variables. These data allow us to track the political experience of candidates, including dynamics of their partisan affiliations, across consecutive elections. The main sources of data on parliamentary candidates are official records from governments and state agencies responsible for maintaining election archives. For elections conducted in the early 1990s, these records were in the form of paper documents, while in later years they were stored as electronic files. Candidates from the early 1990s who were from small parties that ran for office but never won, and never ran again, were not recorded in electronic format. Because of the very small proportion of results, the Electoral Commissions of EAST PaC countries did not retain these data, and thus information on them is perhaps lost forever.

Table 1 summarizes EAST PaC data. While Ukraine and Hungary have only post-Communist elections, Polish data goes back to the Communist Party controlled elections of 1985. EAST PaC data are separated into each country: one for Ukraine, one for Poland, and one for Hungary. All told, EAST PaC covers three countries, 29 years, 23 elections, and 97439 unique candidates. EAST PaC data are publicly available for free and are archived

in the Polish Data Archive.

Table 1

Summary of EAST PaC Data Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary

	Ukraine	Poland	Hungary
House of Parliament	Verkhovna Rada	Sejm and Senat	Országgyűlés
Period covered	1990-2014	1985-2011	1990-2010
Number of elections	8	9	6
Number of unique candidates	35.791	46.426	15.222
Main source of data	Central Election Commission	National Electoral Commission	National Election Office

Source: EAST PaC.

Collecting, cleaning, and matching EAST PaC was a complicated task. The problems and errors encountered were of various kinds: technological, bureaucratic, social and political. The solutions for matching were generally based on a combination of automatic coding based on gender, age, and political affiliation, and of manual coding, where the data collection team had to comb through the data to identify and resolve duplicate cases. The process required multiple technological solutions, some of them dedicated to this task and all of which we developed over time and improved.

Building a Project Team

Across the social sciences, scientific collaboration is on the rise (Hunter, Leahey 2008, Jones et al. 2008, King 2014, p. 166). Scientific teams are research situations in which individuals bring their expertise to the problem at hand.

Increasingly, these scientific teams are multi- or interdisciplinary (Lungeanu et al. 2013). Multidisciplinary teams examine the problem from their disciplinary vantage points. Interdisciplinary teams work together to bridge their disciplinary divisions to create new and emergent knowledge with a vocabulary that everyone in the team can understand. Uzzi et al. (2013) found that when scientists with narrow specialties collaborate with scientists outside of their specialties, true scientific breakthroughs are more likely to occur. Though interdisciplinary or cross-field collaboration is fraught with challenges, it sparks new insights (ibid., p. 468). They found that team work most often leads to innovations and breakthroughs.

As manager of the project, Dubrow was concerned with facilitating collaboration between team members from sociology and political science who had various degrees of prior collaboration: some had worked with each other before, some were familiar with the work of some of the team members, and some team were completely unfamiliar with each other. It was a network of weak ties that Dubrow tried to turn strong. The key was working together in physical and virtual places where direct communication was necessary and creativity was encouraged.

Between 2013 and 2015, the project held three workshops, two specialized courses, and concluding event. The first Workshop for the Electoral Control project, “Winners and Losers in the Elections of Eastern Europe,” was held on October 18-19, 2013, at IFiS PAN in Warsaw, Poland. The workshop introduced the data collection effort for EAST-PaC. Structurally, the Workshop was designed to present substantive and methodological issues of the EAST-PaC data, encourage discussion, and facilitate networking. Based on ideas that emerged from the discussions of this first workshop, we constructed a bibliography on electoral control and accountability, along with country reports on elections that will provide subject and methods contexts to produce scientific articles and other academic products. The Workshop generated useful ideas on how to manage communication issues, including the use of online scientific management software and websites.

The project held a workshop and specialized course at IFiS PAN on Tuesday, March 18, 2014. A sequel to the first workshop, this international workshop and specialized course brought together scholars who are interested in using EAST-PaC data. Workshop 2 and specialized course featured (a) training in the EAST-PaC data collection effort in Poland, Hungary, Ukraine and Romania and (b) discussions of moving from research ideas to manageable research projects and publications involving the analyses of these data. The Workshop and specialized course organizers encouraged participants to be creative in their approach to the theories and methods – including the possibility of merging EAST-PaC with other data – and to be open minded with regard to suggestions from fellow colleagues on the possible directions of the research project. The purpose is to generate ideas that can be turned into manageable and publishable research products.

The project then held a two-day international workshop and specialized course at IFiS PAN on December 12-13, 2014. Workshop 3 brought together the project team and students interested in these data and these topics. The focus of the Workshop was on the analysis of EAST PaC. Workshop 3 was also an opportunity to invite new scholars to join the Project Team and to use these data. Building on the theoretical, methodological, and empirical

discussions of Workshops 1 and 2, Workshop 3 featured (a) intensive discussions of empirical research that uses EAST PaC data, as well as similar data in Romania and Nepal, based on individual scholarly interest in the methodology of collecting data on candidates and parliamentarians around the world; (b) methodological discussions on collecting and analyzing candidate, contextual and electoral data; and (c) networking and planning of academic products that present the empirical analysis of EAST PaC to be published in 2016 and beyond. Workshop 3 also functioned as a Specialized Course for PhD students on theoretical issues in electoral control and political inequality, as well as the methodology and analysis of EAST PaC data.

Project members asked questions about the present and future of the project in terms of publications: Should we produce a guest edited journal or edited volume? Which is better? This was a revisit of the discussion in Workshop 2. The primary concern is to produce the best work in the highest quality outlet such that the work is as widely available as possible. Edited volumes have certain advantages in that one can publish longer pieces and newer ideas. An advantage of the guest edited journal is its wider availability and perception of being “worth more” in terms of career and tenure. The eventual consensus was to pursue a guest edited journal. However, the NCN grant was specific about an edited book. A compromise was reached. We pursued a guest edited Web of Science journal consisting of five to six articles (which will become a forthcoming special section of the journal, *Problems of Post-Communism*), and a group publication on the methodology of EAST PaC (mentioned above).

The concluding event for the project was titled, “Building on EAST PaC,” and was held on December 18, 2015 at the IFiS PAN. We (a) discussed possibilities of merging EAST-PaC with longitudinal survey data, such as the Polish Panel survey (POLPAN) 1988-2013 and (b) had a special session on the possibilities of using EAST PaC and longitudinal survey data for the study of women in politics worldwide – the leaders of this discussion were well-known social scientists working in the fields of gender political inequality: Amy C. Alexander, Quality of Government Institute Sweden, Catherine Bolzendahl, University of California-Irvine USA, and Tiffany Barnes, University of Kentucky, USA. In addition, we (c) facilitated networking and plan of academic products – including this edited book – that presented the empirical analysis of EAST PaC or addressed the key concerns posed in the grant proposal, to be published in 2016 and beyond.

In general, these events were designed for (a) intensive discussions of empirical research that uses EAST PaC data; (b) methodological discussions

on collecting and analyzing candidate, contextual, and electoral data; and (c) networking and planning of academic products that present the empirical analysis of EAST PaC. The project attempted to implement the lessons learned about managing a multi-disciplinary scientific team across countries and time zones. By promoting a creative environment and providing the space and tools that the team needed, they attempted to meet the goals of the project.

Experiences of Team Members

The goals of the project from the management point of view can be different from the lived experiences of the team members. In this section, we discuss the experiences of the team members in an international project held in Poland. We begin with the presentation of the assumptions of two projects in which their Polish participants used the EAST PaC database. The first project appears to be interesting because of the distinguishing approach to data collection, while the second project shows one of the possible uses of EAST PaC for analyses of Poland's electoral politics. Afterwards, we describe the experience of working within an international team, particularly from the perspective of young scientists.

The first from the projects presented was by Justyna Nyćkowiak and concerned the course of political careers of the parliament members after 1985. Studies of such a type have so far been limited by the availability of research material, usually involving a narrow group of people (e.g. party leaders; parliamentarians of two consecutive terms in comparative studies; members of the parliamentary circles, informal groups or the government). Attempts to recreate the trajectory of political careers were rarely seen, with those isolated publications usually focused on the ways of reaching the parliament or the government.

The basic goal of the Nyćkowiak's project was to analyze the institutional determinants of trends in political careers' after 1985 in Poland and a reconstruction of professional politicians' political biographies. It required using unique data sources, taking into account their structure and capacity for harmonization. To achieve that purpose there was a preliminary analysis of statistical data that came from the POLCAN database. POLCAN was a data set of electoral activity of all candidates for the parliament since 1985, constructed under the direction of Kazimierz M. Słomczyński and Goldie Shabad within the CONSIRT program that was carried out by the Departments of Sociology and Political Science of The Ohio State University and the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, and the Graduate School for Social Research at the Polish Academy of Sciences. The POLCAN da-

taset allows to trace exactly who and when appears in the parliamentary elections in the years 1985-2007. This database has been used in numerous articles on Polish MPs after 1985 (Shabad, Słomczyński 2004, Zieliński et al. 2005, Słomczyński et al. 2008). After 2007, POLCAN has been folded into EAST-PaC, funded by Poland's National Science Centre. Data stored in EAST PaC database allow to trace the political activity of professional politicians (within the meaning assigned by Nyćkowiak 2013), enabling the reconstruction of the course of their political careers, along with their complete electoral history. As EAST PaC was not constituted during this first project by Nyćkowiak, we will refer to the Polish candidate data as POLCAN.

Considering the nature of the POLCAN database, the information available within and its purpose, it was decided that it is necessary to widen the scope of the data collected. Modifying the POLCAN database with additional variables would not yield the expected results because of its design. Data about all the candidates from the elections 1985-2007 is within this database. New database schemas, including relational and post-relational ones, were created in order to cope with situations in which the traditional hierarchical model database turned out to be an obstacle.

The three central sources of data that founded the basis for supplementing the information previously gathered were the archives of the Sejm (www.sejm.gov.pl), the Senat (www.senat.gov.pl) and the National Electoral Commission (www.pkw.gov.pl). Thus, a relational database scheme was prepared, with use of information collected partially from the POLCAN database and then supplemented with data from the analysis of the documents obtained from the institutions and regarding the progress of professional politicians' careers. Having started the work with the parliament databases one faces several vital problems to be solved: the data contained therein apply only to persons who have received a mandate, at the same time without any clues regarding periods before, after or between terms for a given individual. Databases of the Sejm and the Senat vary in the respect of both the content and structure of the information stored within (being also true for consecutive terms). However, data provided by the National Electoral Commission relate to all candidates, but it only contains gender, age, and occupation. Due to the structure and format of the data collected by the NEC, the Archives of the Sejm and the Senat, there were efforts to find relevant data and appropriately transform them.

In the second stage of the project a database was created for which the information regarding 318 people was collected, all of whom entered the parliament at least three times in the years 1985-2007. A number of events

showing the course of individuals' political careers were used to describe their political biographies. All events were studied at intervals no longer than a parliament term (for more details see Nyćkowiak 2014).

The project has provided data on the history of professional politicians running for parliament and the history of their successful and failed attempts. These data also include socio-demographic factors affecting the course of careers of professional politicians, characteristics of the party system that impact the chances of pursuing a successful political career, the attributes of the electoral system, and their influence on prolonging political careers.

Gathering information illustrating the course of politicians' careers in Poland after 1985 can offer answers to a number of vital questions, such as: (1) To what extent parts of the electoral system and the party system determine the course of political careers? and (2) To what extent specific attributes of candidates determine their chances of electoral success and prolonging their political careers? The data allow us to understand what characteristics make people successful within the political arena, and what attributes of professional politicians can be considered as favoring the continuation of political careers, including their advancement in the future (Nyćkowiak 2013).

The second project concerns the functioning of selected mechanisms contained in the electoral law, primarily of electoral lists. Analyses conducted by Justyna Nyćkowiak and Tomasz Kołodziej focus on the effects that result from decisions made by individuals in the course of parliamentary elections. This subject is important to estimate how the decision to change the electoral list, from which a candidate runs in the elections, influences their chances of electoral success.

Among the post-Communist democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, Poland has one of the highest frequencies of shifts in party affiliation (Hug, Wüest 2011, O'Brien, Shomer 2013). This tendency raises questions about the costs and benefits of candidate mobility. Understandably, there were massive migrations generally from smaller to larger parties, and typically within the bounds of a given ideological family early on in the new democratic experience. Shabad and Słomczyński (2002, 2004) showed that across the first three free and fair elections (1991, 1993, and 1997), political loyalty was questionable, especially in the case of the so-called "political nomads", in which their actions were seen as support of the thesis of the unfinished institutionalization of the political system (Wasilewski 1994, Kamiński, Kurczewska 1994; see also Olson 1998, Kreuzer and Pettai 2002, Desposato 2006).

In relation to the changes within the Polish political scene after 1989, which witnessed both dawn and dusk of consecutive political entities combined with merging and division of political parties, one of the necessary elements of politicians' career has become an ability to make the decision to change or remain in a particular political party. Many authors have analyzed the patterns of candidates' repeated electoral runs (Flis 2014), yet few examine the electoral consequences for candidates who change electoral list affiliations across consecutive elections. Candidates who decide to change electoral lists are an interesting category because only some of them manage to succeed. Who are the candidates who decide to change electoral lists across consecutive elections? Under what circumstances do they make such decisions? Does this decision improve the chances of electoral success? To answer these questions, we use data from the East European Parliamentarian and Candidate (EAST PaC) Database, covering all candidates competing in elections to the Polish lower house of parliament (the Sejm) between 2001 and 2011. These data allow us to track mobility between electoral lists among parliamentary candidates across consecutive elections and determine the extent to which list-switching is a viable strategy for reelection.

Participation in the Electoral Control in Eastern Europe project and the possibility of cooperation within the framework of an international group of scientists has enabled not only an exchange of experience with representatives of foreign centers, but also the understanding of the international context in which data from the EAST PaC database should be perceived. Partnership within the workshop allowed young scholars to gain experience that accompany the building of an international project.

For a doctoral student, the opportunity to participate in the workshops was a unique opportunity to gain practical experience in project work that requires the involvement of an international team. Collaboration between team members resulted in establishing a common platform that continues to constitute an area of contact. This platform is a place where members exchange observations and seek answers to problems that arise during analyses. This enables developing collective solutions, which in turn translate into more adjusted examinations and results obtained by scientists in different countries.

All these elements contribute to the scientific development and are very important for people aspiring to become young scholars. Especially from the perspective of a doctoral student, the opportunity to work with experienced researchers from different countries is a very important complement to the curriculum and helps to broaden the scope of activities conducted with stu-

dents. EAST-PaC is an excellent resource that can be used during academic classes to describe the political situation in Poland, Hungary and Ukraine, and for cross-national research. Experience gained during the workshops has also proven to be useful during the planning and organization of cooperation with other international research projects.

Multi-disciplinary scientific collaboration across institutions and countries has become the norm of doing science, and thus is a fundamental building-block of the education of graduate students and young scholars in Poland and abroad. Such collaboration allows for the creativity and productivity that produces innovations and breakthroughs. For the good of the international scientific community, and of scientific knowledge, scientists – from graduate students to established scholars – must learn how best to work together.

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Justyna Nyćkowiak
Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow
Tomasz Kołodziej

**INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COLLABORATION
IN THE ELECTORAL CONTROL IN EASTERN
EUROPE PROJECT**

Keywords: EAST-PaC, political careers, political biographies.

Across the social sciences and across nations, working in teams has become the normal course of conducting scientific research. Scientific teams are research situations in which individuals bring their expertise to the problem at hand. Multi-disciplinary scientific collaboration across institutions and countries has become the norm of doing science, and thus is a fundamental building-block of the education of graduate students and young scholars in Poland and abroad. The empirical example of international scientific collaboration in this article is the Electoral Control in Eastern Europe project. This international project, funded by Poland's National Science Centre, assembled a research team composed of established scholars, young social scientists, and graduate students from across Europe, the USA, and from various institutions and disciplines, including sociology, political science, and area studies. From the perspective of the project administrators, young scholars, and graduate students of this project, we discuss the administration of this project in terms of its scientific aims and the experiences of its members. All elements of the project – workshops, informal discussions, data collection, and publications – contribute to the scientific development of young scholars. Especially from the perspective of a doctoral student, the opportunity to work with experienced researchers from different countries is a very important complement to the curriculum. Such collaboration allows for the creativity and productivity that produces innovations and breakthroughs. Moreover, the experience gained in this project plants the seeds for future international research projects to be conducted by young Polish scholars. For the good of the international scientific community, and of scientific knowledge produced in Poland, scientists – from graduate students to established scholars, and across nations – must learn how best to work together.

Dorota Bazuń*

THE PARTICIPATION OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN REVIVAL DIAGNOSES AND CONSULTATIONS

This paper presents the analysis of the roles social scientists play as agents of revival. Their expert knowledge may be used in the process of preparing the diagnosis, conducting social consultations, evaluating the revival projects and in interventions aimed at local social changes. The aim of the article is to point out to possible ways of engaging scientists in revival activities. It focuses on the increasing scope of actions a social scientist may conduct participating in the revival, due to new social needs and formal requirements. The article is divided into two parts. The first part presents a new approach to revival and new formal requirements formulated in the 2015 Act on revival (in Polish: Ustawa o rewitalizacji). This is crucial for understanding the important role social scientists play nowadays. The second part includes a concise description of research methods and techniques used in diagnosing, consulting and evaluating, with a focus on the possibilities of benefitting from the expert knowledge. The paper delineates the ways of modifying and adapting these methods to be used on different stages of revival. Finally, new aspects of the role social scientists play in revival, due to their increased role in the process, are discussed.

The social scientist as the agent of revival in the light of formal requirements

In Poland, revival is associated mainly with building renewal and the improvement of technical infrastructure. In contrast to these associations, revival is first and foremost aimed at making places more agreeable for the inhabitants and visitors, and at making people use these places more frequently. Therefore, changing buildings is only a means, not – the aim of revival. The adjective “social” is sometimes added to the word “revival” in order to distinguish between the narrowly understood renewal of infrastructure from

***Dorota Bazuń** – Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: social change, revival, social economy, sociology of body; e-mail: bazun@interia.pl

the complex, holistic one. Social revival is conducted “for people”, even though the one that is done “with people” has been shown to be more effective and bring long-term results.

There is a broad definition of revival in the Act on revival of October 9th, 2015. As stated in the Act, revival is “*a complex process of lifting degraded areas out of the critical state, by conducting integrated activities for local society, space and economy in a certain defined area, conducted by the stakeholders of revival and based on the Communal Revival Programme*” (Act on revival 2015).

As stated in the Act, revival should be of participative character, in each of its stages: during the preparation of diagnosis, developing the revival programmes and when conducting particular activities. Preparing the diagnosis constitutes the first step of revival. The diagnosis aims at: determining the degraded area and the area to be revitalised and drawing or amending the Communal Revival Programme (in Polish: Gminny Program Rewitalizacji, GPR). The subsequent diagnoses serve to evaluate whether GPR is up to date and point to the possible ways of its realisation. The quality of the diagnoses is also being emphasized. The diagnoses should be based on objective and verifiable data obtained by means of research methods adequate to the needs and local situation (ibid. 2015). The Act not only permits but even obliges the local authorities to consult the agreements and projects practically on every stage of preparing and conducting the process of revival. Revival is therefore a process which can (and even should) be modified if there are substantial arguments in favour of it.

There are consultations in reference to GPR, and the outcome of these consultations should be applied in the approved version of the project. Another article present in this volume, namely: “Formal framework for participation in the Polish-German borderland communities” delineates the standards for social consultations, that should be observed in order to ensure maximum inhabitants’ participation (Mielczarek-Żejmo 2016). In this paper, only the most important aspects of these standards will be listed. These are: adequately (openly, clearly, on a large scale) informing the inhabitants about the planned actions, taking as many social interests into account as possible, and informing the stakeholders about the consultations’ outcome (Chrzanowski et al. 2013).

One could ask about the goal of uneasy and time-consuming consultations. As detailed in the Act, their aim is to meet the needs and expectations of particular stakeholders. Educational and informative activities carried out along consultations can contribute to the inhabitants’ engagement, as well as their sense of belonging and responsibility for certain places

and their fate (Act on revival 2015). The representatives of local authorities responsible for particular revival activities usually lack abilities and competences to conduct studies and analyses indispensable for formulating a good diagnosis. They not always find it comfortable to lead or chair social consultations. For this reason, administrative employees should work hand in hand with social scientists, the representatives of non-governmental institutions and other parties interested in the revival. In this paper, I focus on the potential role of social scientists whose knowledge and abilities can facilitate social changes, crucial for the whole revival process. Figure 1 presents a scheme of stages of preparing and conducting revival. Those areas which could benefit the most from the social scientists' work are marked dark grey.

There are various forms of consultations listed in the Act. Collecting opinions in the written form (electronic or hard copies, i.e. paper questionnaires, e-mails, electronic forms) is required. In addition to that, one is obliged to conduct at least two activities out what follows: meetings, debates, workshops, study walks, surveys, interviews, consulting groups of representatives and collecting oral opinions (*ibid.* 2015).

Social studies and consultations are indispensable also at the stage of evaluating whether GPR is up to date and doable. These activities have to be conducted at least once in 3 years (*ibid.* 2015). By emphasizing the importance of social studies and analyses, as well as social participation, the Act's requirements constitute a challenge for the authorities. However, they at the same time provide for the opportunity to benefit from expert knowledge about social processes and conducting research. By the same token, social scientists are engaged in local revival initiatives, and science is combined with practice.

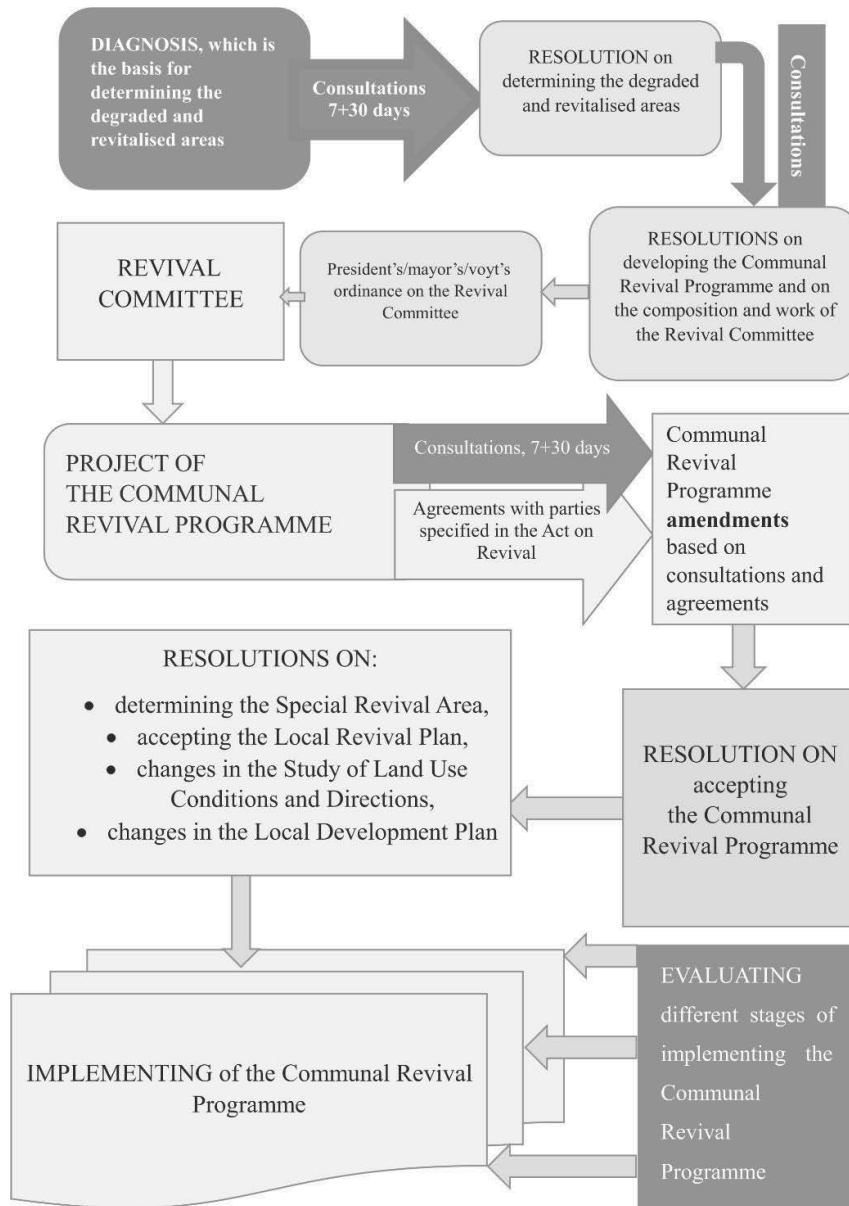


Figure 1. Scheme of preparing, conducting and evaluating revival, in reference to the requirements of the Act on revival, 2015.

Source: the author's own illustration.

Selected research methods used in diagnoses and consultations

Studies and consultations usually serve the following purposes:

- a) Determining the markers of crisis in the area under revival,
- b) Determining the needs, expectations and the potential of inhabitants and the stakeholders related to revival,
- c) Determining other conditions of revival,
- d) Defining the directions and scope of revival actions.

It would be difficult to point out to one universal model encompassing all goals and tasks to be fulfilled in a certain place and for a certain community. In order to determine the potential and the barriers in revival, it is also important to know the degree of social engagement, the bases for building identity in a certain place, cultural context and economic conditions. Moreover, the diagnosis should include the causes of satisfaction (or its lack) from living in a certain place and the sense of security (or its lack). It is also vital to define the neighbourhood relationships and bonds (or the lack of them). These relations might trigger and facilitate or, on the contrary, inhibit changes made in the course of revival. As elucidated above (see Figure 1), knowing the inhabitants' needs and expectations increases the chance to adjust particular programmes to real needs.

Triangulation, i.e. using several mutually complementary methods and techniques, allows to answer the questions raised in the diagnosis and during consultations. As shown above, the Act forces triangulation to some extent. That notwithstanding, taking different points of view on the social structure or the area into account is indispensable for drawing a real and accurate revival programme.

There is a plethora of methods used in diagnosis and consultations. There are also many opportunities for using them in a flexible and innovative way. Methods rooted in social sciences and marketing studies are used. Modern technologies facilitate attractive and easy data, projects' and actions' presenting. Adequate software and the Internet access allow for sharing opinions about revival while at home. Consolidated projects are understandable for inhabitants, which makes it possible to obtain opinions, information and ideas from the inhabitants. Mapping is an example of such a method, and will be further discussed in this article. Traditional research methods used in diagnosis and in consultations include: analysing documents and available data, conducting interviews (qualitative and quantitative; individual and group) and observations. These methods were detailed by several authors

(Babbie 2003, Hammersley, Atkinson 2000, Sztumski 1995, Maison 2001, Lisek-Michalska, Daniłowicz 2007). For this reason, this paper focuses on those methods which are often modified and adjusted to particular needs and the specificity of revival-related activities.

Interviews play an important role both at the stage of diagnosis and during the preparation of the Communal Revival Programme, as well as when evaluating particular activities. Conducted among the inhabitants and other stakeholders, they allow to learn about the needs and expectations of those stakeholders. Both the quantitative (questionnaires – ideally conducted in representative groups) and qualitative (with invited people, selected based on inclusion criteria such as: age, gender, place of living, type of activity, etc.) interviews are conducted. Yet, in order to obtain information related to more complex issues or details, interviews with experts are conducted. Experts are people who represent various branches or domains, and are able to describe a given situation from their domain-specific point of view, benefitting from their in-depth knowledge and experience. Sometimes meetings are organised in expert groups. These groups are composed of representatives of a given branch, domain or business, e.g. of architects, designers, urban designers, etc. The group interviews are aimed at providing answers to more detailed questions, in the course of looking for particular solutions from the “expert” point of view. Interviews can be of various forms. There are: a) individual in-depth interviews, b) interviews accompanied by local surveys, called study walks (and detailed in this volume, Kwiatkowski 2016), c) group interviews – focus studies and d) STEEPVL analysis, related to the group interview. In addition to the crisis and potential diagnosis, preparing the revival project includes drawing a tentative plan of changes which are supposed to contribute to problem solving in a given area. Workshop and creative work methods are particularly useful.

The so-called creative group, i.e. a type of focus interview, is an example of such a method. Administering this method is not aimed at learning the participants’ opinions, but at obtaining and using the group effect to find a solution or come up with an idea. The method consists in using the effects participants exert on one another, i.e. benefitting from a mix of group effects: synergy, stimulation, snowball, spontaneity and security (Malinowski 2007, p. 130). Individuals able to think outside the box, tackle a certain problem from different perspectives and open to confronting their ideas with those of others are invited (Maison 2001, p. 28). The participants represent different organisations, institutions or businesses. Diversity is desired. By means of workshop techniques, such groups generate ideas which can be subsequently used in the revival.

A well prepared revival requires a diagnosis, as well as pointing to the predicted directions of development and potential threats to it. Therefore, in order to spot potential negative and positive effects of one's actions, the so-called foresight methods are used. These methods are rooted in management theory and are to serve predicting long-term consequences of actions (Kanoniuk 2012, pp. 93-102). The most frequently used one is the SWOT strategic analysis. As SWOT is highly popular and well-known, there will be a different method described in this paper, the one based on creative ways of working (most often by means of brainstorming), namely: the STE-EPVL¹ analysis. The method consists in determining seven categories of the development potential (the area potential if a certain place is taken into account). The name of the method is an acronym composed of the first letters in the names of factors' categories discussed: a) social, b) technological, c) economic, d) ecological, e) political, f) values and g) legal (Kanoniuk 2010). The participants brainstorm, and the process of brainstorming is supervised by the person who conducts the interview. The group enumerates particular factors, attributing them to the seven categories listed above. This usually generates a long list of several dozens of factors. Next, in the second stage of the study, the strength of the impact the factors have on revival is determined, most frequently in the course of voting. After summing up all categories separately, those categories which are characterised by the highest number of votes, i.e. the ones that were assessed as the most important by the voters, are identified. Consequently, a shorter list of factors is generated (Kanoniuk 2010, 2012).

Mapping is another method, more and more frequently used during consultations. It consists in using maps to mark important information about places, e.g. about where people feel safe, or which places need intervention (the so-called problem mapping). Mapping allows to obtain information referring to public places. A study conducted by means of this method can be carried out in a traditional way – by resorting to surveyors equipped with maps and sets of questions. That notwithstanding, modern technologies make it possible to use this method without making the respondents leave their homes, i.e. without risking high costs of the study. Irrespective of the questionnaires, questions can be asked during group meetings, although using freeware and maps online (Geonition, MySociety tools, websites such as Google Maps, etc.) is cheaper and more comfortable.

The "Count on green" (2014) ("Licz na zielen" in Polish) project, reali-

¹Determining development factors by means of individual interviews is less popular. Yet, if gathering several experts in one place, at one time, is very difficult, individual interviews become the only method applicable.

sed in several large Polish cities, is an example of such an initiative. The city inhabitants had the chance to put their remarks (both positive and negative), regarding green areas, on the maps. Figure 2 presents a map generated for Poznań. Although Figure 2 is black and white, the online version of the map is in colour. Numbers in circles stand for the number of opinions given about a certain place.

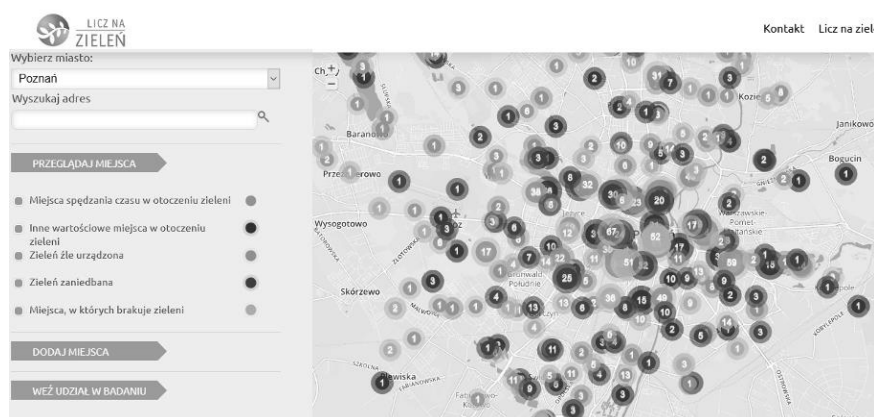


Figure 2. The website of “Count on green” project.
Source: <http://poznan.licznazielen.pl/mapa-1/>

This type of consultations is referred to as geo-consultations. Appropriately conducted, they can ensure a higher number of inhabitants sharing their opinions and remarks, as well as contribute to a smaller number of conflicts about developing public areas. Online maps can be used in a number of ways: to map problems, visualize projects and propose their different versions, inform about planned space changes, collect information regarding a certain place, etc.

What makes geo-consultations outscore other methods? Linking opinions with concrete spots, marked on a map, is one of its advantages. It makes people focus on, re-consider and re-analyse concrete places in order to mark them. The method limits the possibility of posting general opinions, which add little to the study, to the minimum, as it requires concrete answers. An inhabitant’s statement that he or she does not like the way of developing green areas in the city is not enough – the same inhabitant has to mark the disliked place and describe its problem. The method allows to collect a number of various opinions. Although there is a risk of obtaining too few opinions about a given place (due to the fact that every inhabitant

might mark different places), examples show that different respondents in fact point to the same problematic spots.

Mapping by means of online tools gives the chance to benefit from the expert knowledge of inhabitants who cannot (or are not willing to) participate in traditional consultations, but feel connected to the matters of the city and want to have an impact on the development of spaces they use. Its availability is an advantage of the method described, contrary to the fact that it may appeal only to those who are not afraid of new technologies. Despite numerous advantages of mapping, this method should be supplemented with another one. Even though its availability is an asset, the method needs additional promotional and informational activities, otherwise the inhabitants might be unaware of consultations taking place. Another challenge lies in the large amount of data which need to be analysed, possibly by social scientists. Geo-consultations constitute an interesting supplement to other types of consultations and well illustrate the special character of conducted or planned changes.

As mentioned above, revival projects can benefit from creative ways of working. Ideas may be generated by means of: brainstorming, preparing individual or group drawings, mock-ups and/or collages. It might be sometimes easier for the inhabitants to draw what they wish for that describe it. Apart from supervising creative thinking activities, social scientists should be able to monitor and lead group work. In such cases, the scientist at the same time facilitates certain activities, chairs the process of reaching consensus, as well as triggers creativity among the participants and encourages them to share their ideas with others.

In recent years we have seen an increased demand for cooperation between research and public institutions. On the one hand, it gives the possibility of using expert knowledge and developed on the basis recommendations. On the other it is also an opportunity for the academics to look at certain phenomena from the perspective of practitioners. That is also the case of activities related to revival, which requires collecting information about citizens' needs and expectations for changes in the space they use. In the new context (partly forced by the requirements contained in the 2015 Act on revival) the role of social scientists can go further than the classical implementation of social research. The social scientists can be in fact also an animators, facilitators of social initiatives for the community. The intervention activities are directed towards social change in local communities which according to the participatory approach encourage residents to co-participation. Examples of methods used in the diagnosis and public consultations show that the participation of researchers in the social processes

of revitalization can be significant.

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Dorota Bazuń

THE PARTICIPATION OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN REVIVAL DIAGNOSES AND CONSULTATIONS

Keywords: urban renewal, urban regeneration/revitalization, urban revival, STEEPVL, geo-consultations, mapping.

The article presented possible ways of engaging social scientists as agents of revival. Their expert knowledge may be used in the process of preparing the diagnosis in conducting social consultations, evaluating the revival projects and also in interventions aimed at local social changes.

A new approach to revival in Poland (described in the first part of the text) underlines that the revival should be of participative character.

The same expectations are formulated in a new formal requirements in the 2015 Act on revival. The Act defines methods which can be used as a source of information to know the needs of inhabitants and to plan changes in public spaces.

A concise description of research methods and techniques used in diagnosing, consulting and evaluating was presented in the second part of the article. The paper delineated the ways of modifying and adapting these methods to be used on different stages of revival. Revival projects can benefit from creative ways of working. Ideas may be generated by means of: brainstorming, preparing individual or group drawings, mock-ups and/or collages.

Two methods were especially pointed out in the text as useful in case of revival. First one is STEEPVL analysis, related to the group interview. The second one is mapping as a method more and more frequently used during consultations. It consists in using maps (paper ones or more often on-line versions) to mark information and suggestions on places.

The text was focused on the increasing scope of actions a social scientist may conduct participating in the revival, due to new social needs and formal requirements.

Mariusz Kwiatkowski*

EXPLORATORY WALKS AS AN EXAMPLE OF NETWORKING RESEARCH

A walk may be a good way to collect valuable research material. Moreover, it may also be an opportunity to undertake social interventions. Naturally, all of that refers to a walk that has been intentionally organized by the researcher, according to precisely defined procedures and with the participation of a competent informer: a ‘guide’.

The article explores a concept that combines learning about the reality in the field with the intention of introducing social changes. The interventions apply to interpersonal, interorganizational and intersectoral relations and aim at inducing changes in the local community. As such research is most importantly focused on bringing various people, initiatives, communities, institutions and industries together, it is referred to as ‘networking research’ (*badania sieciujące*).

In the article, ‘exploratory walks’ (*spacery badawcze*) are presented as an example of how the concept of networking research may be used. Cognitive and practical advantages of such an approach are discussed, particularly in relation to the process of urban renewal (revitalization). The article has been divided into three parts. The first one introduces the concept of networking research, presents its sources of inspiration and basic theoretical assumptions. The second part shows why it is the technique of exploratory walks that has been chosen to learn about the social reality and shape it at the same time. The last part of the article, one of practical nature, presents several principles of the ‘walk & talk research’ that is carried out to diagnose local communities and design revitalization programs. A number of examples have been provided in order to show what the ‘networking’ nature of such research consists in.

***Mariusz Kwiatkowski** – Ph.D. in sociology, Associate Professor, University of Zielona Góra, head of the Unit for Social Networks; research interests: sociology of organization, social networks, social economy; e-mail: m.kwiatkowski@is.uz.zgora.pl

What is networking research?

In the ‘networking research’, the researcher is involved in creating, strengthening and analyzing relations and connections that exist between various stakeholders and should be conducive to social changes. Such research can be seen as part of a broader concept of ‘action research’, as it combines research activities with practical actions. The role of the researcher here is complex, as indicated in the literature:

- The researcher is taking part in the process and at the same time analyzing the relations between what is individual and what is social.
- The researcher is personally and actively involved in the research.
- The researcher is cooperating with a team of people, and his work is subjected to continuous assessment. Influenced by the others, the researcher is trying to perfection his work.
- Research activities aim at making the reality better and improving the situation of some groups or categories of inhabitants.
- The research is critical (often exposing) and motivated by the disagreement with the existing situation.
- It is also reflective and dialectic: it helps people to reflect on their own practice, change it, draw some conclusions, make further improvements; it allows them to comprehend the situation in which they are living and acting (Bąbska, Rymśza 2014, pp. 111-112).
- A relationship is established between the researcher and the researched: they become partners. The researcher takes part both in formal and informal structures of the researched community.
- Such a form of participation allows for continuous observation, combined with unstructured conversations, which can also turn into in-depth interviews (ibid., p. 113).

In the case of networking research, there are another two important aspects of the role of the researcher:

- The researcher is focused on the research itself as well as on bringing diverse institutions, organizations, domains of social life, communities and people together.

- When he enters various communities, the researcher not only functions as a ‘liaison’ but also looks for others who would liaise between those divided or poorly interconnected.

Networking research is based on three basic assumptions, presented in more detail in another article (Kwiatkowski 2015). Firstly, in a network society an adequate and efficient way to act individually and collectively is to do networking, i.e. to create, maintain and develop networks of contacts and cooperation. In such a society, according to Manuel Castells, “[p]resence or absence in the network and the dynamics of each network *vis-à-vis* others are critical sources of domination and change in our society” (Castells 2007, p. 468).

Second of all, the assumption is that the way individuals and groups are located in social networks has an impact on their life chances. The position in a network may be a better descriptor of the situation of a given person or group than their socioeconomic status, and it may also have a stronger influence on this situation. Parag Khanna (2016, p. 5) puts it simply: “The more connections we have, the more options we have”. This means there is a need to strengthen social relations, and this very need is addressed by the networking research.

Thirdly, if someone’s position in a social network / social networks to a large extent determines their life situation (their well-being, professional and material status), then social networks should be taken into account while diagnosing the situation of disadvantaged individuals and groups and developing support strategies. This includes both personal networks of the disadvantaged and the networks of relevant institutions and organizations. Therefore, in the light of these three assumptions, social changes cannot occur unless cooperation beyond barriers is strengthened.

The concept of networking research has drawn upon various sources of inspiration. The research on social capital, carried out by social scientists, has been one of them: especially the line of research that distinguishes between the three kinds of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking (Sztompka 2016), as well as the so-called ‘network approach’.

In his latest book, Robert Putnam (2015, p. 259) discusses an ‘opportunity gap’ and emphasizes how important it is to ‘invest’ in disadvantaged communities. However, what he underlines even stronger is the need of placing poor families in the communities of a higher material status. This is an example of how one may use the concept of building ‘linking social capital’: a capital that results from linking people and groups coming from disadvantaged communities with people and groups who have higher positions on the social-economic ladder.

The research on social networks that makes no direct reference to the concept of social capital can also be seen as an important source of inspiration. In the literature, numerous reasons can be found why social networks are important in the life of individuals and organizations, including the reasons listed by Nicholas Christakis and James Fowler (2011, p. 107). Social movements researchers note that social networks may increase the chance of individuals getting involved into collective actions (della Porta, Diani 2009, p. 128).

The concepts that describe working with local communities are more and more frequently including the networking point of view. Alison Gilchrist (2014, p. 11) considers networking to be the basic way local communities are organized. Steve Skinner (2014, pp. 56-57) takes a similar approach, emphasizing the importance of both formal and informal networks. They can attract and engage disadvantaged individuals (networks provide organizational structure for many categorical communities). They encourage informal sharing of experiences, contacts and skills (a channel for education and exchange). They also make it possible for minority groups to establish relations while preserving their own identities. Furthermore, they can serve as a useful resource for social groups and non-governmental organizations, being a platform to meet up and organize potential-building processes.

Last but not least, this author's personal experiences, both as a practitioner and as a researcher, have also been an important source of inspiration. In the course of various social actions, including field research, barriers for development have been observed. They are serious and difficult to overcome, and include e.g. distinct boundaries between sectors, different logics of various social institutions, the lack of needed contacts and the limited ability of cooperation between the communities. The networking research aims at analyzing those barriers and, at the same time, overcoming them. Exploratory walks are an example of such research. Below, a description of this technique follows, with focus on its advantages in the context of revitalization.

Exploratory walks: why?

'Exploratory walks' are individual and collective interviews that are carried out in the public space. The researcher and the informer, the latter referred to as a guide or an expert, are walking together within a deliberately chosen area. This is conducive to developing a better understanding of the phenomena, processes and regularities to be analyzed, and should also contribute to solving problems observed in the chosen area. In this paper, the informer is referred to as the 'guide', as the informer is in fact an expert

with a detailed knowledge about a given area or a topic.

A number of relevant arguments suggest that the exploratory walk technique can indeed be considered as a good way to learn more about local communities and contribute to their development.

1. First of all, such a meeting, in movement, situated in a specific space, is a source of valuable inspirations. It makes it easier to notice various phenomena. In many cases, the researcher alone would not be able to make those discoveries. The very context of a walk, the changing landscape, new objects emerging on the horizon prompt the informers to share their reflections. It is also a good occasion to confront opinions, e.g. about the aesthetic aspects of an object. It is particularly inspiring to organize walks with people whose opinions about phenomena and processes existing in a given area differ, for instance due to their different professions or their different social status. Walking together through a space that is experiencing some problems is more inspiring than a regular ‘stationary’ interview. It generates new ideas for possible interventions. This leads us to the second argument in favor of exploratory walks.
2. Exploratory walks can be a factor of change, in three different ways. They can change the researchers themselves, their information resources and even their attitude to a given problem. As a result of an exploratory walk, a change may also occur in the knowledge and the attitude of the guide. The most important and desirable change would be, however, one in the way the community functions. How is that possible? How exploratory walks can trigger such a change? The answer is provided in the next argument.
3. Exploratory walks, if organized according to the principles, can contribute to social integration and to the coordination of various efforts to introduce desirable changes. During exploratory walks, contacts are established and strengthened, which fosters the cooperation between individuals, organizations and institutions as well as between sectors. This activity can be referred to as ‘networking’.
4. Numerous best practices described in the literature or known to the author are another argument speaking in favor of the exploratory walk technique. The most important examples come from Denmark, including the systematic presence in the public space described by Jan Gehl in his books (2009), and the bottom-up approach to shaping public space (Bondyra, Gancewska 2015). The experiences I made

during my field research in several municipalities are also a very strong argument for applying this technique.

5. The last argument refers to formal requirements. The Polish Revitalization Act (*Ustawa o rewitalizacji*) that entered into force in fall 2015 clearly lists exploratory walks as a good way to diagnose crisis phenomena. The document puts a strong emphasis on adopting a complex approach to revitalization. It seems that it is the exploratory walk technique that can to the largest extent incorporate environmental, infrastructural, economic, social and cultural aspects at the same time.

The concise nature of this article does not allow for elaborate examples, which would be a good illustration and explanation of the presented assumptions, principles and arguments. Here, only one minor but meaningful example will be discussed. In a town in Western Poland, research has been conducted on crisis phenomena and the possibilities to overcome the difficulties by means of a revitalization program. One of the important research questions concerned the cultural potential of the town and the ways to use it. Here, exploratory walks turned out to be a valuable way to collect information. They allowed the researcher to discern and reconstruct the relations between various aspects of the researched space.

For instance, well-preserved medieval walls were identified as a potential. If some conditions were fulfilled, they could become a major tourist attraction. A degraded area around those walls (garages, sheds, thick bushes, damaged roads) was considered as one of the deficits. Subsequent walks with various guides generated a number of ideas for future interventions. One of the postulated changes was to build a route for pedestrians and cyclists along the walls. Two kinds of pavement were suggested during the walks. As a person in a wheelchair was deliberately selected as one of the guides, the optimal kind of pavement could be chosen for the future route. Photograph 1 presents the pavement which fulfils the criterion of 'historicity'. However, the walk showed that such a pavement would make it more difficult for cyclists, people in wheelchairs and parents with strollers to use the route. The pavement presented in photograph 2 was considered to be better. This little example shows that going out in the field, having a look at its potentials and deficits from various perspectives, confronting those perspectives and trying to find an agreement, is a particularly fruitful way to learn about the reality and to change it.



Figure 1. The pavement for the future route, submitted to the consultations.
Source: picture made by M. Kwiatkowski.



Figure 2. The pavement for the future route, chosen in the course of exploratory walks
in Strzelce Krajeńskie.
Source: picture made by M. Kwiatkowski.

The next part of the article will present practical advice, inspired by the above-mentioned theoretical and methodological concepts but also resulting from the personal research experience of the author.

How to conduct exploratory walks?

For the exploratory walks to be truly educational, they need to be preceded by a sequence of tasks. Here, we will refer to those tasks as ‘steps’. The first step is about determining goals and research questions. In the case of research related to revitalization processes, those questions refer mainly to the potential found in a given area, i.e. those elements and properties that may contribute to the process of change. Another important goal is to identify deficits in the investigated area and to collect and compile suggestions (formulated in the course of walks) on how to solve problems and make use of the identified potentials.

The second step is to indicate the areas in which the walks are about to take place. It is a good idea to plan the route, including its most important (‘obligatory’) stops: places we would like to have a look at from different perspectives. Apart from the planned route and those ‘obligatory’ stops, it is worth asking guides to show us places that were not part of the original plan but for various reasons seem relevant.

The third step is about choosing the right time for walks. In some cases, this choice is crucial. The more the use of some space depends on the time of the day (or the day of the week), the more important it is to reflect on that while planning the walk. A study on the presence of various traffic participants (pedestrians, cyclists, drivers of private and public vehicles) is a good example for that. In this case, phases can be usually observed. In order to investigate them properly, walks at different times of the day are needed.

The next step is to prepare the team as well as the tools. The researcher may work alone but working in pairs seems to be the optimal solution. This way, it is possible to divide tasks. One researcher focuses on the conversation with the guide, the other one takes care of rather ‘technical’ tasks (taking notes and photos). Taking pictures is an important part of exploratory walks. Apart from a camera, the researcher should also be equipped with a notepad and, if need be, with a voice recorder. To be on the safe side, it is a good idea to bring an umbrella, too. The preparation process also includes compiling a list of information and opinions to be acquired. Such a list will be based on general assumptions and goals, the planned route and ‘obligatory’ stops, and it will serve as a basis for formulating questions to the guide.

While getting prepared for this kind of research, it is of uttermost importance to make a selection of guides. How should such a choice be made? First of all, the researcher should ensure that the guides represent various fields of activities (infrastructure, economy, the environment, social issues, culture) and various sectors of social life (public sector: administration, schools; private sector: businesses, business organizations; social sector: nongovernmental organizations, informal groups). Second of all, the guides should represent different views, too. For instance, they should not be all in favor of local authorities or all against them. It is desirable to reach both formal and informal leaders, enthusiasts and opponents of revitalization. When we apply this diversity principle, we are given a chance for confrontation, dialog and reconciling different points of view.

While trying to come up with the final list of guides, it is worth using a list of guides suggested by the municipal authorities as a starting point. However, our list should be longer and should also include people that we have found using the 'snowball effect'. If the research study has been commissioned by local authorities, it is a good idea to send out invitations to the guides, signed by a high representative of the authorities. Such an 'honorable' invitation may be a powerful incentive to get involved and take an active part in the project. The number of guides listed for participation should be higher than the target number, as some may refuse to take part or there may be other obstacles that would prevent the researchers from fully implementing their plans. Simply put, we should have some 'reserve' to ensure that the deadline for delivering results will be met.

The field work experience shows that one walk takes one to two hours. If several walks are to take place on the same day, a good idea is to schedule them every two hours. When making the appointments, one should think of guides' social roles and professions. Officials, delegated by their supervisors (which is often the case) are quite eager to take part in walks organized during their working hours. On the other hand, an entrepreneur may have a tight schedule with lots of business trips. To make it all work, we should be quite flexible while setting the date and time of the meeting.

One could say that exploratory walks, as a diagnostic technique used for designing revitalization programs, are of networking nature per se. Firstly, to prepare them, an access to a network of contacts, suggested by the client (usually municipal authorities), is needed. Secondly, the task entails expanding this network by adding new elements ('snowball technique'). Thirdly, the researchers expand their networks of contacts. This way they get an access to information, knowledge, opinions and valuable experience. Consequently, they are able to reconstruct a more detailed image of the re-

ality. Moreover, they become some kind of intermediaries in the discussion between people representing different views and opinions.

Exploratory walks may also carry out other functions related to networking. For instance, the researcher may intentionally try to serve as an intermediary, one that facilitates communication and cooperation, and consequently contributes to an increase in the efficiency of institutions. Even in small communities people who should know each other and work with each other may not be in touch. It is not uncommon that institutions and organizations target their offers at the same clients but do not coordinate their efforts. Exploratory walks are sometimes an occasion to discover such ‘interinstitutional gaps’ and to make an attempt to bridge them. Walks may also be an opportunity to collect and pass on information regarding the needs of disadvantaged individuals and families. Thanks to the knowledge acquired in the field, the researcher may inspire interventions and support on the part of social services and charities.

Another task is connected with the need to create a team of stakeholders that would supervise and support revitalization processes. The Revitalization Act of October 2015 includes a formal requirement to set up a Revitalization Committee, which is an advisory and consultative body to the municipal authorities. Exploratory walks are a good opportunity to recruit citizens and institutions for such an initiative.

* * *

The essential element of networking research is the researcher’s involvement in the process of creating, strengthening and analyzing relations and connections that exist between various stakeholders and should be conducive to social change. Exploratory walks are a special type of networking research. They consist in conducting individual and collective interviews in the public space, with a guide – an expert – playing an active part in the process.

In the light of the presented arguments, networking research addresses the needs of the modern society. It is particularly useful in local communities, which due to the lacking social bonds are often unable to efficiently solve their problems. A researcher, working on a diagnosis of a given community, intentionally contributes to creating ‘good connections’ between the investigated individuals, organizations and groups.

The ‘walk and talk’ technique, a special case of networking research, can be successfully used for developing revitalization programs, as it takes into consideration the complex nature of the process, one that includes infrastructural, environmental, economic, social, and cultural aspects. The

researcher, using and developing a network of expert contacts, is able to carry out a deep, complex diagnosis of potentials, deficits and possibilities for change in a given community. Thanks to his networking role towards people, initiatives, groups and institutions, the researcher contributes to making social changes that satisfy inhabitants' expectations and needs.

This article only presents the general overview of networking research studies and exploratory walks. There is a need to further investigate this topic and enhance research procedures as well as to ensure and facilitate future social experiments. That notwithstanding, other related domains and concepts should also be investigated, as their heritage might enrich the spectrum of available research procedures, techniques, and tools.

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Mariusz Kwiatkowski

EXPLORATORY WALKS AS AN EXAMPLE OF NETWORKING RESEARCH

Keywords: action research, cross-linking studies, research “walk & talk”, revitalization, participation.

The article concerns the author’s concept of a specific kind of social research. “Networking research” rely on connecting field work research with the intention of making social change. The aim of the networking research is “networking”, i.e. the strengthening of interpersonal relations, inter-organizational and cross-sector relations in the local community. This article presents “exploratory walk” (or “walk & talk”) as an example of application the concept of networking research. The article indicates the cognitive and practical benefits of using this approach, with particular emphasis on the revitalization process. The article presents the theoretical foundations of the networking research concept. It indicates a source of inspiration and basic assumptions. It justifies choosing the exploratory walk technique as a way of learning and simultaneously changing social reality. It presents some rules of conducting the “walk & talk” technique in the context of diagnosing a local community. It also presents how to use the method in during a process of preparing of revitalization programs. It also explains, presenting selected examples, what is the “networking” nature of the research.

Anna Mielczarek-Żejmo*

**FORMAL FRAMEWORK FOR PARTICIPATION
IN MUNICIPALITIES OF THE POLISH-GERMAN
BORDER REGION**

The idea of participation has been promoted in the EU member states for several decades as one of the conditions necessary for the success of social-economic processes at all levels of social life (Wódz, Wódz 2007, Kurczewska 2014). Its role was emphasized for instance in the Treaty establishing the European Community (Nice 2000) and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (Nice 2000). The obligation to support the relations between the authorities on one hand and representatives of civil society and the business sector on the other hand results in, among others, the shift from central to local management (Klijn, Skelcher 2007) where public social values are expressed, sanctioned and realised. Varied ways and scope of accepting the idea of participation in local communities are signs of their distinctness from macrostructures and of the significance of local conditions for the adaptation of concepts formulated at the highest levels of social structure. The method of implementation and the attitude of local communities to the idea of participation is expressed in the local law of EU member states which establishes the scope of co-decision competences of the citizens as far as local politicians and the direction of changes are concerned, in the local communities they belong to.

What are the conditions of local communities' participation in the decision-making process that are established by the local law provisions? What are the differences in the adaptation of the participation idea in the legislation of diverse local communities? What role, based on the documents establishing the conditions of the realisation of participation, is assigned to the participation in the local management?

The theoretical, empirical and practical arguments support the attempt to answer the questions instrumental for this article. (1) Participation is

* **Anna Mielczarek-Żejmo** – Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: border region sociology, the processes of institutionalisation, Polish-German relations, social networks and social participation, revitalisation; e-mail: a.mielczarek-zejmo@wpps.uz.zgora.pl

seen as a condition of overcoming the crisis in the social and economic sphere. In the context discussed in this article, the issues of social and civil participation inspire the academic world to create local development models (Lewenstein 2010). (2) The crisis is also observed in the political sphere. The weakening of the institution of representative democracy is noticeable.¹ At the same time, the level of direct involvement of citizens in the decision-making process in the political sphere remains relatively low (Olech 2012, Podgórska 2014). (3) Despite weaknesses and limitations of participation (Miessen 2013, Stankiewicz et al. 2015), its tools are put to practical use and bring positive results such as mitigating potential conflicts (Skrzypiec 2010), forming local policies (Celiński 2014) etc.

The Polish-German border region is an example illustrating the adaptation process of the participation idea. The example in question is the area of Lubuskie voivodeship and border districts of Brandenburg, the territory and the population of which are close to those on the Polish side².

The groups that have been selected are culturally, socially and economically diverse. The increase in border traffic after 1989 as well as in the German-Polish relations have contributed to the exchange of tangible and intangible goods (such as values). A large amount of data suggesting the development of interpersonal cross-border interrelations on the local level that has taken place since the opening of borders does not support conclusions about “massive intermingling of cultures and people through the vigorous acceptance of patterns and establishing contacts among people living on both sides of the border” (Kurcz 2009). There are arguments doubting the existence of the fully fledged border area concept which consider, among others, the development of relations and cooperation regarding public administration, institutions, organisations and their representatives (Kwiatkowski et al. 2014). On this basis, the selected communities are regarded as distinct and diverse.

The locally established provisions of law in the selected communities

¹The turnout in municipal elections in 2014 in Lubuskie voivodeship and in Brandenburg, examples that are subject to discussion in this article, did not exceed 50% and were respectively: 44.6% (PKW 2014) and 47.5% (Wybory do parlamentu... 2014).

²The population of Lubuskie voivodeship in 2015 was 1 018 075 and the territory 13988 km² (BDL 2016). The voivodeship is composed of 12 districts (including 2 cities with district (powiat) status: Zielona Góra and Gorzów Wielkopolski) and 83 municipalities. The conditions for participation on the German side have been analysed based on the data collected in five border districts (Barnim, Maerkisch-Oderland, Oder-Spree, Spree-Neisse, Uckermarkt) and two cities with district status located within their borders (Cottbus and Frankfurt/Oder). This area includes 59 districts with population of 937 225 in 2014 and with territory of 10 942 km² in 2013 (Genesis 2016).

are the source material for the analyses presented in this article. In the process of the analysis of the conditions for participation on the Polish side, the main focus was the content of the resolutions on rules and procedures regarding public consultations with the inhabitants of particular municipalities of the Lubuskie voivodeship (37 documents). As far as the German side is concerned, the documents establishing the conditions for participation which have been taken into account are statutes of the municipalities of the Brandenburg border districts (51 documents) as well as resolutions specifying details of the inhabitants' involvement in making decisions regarding public affairs (28 documents). In those documents, forms of public consultations were searched for. Additionally, some of the information found in the resolutions specifying the use of citizens' initiative, consultations with councils of public benefit and participatory budget in Poland were considered.

In order to specify the system that could be applied to the analysis of documents and searched information, I referred to the public consultation standards included in the publication being the result of the project aimed at spreading the idea of participation ("Let's decide together"). These standards became a point of reference for the assessment of conditions affecting the formation of the local law regarding the principle of partnership and participation in the local management. Based on those standards, there are favourable conditions for citizens to participate in making decisions when:

- citizens are provided with basic information on the consulted matter in appropriate locations and when it is indicated where particular information can be accessed;
- the objectives and the schedule of the consultations are clearly indicated and when the realisation of the consultation is justified as well as the way of presenting results is clarified;
- the opinions of the participants of the consultation are actively and thoroughly considered before making the decision, for example by incorporating methods enabling the citizens to form independent views;
- the consultations include representatives of as many groups as possible, including groups and categories that are not easily accessible (e.g. senior citizens);
- suitable methods are implemented, e.g. tailored to the participants of the consultations;

- the community is informed of the outcome of the consultations and of their influence on the decisions;
- the information is passed to appropriate departments and partners in order to ensure maximum influence of the local communities' views;
- the consultation activities are documented and evaluated in order to determine whether the standards were adhered to in the process of carrying out the consultations.³

Formal framework for participation in Polish municipalities

Polish national documents which refer to the conditions for citizens' participation in the decision making process on the local level and which discuss them in broad terms (indicate the few cases when it is obligatory to carry out public consultations) are, among others: Act on Municipality Self-government and other acts specifying the mechanisms of the functioning of local government bodies, Public Benefit and Volunteer Work Act, Act on the Principles of Development Policy, The Act on Social Assistance, Act on Spatial Planning and Development. Detailed conditions for involving stakeholders in the decision-making process are indicated in the Act on Revitalisation of 9 October 2015. It lists groups that should have the right to present their position regarding planned changes, it specifies stages and moments when the citizens must be included as well as forms and the duration of public consultations.

The statute of Lubuskie voivodeship does not contain requirements for participation in municipalities. The rules of participation for citizens of Lubuskie voivodeship refer only to the functioning of the voivodeship authorities. Those include the on-call duty hours of councillors (§ 9 point 2), publicising of the voivodeship assembly sessions of which the citizens are informed not later than 3 days before they begin (§ 20) as well as the scope and rules of the access to the documents generated in the process of the work of the self-government (chapter VIIIa).

Legal documents determining the participation of the citizens of Lubuskie voivodeship in the formation of local public policies include cooperation with non-governmental organisations programmes, regulations specifying the rules of the use of participatory budget, acts on citizens' initiative, acts on detailed procedure of consulting the non-governmental organisations and entities conducting public benefit activities on projects of the

³The elements of participation, published by Foundation of Social and Economic Initiatives.

local law acts and, discussed further in more detail, acts regarding rules and procedures of conducting public consultations with the citizens of the municipalities. Generally, forms of participation included in the statutes of the municipalities include: citizens' resolution-passing initiative, the procedure for petitioning and granting access to documents containing decisions made by self-government bodies.

The Act on Municipality Self-government is the legal basis for acts governing the rules of conducting public consultations in municipalities. These resolutions were adopted in Lubuskie voivodeship in 2008-2016. Over half of the analysed documents were adopted in 2014-2016. The acts indicate situations when public consultations must be conducted, specify the way of preparation as well as forms and methods of publishing information of the consultation process and results.

In nearly all of the municipalities, the reason to conduct consultations may be both circumstances indicated in the constitutional documents (the implementation of statutory requirements) as well as matters considered as significant for the municipalities. The only exception is the municipality where the resolution only provides for a possibility of conducting consultations when it results from statutory requirements.

31 documents provide for citizens' initiative concerning submitting a petition for public consultations. The regulations indicated in other acts state that only self-government bodies may make a decision to conduct consultations. The minimum value allowing for citizens' applying for consultations is indicated as a number or percentage. In most cases, 50 (11 acts) or 10% (8 municipalities) of citizens are enough to submit a request for consultations. 4 of the municipalities set high criteria for citizens' initiative where it is possible to announce public consultations after submitting a request signed by 20% citizens. Three acts provide for social organisations' initiative. They require the activity of one, three or five organisations.

Time required to announce consultations before they begin is indicated in twenty acts and it is 3 to 21 days. In most cases, the consultations are announced 7 days before they commence. There are a few exceptions where this period is 3 days (one municipality) and 21 days (2 municipalities).

22 municipalities specified the methods of announcing consultations. The citizens can usually find the information of public consultations on the website of Public Information Bulletin (20 municipalities), on information boards placed in the seats of City Council, Municipality Office or Village Administration Office (12 municipalities) or the website of the City Council or Municipality Office (11 municipalities). The municipalities which indicated the methods of publishing the announcement of public consultations

usually also planned to combine a few methods of informing citizens (2 to 4 methods) which makes it possible to inform a large number of citizens.

The acts adopted by municipalities Gorzów Wielkopolski, Kostrzyn, Międzyrzecz and Słubice stipulate the obligation to conduct an information campaign preceding or accompanying public consultations. The aim of the activity is to provide the citizens with comprehensive information on the subject matter of the consultations which is necessary to be able to make rational decisions.

The public consultations tools, indicated in the acts, include: (questionnaires for citizens; opinion polls, including surveys; (2) expressing opinions and submitting remarks in a written form; (3) face-to-face meetings with citizens, gatherings, debates; (4) village council meetings; (5) providing access to land-use plans that are being discussed; acts, programmes, strategies; (6) publishing projects in the consultation phase in the local press; (7) workshops; (8) issuing opinions on the subject matter of consultations by public benefit councils; (9) study tours, competitions, exhibitions, shows and presentations; (10) consultation panels where remarks are collected over a longer period of time which enables the participation of a large number of inhabitants. The most frequently indicated tools include: meetings with citizens, assemblies and debates (31 municipalities), questionnaires and public opinion polls (28 municipalities), expressing opinions in a written form and submitting remarks (22 municipalities). It is very rare that tools allowing for active and broad participation of inhabitants in forming local public policies, apart from face-to-face meetings and gatherings, are proposed. 7 municipalities (Deszczno, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Górzycza, Kostrzyn, Słubice, Szprotawa, Zabór) provide workshops while 2 municipalities (Kostrzyn, Słubice) provide study tours, shows and presentations. The only municipality that planned to hold consultation panels is Zabór.

In general, the acts provide for the use of more than one consultation tool. The only exceptions are Gozdnicza and Międzyrzecz municipalities where consultations may be conducted only in the form of expressing opinions and submitting remarks in a written form. On the other hand, the local law of two municipalities (Kostrzyn and Słubice) stipulate the obligation to choose two forms from among a few proposed.

10 acts specify the conditions and procedure of open meetings, assemblies and debates with citizens. These acts stipulate the obligation to inform about the meeting seven (7 municipalities) or fourteen days (1 municipality) in advance by: (1) placing an announcement on boards in in the seats of City Council, Municipality Office or Village Administration Office; (2) municipalities' websites; (3) Public Information Bulletin; (4) posters or (5) local

newspapers.

Few municipalities (7) indicated the duration of public consultations, which is 7 to 21 days. In a legal act adopted by the Zabór municipality, it is stated that there is a possibility to prolong the consultation period if need be.

Nearly all of the analysed acts (31) contain provisions indicating conditions for publishing of the public consultations' results. They oblige the entity leading the consultations to inform citizens of a municipality or a part thereof that the consultations were concerned with (30 acts), the members of the Municipality Council (22 acts) and a representative of the inhabitants initiating the public consultations of the process of the consultations and the conclusions. The most popular form of publishing was an announcement on the website of the Public Information Bulletin (17 acts), on the website of the City Council or Municipality Office (14 acts) and on the information board at the City Council, Municipality Office or the seat of the Village Administration Office (13 acts).

Additionally, an act adopted by the Słubice municipality stipulates the obligation to evaluate the completed public consultations.

Formal framework for participation in German municipalities

The legal documents of the German municipalities which indicate the conditions for involving citizens in the decision-making process are drawn up in compliance with the principles of the Municipal Act of the Land of Brandenburg (Kommunalverfassung des Landes Brandenburg). This document contains a description of tools enabling participation of inhabitants in the decision-making process and publication of decisions made by self-government bodies. In accordance with the statute of Brandenburg, the following forms allow for participation on the local level: an option to submit queries to the municipality council⁴, meetings of inhabitants. The statute reserves an option to apply other methods of involving public opinion. The fundamental document of Brandenburg also regulates the rules of submitting applications for a resolution by citizens (§ 14), citizens' initiative (§ 15) and the right to submit petitions (§ 16). The statute of the Land stipulates the obligation of a municipality to specify details of the forms of participation applied in the binding statutes or separate resolutions (§ 13).

⁴The consultation hours with the city council (Einwohnersprechstunden) usually take place before the municipal council meeting. Each citizen of a municipality has the right to ask questions to the council and to receive an oral or written reply. The local documents regulate the rules of conducting this type of consultation (duration of consultations, speaking time allocated to one citizen, the number of issues raised by one citizen).

This section of the article presents the results of analyses of documents binding in 51 German municipalities. The conditions for involving citizens in the process of making decisions that shape local public policies have been described in all statutes while 28 municipalities adopted additional provisions. The analysed documents were adopted in 2008-2016. Most of the legal acts (18) are from the 2008-2009 period.

German documents specifying the conditions for inhabitants' involvement in the decision-making process indicate the use of 18 different participation tools apart from the obligatory ones listed in the statute of Brandenburg. The local documents concern: meetings of citizens;⁵ procedure of informing of decisions made by self-government bodies; submitting remarks in a written form; questionnaires (with a possibility to vote on a given subject matter); participation in budget discussions; the location and use of mail boxes meant for delivering information to the authorities (local boxes for filing complaints and submitting applications); publication of documents in local press; providing access to plans, projects and maps related to the investments and land use management; consultation hours of the mayor; consultation hours of the municipality council representative; a hearing before the council; participatory budget; a mayor's report on their activities; advisory commission (seniors, children and teenagers). Local documents (statutes, legal acts) normally contain a description of the procedure: citizens' meetings, consultations before the municipality council and providing access to plans, projects and maps related to spatial planning. In addition to this, they concern citizens' initiative or the citizens' resolution-forming initiative.

The section below characterises conditions determining the process of inhabitants' meetings and providing access to plans, projects and maps regarding land use management. The listed tools are as close as possible to the rules for public consultations present in the legal acts of Polish municipalities.

Citizens' meetings are conducted regarding affairs that are relevant to the whole community or their part and all municipalities considered here are obliged to their realisation. The subject matters discussed with the citizens concern land use management, social, cultural, economical and other issues. Nearly all of the analysed documents specify the rules of submitting applications for conducting of a citizens' assembly. Signatures of 1 to 33% or 50 to 200 citizens are required in order to submit an application. Two of

⁵Meetings are announced after the beginning of an investment whose realisation affects a considerable number of people (the interested parties are informed of potential inconveniences that may appear in the investment realisation process, of duration of the realisation and its results).

the municipalities set strict criteria (33%; 200 persons). The procedure for announcing the date of a citizens' assembly is usually indicated in a statute of a municipality in the section discussing the publication of the date, place and agenda of a municipality council's meeting (requirements for announcements of a citizens' assembly are generally the same; in few cases an announcement of a citizens' assembly is published before the announcement of a municipality council's session). An announcement of a citizens' assembly shall be made public 3 to 14 days before it takes place. The documents of German municipalities usually indicate, seven, five and six days (respectively 14.9 and 6 statutes). The information is usually made public in press, on specific information boards (statutes list the addresses of specific boards) and in the local gazette. In most cases, municipal information boards are used for publishing information of a citizens' assembly.

Each citizen of a municipality has the right to participate in an assembly, to present their position on a given issue and to vote. In general, this right is gained from the age of 16. In the Letschin municipality, fourteen-year-olds have the right to participate in an assembly. A report of a citizens' assembly is presented to: the municipality council (32 documents), the mayor (17 documents), the authorities of the City/Municipality Council (12 documents), citizens (4 documents). Three documents specify the method of publication of a citizens' assembly's results. The channels for communication with citizens listed in those documents are local press and municipal information boards. In case of the Angermünde municipality, the documents indicate that in cases concerning a small number of people, questionnaires are to be sent to the citizens rather than to the assembly organisation. The recipients of the forms may voice their opinion or vote in a written form within 30 days of the receipt. Five other municipalities also provide for sending the questionnaires.

The rules for providing access to the plans, projects and maps regarding land use management are specified in the documents of 43 municipalities. 39 of them indicate a two-week period of providing access to the documentation, one of them – four-week period and three of them indicate that the self-government bodies decide how long the access should be provided. The documentation may be accessed by the interested parties during official consulting hours.

Final remarks

The analysis of local documents specifying the conditions for citizens' participation, in particular conducting public consultations, points to the differences between municipalities located on both sides of the Polish-German

border. Additionally, considerable differences have been observed between Polish municipalities. The results of the legal position comparison of Polish and German municipalities showed significant differences concerning: (1) legal status (source) of rules for involving citizens in the decision-making process (basis), (2) involvement of municipalities with documents specifying participation procedures (universality) and (3) forms and procedures for public consultations with citizens.

Basis

The conditions specifying forms of participation as well as rules and procedures for conducting public consultations in the border region municipalities of Brandenburg are found in local constitutional documents. Additionally, municipalities have the right to adopt documents indicating detailed solutions. Such documents indicate the obligatory forms of participation as well as procedure and rules for their implementation. These conditions concern both ongoing decision-making processes and extraordinary situations requiring consultations on matters significant to a municipality regarding various spheres of citizens' lives (such as citizens' assembly). The fact that conditions of announcing of citizens' assembly are on an equal footing to the conditions of announcing sessions of the municipality council raises the rank of public consultations.

The obligation to involve citizens in the decision-making process in the municipalities of the Lubuskie voivodeship is limited to few cases provided for by legal acts. Other forms of participation have been specified by municipalities voluntarily. The conditions for the realisation are included in acts adopted by municipality councils.

Universality

All municipalities of the district in the border region of Brandenburg are obliged to involve citizens in the decision-making process both during the realisation of ongoing policies and when making strategic decisions. Most municipalities of Lubuskie voivodeship have decided to conduct public consultations only in few cases provided for by legal acts. Forms of participation such as participatory budget or public consultations involving citizens or non-governmental organisations require adopting additional provisions by self-government bodies. The rules and procedures for conducting public consultations with citizens have been adopted by 45% of municipalities only. The legal acts analysed for the purpose of this work were adopted within the period of 3 years preceding the study. On the other hand, the German documents are older and are usually dated 2008-2009. It can be safely assumed that the validity period of the provisions is related to the extent they

are known to and popularised among the citizens.

Active participation

German municipalities are obliged to conduct public consultations in a way that enables citizens not only to form their views but also to exchange opinions and form a common position together with representatives of the self-government bodies (such as citizens' assembly). About 40% of municipalities decided to conduct public consultations with the use of tools enabling the exchange of opinions between citizens and representatives of local authorities and building a consensus. The most common form of this type of public consultations, as it is in case of German municipalities, are meetings, assemblies and debates with citizens.

Concluding, it seems that public participation principles regarding the functioning of public institutions in German municipalities show complementarity (Klijn, Skelcher 2007). The conditions indicated in documents create a possibility to support municipal entities in fulfilling their functions and in the realisation of the set targets thanks to the agenda which allows for broad access to information and works to the advantage of the forms of consultations.

The local provisions in Poland, or lack thereof, support active participation of citizens in the decision-making process to a lesser extent. They seem to present an instrumental approach to participation in the local management and use it to develop the authority of public institutions. The basic reason behind this state of affairs seems to be a low level of popularisation of legal acts specifying various forms of participation and also limitations as far as access to information is concerned (such as announcements of meetings). Moreover, tools that enable one-way flow of information (authorities-citizens or citizens-authorities) dominate over the exchange of views and forming a common position.

Three municipalities of Lubuskie voivodeship stand out here: Gorzów Wielkopolski, Kostrzyn and Ślubice. Acts on consultations in these municipalities fulfil the participation standards to the greatest extent. They provide for time needed to announce public consultations and to carry out an information campaign before and during the process. Among various tools of public consultations, the documents of these municipalities indicate citizen activations methods (workshops, study tours etc.). Two of them specify a relatively long period of consultations (21 days). The legal act adopted by Ślubice obliges the entity in charge of the realisations of consultations to evaluate the consultations.

The discussion presented in the article concerns only local legal provi-

sions, which determine the formal framework for participation of citizens in the process of making decisions regarding public affairs. The article does not demonstrate how this framework is implemented. Other research procedures are required in order to evaluate the level of participation in the municipalities of the Polish-German border region.

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Anna Mielczarek-Żejmo

**FORMAL FRAMEWORK FOR PARTICIPATION IN MUNICIPALITIES
OF THE POLISH-GERMAN BORDER REGION**

Keywords: public participation, participation standards, local management.

The paper presents how and to what extent the participation idea, promoted by the EU, has been implemented in local communities. The way of its implementation and the attitude of local communities are reflected in the local legislation adopted in the member states, which determines the framework for inhabitants' involvement in making decisions regarding local policies and the directions for changes in their communities. The key questions in the article focus on the conditions for members of local communities to participate in the decision-making process, indicated in the local legal provisions, on the differences in adapting the participation idea in the legislation of the municipalities in the Polish-German border region, and on the role of participation in local management. To answer these questions, the author analyses legal documents, adopted locally, which influence the conditions for the involvement of inhabitants in the Polish-German region. The last part of the paper presents the conclusions: in German municipalities, participation mechanisms show complementarity to the activities of public institutions, whereas in Polish municipalities, forms of participation are used instrumentally.

Jarosław Hermaszewski*

SOŁECTWO FUND IN THE CONTEXT OF INTEGRATION
AND COOPERATION IN RURAL AREAS. SŁAWA
MUNICIPALITY CASE

Introduction

The principle of subsidiarity stated in the constitution pertains to a number of aspects of social and economic life. It may and should be applied regarding cooperation on the lowest level of citizens' activities in a municipality, in particular in its subsidiary bodies. Through the provisions of the Local Government Act (Art. 5), the legislator enables the local government community to establish subsidiary bodies. It lists, among others, the following entities: sołectwo (a village administration unit), districts and housing estates. However, a village administration unit is of particular interest regarding allocating specific financial resources. This is why the legislator emphasised in the explanation of the project of the Village Administration Fund Act that "*this choice (sołectwo in rural areas) is justified by the fact that sołectwo – differently from districts/housing estates – overlaps with the local settlement networks (villages) and therefore represents the common interests of their inhabitants that result from common historical tradition. Next, the legislator adds that these interests – considering their scale – may often be satisfied on a level lower than the municipality level*" (Uzasadnienie do projektu... 2008).

The tasks of subsidiary bodies are specified in their statutes. What is common for all village administration offices are the general provisions concerning ensuring the possibility for all citizens to participate in matters regarding their residence, meeting the needs of the citizens of a village and playing the organisational function for the village community. Only when the range of responsibilities of a village administration office is specified in this way, it is required that they are at least in part self-financed. Without the village administration fund, the management of financial resources by

*Jarosław Hermaszewski – Ph.D. in Economics, State Higher Vocational School in Głogów; research interests: finances of local government, public management, local development; e-mail: j.hermaszewski@pwsz.glogow.pl

the village administration office depended on the good will of the municipality authorities. In some cases, it led to situations when citizens of particular villages were “bought” when it was necessary to obtain electoral support. It seems that allocating a specific amount for the purpose of fulfilling the tasks assigned to a village administration office will increase their social activity and lead to citizens’ initiative without the necessity to adjust to the local political conditions. As noted by the authors of the guide on the village administration fund, *the village administration fund is certainly not going to solve all of the village administration issues but it constitutes a chance for each of the villages and is a good starting point for joint discussion and organisation revolving around relevant issues* (Fundusz sołecki... 2012). It is also expected that thanks to the fact that citizens of a given village will have a real possibility to influence the way the funds allocated within the village administration fund are spent, the spending will be more economical and rational and that pro-developmental actions aimed at improving the living standards in a given village will appear. Given this thesis, the following research questions were asked: *Does the nature of expenditure evolve over the years from consumption-oriented into development-oriented as the village administration fund is being implemented?* and *Do we observe a growing integration in rural areas regarding the distribution of resources within the village administration fund?* Based on the analysis of the functioning of the village administration fund in the Sława municipality as well as the analysis of the expenditure trends, there was an attempt to answer the research questions and to verify the previously formulated thesis.

The village administration fund in the Sława municipality

The initiative to establish the village administration fund in the Sława municipality began in 2010. At that time, at the initiative of Lubuskie Voivodeship Governor, some of the village administrators of the Sława municipality participated in a conference titled “Village administration fund after one year”. The Village Administration Fund Act adopted by Polish Sejm in 2009 (Dziennik Ustaw 2014)¹ established real possibilities of managing a specified share of the financial resources of a municipality. The Act (Art. 2, section 6) states that *the resources of the fund are allocated to finance the plans which (...) are a responsibility of a municipality and which contribute*

¹The first Act that applied was the Village Administration Fund Act of 20 February 2009 (Journal of Laws 2009, No. 52, item 420, in Polish: Dz. U. z 2009, poz. 52) and it was replaced with the Village Administration Fund Act of 21 February 2014 (Journal of Laws 2014, item 301, in Polish: Dz. U. z 2014, poz. 301) – the references found hereinafter shall refer to the current version of the Act.

to improving living standards of the citizens and comply with the development strategy of the municipality. Such a catalogue of admissible spending of public resources has led to an increased interest of village administration offices in the possibility of acquiring resources for their own needs. On the other hand, the specified limitations may pose a number of interpretation issues as far as allocating resources to the village administration unit's own needs is concerned. This issue was observed as early as in the first year after the Act entered into force. According to Mirosław Paczocha (2009, p. 5), the solutions envisaged by the village administration fund are *too complicated*, the procedure too formalised and the requirements for plans irrational, moreover, *certain vital issues are not covered by the regulation*. Despite these doubts, all of village administration offices have expressed their deep interest in such a solution. While with earlier practices applied in the municipality, specific financial resources used to be previously allocated to each village administration office, it was more of a 'gentleman's agreement' than a systematic solution. The passing of the Village Administration Fund Act by the City Council of Sława ² has started a new chapter of active citizenship and increased the interest the citizens take in their community.

There are 21 village administration offices in the Sława municipality with the population including 70% of the municipality's whole population. This is why it is of great significance that such a large part of the municipality's population should have real and direct right to make decisions regarding their own territory. However, it remains to be confirmed by a deeper analysis of the functioning of the village administration fund in 2011-2015 whether it was really the case. Table 1 presents resources allocated to particular village administration offices within the village administration fund of the Sława municipality in the years 2011-2015. Significant differences between village administration offices are clearly noticeable. It results from the algorithm specified in the Act (Art. 3) that provides specific amounts based mainly on the population of a given village administration unit. Moreover, it is clear that in general, the value increases in each year. It is related to the so-called K_b notional amount for each municipality (Art.3, section 1). Notional amount K_b is generally calculated as a quotient of current actual revenues of a given municipality (...) and the number of citizens of the municipality (...).

²The Act in question is the Act permitting to establish a village administration fund for the year 2001 of 25 March 2010.

Table 1

Financial resources allocated within the village administration fund in the Sława municipality in 2011-2015

Village administration office	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Bagno	11 803.30	11 653.88	12 085.02	12 381.07	13 098.37
Ciosaniec	24 227.83	23 868.04	25 525.92	26 636.20	28 271.73
Droniki	10 419.66	10 337.21	10 817.57	11 490.12	11 866.34
Gola	12 706.91	12 634.37	13 381.95	14 040.07	14 913.98
Krażkowo	19 512.16	19 217.69	20 456.11	21 536.30	22 662.77
Krzepielów	26 458.60	26 277.26	27 677.65	28 848.20	30 411.56
Krzydlowiczki	6 014.60	9 272.68	9 785.92	9 923.29	10 472.21
Kuźnica Głogowska	12 735.14	12 662.29	13 529.33	14 623.79	15 400.31
Lipinki	24 199.59	23 924.07	24 847.98	25 775.97	27 720.56
Lubiatów	8 810.12	8 768.42	9 137.46	9 708.23	10 245.26
Lubogoszcz	21 404.08	22 635.42	24 405.85	26 298.25	14 978.83
Łupice	28 237.57	28 042.15	29 534.61	30 722.30	32 356.86
Nowe Strącze	8 555.98	8 488.28	8 960.60	9 278.12	9 953.46
Przybyszów	18 100.28	17 760.96	18 540.19	19 385.74	20 231.14
Radzyń	17 563.77	17 845.00	19 041.28	20 153.80	21 560.43
Spokojna	10 222.00	10 113.10	10 611.24	11 090,74	11 833.92
Stare Strącze	41 848.07	41 741.06	44 419.82	30 722,30	32 421.70
Śmieszkowo	17 987.33	18 013.09	19 070.75	20 215,25	21 625.28
Szreniawa	10 843.23	10 813.46	11 259.70	11 582,29	12 060.87
Tarnów Jezierny	9 346.63	9 188.64	9 785.92	10 291.96	10 893.69
Wróblów	12 537.48	12 522.32	13 057.72	14 101.52	14 687.03
Total	353 534.34	355 779.48	375 932.61	378 805.52	387 666.31

Source: author's own work.

Citizens' participation in the distribution of resources within the village administration fund

The citizens themselves decide on the distribution of the resources within the village administration fund at a village meeting. During the same meeting, those citizens may also reach a compromise on the purpose to which

the resources provided from the municipal budget should be allocated. The village meeting is announced in advance by a message from the head of the commune/mayor regarding the amount that is at the disposal of a given village administration unit in a following financial budget year. In other words, the purpose of a village meeting is to reach a common position regarding the distribution of the resources within the fund. Initially, it seemed that it would take prolonged discussion and arguments among the citizens about the way the public resources should be spent, however, it has not been confirmed in the experience of the Sława municipality. In most cases, the application submitted to the Mayor was signed by a small number of citizens participating in a village meeting.

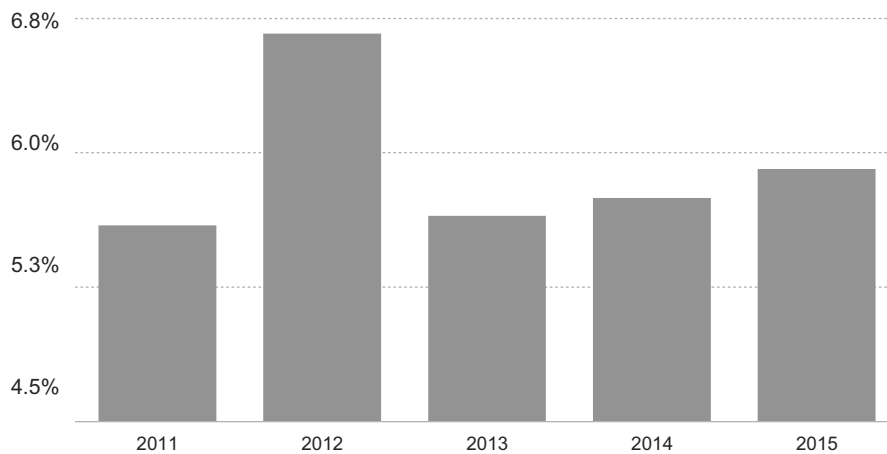


Figure 1. The percentage of citizens participating in the distribution of the resources within the village administration fund in the Sława municipality in 2011-2015 – the average number for all village administration units.

Source: author's own work.

The diagram above shows the share of the village community that participated in the village meeting devoted to allocating the resources of the village administration fund. It can be seen that the percentage of citizens participating in village meetings devoted to the preparation of an application for the distribution of resources within the village administration fund is low. It was the lowest in the first year (5.6%). In the following year, due to the enthusiasm resulting from the possibility to make decisions regarding own village administration unit, active citizenship increased significantly (to 6.7%) and then returned to the previous level. Next, it is important to

have a closer look at active citizenship in particular village administration units. Percentage of citizens participating in village meetings devoted to the distribution of resources within village administration fund in each village administration unit in 2011-2015 varied.

The highest turnout was observed in 2014 in the Bagno village administration unit (15.1% of citizens participated in the village meeting). Bagno is a relatively small village administration unit (201 citizens), however, citizens' awareness is relatively high there. Average turnout at village meetings in Bagno was 11.4% in 2011-2015. A relatively high turnout in the five years was observed in the Lubiaków village administration unit (10.9%). Lubiaków is one of the smallest villages (124 citizens), however, active citizenship generally remains at a steady level there. The turnout in the biggest villages may seem surprising: Stare Strącze (1320 citizens), Łupice (817 citizens) and Krzepielów (747 citizens). In these villages, the lowest turnout was observed (respectively: 1.1% in 2014; 1.1% in 2011; 1.3 % in 2015). The highest increase in the number of citizens participating in meetings (between the first meeting in 2011 and the meeting in 2015) was observed in Nowe Strącze (in 2011, the village administrator was the only person who participated in the meeting and in 2015, 14 people participated which constitutes 13% of citizens). Nowe Strącze is the smallest village administration unit in the Sława municipality (108 citizens). An opposite situation occurred in the Przybyszów village with 10.2% turnout in 2011 and merely 4.5% in 2015. Przybyszów is a relatively big village administration unit (440 citizens). The high turnout in the first year can be explained by the interest the citizens took in this form of citizens' participation. The most changeable village meeting turnout was observed in Lipinki where turnout was 3.9% in 2011, 5.5% in 2012, 2.7% in 2013, 6.3% in 2014 and 3.5% in 2015. Lipinki is one of the bigger villages (663 citizens). High turnout in 2014 can be explained by the fact that it was a period preceding elections (local government and village administrator elections) and the higher turnout may have been an element of the election campaign.

All in all, the following patterns have been noticed regarding the turnout in village meetings devoted to the distribution of resources within the village administration fund in particular village administration units:

1. in general, smaller villages are better organised and the citizens are more inclined to participate in village meetings,
2. in smaller villages, the awareness concerning the participation in meetings grew with each financial year,

3. bigger villages display lower interest in the participation in the distribution of resources within the village administration fund,
4. however, bigger villages are able to organise themselves when facing specific challenges and situations (see Lipinki, Łupice).

Spending of resources within the village administration fund

This section of this work specifies spending of resources within the village administration fund in the Sława municipality in 2011-2015. Expenditure items shall be specified in accordance with the budget classification, with the degree of detail of the paragraphs of the budget classification. Current and capital expenses shall be considered with particular attention to detail. It is commonly agreed that capital expenses are development-oriented expenses which increase the citizens' standards of living. It needs to be noted, however, that with the development of Polish democracy, the integration of rural communities, for instance, through organising a village festival, can have a bigger civic potential than one-off infrastructure expenses, such as the renovation of a village hall. This is why an assessment based on the share of capital expenses in total expenses does not have to equal higher cost-effectiveness. Notwithstanding these doubts, the analysis of spending of resources within the village administration fund shall focus on the composition of expenditure and the change in the nature of expenditure. It may be safely assumed that spending decisions where resources are allocated to soft (current) expenses are taken with a higher turnout. On the other hand, investment plans are realised with a low number of participants.

The cooperation of village administrators has been exemplary in the Sława municipality. Sława Village Administrators' Association (Sławskie Stowarzyszenie Sołtysów) registered in 2008 periodically organises meetings of village administrators where problems of village communities are discussed. The cooperation within the association started 3 years before the village administration fund was implemented in the Sława municipality. The association established the principles of cooperation, a visible sign of which was the ability to obtain financial resources from the municipality budget for the purpose of organising the community harvest festival (the amount of 30 thousand Polish złoty). The order of particular villages was agreed on and adhered to. Certain principles remained after the decision of allocating resources from the municipal budget was made by the Sława City Council. One of them is the issue of reserving financial resources by each village administration office for the purpose of holding a harvest festival. Therefore, from the amount available to each village administration office, an appropriate

amount is allocated to a common festival for all villages in the Sława municipality. In the 5 year period, this rule was upheld and most of the village administration units made a decision in village meetings to reserve a specific amount for the organisation of a common festival. It is a percentage agreed annually (in 2015 – 7.6% of allocated resources) (Table 2.).

The joint fund and the reserve fund are specific values that are secured in village meetings (the former covers municipal harvest festivals, the latter – the means for maintaining village halls and for unspecified purposes). In compliance with previous agreements between the Mayor of Sława and the Sława Village Administrator Association, an investment plan was developed. The plan includes building, modernisation or renovation of village halls in each village administration unit.

Table 2

Resources of the village administration fund in the Sława municipality in 2015

No.	Village administration unit	Number of citizens	Amount of calculated fund	Joint fund*	Village administration fund	Reserve fund*	Available fund
1.	Bagno	205	13 130.79	1 000.91	12 129.88	1 212.99	10 916.90
2.	Ciosaniec	684	28 660.79	2 184.69	26 476.09	2 647.61	23 828.48
3.	Droniki	176	12 190.56	929.24	11 261.32	1 126.13	10 135.19
4.	Gola	258	14 849.14	1 131.89	13 717.25	1 371.73	12 345.53
5.	Krażkowo	511	23 051.83	1 757.15	21 294.69	2 129.47	19 165.22
6.	Krzepielów	750	30 800.62	2 347.80	28 452.81	2 845.28	25 607.53
7.	Krzydłowiczki	120	10 374.95	790.84	9 584.11	958.41	8 625.70
8.	Kuźnica Głogowska	290	15 886.63	1 210.97	14 675.66	1 467.57	13 208.10
9.	Lipinki	661	27 915.09	2 127.85	25 787.23	2 578.72	23 208.51
10.	Lubiatów	126	10 569.48	805.67	9 763.81	976.38	8 787.43
11.	Lubogoszcz	295	16 048.74	1 223.33	14 825.41	1 482.54	13 342.87
12.	Łupice	797	32 324.44	2 463.96	29 860.48	2 986.05	26 874.43
13.	Nowe Strącze	109	10 018.31	763.65	9 254.65	925.47	8 329.19
14.	Przybyszów	424	20 231.14	1 542.14	18 689.01	1 868.90	16 820.11
15.	Radzyń	486	22 241.29	1 695.36	20 545.93	2 054.59	18 491.33
16.	Spokojna	166	11 866.34	904.52	10 961.82	1 096.18	9 865.64
17.	Stare Strącze	1 324	32 421.70	2 471.37	29 950.33	2 995.03	26 955.30
18.	Śmieszkowo	484	22 176.45	1 690.42	20 486.03	2 048.60	18 437.42
19.	Szreniawa	172	12 060.87	919.35	11 141.52	1 114.15	10 027.37
20.	Tarnów Jezierny	154	11 477.28	874.87	10 602.42	1 060.24	9 542.18
21.	Wróblów	271	15 270.62	1 164.02	14 106.61	1 410.66	12 695.95
TOTAL		8 463	393 567.06	30 000.00	363 567.06	36 356.71	327 210.36

Source: author's own work.

In the Sława municipality, nearly all village administration units have a village hall or a culture centre. In addition to culture centres, village halls are maintained by a village administrator and the village council. This is

why the position of association states that it is only reasonable that financial resources be reserved for the entities maintaining village halls in order to carry out clean-up works around village halls and for other maintenance costs. This is one of the objectives of the reserve fund. The remaining types of expenditure within the village administration fund are clearly stated in village meetings and the spending limit for those purposes is agreed on.

In compliance with Article 5 of the Village Administration Fund Act *The condition for allocating resources within the fund in a given financial year is submitting an application by a village administration office to the Head of the Commune/Mayor.* Section 3 states that *an application should provide a plan that is to be realised on the territory of a village administration unit within the resources allocated to a given village administration unit (...) as well as an estimation of the costs and an explanation.* Regarding the available fund, the citizens decide on the actual spending. Table 3. shows what the village administrator offices generally allocate the resources to.

Table 3

Expenditure items within the village administration fund in the Sława municipality in 2011-2015

Expenditure	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Salaries	3 000.00	17 107.00	17 470.65	22 340.20	21 822.84	81 740.69
Materials and equipment	88 331.35	82 406.00	202 760.98	240 352.46	200 243.80	814 094.59
Other services	84 764.23	32 318.00	37 196.87	27 400.42	37 090.21	218 769.73
Investments and renovations	183 622.78	223 946.00	118 404.09	88 712.44	113 532.51	728 217.82
Total	359 718.36	355 777.00	375 832.59	378 805.52	372 689.36	

Source: author's own work.

The expenses from the category "Salaries" refer to salaries paid to village hall managers. 16 out of 21 village administration offices have this category of expenses. The role of a village hall manager is to take care of its surroundings, equipment and providing access to a village hall. The expense category "Materials and equipment" is the most costly category in the village administration fund. Village administration units spend over 43% of resources on this category. The purchase of materials and equipment include the purchase of food for the purpose of organising village festivals (such as Women's Day, Children's Day, Santa Claus event) as well as the purchase of equipment for the needs of a village hall (such as chairs, tables, cutlery, kitchen equipment) and the purchase of decorative materials for the village (planting of trees, illuminations, information boards). It has to be added

that “The purchase of materials” is a very broad category. The experience of village administration offices shows that this category may also include spending for the purpose of improving a village’s infrastructure, for example on granite paving bricks for the meeting area or renovation materials that can be used for completing a task. Voluntary community involvement is still popular in rural areas and citizens with specific qualifications are willing to become engaged in such activities. The next category – “Services” – includes development-oriented tasks. The work of village administrators and citizens’ care for their environment often leads to offerings made for the local community. The cooperation with the Sława Forestry Management results in the provision of wood, for instance, for the purpose of the construction of shelters in meeting areas or a fence in playgrounds. Due to the fact that there are major meat factories (Balcerzak i s-ka, Biodama, TG Nowa, Tarczyński) and champignons growing facilities (Hajduk company) located in the Sława municipality, the social responsibility of those plants is also reflected in their sponsoring various events in village administration units as well as providing necessary equipment, for instance, for a village hall. The category “Services” is a range of tasks assigned to external entities, such as festival management, preparation of an inflated playground, transport related services, the completion of specific tasks etc. Annually, circa 10% of all expenses of village administration offices fall into the “Services” category.

Table 4

Percentage share of expenses within the village administration fund in the Sława municipality in 2011-2015

Expenditure	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average
Other services	23.6%	9.1%	9.9%	7.2%	10.0%	11.9%
Materials and equipment	24.6%	23.2%	53.9%	63.5%	53.7%	43.8%
Salaries	0.8%	4.8%	4.6%	5.9%	5.9%	4.4%
Investments and renovations	51.0%	62.9%	31.5%	23.4%	30.5%	39.9%

Source: author’s own work.

“Investments and renovations” is one of the most important categories. Village administration offices are well aware of the fact that expenditure determines the development of the municipality and village administration units. As can be seen in Table 4, the first years of the village administration fund show significantly higher spending on renovations and investments. In 2012, when the most was spent on investments, only 1 village administration

office did not allocate any resources to investments while other units (20 village administration units) allocated 35% to 95% of their resources to capital expenses. The biggest share of investment expenses was observed in Ciosaniec – 94.6% of expenses (developing of a plot into a meeting area) and in Droniki – 94.65% of expenses (replacing the floor in the village hall).

In the analysis of capital expenses of village administration units, certain patterns become noticeable, namely, the resources are allocated mainly to the purposes concerning all citizens (most frequently: renovation of village halls, preparation of meeting areas, modernisation of sports fields as well as renovation of fire stations). Investments such as laying a pavement or other tasks in a selected part of a village, where they do not benefit the whole community, are less frequent. Those patterns confirm the existence of the idea of participation on the level of village administration units. As noted by the authors of the guide “Municipal budget explained” (in Polish: “Budżet gminy bez tajemnic”) (Skrzypiec, Długosz 2007, p. 12): *the specific character of participation on the self-government level can be seen in:*

- *relatively close relationship between a citizen and public authorities, (...);*
- *the range of tasks of self-government bodies which concern basic public services that are highly relevant to the daily life of a citizen;*
- *high number of entities (of different status) participating in the decision-making process and debates regarding resources on the local level (such as those related to space).*

Such behaviour is noticeable on the level of subsidiary bodies in the municipality. Ties between citizens of a given village administration unit dominate over anonymity. The common interest is above individual needs. The investments, such as a meeting area or a village hall clearly benefit the whole community of a village. On other hand, tasks such as a sports field or a fire station constitute an important aspect that differentiates a given community from others. Consequently, village administration units seek investments that will raise their social status through creating better infrastructure and improve their sense of security that a fire station offers.

To sum up the discussion on the functioning of the village administration fund and related experience of the Sława municipality, the following facts need to be emphasised:

- the 2010 decision to establish the village administration fund within the Sława municipality’s budget was a sound and correct decision;

- the involvement of the rural community in the distribution of the resources within the village administration fund is low but the effects of the expenditure are clearly visible;
- a number of rational patterns are observed as far as the allocation of resources within the village administration fund is concerned – nearly 40% of all resources is spent on investments and out of the 55% of spending on materials and services, 80% is allocated to the purpose of renovation and modernisation;
- the tradition of organising (common) harvest festivals is maintained and is financed by all village administration offices;
- there is a high sense of responsibility and care for good maintenance of the village infrastructure which can be seen in the fact that financial resources are spent on salaries for village halls' managers.

The above-mentioned facts, however, do not provide a clear answer to the research questions asked at the beginning. Is the character of expenditure changing as new budgets are established? It is not clearly noticeable. At the same time, a counter-question might be asked: *why would this character change?* The differentiation between consumption-oriented and development-oriented expenses has not been demonstrated in the work. However, after the analysis of expenditure within the village administration fund, it becomes clear that the issue cannot be approached in the classic way. It is commonly believed that current expenses are consumption-oriented and capital expenses are development-oriented. Regarding the use of the village administration fund, it is not rare that current expenses contribute to improving the standard of living of citizens and result in an improvement of the technical infrastructure of a village administration unit and most of all, they help integrate the rural community around certain objects, such as a village hall, meeting area, sports field or a fire station. That is why it seems that most expenses are of development-oriented character and a higher share of infrastructure expenses in the first years after the establishing of the village administration fund was caused by existing deficiencies. Only when the situation regarding the condition of village halls, squares and meeting areas, sports fields and fire stations became normalised, was it possible to allocate resources to the “soft integration” (organisation of meetings, festival and sports events).

The objective of the analyses was also to learn about the character of the integration in rural communities. As the conducted analysis of the turnout at village meetings shows, there is no visible trend. It seems that an

interest in meetings where decisions regarding allocating funds to a given village administration office are made remains low. However, is this really the most significant matter? As the authors of the above-mentioned handbook "Municipality budget explained" (ibid. 2007, p. 12) state: *in Polish studies, there are also justified statements saying that civic participation may be less significant to the development of self-government since it is in a way replaced by a strong and effective leader of a local community who surrounds themselves with a team of competent and motivated local managers (...)*. If a village administrator, supported by the village council, assumes this role and if there are meetings organised at their initiative where decisions on the distribution of resources are made, no counter-initiative is present and the local community actively benefits from the results of the distribution, a particular high turnout at village meetings is not necessary. This also confirms the thesis proposed earlier which states that rural communities represent a well-defined common interest resulting from common historical tradition. This also supports the statement that not all actions and relations existing in social relations may be generalised. The specific features of village administration units show that human relations have a significant influence on the citizens' standard of living.

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Jarosław Hermaszewski

**SOŁECTWO FUND IN THE CONTEXT OF INTEGRATION AND
COOPERATION IN RURAL AREAS. SŁAWA MUNICIPALITY CASE**

Keywords: the principle of subsidiarity, the budget of the municipality, sołectwo fund, active citizenship.

Article refers to the constitutional principle of subsidiarity. The author assumes that this principle should be applied already at the lowest level of civic activity, in the municipality and its auxiliary units. Sołectwo it is the basic case of the auxiliary unit in Poland.

The article is a case study of the Sława municipality, located in the western part of Poland. The sołectwo fund as an important form of implementation of the principle of subsidiarity has been developed for a few years in the community. The author focuses on the socio – economic aspects of the initiative. The official data that illustrate the conditions, course and consequences of the development budget of the sołectwo fund are analyzed and presented in the text.

The presented data indicate that allocating a certain amount of financial resources to fulfill the tasks entrusted to sołectwo can increase their social activity and trigger civil initiatives as well. It can also give a chance that the inhabitants of a village can be interested in influencing the councils and in shaping directions of spending a commune's money. In this way they can contribute to an increase in economic efficiency and rationality of these expenditures. The process of liberating pro-growth measures can help to improve the quality of life of inhabitants of the village.

Dorota Szaban*

**WHO IS ABOUT TO ACCEPT THE SURFACE MINE?
SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PROJECT
OF ENERGETIC COMPLEX GUBIN-BRODY**

Introduction

This paper refers to the plans of an opening of a new surface mine and power plant based on the resources of the Gubin lignite deposit in Lubuskie province. This is an investment which social reception is very controversial and is an interesting laboratory of social relationships. It is an example of a situation rarely encountered in the Polish reality. The thematic of conflicts connected with infrastructural investments is not popular in social studies, and even less considering energy issues, particularly relating to conventional energy. The planned open-pit mine will affect an area of two communities – municipal Gubin and municipal Brody. The project is treated as a very important one for the Polish power system and has been taken into account in strategic documents of the Polish government and regional strategies (Naworyta 2011, Naworyta, Badera 2012). As almost every planned investment related to energy Gubin-Brody project generates social anxiety and unrest. Residents of the community are afraid of mine's negative impact on a daily life and health, and do not trust the solutions that are applied in the process of investment. The most important part of any investment process is to obtain social acceptance of residents of the investment area. This consent sometimes turns out to be the greatest value of the investment location (see also Kasztelewicz, Klich 2008). This acceptance can also be treated as a barometer of trust of both involved in the investment: residents, and the entire energy sector. Various subjects involved in investing procedure influence the local community wanting their members to get a support – either they want to force people to accept the investment or they try to create the conditions conducive to the resignation from the investor plans

***Dorota Szaban** – Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: sociology of energy, social conflicts, sociology of youth and education, methodology of sociology; e-mail: d.szaban@is.uz.zgora.pl

to build a mine. These actions are also relevant to other decisions of local authorities

The aim of this paper is to obtain empirical knowledge about the nature of the conflict situation related to the plans of building an energy complex Gubin-Brody with special emphasis on the perspective of its inhabitants. An important element of the analysis is therefore to learn what the inhabitants of Gubin and Brody think about many aspects of the planned investment, underlying diagnosis of the conflict situation in this regard is necessary. The author attempts to identify socio-demographic features of local community favoring social acceptance for the investment. In the analysis of the attitudes towards the investments an important aspect is also to determine whether the vision of building the mine becomes the factor dividing local communities mainly into opponents and supporters. The characteristic of supporters and opponents of energetic complex Gubin-Brody is presented in dynamic perspective. The intention of diagnosis may also become an indicator of public sentiment on issues of conventional energy in terms of local and regional character.

The author assumes that social attitudes towards the investment will crystallize over time. It is connected with the gradually increasing proportion of people declaring themselves as strongly for or strongly against the investment. At the same time it can be assumed that the actions of people with extreme views will be more visible in the community and they can decide on the formation of the conflict situation around the planned investment.

Conceptualizing social acceptance for open-lit lignite mine

The subject of this paper is located somewhere between sociology of conflict and sociology of energy. Maintaining a certain level of economic growth requires a continuous supply of energy. Polish security in this area is treated as a necessary condition for every sphere of economic and social life. Achieving a certain level of security in terms of energy supply is a challenge determined by many external circumstances and variables (mainly regulations at the European and global level). Existing coal mining, which is the main element of the Polish energy sector, will be soon limited due to resource exhaustion. Lignite and coal not only remain the cheapest source of energy, but they are also the only ones by which we, as a country, are self-sufficient in terms of energy (Kasztelewicz, Klich 2008, p. 99). Energy companies are looking more and more for new solutions and one of them is the idea of commissioning of the mine and coal-fired power plants in Lubuskie. Successful investment requires social acceptance.

Social acceptance is a term used frequently in the literature concerning energetic issues (Shackley et al. 2006, Beuermann, Santarius 2006). Definitions of social acceptance therefore distinguish three dimensions: socio-political acceptance, community acceptance and market acceptance (Wuestenhagen et al. 2007). In this paper the author concentrates on only one of those three dimensions – community acceptance. Community acceptance refers to the specific acceptance of siting decisions and energetic projects by local stakeholders, residents and local authorities. Defining the social conditions determines the success of an energetic project. Open-pit lignite mining covers large areas and usually generates social conflicts which can be treated as threats for energetic security (Frączek 2010). Problems with the social non-acceptance of the mining projects are a result of globalization, democratization and easier access to information. It enables the activity of many subjects, especially local communities, ecological organizations and independent media. Thus, local communities have been equipped with the instruments needed to fight unwelcome investments (Badera 2010). The legal regulations enable the community to express its opinions and remarks concerning the planned investments. Objections of the community may influence the local government's decision and even hold the procedure of investment. The development of energetic investment is possible only by obtaining a social acceptance to operate and mutually treating companies and local communities as partners (Esteves, Barclay 2011).

A particular feature of community acceptance is that it has a time dimension. As Maarten Wolsink (Wuestenhagen et al. 2007) demonstrates, the typical pattern of local acceptance for the energy project follows a U-curve in dynamic perspective. Initially it is going from high acceptance to (relatively) low acceptance, during the siting phase (usually still positive on average), and back up to a higher level of acceptance once a project is up and running.

Community acceptance issues create also the space where the debate around NIMBY syndrome¹ unfolds. There can arise some argumentation of the difference between general acceptance and then resistance to specific

¹The acronym NIMBY stands for “not in my backyard.” This term has been used to characterize local, grassroots movements that are endeavoring to resist the siting of some unwanted land use in a particular neighborhood or community. NIMBY movements have formed to oppose a wide array of undesirable entities that include environmental hazards (landfills, waste incinerators, polluting industries), perceived social hazards (homeless shelters, prisons, mental health facilities), and aesthetic offences (wind turbines, airports, cell phone towers). In this paper NIMBY syndrome is used to characterize social attitudes towards surface lignite mining project in Lubuskie province declared by opponents of the investment.

project. Investments concerning mine building are connected with significant environmental conversion, and that's why they usually do not receive social acceptance.

Developing of large-scale lignite excavation can often generate socio-environmental conflicts between mining-energetic companies and various stakeholders, such as local communities or ecological organizations. Lignite open-pit excavation involves the big area of land and the necessity to relocate the whole groups or communities. The other factor generating possible social conflict around investment is the perception of unfair outcomes (perceiving benefits for some sections of the community at the expense of others) which can result in protests, damaged relationships and divided communities. Social acceptance for investment can be achieved only through dialogue. Communication between stakeholders, planned and implemented in accordance with specific standards can prevent crisis situations (Badera, Kocoń 2014). The possible conflict around investment, which could be a positive force and development of a community, should be effectively moderated. Hence the study on the impact of conflicts on local development is so important.

The issue of social acceptance of energy investment is multi-factored, among the main reasons for the lack of social acceptance are imposing investment from a position of strength investor (economic, legal), ignorance of the technology by the public, skipping social fears and not taking them into account in decision-making, lack of benefits for local communities (Łucki, Misiak 2010).

Methodological background

The empirical base of analysis in this paper presents results of survey conducted from 2011 to 2015 with inhabitants of two Lubuskie municipals Gubin and Brody. For methodological reasons (the possibility of making equivalent comparisons) in the study there are implemented the same rules for the selection of units for testing. The selection of village was based on simple random sample. Sampling frame was a list of all the locations, arranged alphabetically (separately for the municipality of Gubin and Brody). The list prepared in such a way excluded settlements, hamlets and lodge. The decisive factor in the amount of random village was the size of municipalities. The respondents chose to the survey are 18 or more. With such a defined population, we had some people in a quota sample of 250 people which became the representation of the population. We have established that the essential things that to achieve the objectives of the study following characteristics: gender, age, and place of residence are controlled.

We used four age categories (18-24; 25-39; 40-59; 60+) and two residential categories (Gubin municipalities' inhabitants; Brody municipalities' inhabitants).

Attitudes towards investment

In fact, it is rare that the subject of social research were attitudes on the basis of which to diagnose potential conflict, at different moments of its occurrence. Typically, in the analysis of social conflicts they are analyzed retrospectively and during the analysis a certain strive to understand the already existing conflict appears. When we want to find motives of the conflict, we should remember that the motives are based on an important elements of the diagnosis, which are the attitudes and moods of local community.

Mahlon Brewster Smith in 1947 for the first time identified three essential components of social attitude: affective, cognitive and behavioral. In this paper the author uses this definition developed by Stefan Nowak (1973). Attitude to a subject is generally relatively stable disposition to assess the subject and to respond to it emotionally, we can also say that what possibly accompanies this attitude are the emotional evaluation dispositions of assets or beliefs about the nature and properties of the object, and the relatively stable dispositions to behave in a certain way towards this subject. At the same time the most important element of the attitude is an affective component (see also Marody 1976). There are several important elements that influence the affective component of attitudes (Wojciszke 2005). It can be considered the strength of the influence of classical conditioning. Multiple appearance (almost universal presence) of an idea of the investment (as a result of the activities carried out by all entities involved), which is not neutral because of the wide range of changes, evokes emotions in a certain direction. It can be also an operant conditioning connected with the appearance of strong positive or negative emotions when events related to the matter of attitude take place and emotions are the effect of persuasive campaigns. Shaping attitudes towards investment within their affective component is also the phenomenon of habituation. Habituation can be defined as "learning" the importance of investment. It has to do with the attitude that originally aroused strong concern and was automatically conducive to the emergence of negative emotions. Hence the analysis of component behavior is dynamic.

The main indicator which allows the author to interfere with social attitudes towards the planned investment is a question of social acceptance to it. In the analyzed study respondents answered the question of their acceptance for the Gubin-Brody investment, placing their opinions on the

scale running from point 1, meaning resolute opponents of the investment, to the point 10 – strong supporters of mine and power plant.

Tracking opinion changes in the long term perspective gives much more information and the ability to draw conclusions on the basis of long-term trends rather than individual swings in sentiment. For the purpose of analyzing ten-point scale has been recoded to five values.

Social situation in Gubin and Brody in connection with the planned construction of a lignite mining and power plant in this area is constantly changing. Social research carried out systematically has illustrated the increase in the level of social acceptance for investment plans.

Dynamic perspective shows increasing percentage of people who describe themselves as “resolute supporters” of the project of energetic complex. Such a conclusion is based on a comparison of completed survey data. Surveys conducted from 2011 illustrate upward trend (2011 – 26.2%, in October 2015 – 38.4%). This does not mean that any further survey brings higher proportion of responders in this way. It is rather some kind of a waving – once a small increase, sometimes a slight decrease in the percentage of resolute supporters. Presented attitudes are not well established and some circumstances or events can cause significant changes in the attitude towards investment.

Fairly stable (around 10%) is the level of respondents describing themselves as “moderate supporters” of the energetic complex, as well as those who declare that they are hesitates (about 20%). On the side of the opponents, stable level characterizes “moderate opponents”. Taking into account small changes in subsequent measurements (heave reviews) we can estimate their size at about 5%.

In the social environment related to the planned investment we can find many different social actors. These individuals may take different positions via energetic complex: they can support or oppose the project. They can also be varied in their level of involvement in the conflict, and its accession to it. More and more social actors notice the benefits mining investment can bring to them. This also applies to the organization of development-oriented areas of both municipalities, representatives of business and scientific institutions. Exceptions are ecological organizations, which type of attitude towards the investment is defined in sociological literature as BANANA syndrome (Built Absolutely Nothing, Anywhere Near Anything – “not build absolutely anything anywhere and close to nothing” – different type of NIMBY syndrome). It means dealing with a total disagreement and rejection of the plan for the development of conventional energy, and thus the planned investment.

Attitudes towards energetic investment are differentiated along with

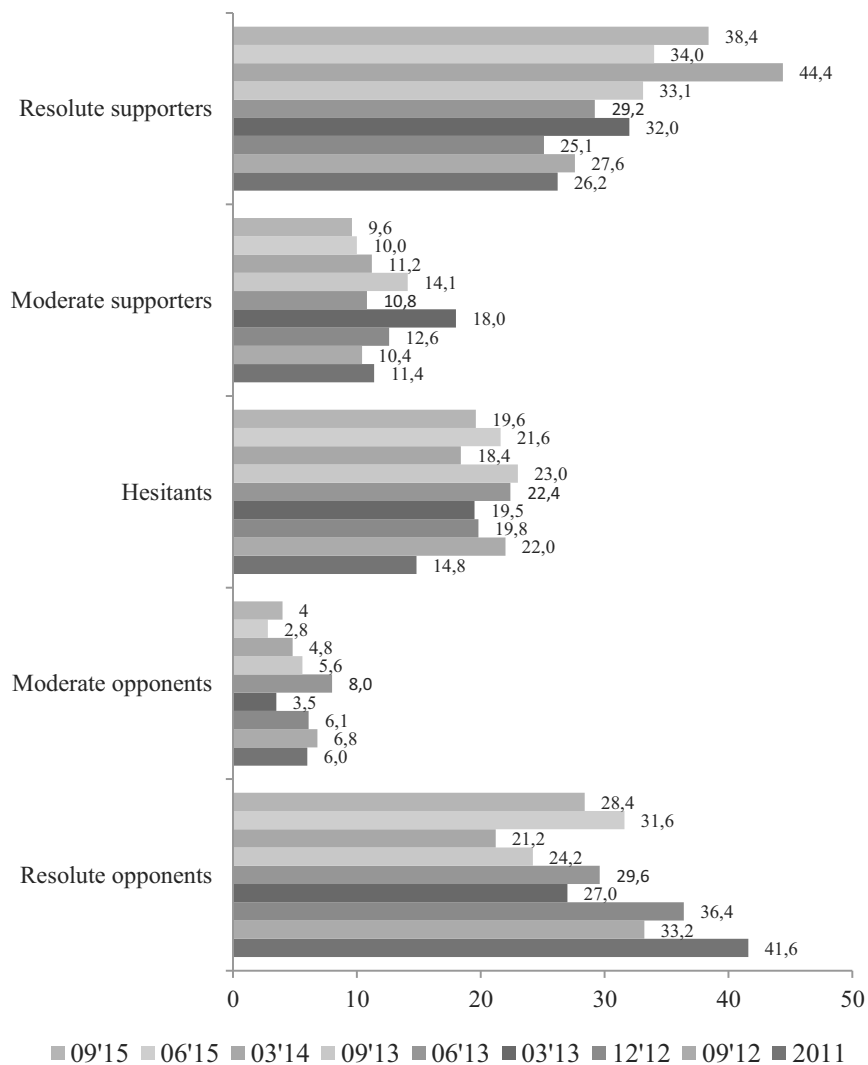


Figure 1. Social acceptance towards investment (%).
 Source: author's own work.

socio-demographical characteristic of inhabitants of Gubin and Brody municipalities. The analysis shows who support the investment and who seems to be possibly convinced to it. Both municipalities have been dominated by supporters of the project of energetic complex. Data from the last survey (10'15) show that in the municipality of Gubin there are 17.2% more supporters, while in the municipality of Brody – 14.9% more. In Gubin the

gap between supporters and opponents in the last year was as a result of increasing the percentage of supporters (of 7.3%) and a parallel decrease in the percentage of opponents by 2.8%. In Brody the situation was slightly different – data show a decrease of the percentage of opponents by 2.1%, and parallel decrease of the percentage of supporters by 2.6%. Dependence between attitudes towards investment and municipal of residents are not statistically significant (exception – survey from September 2012).

The dynamic analysis shows that the attitude of the respondents living in areas of planned investment underwent major changes and were characterized by a transition from the prevailing attitudes against the investment to the higher percentage of supporters (opponents: 2012 – 61.2%, 10/2015 – 33.8%; supporters: 2012 – 27.8%, 10/2015 – 48.7%). The attitudes of the respondents living outside the planned investment did not show nearly as large changes (opponents: 2012 – 34.1%, 10/2015 – 31.0%; supporters: 2012 – 40.8%, 10/2015 – 47.6%). As a result of the observed flows and changes in attitudes towards the planned investment data are very similar in both areas. This dependence was statistically significant in December 2012, June 2013 and October 2013.

The other variable differentiating respondents' attitudes towards the planned investment is gender. In both categories of respondents, distinguished by gender, supporters of mine and power plant dominate (result represents the difference between supporters and opponents of women – 3.2%; men – 29.3%). It can therefore be concluded that women look more skeptically at the project of building energetic complex, while men are more likely to accommodate to it. This dependence is not statistically significant.

The age of respondents is not a factor that clearly indicates some regularity in the long term perspective, however there are some important conclusions. In each categories in the last survey (September 2015) supporters of investments dominate over the opponents: (18-24) – 12.2%; (25-39) – 6.7%; (40-59) – 25.6%; (60+) – 18.4%. There is also some specificity of the youngest residents (18-24). In dynamic analysis the percentage of opponents clearly increased (2013 – 26.8%; 09/2015 – 39.0%) and the percentage of supporters decreased (2013 – 56.1%; 09/2015 – 51.2%). It is also a category of those who have the most polarized opinions – only 9.8% of them qualify as neither supporters nor opponents. Domination of investment's supporters is more noticeable among the elderly residents over 40 years old. This relationship was statistically significant from June 2013 to June 2015.

Table 1

Attitudes towards investment and municipal of residents (%)

	Gubin						Brody									
	9'12	12'12	3'13	6'13	10'13	3'14	6'15	10'15	9'12	12'12	3'13	6'13	10'13	3'14	6'15	10'15
Opponents	40.1	47.4	32.6	29.8	26.1	29.1	35.3	32.5	39.3	29.9	24.7	53.5	37.3	20.5	32	29.9
Hesitants	26.0	20.9	21.3	24.8	24.2	18.2	22.3	17.8	15.5	16.4	13.7	17.4	19.3	18.5	20.6	25.3
Supporters	33.9	31.6	46.1	45.3	49.7	52.7	42.4	49.7	45.2	53.8	61.6	29.1	43.4	55.2	47.4	44.8

Source: author's own analysis.

Table 2

Chi-square indicator statistics

	Value	df	Significance	Value	df	Significance
9'12	13.280	2	0.001	10'13	0.027	2
12'12	2.274	2	0.321	3'14	1.726	2
3'13	1.300	2	0.522	6'15	0.497	2
6'13	4.058	2	0.131	10'15	0.528	2
						0.987
						0.422
						0.780
						0.768

Source: author's own analysis.

Table 3

Attitudes towards investment and area of living (%)

	Investment's area						Non-investment's area								
	9'12	12'12	3'13	10'13	3'14	6'15	10'15	9'12	12'12	3'13	6'13	10'13	3'14	6'15	10'15
Opponents	61.2	42.1	33.4	40.8	32.7	39.6	33.8	33.1	42.3	29.3	30	27.1	23.8	33.2	31.0
Hesitants	11.1	25.8	15.3	14.3	16.4	18.7	17.6	25	18	21.0	24.2	25.1	19.0	22.2	21.4
Supporters	27.8	40	41.4	44.9	50.8	41.7	43.7	40.8	39.6	49.7	45.8	47.8	47.1	44.6	47.6

Source: author's own analysis.

Table 4

Chi-square indicator statistics

	Value	df	Significance	Value	df	Significance	
9'12	5.760	4	0.218	10'13	10.069	4	0.039
12'12	10.692	4	0.030	3'14	2.162	2	0.339
3'13	7.429	4	0.115	6'15	0.561	2	0.755
6'13	13.376	2	0.001	10'15	1.759	2	0.415

Source: author's own analysis.

Table 5

Attitudes towards investment and gender of respondents (%)

	Women						Men								
	9'12	12'12	3'13	6'13	10'13	3'14	6'15	10'15	3'14	6'15	10'15	3'14	6'15	10'15	
Opponents	43.5	44.3	32.3	36.2	29.7	28.1	38.9	38.4	35.5	40.5	28.8	39.2	30.0	23.8	25.2
Hesitants	16.8	19.8	21.5	23.8	25.8	14.8	22.2	20	28	19.8	17.6	20.8	20.0	22.1	20.3
Supporters	39.6	35.8	46.2	40.0	44.5	57	38.9	41.6	36.4	39.6	53.6	40.0	50.0	54.1	54.5

Source: author's own analysis.

Table 6

Chi-square indicator statistics

	Value	df	Significance	Value	df	Significance
9'12	4.659	2	0.097	10'13	1.295	2
12'12	0.437	2	0.804	3'14	2.355	2
3'13	1.470	2	0.480	6'15	3.042	2
6'13	0.404	2	0.817	10'15	5.443	2

Source: author's own analysis.

Table 7

Attitudes towards investment and age of respondents (%)

			Opponents	Hesitants	Supporters
Age	18 – 24	9'12	26.8	17.1	56.1
		12'12	31.0	35.7	33.3
		3'13	37.2	25.6	37.2
		6'13	36.6	4.9	58.5
		10'13	42.9	19.0	38.1
		3'14	39.0	9.8	51.2
	25 – 39	6'15	30.7	22.7	46.7
		10'15	37.8	24.3	37.8
		9'12	25.4	32.4	42.3
		12'12	30.1	20.5	49.3
		3'13	25.0	29.2	45.8
		6'13	33.8	25.7	40.5
	40 – 59	10'13	28.6	17.6	53.8
		3'14	45.8	18.1	36.1
		6'15	37.6	16.5	45.9
		10'15	23.0	16.1	60.9
		9'12	44.2	14	41.9
		12'12	26.7	20.9	52.3
	60+	3'13	39.1	19.6	41.3
		6'13	31.2	12.5	56.2
		10'13	16.3	18.4	65.3
3'14		17.4	30.4	52.2	
6'15		24.4	26.5	49.0	
10'15		30.6	20.4	49.0	

Source: author's own analysis.

Table 8

Chi-square indicator statistics

	Value	df	Significance		Value	df	Significance
9'12	2.446	6	0.874	10'13	15.596	6	0.016
12'12	3.548	6	0.738	3'14	13.137	6	0.041
3'13	3.516	6	0.742	6'15	12.137	6	0.059
6'13	12.827	6	0.046	10'15	7.526	6	0.275

Source: author's own analysis.

The belief in inevitability of investment

The attitudes towards the planned investment are indirectly created with a belief that energy complex will be certainly constructed. The sense of inevitability of investment can stimulate specific strategies of behavior of residents. Their catalog can be very different and depends on the extent to which respondents are involved in the development of energetic complex. If anyone is assured that the investment will be realized, sooner or later he will look for certain benefits for himself in the existing situation. For entrepreneurs this means the need to prepare plans for the operation in a new situation, for residents who are considering a new location plans can be suspended, etc. Data from the study illustrate very stable belief in inevitability of Gubin-Brody energetic complex.

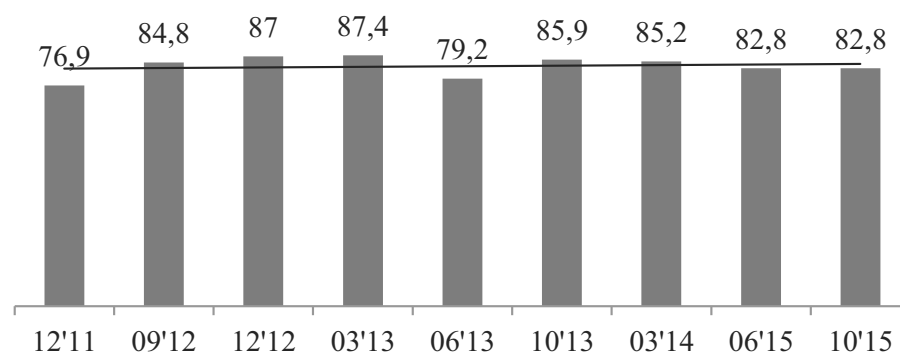


Figure 2. Belief in inevitability of investment (%).

Source: own analysis.

Belief in agreement with the investor

The social acceptance to the investment is an indirect result of investor's actions. The activities of the investor during the past five years reflect the idea of "ongoing consultations", which enable the participation of interested communities in initiatives around the planned investment. Among many different forms of participation dominate information meetings, consultations with experts, meetings with people from the areas where similar investments function, or excursions to quarries and power plants.

More than 50% of the inhabitants of Gubin and Brody in June 2015 see the possibility of an agreement with the investor. In the last survey – October 2015 such a belief was declared by 76.1% of respondents. The observed

change is very clear. This information should be treated as a kind of incentive to dialogue and development of common understanding. Residents are mostly ready for dialogue and expect investor to organize direct meetings (discussions with residents, personal conversations, open meetings).

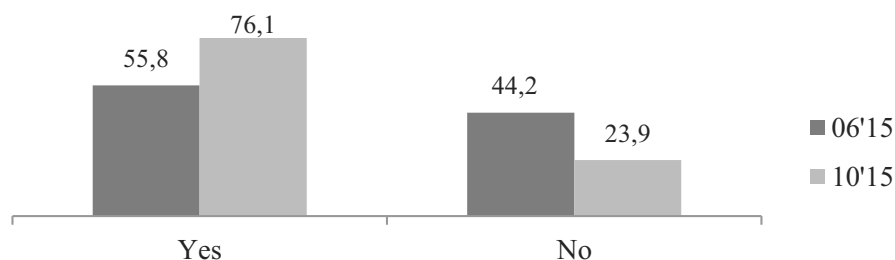


Figure 3. Answer to the question “Is the agreement with the investor possible?” (%).
Source: own analysis.

An essential component of perceived investing process is trust. Trust is a key issue in all facility siting issues (Wuestenhagen et al. 2007). It happens because siting decisions are always heavily loaded with risk components: environmental, economic, and social risks. The perception of this process depends on how potential risks are defined, how information about those risks is produced, and how and by whom they are managed (Owens, 2004). Important issue is trust in investor’s aims, attitude and competence. It runs the openness of the process for local involvement and the flexibility. Risk studies have revealed the ‘asymmetry principle’, which tells us that trust is fragile, as it is typically created slowly but can be destroyed rapidly (Slovic, 1993).

Invariably inhabitants claim that the biggest barrier which might prevent the agreement is the lack of trust to the investor (70.7%). Another mentioned barrier is the lack of reliable information (59.5%). An important factor is the reluctance of residents to invest (53.3%) and the lack of a clear position of inhabitants (35.1%). It should be noted that as a barrier in consultation residents declared inappropriate actions taken by the investor (31.4%) and the lack of proposals to establish an agreement (25.2%). This may indicate a lack of initiative taken by the investor and reduced its activity in the last period.

Conclusions

Building surface lignite mine is one of the factors determining the shape of the social structure in the future and also one of the factors influencing

attitudes towards the investment itself. The diagnosis of social features determining this process can be considered as a factor affecting the level of approval for the planned project and an instrument to analyze the risks and costs associated with investment activities. Construction of a new lignite mine and power plant in Lubuskie in the public perception raises a lot of controversy. The concerns of the local community are connected with the necessity of relocation from the area of the deposit, rebuilding infrastructure and changes in land use. It can generate social conflict.

Social acceptance for investments must meet two basic conditions: (1) the public has a legitimate and positive attitude to the proposed solutions, (2) no significant obstacles will appear on the part of residents of areas where the investment is planned (including the local authorities). Survey results clearly illustrate that the level of social acceptance for investment (defined this way) is growing steadily. But this is not the constant situation. The occurrence of the NIMBY syndrome among the opponents of the planned investment also cannot be excluded. To avoid the escalation of social tensions in the area where the investment is planned, investor should take care of social trust and appropriate information and involvement of residents in the investment process. Without the public acceptance of investment its success will be compromised and energy complex may not be constructed.

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Dorota Szaban

**WHO IS ABOUT TO ACCEPT THE SURFACE MINE? SOCIAL
ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PROJECT OF ENERGETIC COMPLEX
GUBIN-BRODY**

Keywords: social acceptance, NIMBY syndrome, lignite mining project, social conflict, social attitudes towards energy.

Every planned investment connected with energetic issue generates social anxiety. Local community is afraid of negative impact of this investment on their life and health condition. The crucial issue for every investor is to gain social acceptance for the investment, and such an acceptance is considered also as the highest value of this investment. It could be treated as social barometer of trust for the investment or the generally defined energetic sector. There are many social actors who want to have acceptance and support of local community – either investor and his supporters, or his opponents. The intention of the author in this paper was a characteristic of social conditions of the plans for a new surface mine and power plant based on the resources of the Gubin lignite deposit in Lubuskie province. Empirical base is data from surveys conducted in 2011-2015. Analysis showed that social acceptance for this investment had systematically increased, but it is not a constant (stable) situation. Social attitudes towards this investment are differentiated by socio-demographic features of the inhabitants of two communes. It is also showed that in local community there is still a risk of NIMBY syndrome appearance and a question may arise on how important it is to have social acceptance and trust for the investor. Without social acceptance the lignite mine project in Lubuskie could not be realized.

Joanna Frątczak-Müller*

**EXCESS OF OFFERS AND INSUFFICIENT EMPLOYMENT.
PRECARIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT IN LOCAL
MARKETS IN THE LIGHT OF JOB OFFERS ANALYSIS**

Regularly occurring periods of market slowdown contribute to the increase in flexibility of labour market and employment. This results in the need to adjust the number of employees in companies to suit the changing conditions in the economy and creates basis for the creation of new forms of employment and informal work. The result of the transformation of labour market and financial difficulties of companies is the precarisation process characterised by a bigger share of informal and non-standard work among job offers, introduction of task-oriented contracts and lower social security (Beck 2002, Castels 2008, Gardawski 2009, Trappmann 2011). It can be assumed that in the face of the changes in the employment conditions and financial security, it is more difficult to recruit employees willing to perform work under flexible work arrangements other than a permanent employment agreement. Characteristic labour supply for non-standard forms of employment may also be expected (Reisel et al. 2010, pp. 80-91).

The labour market of Lubuskie Voivodeship, similar to other local markets, is characterised by a known paradox which results in a high number of unemployed people with high demand for employees. The aim of this research project is to determine the share of non-standard forms among job offers. The questions asked in the process of the analysis were: (1) what areas/positions are characterised by the highest demand for employees? (2) what are the requirements of employees that are specified by employers in job offers? (3) do job offers contain information pointing to precarisation of employment? The assumption of the research was that one of the major barriers in the movement of labour is the decrease in quality of job offers as far as the form of employment and the income are concerned. Due to the character of the research, precarisation was treated as an analytical construct derived from theoretical consideration and defined as:

***Joanna Frątczak-Müller** – Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: sociology of organization, family, social politics; e-mail: j.fratczak-muller@wpaps.uz.zgora.pl

- unstable employment (Greenhalgh, Rosenblatt 2010, Pałęcka 2015),
- decrease in income and social security (Kiersztyn 2014, Rymsza 2005).

The objective of the research was not to analyse a social class or group but rather the segmentation of labour market and barriers to professional activity, understood as lack of employment security in four out of seven spheres indicated by Guy Standing:

- employment – job insecurity, a possibility of arbitrary dismissal,
- workplace – no chances to establish one’s own place in an organisation or for self-development,
- income – no stable income or social security,
- health, hygiene and safety at work – non-compliance with the safety at work regulations and limited possibility to regulate one’s working time (Standing 2014, p. 14, Szarfenberg 2015).

Basic source for analysis

This analysis is a result of a research project carried out in October and November 2015. The research was conducted with the use of two methods: analysis of the content of job offers and a survey. The content analysis included offers obtained from two sources of information on labour market: (1) *Gazeta Lubuska* (further referred to as GL) – the April issues, 01.04-1.05.2015 (25 issues, 290 job offers published in, among others, the “Work” supplement) and October issues, 01.09-30.09.2015 (26 issues, 257 job offers), (2) Voivodeship Labour Office (VLO) in Zielona Góra. The job offers from VLO were analysed in 6-8.11.2015. All 951 job offers found on the website of the Voivodeship Labour Office were analysed.

In the case of *Gazeta Lubuska* choosing of two test periods, allowed to compare the dynamics of changes in the number of tenders for the first and last quarter of the year. Additionally, choosing the offers of April and May 2015 provided a possibility to capture offers of seasonal jobs, which are very seldom in the last quarter of a year. Due to the fact of everyday changes in WUP’s offers’ database the data was taken and carried out during weekends when the office didn’t work. In the online database only current job offers are available. For this reason first weekend of November had been selected for the analysis as the closest one to the period analysed in GL.

As a result of the analysis, it was possible to obtain information on functions/professions sought after, offered forms of employment, employers’

requirements for potential employees (qualifications, resources and characteristics of an employee), additional information on a workplace.

Taking into consideration the fact that employers who publish their job offers in the press have a tendency to minimise the cost of seeking workers, it was necessary to examine the results of the offers' analysis more thoroughly. The analysed offers were very short and did not contain information on a form of employment or additional requirements of employers. This is why a survey was included in order to conduct the analysis. Surveys were carried out at the end of October and the beginning of November 2015 and their objective was to supply more detailed information regarding the content of offers which would enable a comparison between the sources used. A questionnaire was used in the survey. The selected sample was targeted. It included all 260 senders of the offer in September 2015. 124 questionnaires were completed (the level of completion was 48%). The questions included in the questionnaire concerned the information on the form of offered employment, the possibility of moving on to permanent employment, requirements for an employee, duration of seeking an employee.

Labour market in Lubuskie Voivodeship

The term 'local' in the title of the article refers to the labour market of Lubuskie Voivodeship. It is a good ground for searching for local conditions of labour movement, considering the following factors: The distance from big centres of social activity, rarity of new technologies, the border character, low level of industrial development, small number of enterprises, disbursement of funds on the development of tourism as a lever of the region's development. The dominating form are small companies (1-9 employees) which constitute 94% of all companies. The main types of activities under Statistical Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community (further referred to as CSSGWL) are: (1) trade and repairs (31%), (2) property service and business-related services (19), (3) manufacturing (9.2%), (4) tourism (2.4%) (CSSGWL, 2014).

Average employment by sector in 2015 was as follows: public sector – 9%, private sector – 91%. The largest number of employees (according to sectors): industry – 56.9% (including industrial processing 52.8%), trade – 15.3%, construction – 6.4%, transport and warehousing – 6.2%, administration – 5.9%, professional, scientific and technical activities – 1.7%, accommodation and catering – 1.7%. Employment in other sectors did not reach 1% (2015). According to GUS analysis labour productivity in industry in the coming years, is characterized by a growing trend (in Lubuskie region a rate slightly higher than the average growth at the domestic labour

market). It is estimated that in 2020 will be 4% higher than the average for Polish, ie. about 85 thousand Polish zloty. This will have important consequences for employment in the sector, leading to its growth. Currently, a level of employment in the industry is stable (over 150 thousand persons), which, with falling levels of total employment (the result of the development of new technologies and demographic change) proves its significant role for the entire region's economy (PDGWL 2011).

One of the significant issues in the region is the situation on the local labour market. Lubuskie Voivodeship has had a relatively high unemployment rate for years. It was 10.5% in March 2016 with 37 thousand unemployed people. Economic operators in the service sector provided work for 56.4% of employed people in total. Professional activity of inhabitants of Lubuskie aged 15 and more is slightly lower than the national average (54.8% to 56.1%) (GUS 2015). General employment rate is also lower. The share of professionally inactive people in the total population stands at over 44% which is comparable to the national average. Unemployment mostly affects young people (25.8% of the total number) and people aged over 50 (29.8%). Every fifth unemployed person was below 24. The long-term unemployed (49.1% of the total number) are in one of the groups whose situation on the labour market is difficult. The rate of unemployment intensity was 0.5 point higher than the national rate (GUS 2016). Similar trends of Lubuskie region labour market were mentioned in a report about human resource capital (Kasperek et al. 2015, *The Study of Human... 2015*).

Defining resources in the job offers analysis

The analysis of job offers found in *Gazeta Lubuska* produced a very uniform image of the labour market. The areas where employees were the most sought after were: construction, transport, qualified workers (technicians, fitters) and sales (table 1).

Table 1

Characteristics of the job offers found in Gazeta Lubuska

Gazeta Lubuska	01.04-1.05.2015 (25 issues)		01.09-30.09.2015 (26 issues)	
	Number of offers	%	Number of offers	%
Construction	62	21.4	50	19.5
Restaurant industry	20	6.9	18	7.0
Executives and managers	1	0.3	-	-
Teachers	1	0.3	-	-
Carers for the elderly	15	5.2	14	5.4
Office workers	8	2.8	6	2.3
Manual work	12	4.1	9	3.5
Security and intervention staff/guards	4	1.4	3	1.2
Medical professionals	3	1.0	2	0.8
Agriculture, fruit farming	8	2.8	7	2.7
Maintenance and cleaning se- rvice	9	3.1	5	1.9
Specialists	3	1.0	8	3.1
Sales	21	7.2	20	7.8
Technicians, mechanics, fitters	27	9.3	30	11.7
Transport	68	23.4	65	25.3
Services	4	1.4	3	1.2
Other	24	8.0	17	6.6
Total	290	100	257	100

Source: author's own work.

The most sought after qualifications are: driving licence (35.5% of offers in April, 33.6% in September), specialist knowledge and/or professional qualifications (14.5% in April 14.3% in September), experience (12.7% in April, 16% in September), foreign language skills (13.9% in April, 16.8% in September). They are mainly result from offers related to transport and care for the elderly. There were 4 instances of seeking a specific level or type of education while in other cases this requirement was described simply as "education". In the process of the analysis, it was observed that job offers are more detailed when the education requirements for employees are higher

or when the job offered is more complex. In *Gazeta Lubuska*, there was no information indicating demand for employees with higher education over the analysed period. Candidates for office work or work requiring specialist qualifications were described as having specialist knowledge of a given field, having graduated specialist courses and with specific levels of certification. Moreover, among the resources/qualifications of a candidate listed were: no criminal record, availability, having a car, self-employment, owning their own premises, having a Sanitary and Epidemiological Station book. Personal characteristics were rarely mentioned in the offers. If any appeared, they were related to the following areas: collectivism (exact, friendly, reliable, honest) as well as individualism and independence (energetic, independent). Such references were found nine times in April and seven times in September.

Despite the fact that information found in the offers was very concise, in some of them (1/3) incentives aimed at encouraging a candidate to take up offered employment were noted. Their purpose was to emphasise credibility of an employer and to assure that good work conditions would be provided. In this way, employers informed of: (1) stability of offered employment (permanent position/employment agreement, a possibility of employment, full-time position, short waiting time before the start of the employment relationship – in total 23 references in April and 18 in September), (2) running of a trustworthy business (legal work, good work conditions, stable business – 7 in April, 4 in September) and of (3) attractive employment (good wages, a possibility to work abroad, a company car, accommodation, attractive commission payment, allowance, language courses provided (67 – April, 52 – September). Importantly, emphasised stability of employment (59 references) constituted more than half of all incentives found in job offers (99 references in April and 73 in September).

Job offers published on the website of the Voivodeship Labour Office are created as a result of aggregation of local data from district markets. In the process of the analysis of its content over the analysed period, 951 offers related to 2623 vacancies were found. Those offers were much more detailed compared to the offers published in *Gazeta Lubuska*. This is due to the fact that the workers of the Labour Office expect much more detailed content that need to be provided by an employee in an appropriate questionnaire. Most offers were related to full-time positions and flexible forms of employment (82.9% offers). There were seven offers of permanent employment, the remaining offers were offers of trial period (with a possibility to continue work) or temporary employment. Nearly 14% offers referred to non-permanent employment. Most of those were internships and student

placements (usually not paid – 31 out of 35 offers) and offers of mandate contracts.

The analysis of the content of offers demonstrated that new vacancies are mostly aimed at the following categories of workers: Transport (11.9% offers), qualified workers (9.6%), sales department workers (10.3%) and manual workers (10.5%). Among qualified workers, technicians, fitters, electrical fitters, mechanics, mechatronics specialists were particularly sought after (11.4%). After combining both categories related to workers with technical qualifications, qualified workers constituted 21 % of all searched candidates.

The definition of useful competences and resources formed by employers overlaps with the characteristics prepared on the basis of the analysis of demand for workers in *Gazeta Lubuska*. Among the most important ones were: work experience (3.7%), driving licence (18.1%), specialist knowledge/professional qualifications (18.4%), foreign language skills (12.8%), computer skills (6.4%). Other resources were indicated in less than 5% cases. Examples of those are pension, invalidity pension, disability status, no criminal record, availability, owning a car, physical fitness, team work skills, management skills. Education was a separate category. It was indicated in 92.5% offers and due to its popularity, it is not possible to compare this with data collected on the basis of the analysis of offers found in *Gazeta Lubuska*. As far as level of education is concerned, there were references to vocational (45.6% offers), primary (32%), secondary (14.4%) and higher education (8%). The disparity observed in the approach to including information of expected level of education is a consequence of the above-mentioned questionnaire used to submit an offer for publishing which includes questions related to the desired level of education of a candidate in one of its parts. The conducted analysis also confirms the earlier presented approach to the description of a desired level of education. There is a noticeable tendency in the offers in Voivodeship Labour Office to neglect the importance of education to the advantage of detailed requirements provided by listing required courses, certifications and internships. Over the analysed period there were offers indicating primary education and at the same time listing numerous required professional qualifications and experience. It concerns 21% offers indicating vocational education and 17% offers indicating primary education.

Information of preferred personal characteristics of candidates was included more frequently on the website of the Labour Office than in GL, however, it was still relatively rare. Indicating desired personal characteristics was also connected to higher standards of the workplace quality and the character of expected skills of employees. When providing more details

in the description, the employers adopted two approaches: (1) the desired personal characteristics pertained to high positions and qualifications, (2) detailed personality traits were indicated in case of positions connected with performing simple tasks. In the first case, extended social competences were expected due to the nature of offered work. Similarly to *Gazeta Lubuska*, the most exactly formulated requirements were those related to people whose work for the organisation is to be directly linked to its core activity. They included the following characteristics: good organisation, communication skills, creativity, availability, the ability to establish new contacts easily, independence, impeccable manners. The characteristic from the second category were a new element in the conducted analysis. They indicated the issues employers have with reliability and motivation level of future employees. Among traits included were: attention to detail, motivation, commitment, conscientiousness, hard work, honesty, resourcefulness. Personal characteristics were indicated 124 times in total. The one that was indicated the most frequently was motivation to work – 35 times (28% offers including such references) and honesty – 20 times (16% offers).

Based on the analysis of the results of the survey it may be concluded that employees find it difficult to find suitable workers. Employers who participated in the survey pointed to the long period of searching for workers and lack of required qualifications. The biggest barrier of employment turns out to be lack of preparation on the side of potential employees (indicated in 67% of cases) and no willingness to work (65%).

Work in precarisation conditions

Flexible forms of work and employment are applied by employers in order to minimise the costs of social security. It is a natural consequence of the fact that local markets are “turbulent” which is defined by Peter Drucker as being unpredictable, unstable, insecure (Drucker 1999). This situation makes candidates accept forms of temporary employment which allows companies to quickly modify employment and as a result, to easily adapt to the changing conditions of the environment. The solutions adopted in such a case are related to task-oriented work that leads to a decrease in employment continuity.

From the point of view of the objective of the analysis, it was crucial to search for signs of the above-mentioned lack of employment continuity. Among offers from the collected research material from GL, those assigned to the following two categories are of particular interest: (1) carers for the elderly and (2) the ‘other’ category. The former offers are submitted by companies which send workers to Germany and Great Britain to care for

the elderly. Those types of offers appear in every issue of GL. Duration of employment is 3-6 months with a possibility to extend. It is not permanent employment. Wages depends on whether a worker performs other household duties for an elderly person as well. The 'other' category includes very short offers. The nature of duties related to offered employment was not given directly in this type of an offer. There were 24 offers of this sort in April and 15 in September. They were titled: interesting work, work in Lubuskie Voivodeship, work for everyone, a job offer (phone number), work – pensioner. The results of the survey show that in those types of offers the most common forms of employment are: voluntary work, mandate contracts for cleaning work, interviewer's work, assembling tools, additional work for students and pensioners. The conducted survey also pointed to 77 offers related to work in precarisation conditions. They were various forms of temporary work in areas such as" transport, construction and care for the elderly (table 2). In 12% of cases, employers ensured a possibility to work without entering into an employment relationship. This transfers the concept of 'trust' and 'risk' (Giddens 2005) to the work sphere where, on one hand, workers equipped with knowledge and skills are willing to work without the use of formal regulations and employers who provide specific place and means commit themselves to use them for this purpose. Entering into an agreement under such conditions, each party quietly assumes that the other party will show commitment and will comply with the informal agreement to observe the regulations of the labour law and unwritten terms of cooperation (Łucjan 2016). To the obvious resources conducive to taking up work of low stability, such as necessary qualifications and skills, it is worth to add trust in stability of the agreed terms and characteristics that make one more likely to take risks. In this context, in the presented situation characterised by lack of work continuity, it was interesting to see these types of agreements used as a transition stage before moving on to permanent employment. Such a possibility was indicated only in case of four offers (table 2).

Table 2

Work in precarisation conditions (Gazeta Lubuska)

Gazeta Lubuska	01.09-30.09.2015 (26 issues)		Employment in the precarisation conditions	A possibility to move on to permanent employment
Area/ function	Number of offers	%	Number of offers	Number of offers
Construction	50	19.5	15	2
Restaurant industry	18	7.0	3	-
Carers for the elderly	14	5.4	14	-
Office workers	6	2.3	1	
Manual work	9	3.5	2	1
Security and interven- tion staff/guards	3	1.2	-	-
Medical professionals	2	0.8	2	-
Agriculture, fruit far- ming	7	2.7	5	-
Maintenance and cle- aning service	5	1.9	3	1
Specialists	8	3.1	-	-
Sales	20	7.8	3	-
Technicians, mechanics, fitters	30	11.7	5	-
Transport	65	25.3	9	-
Services	3	1.2	1	-
Other	17	6.6	-	-
Total	257	100	77	4

Source: author's own work.

In offers found in the Labour Office as well as in Gazeta Lubuska, temporary employment was offered mainly to manual workers, office workers and workers in areas related to tourism and construction. The category of office workers was the only one where employment in precarisation conditions prevailed over permanent employment offers (19 to 17 offers) (table 3). As opposed to offers for technicians, those offers were not described in detail and it was difficult to find information of expected resources or qualifications. They only contained information related to the nature of work, such

as young age and experience for construction workers or office equipment skills for secretarial staff.

Table 3

Forms of employment in job offers found in Voivodeship Labour Office

Area/position	Number of offers			
	Full-time/ part-time	Other forms of employment	Total	%
Construction	53	13	66	6.9
Restaurant and hotel industry	60	10	70	7.4
Executives and managers	28	1	29	3.0
Teachers	13	6	19	2.0
Carers	1	5	6	0.6
Office workers	17	19	36	3.8
Manual workers	83	17	100	10.5
Production workers	22	5	27	2.8
Machinery and equipment operators	47	1	48	5.0
Security and intervention staff/guards	9	3	12	1.3
Medical professionals	6	-	6	0.6
Agriculture, fruit farming	7	1	8	0.8
Qualified workers	88	3	91	9.6
Maintenance and cleaning service	19	3	22	2.3
Specialists	48	2	50	5.3
Sales	87	15	98	10.3
Warehouse/hall staff	21	3	28	2.9
Technicians, mechanics, fitters	93	15	108	11.4
Transport	107	6	113	11.9
Services	14	-	14	1.5
Total	823	128	951	100

Source: author's own work.

The analysis and barriers concerning movement of labour force

The analysis of collected information showed offers regarding area/position and expected qualifications of future employees. It may be concluded that the factors behind movement of labour force from professional inactivity to activity are professional qualifications and experience in the following areas: transport, constructions, sales. Preparation for work in those fields and most of all in companies requiring technical skills (technicians, mechanics, fitters) should be a straightforward way to prevent unemployment. Among the most desired qualifications were work experience, suitable driving licence category, various professional qualifications and specialist knowledge, foreign language skills. These features demonstrate the need for suitable employees which was demonstrated through labour market analysis as early as in the 90s (Marody 2000, Drozdowski 2003).

Gazeta Lubuska

Voivodeship Labour Office in ZielonaGóra

Employment in precarisation conditions:

33.0%

13.4%

The most frequently indicated areas/positions:

Construction, transport, qualified workers

Qualified workers, transport, sales, manual workers, construction

Education

No requirements

Primary and vocational education were most frequent – 72% of offers

Required qualifications and resources:

Driving licence, specialist knowledge, professional qualifications, foreign language, experience

Experience, driving licence, specialist knowledge, professional qualifications, foreign language

Required personal characteristics:

No requirements

Motivation to work/commitment, communication skills, good organisation of work

Interesting changes were observed regarding the position of sales among areas with the highest demand for workers and their approach to the category of education. Until recently, the sales area was represented by the highest number of offers both on markets in big cities and on local ones.

It has, however, fallen to the third position and is preceded by transport and the category of employees with technical qualifications. It may suggest changes towards strengthening of service sector (for example, fitters – service staff) and the development of production. The category of education, similarly to sales, used to stand at the second position after experience on the list of the most sought after professional qualifications and resources. At the moment, possibly as a result of changes in the education process, employees less and less frequently include requirements concerning education and tend to skip it while specifying required qualifications, such as desired training courses, professional qualifications, work experience.

Some of the above-mentioned features of the Lubuskie labour market are said to be major barriers in the movement of labour force. Three signs were determined in the process of the conducted analysis: (1) characteristics of areas with the highest demand for workers, (2) level and type of desired education, (3) offered work conditions. 63% of offers (943 offers) contained job offers for candidates with very low qualifications. They were manual work offers with low flexibility, requiring low level of education and offering low pay, therefore, they were not attractive. Moreover, considering the fact that technical professions are in short supply on local markets, this type of work, if at all available, does not match the qualifications of employees. Survey data shows that work pre-conditions change in such a situation. 67% of the participants of the survey mentioned higher employment cost in case of an employee who is not qualified for the job (due to necessary training and longer period of their induction to work) which was supposed to affect their wages or cause changes in the contracts (longer trial periods, unstable forms of employment). The features mentioned lead to the strengthening of the offered conditions of work away from home (transport), relocation (accommodation, for example in cases of farms, branches of companies, poultry farms), work abroad (care for the elderly) and low wages – basic salary starting from 1750 Polish zloty gross – 67% (637 offers) and precarisation of employment. The above-mentioned features are major factors behind the limited active change of workplace, slowdown of professional development and professional inactivity.

Both sources of data concerning labour market show information of precarisation employment, however, those instances were three times more frequent in *Gazeta Lubuska* than in the Voivodeship Labour Office. The reason behind this is most probably the fact that the offers are checked from the legal and formal point of view by the employees of the Labour Office before they are published on their website which minimises the possibility of abuse. Precarisation of employment concerning bad work conditions –

unstable form of employment, low wages (Greenhalgh, Rosenblatt 2010, Szarfenberg 2015) was observed in nearly half of all the analysed offers (46,4%). It concerned especially: (1) type of a contract (or lack thereof – 12% of offers, as stated by the survey data), (2) wages (non-paid voluntary work – 14% offers from VLO, low base pay compensated with commission – 67% offers from VLO), (3) self-employment requirement, (4) the requirement of being a pensioner or having a certificate of disability (8% of offers from GL). Based on the conducted analysis it may be concluded that precarisation, alongside with mismatch between preparation for work and the needs of employers, is a barrier in the movement of labour force. However, the issue here is a syndrome of barriers that strengthen each other and not just one variable affecting the whole labour market. Information found in job offers points to the existence of three types of mismatch (Kwiatkowski 2008): (1) *structural mismatch* which is a mismatch between the qualifications of potential employees and current demand of the market indicated by: 1. staff shortage while unemployment rate remains relatively high (3270 vacancies in the reporting period, according to data from two analysed sources), 2. professions in short supply (technicians, fitters, operators of specialized machinery and equipment, transport and construction workers), 3. Long validity period of offers (over 40 days for 37% of offers at VLO) and difficulties in recruiting new employees, (2) *behavioural mismatch* which is applying inappropriate strategies by social agents regarding the choice of a profession, expecting re-skilling, methods of searching for work. In the process of the analysis of offers it was observed that the field of education is often selected without considering demand for specific work and lack of documented work experience which lower chances of finding employment (information provided by 41% of survey participants), (3) *mental mismatch* which is disparity concerning work expectations and the definition of the employment relationship between employees and employers. The collected research material proves this since it shows an increase in the number of offers related to non-standard forms of employment, low wages and lack of willingness of potential employees to accept low-paid work.

Final remarks

Contemporary changes on the labour market concern the movement from temporary to permanent employment in most of economy sectors. Long-term employment in one workplace, common until recently, is in opposition to the desired dynamics of ongoing transformation (Castells 2008, Drucker 1999). The conducted analyses point to the following changes on local markets:

1. Higher supply of candidates with low qualifications, while demand for such work remains low.
2. Shortage of employees with high professional qualifications.
3. Decrease in the number of vacancies for white-collar workers performing routine tasks, including employees of offices and administration which is a result of development of information technology.
4. An increase in demand for highly qualified employees who are flexible and able to quickly adjust to changing conditions.

The character of the material used for the research does not confirm the fact that narrow specialisation are becoming less popular to the advantage of better general preparation, combination of manual and white-collar work or growing popularity of making rapid changes in one's career. The ongoing changes create a new image of work which is becoming more and more creative (technical profession and managerial positions) and at the same time is controlled more strictly (tasks performed by employees with low qualifications). In the first case, one can observe new requirements for employees. They concern mostly so-called soft skills related to personal characteristics, temperament, preferred approach and behaviour, undertaken initiatives, communication skills, etc. (Łucjan 2016). Employees are expected to effectively navigate in this environment and to create their own workplaces and work mode.

Presented research does not provide the full picture of labour market in Lubuskie Voivodeship. There are certain sources missing in the analysis, such as *Gazeta Wyborcza*, outsourcing companies, other websites. However, it is difficult to apply those source since data they contain is often not assigned to a specific voivodeship or a district, the nationwide character of the source was the reason for not taking it into consideration. An interesting would also be obtaining information about flow of workers in the framework of informal recruitment. Some look at this phenomenon gives the data from the survey of employers, however the study of informal forms of recruitment would require a more thorough approach using other theoretical concepts as well as other techniques of research.

The analysed fragment of the market gives enough reason to claim that precarisation of employment is one of the major barriers in the movement of labour force from professional inactivity to employment. However, it is not the only barrier. It is also important to consider the signs of three types of mismatch observed. The collected material confirms the thesis that in the conditions of changing work conditions and changes in financial security it is

more difficult to recruit employees willing to take up work in flexible forms of employment, other than a permanent employment agreement, which was supported by the information collected from employers and the data related to the period of validity of offers found in the Voivodeship Labour Office. It is connected with a specific supply of employees as far as work under the terms of non-standard forms of employment is concerned. Data shows that they are usually candidates with low or unsuitable qualifications that do not match the requirements who are recruited for performing simple work and poorly paid and who are willing to take the risk of performing work without an employment agreement.

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Joanna Frątczak-Müller

**EXCESS OF OFFERS AND INSUFFICIENT EMPLOYMENT.
PRECARIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT IN LOCAL MARKETS IN THE
LIGHT OF JOB OFFERS ANALYSIS**

Keywords: labour market, movement of labour, employment precarization.

Periods of economic downturn occur regularly and the situation favours the development of labour market flexibility. This causes the need to adapt the number of enterprises' employees to changing economic conditions and flexible forms of employment. It is a base for the creation of non-standard forms of employment. Well-known paradox characterizes local labour markets' situation in Lubuskie region. The high demand for workers remains constant and the number of people without work is also high. The author, referring to the analysis of job advertisements published in the local media and labour offices presents some chosen aspects of the precariousness of employment. In the text presents the result of looking for answers to questions about (1) departments / functions with the greatest demand for workers, (2) the resources and skills helping to get employed, (3) the extent of the participation of non-standard forms of notices in the job advertisements. The aim was also to determine the resources that are conducive to taking low security jobs. The text contains analysis of the possibilities of using low job security agreements as a transitional phase before getting a permanent employment. The empirical basis of the article were the results of the analysis of job advertisements of two local sources of knowledge about the demand for employees: *Gazeta Lubuska* and the Regional Labour Office in Zielona Góra (1 498 jobs offers). Additional source were surveys of employers (124 surveys). The analysis were conducted in October and November 2015.

III

**BETWEEN COOPERATION
AND EDUCATION**

Justyna Sarnowska*

DOUBLE TRANSITION: UNIVERSITY-TO-WORK ABROAD AND ADULTHOOD

Introduction

School-to-work transition is not only a single act. It is a life phase, a stage of the life cycle (Hillmert 2002, cf. Grabowska-Lusińska 2014). It is a time for looking for one's own career, sequences of events and social and economic status in the labour market (Brzinsky-Fay 2007). Nowadays people combine education with their first experiences in the labour market more often, what making transition research and analysis more difficult than before (Sarnowska et al. 2016). After the EU enlargement, many Poles chose to have first jobs abroad as an option for a transition to adulthood. More than 60 per cent of post-accession emigrants were below the age of 30 (Fihel, Kaczmarczyk 2009, Fihel 2011). School-to-work transition, including transition to a foreign labour market, is strongly connected to entering into adulthood. Migration can be treated as a *rite de passage* into adulthood, a school of life (Eade 2007) and cutting an umbilical cord with the parental home.

People are products of their past socialization. However socialization process never stops. It is a life-long reflexive process (Archer 2015). During migratory experience people learn how to operate in new environments which are based on accumulated past resources and dispositions (Nowicka 2015). They can know more and learn more than they can tell (Polanyi 1966).

The main aim of this article is to understand what is the role of migration in transiting to adulthood through university-to-work abroad transition. This means that we will be exploring a kind of double transition at the same time to: a foreign, unfamiliar, unknown environment and to adulthood. Erel (2015) claims that a migratory experience helps to actively develop biographical transitions of people within the context of external conditions.

*Justyna Sarnowska – M. A. in Sociology, SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities; research interests: youth studies, school-to-work transition, socialization, youth mobility, skills; e-mail: jsarnowska@swps.edu.pl

This article is organized as follows: the first part explains the theories and concepts used. The next part describes the context of the migration flow of highly educated youngsters from Poland after the EU enlargement in May 2004. Then the methodological approach will be discussed, covering the first wave of a qualitative longitudinal study (QLS). The final part is focused on the presentation of emerging findings from the first wave of this study.

Theoretical inspirations

Entering the foreign labour market as well as entering into adulthood abroad is a type of *rite de passage* (Eade 2007, cf. Grabowska-Lusińska 2014), when young people need to leave previous schemes and receive the new ones (Arnett 2001). However, they were socialised by their previous education experiences, family, peer groups. Even though young Polish people have not had any specific experience in the labour market, they constructed their own perceptions of social world (including world of work) based on their friends' and/or relatives' judgements. All of their experiences from their past, patterns of behaviour, observations of the others, their role models, effects of primary and secondary socialization creates a kind of 'social DNA code' which is used throughout the life course. The main course of socialization is described as a two-steps process – primary and secondary. The first one is connected with family environment, the second one starts during contact with institutions (kindergarten, primary and secondary schools, university, workplace) (Tillmann 2012). Archer (2015) proposed to see socialization as ongoing process which never stops.

Transition to adulthood is a specific life phase and relates in the literature to 'big five' life course markers: first job, starting a union (usually a marriage), having first child, leaving parental home and starting own household (Arnett 1998, Rindfuss 1991). Which of these factors signifies the attainment to adulthood in a geographically mobile society? What about migration as one of a criterion of transition to adulthood abroad with a first job there? How does it happen abroad? The literature is divided in analysing significance of all markers mentioned above. In anthropological studies (especially of traditional societies) marriage is highlighted as the key marker (Schlegel, Barry 1991) because it is about getting new obligations and role transitions. Psychological studies suggested the importance of personality traits connected with accepting responsibility for one's self, making independent decisions and financial independence (Arnett 1997, 1998) which brings individualisation and agency (Grabowska 2016a). Another factor relates to establishing oneself in relation to parents as an equal adult (Arnett 1997).

It is also about compliance with social norm such as for instance ‘no drunk driving’. All studies on markers to adulthood to date do not mention or even omit the role of migration in transiting to adulthood. This paper specifically focuses on the role of first job abroad as an event marking transition to adulthood. Through migration young people might obtain both financial independence, leave parental home and embark on the work career, in transiting to adulthood.

Young people, free to move, especially after the EU enlargement, seek fresh impressions and adventures to learn more about the social world. Migration in transition to adulthood can be about hard work, saving money but also about enjoying new lifestyle, the chance of living in a cosmopolitan environment, and the freedom to go for exotic holidays; all of which people are able to afford, even on the basic salaries received abroad (Eade 2007, Favell 2008, Trevena 2013). Time spent abroad can be also used as time for travelling and for building a career (Conradson, Latham 2005). These opportunities offer the freedom to work, study, travel and live abroad (Favell 2008), as well as bring tensions and struggles (Ni Laoire 2000, cf. Grabowska-Lusińska 2014). Usually, for young PL migrants, working abroad is not a gap year (White 2010, Grabowska-Lusińska 2014), it is a time of hard work. In the public discourse of youth and migration there is a lament that young graduates must leave Poland due to local labour market constraints connected to skill mismatches but also unemployment and low wages (White 2010). The situation in fact involves three levels: youngsters who must but also have a will to go abroad; those who have a choice and also will to go abroad and those who cannot imagine their future without international mobility and have strong will to go. Migration, especially after acceding to the EU, involves voluntary behaviours but above all individual will to go. How the time spent on migration is used for transition to adulthood is a different matter.

Migration creates many new situations which a young person needs to face. Going abroad, they bring with them yesterday’s man (Grabowska-Lusińska 2012, Grabowska 2016a, 2016b) and yesterday’s society they internalised – for instance Polish society with Polish social structures, rules, system of education – which is the basis to survive in the new environment.

Migration of highly educated young Poles after the EU enlargement

People between 25 and 34 are the highest educated generation in Poland. Political and economic changes resulted in the educational boom in the 1990s in Poland, which is the cause of the dramatic increase in the number

of highly educated people. For the general population (between 2002 and 2011), there was an increase in the highly educated group from 9 per cent in 2002 to 17 per cent in 2011. In the group of people aged between 25 and 34 there is an increase from 18 to 35 per cent. It means that one third graduated university and have a university degree (Census 2011).

The interest of this paper revolves around post-accession migrants aged 25 to 29, who notably constituted more than 53 per cent of the overall flow. In the post accession period, United Kingdom was the most popular destination country for young Poles of this age (Census 2011). The mean age of Polish post-accession migrants in the United Kingdom was 25 comparing with 30 in Ireland and 46 in the USA (Grabowska-Lusińska 2014). To a certain degree, migrants reflect general population they come from.

Based on Census (2011), women migrated more likely than men in age group 20-34. Nearly 70 per cent of migrants aged 20-24 were single, similarly to the 50 per cent of age group 25-29 and around 35 per cent aged 30-34. Comparing this finding with the general population, migrants aged 30-34 chose a single status more likely than people aged 30-34 in general population. Younger population of migrants (age 20-29) was less likely to be single than people in the same age group in the general population.

In Census survey it was difficult to identify the level of education of nearly 77 per cent of migrants aged 20-34. Based on the identified group, migrants aged 20-24 and 25-29 were slightly worse educated than the people in the same rank age in the general population, which might be connected with postponing education as a result of migration. People aged 30-34 with migratory experience attained higher level of education than the general population in the same age rank.

In the general population in 2013, nearly 78 per cent of Polish men and 62 per cent of Polish women till 29 still nested in their parental home. It is assumed here that international migration might determine leaving parental home and starting an independent household (Eurostat 2013).

Based on Polish Panel Survey POLPAN 2013, all higher educated respondents (younger than 34) with migratory experience took abroad manual work. On the one hand, migrants do not use their university education and human capital on the foreign labour market. On the other hand, many young people in Poland cannot expect long-term employment contract from their current employers. More than half of young people with university degree work in odd jobs (Kiersztyn 2015).

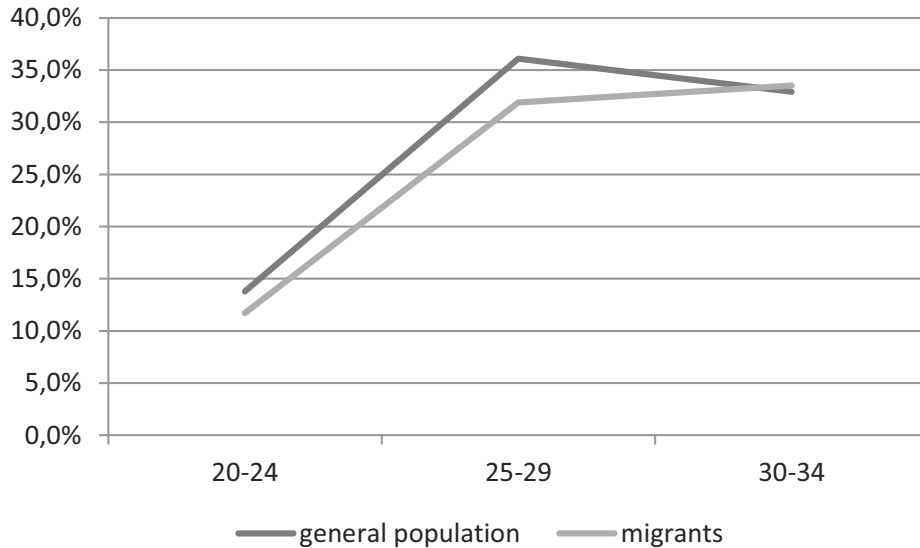


Figure 1. Share of young Poles with university degree in various age cohorts in general population and population of migrants.

Source: Own elaboration based on Census 2011.

Methodology

In the present study the conception of transition to adulthood, namely first job, was examined in a group of recent Polish university graduates who had their first jobs abroad. The participants were asked to evaluate their past socialisation and transition from university education to work abroad.

The study utilises the data from the first wave from the author's study conducted through a qualitative longitudinal study (QLS) approach noted by Neale (2012). We chose an individual in-depth semi-structure interview with biographical components which helped during the interview to follow up on the migrant's story. Thirty interviews had been conducted in the first wave of the qualitative longitudinal study (see Neale 2012), in the period of August 2014 till October 2015. People were snowball sampled. The main requirement to recruit an interviewee was an experience of work abroad without previous experience in the Polish labour market or having only some experience of domestic odd jobs (waiter/waitress, shop assistant). The important feature while recruiting people to study was the level of their education. It was decided to focus on persons with a university degree, obtained predominately in Poland. The country of emigration was irrelevant in this case as well as the period of time living abroad. However we were aware of

the influence of these factors on the process of transiting to adulthood. It was assumed that no more than two years could pass from the respondents' return to Poland. It was important to avoid the ambiguous effect of migration. In the first wave of the longitudinal study there were migrants who were abroad but strongly intended to return (for example they were looking for a job in Poland actively). We planned not to return, in this study, to the people who had intended to return to Poland but ultimately stayed abroad. Being aware of encountering difficulties in reaching such a narrowly-defined category of interviewees, we decided to return to all persons approached at the beginning of the study. The second wave of the QLS is still on-going.

Findings: Transiting into adulthood through international migration

Migration creates novel circumstances in which people have to cope with new reality while using available resources. They are not cut off from what they brought in their heads, behaviours and practices from the country of origin. During the research, four sequences got identified as a way of transiting to adulthood through migration: (1) capitalizing accumulated resources and dispositions; (2) crossing mental borders; (3) building relations with others; (4) building up labour market autonomy. These sequences do not occur separately but complement each other.

Capitalising accumulated resources and dispositions in a foreign environment

Transition to adulthood, which is specifically visible abroad, is also about capitalising accumulated resources and dispositions. Beside knowledge as such, people use all their abilities and competences in circumstances. This causes a development of their survival tools. These resources are also connected with patterns acquired in the socialization process by observing parents and other important role models, peer groups and people embedded into school system. In fact it is their habitus (Bourdieu 1986).

“So I tried somehow to translate it for myself, I became familiar with the situation. And in fact it is a question of upbringing (...) thanks to my dad, who wherever he goes, he can sort out anything. And everybody always sends him everywhere to sort out certain things. So I suppose I observed these skills when I was a child, as he talked with nurses, doctors in the hospital, everyone was putty in his hands. So it seems to me that, in such a natural way, I inherited these skills from him”. (Monika/28/Hungary)¹

¹(Name/Age/Country of destination)

“As I said earlier, I don’t have any problems talking with people. At the beginning the problem was the language barrier, but working with British people quickly helped bring down that barrier. I made quick progress. Later, I talked comfortably. Small talk”. (Adek/25/UK)

The role of family as a space for the first experiences and inspirations connected with international mobility is crucial. Parents sometimes have and sometimes do not have material and social resources to be able to send their children for international language course or international holiday camp.

“I have always been traveling a lot and my parents, for which I thank them, somehow never instilled any attachment to one place, to the country. I pretty soon began to travel by myself, they always let me, supported me, they weren’t overprotective. I knew English very well very early, so I could get along and communicate anywhere. It was, as if . . . I do not know, it was not surprising to me that you can go and live somewhere else. Because for me it is fairly normal”. (Oliwia/25/UK)

It is not that young people abroad learn something completely new. Before migration they obtained some competences and skills which allowed them to move. Migration helped to affirm their past abilities.

“Going there I was very aware of the high risks involved. But I also had the belief in myself that I could handle any unforeseen situation”. (Magda/27/UK)

Resources are also connected with university degree as well as faculty of education. University by definition should follow natural desire of exploring the world. This kind of necessity creates abilities for next steps. People sometimes are not able to describe their abilities or explain why they are able to do something or understand someone, which confirms the ‘tacit’ character of their knowledge and some competences they brought with them, acquired or enhanced.

“I do not know, I observe people a lot and I know when they’re talking about me, and when they were just talking between themselves about something there and they want me to hear about. I do not know, I just felt it”. (Magda/27/UK)

Crossing mental borders

Dispositions and resources are connected to habitus and what people knew and could do before migration as well as mental borders they had in their heads. It is also created by family, the local community and society as such. The system of education in Poland leaves very little space to build up self-confidence. In Poland educational system rather blocks self-expression and

self-confidence. There is no space to discuss and express a different opinion about the world. Transiting migrants bring inside them their internalised structure of education. While being abroad both perceived and felt language barriers at the beginning reinforced mental barriers. Polish people often start their conversation abroad with “I do apologize for my language skills”, even if their language competences are sufficient for communicating with others.

“I do not remember, at all, which village I asked about, but it was the first time I had used the language unconsciously, because I knew I had to help myself, because if I didn’t get on to that train, as they had already closed the station I would just... spend a lonely night on the streets in the rain. And it was that ‘first moment’ that I remember well. The rain, this man, the departing train. And my despair, that ‘motivate yourself, girl’, you have something to say”. (Monika/28/Hungary)

Language barriers, so visible in all accounts, are a reflection of some national and social complexes. Crossing language barriers means crossing other mental barriers and building self-confidence.

“Because I had already „babbled” so much in English, I felt confident, strong. Because, as it turned out, I could fight for myself, stand on my own two feet, I could win... And it’s really not about money, but about the rules that they have to obey, that you cannot abuse people”. (Maria/25/Hungary).

“I was surprised then, because this group in which I was, chose me for group leader. That gave me a bit of confidence with my English, if someone chose me, it might actually be good. And I made this presentation, we had coffee, I sold coffee. I liked it. And then there were 5 people and with those 5 were talks”. (Kaja/28/UK)

Language skills are important to interact within the host society and allow attaining a position in the host country. They also facilitate releasing other skills and competences hidden behind the self-constructed mental barriers. By improving language skills, people motivate themselves to learn more about host society and culture. It develops competences connected with learning attitudes.

Building relations with ‘other’ others

The individual character of migration causes the necessity to build up new relationships with ‘new’ others. Even though young Poles have not had a network of contacts abroad before migration, they needed to get help from others to deal with ‘new world’ after arrival. They simply needed to get to know new people, to rent a flat, to start work.

“I was so stressed that I was flying, that I walked up... stood in the queue

to check in, a girl walked up to ask a security guard, whether it was the check in to Manchester, and I said, Hi, I'm Magda, I'm flying to Manchester too (laughs). And till today we still have contact with each other. And she was going to a concrete job" (Magda/27/UK)

It is easier for migrants to exist and cope with everyday situations having friends who can understand and help if necessary.

"A lot of people bonded with those who are around them. I was lucky to have found two such good friends". (Wanda/29/Germany/Ireland)

In some cases, people who were not happy with their peers in Poland, started new relations with others on their own terms, complementing the earlier lack of social contact.

"In general, I socialized with people. Because as I said, I was brought up in a Jehovah's Witness environment, and this affects social development a lot. So when I went there, the more I wanted to socialize, to meet people". (Aneta/26/UK)

Having negative experiences with building and developing relations with people in Poland, young adults are always able to start from the begging by cutting off the past. It is as important 'for unhappy love stories' as for any other relationship (friends, neighbours, supervisors, colleagues).

Building up labour market autonomy

While getting their first jobs abroad, the studied migrants participated in the process of building their labour market autonomy. They were growing up quickly to work due to employers' expectations and workplaces they arrived in. They started understanding what work is about: work rhythm, organization of work, content, practices, organizational culture (Grabowska, Jazwińska 2015, Grabowska et al. 2016). They especially appreciate workplaces where they can interact and communicate with others, especially of different ethnicity than theirs. Through communication with others, particularly in a foreign language, they are able to look at themselves from a distance. This might enhance the process of searching for self-confidence, self-awareness, self-reflection, self-direction, and enhancing their own of control. The autonomous way of acting is especially visible in the case of young migrants and their first jobs abroad as they leave the parental house and start acting independently abroad.

"I don't know, but it was the first time, when I felt really alive. I just needed to rest from the outside world to feel at the first time I live just for myself". (Magda/26/UK)

Migration naturally offers opportunities for an independent start (Szewczyk 2015). The process of transiting from university to work abroad starts

a process of defining one's work habitus: to what extent they are able to work regular hours, or irregular hours, on shifts, zero hours contracts; how much they aim for unlimited stable contracts; how much they are able to deal with unexpected situations in the workplace (Grabowska 2016a); how they cooperate with others; how much they observe environment around them; how they build up working relations with other. Although for many of the interviewees their behaviors in the labour market are more 'trial and error' way of acting (Szewczyk 2015), they perceive migration as a kind of compass in their labour market take off. Not all of them fully realized what they want to do in life and how to design their labour market trajectory, but at least they realized what they 'do not want to do' (Grabowska-Lusińska 2012).

"I was not afraid that I do not find work. Maybe because I was ready to wait for this (appropriate) work". (Magda/26/UK).

In many cases migration is predominantly the financial vehicle but when questioned it opens up new avenues for interpretation.

Concluding discussion

The role of international migration in transition to adulthood with special focus on university-to work transition seems to be worth researching further. Due to the fact that the article utilises the data from the first wave of QLS longitudinal study envisaged for this project, we have not been able yet to see the longitudinal life course perspective. The key point of this analysis relates to the fact that migration might be considered an emerging marker a transition to adulthood but in-depth studies are needed on this issue.

The analysis helped to uncover the sequences of transiting from university to the foreign labour market, which brings our focus also onto transitions to adulthood. Firstly, after arrival young Poles capitalize their resources and dispositions brought from home. Shortly after, they see that it is not enough to operate in a foreign labour market environment with a 'hump' from the origin country and their past lives. Secondly, stimulated by this reflection, they start to cross mental borders in their heads where foreign language competence is the key. Through mastering communication they were able to express themselves and they needed to think about how to make it- 'their transition to adulthood'. They knew that they had to cope with difficult situation in order to exist. Thirdly, they were building up new relationships with others met abroad. They needed to understand that some contacts were chosen by them due to circumstances they were in while some bonds they needed and wanted to build up consciously. Fourthly, the transition to the labour market helped them to some extent to build up a kind

of labour market autonomy with setting up future navigation of their work lives. With each step they may stop and go back and reflexively overthink their experiences. During migration this process of reflexivity is shaky and involves many ups and downs. Being aware of the whole process, people can use this kind of 'know how' obtained abroad in many social situations.

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Justyna Sarnowska

**DOUBLE TRANSITION: UNIVERSITY-TO-WORK ABROAD
AND ADULTHOOD**

Keywords: school-to-work transition, transition into adulthood, youth mobility, soft skills.

This study seeks to understand what is the role of international migration in double transition: university-to-work-abroad and adulthood. The article assumes that school-to-work transition is not a single event, but a phase of the life cycle. There is a time of looking for ones' own career and life path. Migration is connected with the phase of growing up, the phase of maturing and cutting the umbilical cord with the parental home. This case study is about young Polish university graduates who took their first job(s) abroad and therefore transited somehow to adulthood. It was found out that this process where migration is involved is not flat and linear and is composed of four components (1) capitalizing in a foreign environment accumulated, up to migration, non-material resources; (2) crossing own mental borders; (3) building up relations with 'other' others; (4) building up labour market autonomy. This study utilises data from the first wave of qualitative longitudinal study (QLS). Thirty in-depth interviews were conducted with Polish university graduates age between 25 and 34.

Noemí Serrano Díaz*

MOBILITY OF STUDENTS OF EDUCATION FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CADIZ. A CASE STUDY

Introduction

The 2020 strategies for the EHEA (European Higher Education Area) are established at the European Conference of the Higher Education Ministers, held in Bucarest in 2012. The mobility in education is set to be the principal objective, considered to be essential to obtain better learning, to guarantee the quality of Higher Education, employment and to extend the collaboration and internationalisation of Higher Education (CEMES 2012). Nowadays, nobody doubts the importance of the high level of mobility for the Higher Education institutions. A high number of incoming and outward students has become a sign of prestige and quality (Green 2012).

Erasmus is the biggest programme of students' exchange mobility for the Higher Education in Europe. More than 4000 Higher Education institutions from more than 30 countries participate in it. The programme requires universities to sign a European Agreement Document between universities. The agreement implies that the institutions are obliged to fulfil a series of conditions with respect to the exchange students within its own programme. Nowadays, the undergraduate education student interested in studying at a foreign university may opt for a stay period of 3 and 12 months and their credits will be acknowledged at their university of origin. At the Science Education Faculty at the University of Cadiz the stays tend to be of 6 months, which means, a complete academic term, extendable in some cases, if the experience turns out to be positive, to 12 months of the complete academic course. Hardly ever does a student decide, once the application procedures start, to spend a complete year studying at a foreign university.

Nowadays the concept of integral education of students and the competences for life are considered in education. From this point of view, the education is the configuration of an individual personality, as a product

*Noemí Serrano Díaz – Ph.D. in Science of Education, University of Cádiz; research interests: socio-emotional children education, professional competencies of the teachers of Early Childhood Education; e-mail: noemi.serrano@gm.uca.es

of significant learning gained during life so far. It also integrates different forms of behaviour, thinking, self-expression, working, studying, learning, relations, living and being (Zarzar 2003). It is understood that staying at a foreign university turns out to be highly positive for the integral student education and the development of autonomy, which helps students become self-sufficient and mature. Foreign studying helps the person deal with their studies more successfully increasing the international dimension at work (Teichler 2007), it as well raises the probability of working abroad in the future (Parey, Waldinger 2007).

In particular, this international dimension is even more important for the students of Educational Science, future professors and educators of the new European generations. Due to the more usual presence of different nationality students in classrooms. The stays, through the Erasmus programme, help students get to know the cultures of countries of origin, which benefits the future teaching assistants, raising their awareness to challenge teaching in the diversity of students of different nationalities. The majority of studies, such as Deardorff (2004, in: Pozo-Vicente, Aguaded-Gómez 2012) and Straffon (2003) coincide in pointing out that the intercultural experiences allow students to learn the behaviours and improve their intercultural communication abilities and affirm that there is a proportional positive and direct relation between the stay period abroad and the level of acquired intercultural sensitivity. The academic exchange may improve the quality of the Higher Education, the professional and personal development of the beneficiaries and also opens a way to intercultural understanding and facilitates the collaboration among the people of their own institutions (Stockwell 2011). For those students, who are going to be future nursery and primary school teachers, communal living on a daily basis and the cultural and linguistic immersion provide them with the flexibility and understanding before the cultural diversity of their students.

In studies such as education, medicine or nursing the possibility of real apprenticeship is an important aspect of studying abroad. Therefore, those students are offered the possibility of learning new and different forms of hospital work or educational center classrooms, the chance of getting to know different methodologies, resources, materials, which enriches them as future teaching assistants, in our case.

Button et al. (2005) revised the literature as for the impact of the international apprenticeship for the professional life of nurses. The students were exposed to a great variety of experiences in nursing in a host country. This would give them a wide spectrum of comparison between the health care systems, the practice and the patient assistance in host countries. In

this study, it was highly recommended for the educational institutions to offer students opportunities of participating in the nursing and educational systems in other countries.

Another argument in favour of the student exchanges can be found in the study of Frisch (1990, in: Keogh, Russel-Roberts 2009), where it is exposed that the international experience allows students to see beyond themselves and see all their previous learning experiences from a new, and often, very critical point of view.

First International Seminar: Improving Mobility Through Collaborative Exchange

We understand that there are barriers that, in general, all students deciding to study abroad, need to face: a financial strain, a foreign language and separation from family, which may generate stress (Väfors et al. 2008). On the one hand, families need to deal with a strain on a family budget to maintain their children as students in a foreign country. When a student starts to gather information about the costs of mobility, it becomes obvious that the level of Erasmus financing may be insufficient. On the other hand, there is a language barrier; it is not easy to study in a language so different from yours.

When a student has assessed these factors and decides to study within the Erasmus programme at a foreign university, they face another type of situations, other than the very mobility involves. The most alarming one, in our opinion, is the risk, caused by the difficulties encountered in the Erasmus experience, of suffering from harm in terms of student's health, for instance depression and anxiety (Nilsson et al. 2008) or somatic symptoms (Mori 2000) and making the latent problems such as mental disorders appear (Bradley 2000). These situations require therapeutic help of a professional. However, the majority of students do not seek it (Mori 2000) because of the lack of knowledge of the service, difficulties in communicating in a foreign language or simply because they do not want to receive this type of help. Therefore, the Erasmus programme turns into an experience producing damage in mental and physical health and has a negative impact on the academic progress of a student.

We understand the necessary work of student's accompanying and advising on the side of the closest person the student has in the host institution, that is a coordinating professor – of the Erasmus mobility, who is responsible for a student from a particular university. The figure of a professor – coordinator is a contact person at the host university and their role is to receive, advise, guide, counsel and manage the academic administration pro-

cedures during student's stay. A radical problem in the bureaucratization of the Erasmus programme is the fact that the academic coordinators limit themselves only to facilitate and manage the bureaucratic processes of the incoming student, leaving out the personal aspect. We agree with De Wit (2012), who during the 25th Erasmus anniversary, mentions the evolution suffered in the last 15 years in the Erasmus programme as an important barrier, with the lack of participation in the Faculty, the tendency of the programme bureaucratization and the quantitative focus the mobility has taken.

Sensitive and committed to the Erasmus programme, a group of university professors of the UK, Turkey, Portugal, Poland and Spain gathered in an international seminar Improving Mobility Through Collaborative Exchanges, held in Cadiz, Spain, from 6th till 12th of May 2015 to reflect on the difficulties and fears an Erasmus student needs to face, and to try to improve the mobility of the Erasmus students between their countries. The following were reflected on during those workshops:

1. Analysing the stress producing factors in the Erasmus students.
2. Analysing the failure and abandoning of the Erasmus programme and the scholarship granted just before performing the trip. What are their fears?
3. Reception and support.
4. The information a student needs to carry out the mobility and maintain safe and sound their emotional security, their interests, the knowledge of the host country, recognition and agreement of mobility, which subjects to choose, language, accommodation, the economic level of the host country, etc.
5. Uniting our efforts to accomplish a K2 Erasmus cooperation project between our universities.
6. Making the action valid for different situational contexts, which is a priority for the European mobility.

The main subject is the cooperation between European countries in order to give support to the European Erasmus students in all aspects, not only in the academic life, but also in their everyday life (doubts, problems, fears, uncertainties) and hence promote the emotional balance that every student needs to confront their studies abroad with a positive outcome. The

creation and utility of a mobile and tablet application would help to strengthen the informative action addressing the education population. This way the access to information through electronic devices – the most commonly used by students – is facilitated, and that undoubtedly would help to surpass fears and uncertainties before the stay. A figure of an accompanying student, introducing and helping in the process of acculturation will be created. However, what is the most important is the support and advice of a professor, who will coordinate the incoming students.

A case study

This work reflects on the experience of 5 university students of the University of Cadiz, who experienced the mobility with the help of the Erasmus programme, with the special supervision as a result of agreement and collaboration between the three participating in the seminar institutions: Glasgow, Scotland (UK), Linz, Austria and Cádiz, Spain. They were all students of the 4th year of the undergraduate Nursery Education, three of them in the year 2013-2014 and two of them in the year 2014-2015. All the stays were performed in the first term of the year since the apprenticeship was to be done in the educational Spanish centers. Last but not least they had an opportunity to get to know how teachers in other countries work: methodology, sources, atmosphere in the classroom, relations with parents and tutors, micro and macro educational policies, etc.

Analysis of data and process phases

The analysis of qualitative data must be systematic, follow a sequence and order (Álvarez-Gayou 2005). The model used in the analysis of the data of the interviews given was developed along the process, which may be summarized in the following phases (ibid., Miles, Huberman 1994, Rubin, Rubin 1995):

1. Obtain the information.
2. Capture, transcribe and order the information.
3. Code the information.
4. Integrate the information.

The information was collected throughout the detailed interviews of the students participating in the case study by means of the interviews' recording. A mobile telephone application was used as a recording device. These interviews' audio recordings are transcribed into a perfectly legible document. The information is presented in an organized form of questions and

answers. Afterwards, the information coding is performed. Coding is a process in which the obtained information is grouped in categories covering the ideas, concepts or similar topics discovered by the interviewer or the steps or phases throughout the process (Rubin, Rubin 1995). We have carried out a series of categories and typological codifications of the data. Thematic codification, addressing main topics of interest. Interpretative and explicative codification developing the topics, explaining and interpreting both the verbal and non-verbal language and chronological codification. The main categories were: the general assessment of the experience, the possibility of acquiring new knowledge at an academic level, finding out if they had an opportunity to do apprenticeship in foreign educational centers and the coordinators' work: interest, reception, help and support of the coordinating professor of the host university.

Results

General assessment of the experience

The five students assessed the general experience very positively as for the academic aspect (knowing other cultures, new acquisitions, foreign language skill improvement). What needs to be highlighted is the fact that all students included the development as individuals, which – in their answers – occurred thanks to the programme. It was the first time for all of them to leave home and live on their own. It was the case because in Spain almost every province has its own university, therefore students keep living in their family homes and the moment of independence is moved to the moment of getting a job and becoming financially independent. Due to such conditions of Spanish schools, leaving home enhances the development of autonomy, maturity and personal development. It all contributes to the growth of self-confidence and provides life security. “In my opinion, apart from the academic aspect this experience is oriented to provide social and cultural benefits and improve a student as a person and help become mature in general”. Besides, it is such a positive experience that everybody encourages and recommends students to study outside Spain, to participate in the Erasmus programme. “Very good. It was a great experience for me, I would definitely repeat it and I recommend it to everybody who is able to, thanks to Erasmus, live and study abroad for a few months” (R4). “In general, it was an undoubtedly one of the best experiences in my life, I would recommend it to everybody” (R1). “On the other hand, I got to know a new culture, I learnt to adapt to it because it is different from ours, for example, the working hours” (R2).

New knowledge

This question addressed their assessment of the academic knowledge during their stay within the programme at other universities. If they thought that some aspects of the academic education during their stay at a foreign university would be impossible to acquire at the University of Cadiz. "Yes, the language, thanks to the Erasmus experience I could improve my level of English, both written and spoken. Besides, I obtained information about the education and teaching system abroad" (R1). "If, in my case, studying education, I was able to observe how education is understood in Scotland and get to know their curriculum. It is crucial to see that other countries look at education from a very different perspective and therefore enrich our knowledge of it. If I had not gone, I would not have broadened the way I look at education" (R3).

All students admitted to having achieved academic acquisitions impossible to be obtained in Spain. Thanks to the linguistic immersion, learning English was facilitated in case of the University of Glasgow and learning English and German in case of the University of Linz. "Yes, especially for the language. No matter how many courses you do in your home country, it is only when you go abroad, start practising it and communicate on a daily basis with people from other countries, you realise the importance of learning foreign languages" (R5). "I learnt things I would never learn at the University of Cadiz simply because the education there is totally different from ours. However, I would like to say that there are many things I learnt in Cadiz and I wouldn't at a foreign university" (R2).

Finally we coincide with Zarzar (2003) interpreting that the student's education forms their personality. Defining their being, behaviour, thinking, self-expression, working, studying, learning, relations, living as a result of all the learning. The comment of our R4 goes: "I didn't only learn academic things. Of course I learnt a lot in the classroom, but also gained everyday life knowledge. I can say I changed and I see the world differently now".

Access to the apprenticeship in educational centers

The apprenticeship done at the educational centers is an important part of the Nursery and Primary Education courses of the Faculty of Educational Science in Cadiz. Our students have apprenticeships at Spanish schools during the whole term in the third year and another term in the fourth year. As a professionalizing degree, the knowledge acquired during the period of apprenticeship at different schools of the province is fundamental in the future professional performance. That is why we wanted to know if the students had an opportunity to improve their skills during the apprenticeships

in foreign schools outside Spain. Along with Button et al. (2005) and Frisch (1990) the Erasmus mobility provides the opportunity to compare the different systems, in this case, of education and helps to revise their knowledge from a critical and beneficial point of view.

All the interviewed students had an opportunity to attend Nursery Education schools during the six months of the Erasmus programme, both in Glasgow and Linz. Some of them during a few weeks in a row, whereas others one day per week throughout the six months of their stay. These apprenticeships offer a chance to learn, observe and participate in a real context outside your home country, which would have been impossible without this type of programmes. This is how a student evaluates the apprenticeship done at a school in Glasgow: “Studying education, I was able to observe how education is understood in Scotland and get to know their curriculum. It is crucial to see that other countries look at education from a very different perspective and therefore enrich our knowledge of it. If I had not gone, I would not have broadened the way I look at education” (R3). “Yes, I was lucky to have access to a school and different classes, with varied methodologies and different teachers. It all contributed to my new experiences and knowledge gained during the programme. It seems to me that the Erasmus apprenticeship is of vital importance” (R1).

The coordinators' work

The coordinating professor is a contact person an Erasmus student has at the host university. They are responsible for guiding, advising, consulting and processing the academic administration steps during the student's stay. It is very important to provide the incoming student with all the necessary information regarding the university, subjects, timetables, psychopedagogical services (if available), the city they are going to live in, customs and traditions of the country and handle all the bureaucracy related to the studies at the host university. It is true that the Erasmus programme is not a novelty and begins to bureaucratize (the fact already reported in 2012 by De Witt). This fact may have a negative effect on the students, who see themselves as abandoned, disorientated and with no support given. These circumstances may affect the students who have been granted the Erasmus scholarship, and as very often happens, they decide to turn it down just before leaving. It implies additional administration proceedings and the waste of scholarship, as there is not enough time to proceed a new allocation.

There is a tight collaboration, constant communication, great interest and dedication to the Erasmus programme between the coordinating professors of host universities in this case study. They have participated in the First

International Seminar “Improving Mobility Through Collaborative Exchange”, held in Cádiz, motivated by a necessity to improve the mobility between their institutions. They believe in the Erasmus programme and carry out the coordination work, which goes beyond pure bureaucratic proceedings.

In relation to the work developed by the coordinating professors, the students found it extremely positive, recognizing the great help received, monitoring and the interest shown towards the academic and personal issues (reception, accommodation, group adaptation, acculturation process, accompanying student). Welcoming activities are organized at almost all universities to receive the Erasmus students and give them general information and a chance to get to know each other. At other universities they are assigned a student who helps them with occasional doubts, that may appear.

With respect to the reception and academic issues assistance they answered: “We were nicely received as we had a whole week especially dedicated to our doubts and questions. Everybody helped us whenever we needed it and having an allocated coordinator helps a lot” (R3). “Yes, I was pleased because the coordinator was always interested in my matters” (R5). “Very good. Our coordinator was always available and helped us with anything we needed. Besides, the very university organizes some welcoming days for all the Erasmus students, which is great. We were given a lot of information and we managed to meet a lot of people” (R4). “I got enough information about the city and the faculty, as there were one or two host students per each Erasmus student to help us with all our doubts. Besides, I would like to highlight that they picked us up from the train station the day we arrived in the city and took us to the university, which I find very positive because at the beginning you feel a bit frightened and disoriented” (R2). “There was a coordinator for the Erasmus students, who sometimes was seen overwhelmed, therefore I think that the Erasmus coordinator should not be at the same time the student’s teacher (etc.)” (R1). “Yes, I had a teaching assistant who was responsible for monitoring me and other Erasmus students, wanting to know the academic and adaptation progress” (R2).

With respect to the personal interest all the Erasmus students got from their respective coordinators, they all responded that the coordinators were personally interested in them, their adaptation and integration in the group, if the students attended classes regularly, how they felt, etc. Regarding this question, they answered:

“The coordinator was interested in my well-being all the time and how I felt during my stay in a new country” (R1). “Yes, both the teacher and host student were interested in all aspects so that we, the Erasmus students,

could be comfortable and able to adapt as soon as possible" (R2). "Yes in all. In fact, they threw a welcoming party, during which a welcome speech was given and we could eat together, we also did various cultural trips in order to get to know the city and the country" (R5). In the general assessment of the help received, they all showed great satisfaction: "we received all the help we needed" (R3). "Every time I had a problem, I received the necessary help" (R2). Only one student answered: "They were interested in everything except for accommodation" (R3). This student had to look for a shared flat to rent and had difficulties. The universities which lack halls of residence for students need to facilitate the contact of individuals who let flats to foreign students and this way provide foreign students with the information. That is the way it is tackled in Cadiz. Lacking the halls of residence, the very university contacts the individuals who let their flats and the students who need them in order to facilitate the search. In this study we have discovered that it is the aspect we could improve in our collaboration: to facilitate the information about flats to rent for students, and it would even be advisable to contact the foreign students who attend the same university so that they could share the same flat. Since, living on their own beside being expensive is not recommendable for the Erasmus students.

Conclusion

Nobody doubts now the positive aspects that the Erasmus scholarship at foreign universities has. The benefits are clear both in the academic education as well as the personal development. With respect to the academic aspect, participating in the Erasmus programme helps students develop a more critical and advantageous vision being able to compare the different educational, in this case, systems (Button et al. 2005, Frisch 1990). As for the personal aspect, the development of independence and autonomy is facilitated along with becoming more mature (Zarzar 2003). This way their professional prospects are improved (Teichler 2007) and the probability of working abroad in the future is increased (Parey, Waldinger 2007).

In particular, for the students of Educational Science, the future teachers and new European generation creators, it is absolutely positive given they improve their communicative competences and intercultural sensitivity (Deardorff 2004, in: Pozo-Vicente, Aguaded-Gómez 2001; Straffon 2003), thus, intercultural understanding (Stockwell 2011). These competences are becoming more and more necessary in order to be able to educate in the diversity of nationalities we at present have in our Nursery and Primary education.

According to De Wit (2012) the Erasmus programme is in need of lo-

wering the bureaucracy level, which has increased in recent years as for the Faculties and especially the coordinators, who are responsible for the direct contact with the Erasmus students at host universities. It is normal, because receiving foreign students is already quite usual in the life of the universities.

The students need help and advising of the coordinators in all spheres during the stay. These are young people who in most cases leave their homes and families for the first time in order to live on their own and study in a foreign language at foreign universities experiencing the customs, they generally do not know. We understand that the academic coordinator is fundamental to reduce and prevent the negative academic, mental and physical effects. Social isolation impedes getting to know the culture they need to live in for some time in their lives, that is why it is advisable to contact the Erasmus students with the voluntary student of the host university.

Good communication we have between the coordinators dealing with the students of this case study shows that supervising, advising and guiding of the coordinator, both in the academic and personal dimension, lead to a successful Erasmus experience. We think that is the way it should be done, considering the Erasmus experience to be a unique and once in a lifetime opportunity of academic and personal development, as well as working internationalization contemplating the possibilities of working in other countries of the European Union.

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Noemí Serrano Díaz

MOBILITY OF STUDENTS OF EDUCATION FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CADIZ. A CASE STUDY

Keywords: Erasmus mobility, Student's needs. Higher Education

The aim of the Bologna Process is, amongst others, to improve the mobility of students in Higher Education. The Erasmus programme helps students study at other European universities, get to know other countries, live a different culture (folklore, food, language, etc.), develop their autonomy and mature as adults. The international seminar 'The improvement of the mobility through the collaborative exchange' took place in Cadiz, Spain, in May 2015. The Universities of Glasgow (The United Kingdom), Madeira (Portugal), Gazi (Turkey), Linz(Austria), Zielona Góra (Poland) and Cadiz (Spain) participated in this seminar. The representatives of the countries expressed their concern regarding the problems students may encounter during the mobility. The literature has pointed out that economic, social and academic tension students experience may, in some cases, generate or exacerbate mental disorders (Bradley, 2000), generate depression and anxiety (Russell et al. 2010, Ying, Han 2006), and even manifest itself in somatic symptoms (Mori 2000). This might imply classroom absence and drug abuse as side effects.

This study describes the positive experiences of five students from the University of Cadiz Erasmus by virtue of a collaborative exchange among universities, detailing the measures taken by host universities to address potential stress issues.

Karolína Burešová*

**THE SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT IN THE GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE
OF UNITED NATIONS**

The article describes strategies and initiatives of the United Nations which on global field operate in order to support the sustainable development of local communities and community development work and their relation to global issues in the context of education. The aim of the text is to present the main initiatives and programmes of the UN which focus on education.

Community development and its socio-educational aspects

Recently, both educational theory and practice have been exposed to the fact that the globalised and multicultural society of the 21st century faces problematic issues regarding economic crisis, war conflicts and intercultural dialogue, social insecurities and disparities or environmental risks. These phenomena have naturally led to the transformation of families and their local communities. The social acceleration which is visible from the perspective of the latest research resulted in effects that are relevant in the socio-educational context of community life. The role, form, content and concept of education have been directly influenced by increasing diversity and therefore the ubiquitous need of inclusion.

The processes of social exclusion and marginalization have become an urgent social problem therefore securing equality of opportunities in education is one of the biggest existing challenges in education. Social inclusion is complicated because of the fragmentation of community life, *di-social* life strategies, and the failure of the social function of schools in furthering integration. UNESCO defines inclusion in the context of education as “a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through inclusive practices in learning, cultures and communities and reducing exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures and strategies, with a common vision which

***Karolína Burešová** – Ph.D. in Pedagogy, Charles University in Prague; research interests: comparative pedagogy, social pedagogy; e-mail: karolina.buresova@ff.cuni.cz

covers all children of the appropriate age range and a conviction that it is the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children” (Global Monitoring Report... 2006).

However, nowadays education is no longer only in the hands of governmental sector and state institutions on national level. Nongovernmental and non-profit organisations often provide citizens with programmes and projects, which are closer to the regional context and particular socio-cultural background of the community. From this reason communities are currently very frequently linked to movements and initiatives supporting education of socially endangered and excluded citizens or lifelong learning. “Community education is a concept and practice often linked to adult education and involving the provision of courses and educational events outside the school or college premises in public or private buildings within the community. This type of provision is also referred to as ‘outreach’, since it reaches out to the community rather than requiring people to travel to the institution” (Wallage 2008, p. 59).

Communities put their specific philosophy in the practice in their own community schools where it is possible to foster orientation towards functional partnerships that bring both financial and human resources to the school and participate in extracurricular activities based on analysing community needs (Pappano 2010). It is proved by practice that extracurricular pursuits can lead to forming positive social interaction and connect schools to their communities (McLaughlin 2000). Therefore the role of the community in the everyday life of the school is considered to be particularly important, especially in socially disadvantaged and excluded localities. Basch (2010) argues that community schools are capable of providing health, psychological and social counselling and other services to students from low-income communities with poor access to these resources.

Providing students with adequate conditions, quality information resources and study materials is not the only indicator of academic success for the child. It is also the qualification levels of a child’s parents and their career which have proved to be very important. This has led to frequently presented view that those parents, who have succeeded in the education system are more likely to see the value of education, aid their child’s development and care more about the education of their child. (Murphy et al. 2009, p. 125)

Considerations of this kind are relevant in the context of *area-based initiatives* (ABIs), which might be the most efficient element capable of intervention in relation to poor education outcomes in particular places. The deeper exploration of the relationship between education, disadvantage and

place has led to an analysis of locally specific processes related to how people live and develop their identities with reference to their local environments, structure of the local school system, the types of schools that can be accessed, schools' locations and the characteristics they have acquired over time, how parents exercise school choice and how schools respond to their pupils' backgrounds. (Kerr et al. 2014, pp. 31-37)

ABIs should be based on sociological and socio-philosophical aspects of the community. The community which is understood as an entity connected by living conditions, *lived* experience, sensitivity, values, social relations, and shared perspectives which has been taken into account in theory (Bauman 2006, Delanty 2003, Gardner 1999). The school as a learning community has the following attributes: public participation (in decision-making, instruction, classroom volunteering), focus on learning (every pupil should be able to achieve their maximum), positive expectation (emphasising the potential of learners and not their deficits), and permanent development (the ongoing reflection upon and evaluation of the process) (Merino Fernández 2008).

These attributes are usually accompanied by extended hours, services and relationships, reconceiving education as a coordinated, child-centred effort, building stronger families, improving communities and creating environment where families and communities work together to support students' educational success. Such schools are usually referred to as community schools. The foundations for community schools can be described by a Developmental Triangle that places children at the centre, surrounded by families and communities. The triangle comprises of three interconnected support systems:

- A strong core instructional program designed to help all students meet high academic standards;
- Expanded learning opportunities designed to enrich the learning environment for students and their families;
- A full range of health, mental health and social services designed to promote children's well-being and remove barriers to learning (Building community... 2011, p. 1).

If we regard a community school as a connecting element between community life and socio-educational services of the region, there is a need to employ here a professional capable of working in this very specific field. It is usually "youth and community worker", who activates members of the community or works with young people within the context of their communities.

“Youth and community workers may also observe and intervene in community and institutional processes and tasks to promote young people’s participation.” (Sapin 2013, p. 9) However, “community development worker” is usually oriented towards communities themselves and helps to improve their capacity for managing and improving the quality of their lives.

Community workers and community development workers operate on local level and are often key elements in solving very urgent and fragile issues in both individual and group perspective. More importantly, tackling the disadvantages which prevent some children doing well should be a national priority. The debates on the methods and strategies leading to this goal do not always lead into agreement with the involved parts. One of the obstacles is, for instance, the decision on the level where these strategies should be formulated. It could be national, regional and local authorities or even city-region level (Dyson et al. 2012, p. 4).

Harlem Children Zones (HCZ), which is a geographically based non-profit organisation can be a very inspiring concept for European community schools. HCZ currently serve around 100 blocks in Harlem, New York and offer an interlocking network of education, health, family, and social welfare services for low-income black families. It is a unique concept supporting children from cradle to career, which is:

- focused on a particular local area,
- *doubly* holistic,
- able to act strategically for children and families in the area. (ibid., pp. 9-10)

Presented concept of the school appears in the discourse that analyses the possibilities of development in so called knowledge society where school is a learning organisation and operates in both European and global contexts. Community schools are often focused on global education motivating children to act like global citizens able to deal with issues such as sustainable development or intercultural dialogue. These institutions support the development of multilevel personal identity comprising of linguistic, personal and social layers. They create the suitable environment for the realization of lifelong and intergenerational learning across various age and ethnic groups. From this reason, it is obvious that community schools put together socio-educational aspects of a local region and have crucial role in community development.

Community and regional development – European and global view

Community development is inevitably linked to the characteristics of its region or locality and has got its specifics on each continent. The European view represented by the European Union (EU) on community development is predominantly influenced by strategies aiming at unification and harmonization which would enable sustainable management of the process on international level. This approach proved to be very effective in terms of agenda setting long-term planning and financial issues. On the other hand it has been criticised by public as it can result in suppressing traditional attributes of national states, their unique cultural heritage and history, which is shared on the continental level but is very diverse in the context of individual countries.

The global view on community development introduced by the United Nations (UN) is based on the protection of specific cultural and biocultural diversity, the support of sustainable development of the communities and dealing with alarming global problems concerning both village and town settlements. This concept is more sensitive towards very sensitive themes such as intercultural dialogue, safeguarding of endangered languages and their dialects or revitalization of local fauna and flora. It enables local communities to sustain their traditions and keep their lifestyle, but is rather different from the first approach mentioned above because of the remarkable role of the UN.

This role is very close to the principle of charity based work in the community context. Primarily, this international organisation creates safe environment supporting the global discussion of its member states on contemporary acute issues and aims to disseminate solutions respecting human rights and national independence. Securing financial matters is not the dominant responsibility of the UN initiatives. The position of this global leader can be understood as an umbrella capable of operating as an advisor, coordinator and protector in the sector of human rights compliance.

The UN focuses on long-term perspective on the theme of poverty in Africa and other regions, HIV/AIDS prevention, gender disparities, the problems related to urban poverty and slums or land-grabbing. At the same time it supports campaigns against slavery, domestic violence, child soldiers, child illegal work, child prostitution and pornography, child sexual abuse, stoning etc. These issues can be in some cases the intrinsic element of a particular community and its socio-cultural background related to religious and political characteristics of the locality. Dealing with them can be from this reason delicate and may cause controversial debates. The UN has four main purposes:

- To keep peace throughout the world;
- To develop friendly relations among nations;
- To help nations work together to improve the lives of poor people, to conquer hunger, disease and illiteracy, and to encourage respect for each other's rights and freedoms;
- To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations to achieve these goals (Charter of the United... 1945).

The UN operates around the world in the scope of its 193 member states and decisions are made on global, national and local level within local and national agencies of particular UN organisations. There are five world regions of the UN- Africa, Arab states, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and North America, Latin America and the Caribbean. Regional problems are always firstly addressed on local level, most frequently by the UN national agencies as social problems should be understood in national perspective. In the case of humanitarian aid performed by the UN material or logistical assistance is provided usually in response to humanitarian crises. The UN brings together governments, individuals, NGOs, charities, multilateral organisations, domestic organisations and private companies. The primary goal is to save lives, alleviate suffering, and maintain human dignity by the principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence. Development aid should take into account the underlying socioeconomic factors which may have led to a crisis or emergency.

The consequences of natural catastrophes and war conflicts cannot be settled within community resources. Lives are lost, houses are destroyed and material relief assistance and services are needed. They are often concurrently followed by emergency food aid, relief coordination, protection, and support services. The last phase is reconstruction and rehabilitation of the community infrastructure which often involves water, sanitation and emergency repairs. Moreover psychological support and education are necessary as well as disaster risk reduction. This system is based on projects aimed at prevention, preparedness and early warning systems. It is clear that in this regard the orientation towards the future on the global field has to be strengthened.

Year 2015 represents a very special period as the member states of the UN will adopt a new sustainable development agenda and a new global agreement on climate change. The actions will result at the Sustainable Development Summit in September 2015 in new sustainable development goals that are derived from Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The process

of the post 2015 development agenda is based on broad public participation of various subjects – Major Groups and other civil society stakeholders. Citizens are also welcome to join the conversation on the post 2015 MDGs agenda and can vote on the World We Want 2015 website for the issues that are the most important as it appeared in the My World survey.

MDGs were established in 2000 and include eight anti-poverty targets to be accomplished by 2015. Since then, global poverty continues to decline, more children than ever are safe (Goal 2. Achieve... 2015) and child deaths have dropped dramatically. Access to safe drinking water has been greatly expanded and targeted investments in fighting malaria, AIDS and tuberculosis have saved millions. The following table compares MDGs and the proposed Sustainable Development goals according to the theme they address (2015 is the Time... 2015).

Table 1

Comparison of development goals

Millenium Development Goals (MDGs)	Proposed Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End poverty in all its forms everywhere. • End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture. • Reduce inequality within and among countries. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all, • Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.
Achieve universal primary education	Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.
Promote gender equality and empower women	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.
Reduce child mortality	
Improve maternal health	
Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages.

Ensure environmental sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all • Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, manage forests sustainably, combat desertification and halt and reverse land degradation, and halt biodiversity loss • Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all. • Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns. • Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts (taking note of agreements made by the UNFCCC forum). • Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development. • Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation, and foster innovation. • Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.
Develop a global partnership for development	Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development.

Source: Millenium development... (2015), Towards sustainable... (2015).

The Table 1 shows that most Sustainable Development goals are devoted to the issues related to the poverty and the environment. On the contrary, other themes such as the reduction of child mortality or improving maternal health have been left out. It is obvious that community development is directly linked to all of the mentioned themes.

The SDGs also reflect on the important role of education. Therefore the part of the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that made up the Agenda 2030 for sustainable development is also The global education agenda (Education 2030). The Incheon Declaration constitutes the commitment of the education community to Education 2030 and entitles UNESCO to lead and coordinate education within the overall SDG realization (SDG 4...2016).

The access to primary education represents here only the one of the goals which has been articulated in the scope of the UN. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2000 intro-

duced Education for all 2015 (EFA) movements oriented towards the quality of basic education for all children, youth and adults. *The Dakar Framework for Action* which was created at the World Education Forum (Dakar 2000) mandated UNESCO to act as the leading agency and coordinate strategic partnerships (Education for all Movement 2015).

The worldwide movement EFA is the most important commitment to education in recent decades. Efforts in its frame have made remarkable progress. However the EFA goals are very unlikely to be achieved by 2015. The new strategy is needed for a new and forward-looking education agenda that completes unfinished agenda while addressing new challenges. The following table presents the comparison of EFA goals and the education goals in the frame of the post-2015 development agenda (Beyond 2015: The Education... 2015).

Table 2

EFA goals and the education goals in the frame of the post-2015 development agenda

EFA 2015	The Post-2015 Education Agenda
Expand Early childhood care and education.	1.By 2030, at least x% of girls and boys are ready for primary school through participation in quality early childhood care and education.
Ensure Access to and complete, free, and compulsory primary education of good quality.	2.By 2030, all girls and boys complete free and compulsory quality basic education of at least 9 years and achieve relevant learning outcomes.
Ensure equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programs.	4. By 2030, at least x% of youth and y% of adults have the knowledge and skills for decent work and life through technical and vocational, upper secondary and tertiary education and training.
Achieve a 50 % improvement in adult literacy by 2015, especially for women.	3.By 2030, all youth and at least x% of adults reach a proficiency level in literacy and numeracy.
Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieve gender equality in education by 2015.	
Improve all aspects of the quality of education.	6.By 2030, all governments ensure that all learners are taught by qualified, professionally-trained, motivated and well-supported teachers.

	5. By 2030, all learners acquire knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to establish sustainable and peaceful societies, including global citizenship education and education for sustainable development.
	7. By 2030, all countries allocate at least 4-6% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or at least 15-20% of their public expenditure to education.

Source: Beyond 2015: The Education... (2015), Education for all Goals (2015).

Table 2 depicts the major thematic similarities and differences between the mentioned two strategies. There are two new extra goals in post-2015 Education Agenda. The first of them is global citizenship education and education for sustainable development. The second one specifies the public expenditure to education. The only goal that is not explicitly contained in the new agenda is concerning gender disparities in primary and secondary education.

All the introduced strategies are going to have a remarkable impact on the launching of new programmes and projects in the context of both education and community development in global and European perspective. They introduce current general vision shared by the UN member states which is a unique basis for individual ongoing initiatives and movements in international context.

Sustainable development of communities in the projects of the United Nations

The global strategies of the UN presented above function as a frame for other programmes and projects of individual UN organisations. For the purpose of the article, eight UN organisations were chosen as an example of subjects acting in the sphere of community development (very often also in the context of education). Initiatives of these organisations differ in their form, content, duration, but they are very inspiring because of their unique approach to the particular theme.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) operates in more than 170 countries and territories and helps to eradicate poverty, inequalities and exclusion. It provides assistance in developing policies, leadership skills, partnering abilities, institutional capabilities and building resilience in order to sustain development results. UNDP is a strong partner for communities which need to improve their services, sustainability, governance and security. UNDP aims at helping countries to build and share solutions in three main domains:

- Sustainable development,
- Democratic governance and peacebuilding,
- Climate and disaster resilience (A world of development... 2015).

UNDP helps countries to strengthen their capacity to anticipate and withstand the impact of natural disasters and other sudden shocks, and to recover from these crises. In June 2014 UNDP assisted in Bosnia and Herzegovina after “Floors of the century” and supported the communities in implementing capacities and building strong partnerships with other international partners, especially local authorities. This recovery assistance of the communities had direct impact on more than 1.5 million people. UNDP also worked in eastern Ukraine in 2014 where more than a million people fled the fighting. It helped to provide citizens with adequate shelter and essential social services and paid special attention to the needs of children, the disabled and other vulnerable groups (Time for global action... 2015). UNDP is also an author of the UN-wide campaign to engage staff at all levels of the organization, detailing what’s happening to the green UN.

This theme is very close to the activities of The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), which prepares the global environmental agenda of the UN. UNEP work involves:

- Assessing global, regional and national environmental conditions and trends,
- Developing international and national environmental instruments,
- Strengthening institutions for the wise management of the environment (About UNEP 2015).

One of the most popular campaigns is “Think eat save” initiated by the Save Food Initiative, which is based on a partnership between UNEP, FAO and Messe Düsseldorf and is supported by the UN Secretary-General’s Zero Hunger Challenge. The amount of food waste counts more than the total net food production of Sub-Saharan Africa and would be sufficient to feed the estimated 900 million people in the world. This campaign aims at creating global, regional and national actions which would reduce global food waste (About the Campaign 2015)

It is obvious that local communities need long-term, complex and professional support not only in social matters, security or environmental issues, but also in the context of building sustainable human settlements.

UN-HABITAT works towards a better future of towns and cities. It supports urban areas to promote and implement sustainable strategies, which would be socially and environmentally sensitive to the particular setting and which would help to create adequate shelter for those in need. The main goal is to slow the growth of the slums and build modern infrastructure (roads, public transport, water, electricity, sanitation etc.). These processes are related to facing social issues such as poverty, unemployment, crime problems or health issues. Modern cities face demographic and spatial challenges linked to the dramatic increase of urbanization and land-grabbing (UN-Habitat at a glance 2015).

The World Urban Campaign is coordinated by UN-Habitat and its goal is to make the urban agenda a priority of national development policies. 'I'm a City Changer' is the advocacy initiative of this Campaign. It raises awareness about positive urban change by engaging citizens in changing their urban communities and achieving green, safe, inclusive and well-planned cities (World urban campaign 2015).

Currently, it is not only European cities and capitals facing the new wave of immigrants and refugees. This issue is the mandate of The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), whose main purpose is to safeguard rights and well-being of refugees and asylum seekers. Today, UNHCR protects millions of refugees, returnees, internally displaced and stateless people (Office of the United Nations... 2015). City communities have become predominantly multicultural units where we can often find ethnic quarters or settlements sharing their own cultural patterns. As listed above, urban areas currently solve various problems and therefore this issue cannot be ignored without securing professional advocacy system. Advocacy is a major element of UNHCR activities, used in combination with activities such as information dissemination, monitoring and negotiation. These activities can lead to the transformation of policies and services on national, regional or global level. UNHCR is also analysing alternative forms to refugee camps, which would respect human right of refugees and would not negatively interfere with the local community life. For instance, refugees may live on land or housing which they rent, own or occupy informally, or they may have private hosting arrangements. Initially, UNHCR provides life-saving emergency assistance. Other vital assistance that is available involves refugee registration, assistance and advice on asylum applications, education and counselling. Other UNHCR actions are capacity building, protection of refugees, finding durable solutions and fundraising. The Agency must be able to offer aid and experts to the zone affected by war conflict or natural catastrophe without delay. Providing

fleeing civilians with emergency help is often the first step towards their long-term protection and rehabilitation (What we do 2015).

The process of migration is especially demanding for women and children. They are during critical situations often left behind without adequate shelter and dignified living conditions. Current transformations of communities should be always followed by special support of women. UN lately unified the systems of protecting women globally. The new initiative UN-WOMEN has joined four former divisions supporting the rights of women. The main roles of UN Women are:

- To support inter-governmental bodies in their formulation of policies, global standards and norms,
- To help Member States to implement these standards, standing ready to provide suitable technical and financial support to those countries that request it, and to forge effective partnerships with civil society,
- To lead and coordinate the UN system's work on gender equality as well as promote accountability, including through regular monitoring of system-wide progress (About UN-Women 2015).

The UN also provides communities with professional assistance when securing public health. World Health Organisation (WHO) coordinates international strategies aiming at six main areas of work: Health systems, promoting health through the life-course, non-communicable diseases, communicable diseases, corporate services, preparedness, surveillance and response. It acts as a global player in world health by acting in the field of monitoring, technical support, research agenda, health norms and standards (About WHO 2015).

Health issues in the community are frequently related to the theme of hygiene and the access to drinkable water. Food and Agriculture organisation of the UN (FAO) strives to achieve food security, eradication of hunger and malnutrition, elimination of poverty, driving forward economic and social progress and utilization of natural resources (About FAO 2015).

Each of the seven listed UN organisations addresses the community life from a different perspective. These organisations represent the UN global view on communities, which are regarded as vital parts of world regions. Securing their sustainable development is the only way how to sustain their traditional specifics, such as oral traditions, languages or unique local knowledge of the locality and its original socio-cultural background.

Community development and global education

The presented UN organisations and their projects take into consideration socio-educational aspects of community life and transform them into themes related to community sustainable development in the global context. The individual campaigns and initiatives are fragmented within each sphere but they always aspire to raise public awareness in the scope of specific issues.

To enable all learners to get knowledge about global issues on their educational track, we need to continue propagation of global citizenship education and education for sustainable development and place them into both compulsory curriculum and extracurricular activities of children and youth. Teaching young generation about the issues such as cultural diversity and world heritage, humanitarian aid, social inclusion, gender parity or environmental sustainability is the strategy leading to effective security of community development, community transformation and revitalization.

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Karolína Burešová

**THE SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT IN THE GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE
OF UNITED NATIONS**

Keywords: community development, regional development, community education, global education, sustainable development, cultural diversity, the UN.

Taken globally the community development faces unique situation that can be characterized by the unification of socio-economic policies and long-term strategies, as well as movements and initiatives aiming to foster community diversity. Enhancing the sustainability of indigenous community life is inevitably linked with socio-educational regional specifics that are to be expanded and supported both nationally and internationally. Our globalised world, where the issues such as war and intercultural conflicts, economic and social risks or environmental crisis are daily articulated should redefine the general concept of cultural diversity and its attachment to community life. This text describes strategies and initiatives of the United Nations which on global field operate in order to support the sustainable development of local communities and community development work and their relation to global issues in the context of education.

Jarosław Bąbka*

COOPERATIVE MODEL OF EDUCATION CHALLENGED BY CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL CHANGES

Introduction

The sign of our times are such worrying phenomena as losing social ties, superficiality of interpersonal relations, low level of trust, social exclusiveness of various types of “Otherness”, or low civic engagement (Marody, Giza-Poleszczuk 2004, pp. 137-143). Janusz Czapiński, an expert on social problems, basing his opinion on the diagnosis of the Polish society, thinks, that “(…) we should as quickly as possible search for methods (…), of how to improve social trust, readiness to cooperate and ability to compromise” (Czapiński 2007, p. 74). The question is what pedagogy and education can offer in terms of negative social changes. The purpose of the present paper is to present the assumptions of a model of education, which prepares young people for subject functioning as well as for being in the network of relations with other people, for exploring mutual initiatives and for civic engagement. There are scientific reasons to believe that implementation of such a mission is supported by education which takes advantage of cooperation. People’s engagement in solving problems together must be preceded by preparing them in the process of education for finding their ground in situations that require dialogue, negotiation, building trust as well as undertaking mutual initiatives. The analyses show that young people both in the early as well as late adolescence appreciate cooperation, yet do not exclude competition, which is triggered by social and economic changes. Apart from that, pupils and students in their educational situations gather a lot of negative experience resulting from badly organized team work (Bąbka 2012, pp. 128-129; Bąbka, Binnebesel 2013, pp. 227-238). With this view in mind, it was assumed that it was justified to find out how cooperation could be approached basing on features of performance as well as benefits obtained through it.

*Jarosław Bąbka – Ph.D. in Pedagogy, Associate Professor, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: education, inclusiveness, disability, inclusive community; e-mail: jaarus@poczta.fm

The author of the present paper is aware of the fact that attributing education with too much authorship in the process of making social changes by preparing young people for cooperation can be accused of meta-pedagogy. On the other hand, indifference towards exclusiveness, intolerance, losing trust and social ties or avoiding such problems in scientific debates can be understood as pedagogic reductionism (Kwieciński 2000, pp. 234-235).

Criteria of analysing cooperation as a joint action

Acting together, cooperation, teamwork are notions which from the linguistic point of view are used alternatively. In this paper, teamwork is approached as a synonym of cooperation and an advanced form of acting together, which means engagement of at least two people in accomplishment of their mutual goal. Cooperation makes it possible for all people involved in joint action to obtain comparable benefits. However, not every action of several people working together on the same task can be referred to as cooperation. Therefore, it is crucial to define a criterion with which we can then assess cooperative work. The road from acting together to cooperation is not simple. Not every teamwork (group-work) can be defined as cooperation (Bąbka 2012, pp. 62-69).

It was accepted, that cooperation could be analysed basing on two criteria, within which two indicators can be distinguished more precisely. The criterion related to performance features allows to approach cooperation basing on: (1) action purpose, which is related to the situation of interdependence, (2) character of interaction, which is characteristic for its multi-directional communication, participants' sharing mutual meanings, (3) organization and management of the action performed by people involved in accomplishment of a mutual goal. Interdependence is a specific pattern of dependence among people in a particular situation, which is a condition for attitudes shown and the dynamics of group processes (Brown 2006, pp. 44-49; Oyster 2002, p. 299). Carol K. Oyster thinks that interdependence is a situation of corresponding results, in which a result achieved by a single person depends not only on this person's activity, but on the behaviour of the interaction partners (*ibid.* p. 371). People in a social interdependence situation are involved in relations with other people through the task which connects them, for example, to survive in a catastrophe, to win a volleyball match as a team, to make a performance together, etc. Cooperation can also be concluded on basing on the character of interaction or communication, which supports creation of group norms, procedures of using and maintaining them (Adams, Galanes 2009, p. 86). In every group there is a certain communication network which can be centralized or decen-

tralized. Decentralized networks allow a multi-directional communication and favour cooperation, including solving creative problems. Centralized networks restrict the range of cooperation, yet do not exclude performance efficiency (Brown 2006, pp. 11-114; Oyster 2002, pp. 127-128). Non-verbal messages play various functions, for example, they replace words, stress their meaning, modify messages/announcements, monitor the course of verbal communication and indicate the individual's frame of mind (Adams, Galanes 2009, pp. 102-107; Agyle 1998, p. 84). By watching these indicators we can tell a lot about people's cooperation. The foundation of cooperation must be made of a good organization of the activity, including: assigning tasks, offering help, excluding competition, coordinating efforts, eliminating such negative phenomena as "free riding" (Weidner 2009, p. 37). The other criterion is related to effects of joint actions making it possible to determine the following indicators of cooperative behaviour: (1) the group's efficiency and productivity which is expressed by the work accomplished, (2) emotional engagement, (3) sense of community, (4) learning from one another, (5) joy of action and the result obtained. It was accepted that cooperation aims at obtaining a result being satisfactory to the activity participants, as a desired final status. If cooperation is well organized, it brings the results in a form of the so called synergy. We are concerned about social synergy. It is a kind of an activity and development energy released by a team of workers implementing a certain task together (Hubert 2000, p. 17). Not every task of a joint performance results in synergy release. It appears when there is an additional feedback among the activity participants which strengthens energetic – informative processes, which take place in every individual participant of a joint action (ibid. 2000, p. 17; Oyster 2000, p. 193). Synergy is related to the effect of strengthening, intensifying and raising a certain state onto a higher level, for example physical or creative strength which is then expressed by a good result of a joint activity (Hubert 2000, p. 202). Synergy is accompanied by such social effects as offering help, exchange of ideas, taking into account the point of view of other group members, emotional engagement, sense of community, learning from one another, joy of acting together, etc. Experiencing synergy by those taking part in cooperation leaves traits in their minds, which strengthen tendency to repeat cooperative habits in task situations.

Benefits from learning in cooperation

Using the idea of cooperation in the process of education is not a completely new thing. In the Polish pedagogy this aspect, however, has been neglected. One of the reasons of this may be relating cooperation to a col-

lective organization of a social life. There is evidence of the efficiency of learning cooperation in relation to various areas of functioning of children and adolescents. Richard Arends (1995, p. 328), basing on the analysis of vast research work confirmed the following hypotheses: (1) there is a link of mutual dependence among activity participants, which improves motivation to perform task together, (2) team work favours shaping strong interpersonal relations, (3) cooperation forces efficiency in communicating, which enhances creation of ideas and has influence on one another. The research work of David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson proves, that cooperation developed by pupils is more conducive to their learning the school curriculum and fosters better interpersonal relations than competition (Johnson, Johnson 1989, pp. 39, 55, 80). Learning through cooperation causes better school results in pupils no matter what social-economic status they come from (Sharan, Schachar 1999, pp. 318-336). Robert E. Slavin (1983, pp. 121-129) provided evidence on the fact that heterogeneous groups do not set up obstacles for performing tasks that require coordinated action and that it is possible for the members of such a group to obtain results measured with a degree of the school material mastering as well as with the number of social interactions developed by the activity participants. Owing to cooperative learning and peer modelling, pupils stimulate their cognitive and social development. However, it is necessary to select group members properly (Smith et al. 2008, pp. 54-55). Sholomo Sharan and Hanna Schachar (1999, pp. 318-336) proved the hypothesis, that the better the cooperation atmosphere is, the better attitude is shown by pupils towards the tasks and co-workers. Children and adolescents taught in cooperation have a higher and more stable self-esteem than their peers who are provoked to rivalry and individualism, a greater aptitude to act and a better mental health, better ability to cope with adversities (Borsch 2010, pp. 90-100; Joyce et al. 1999, p. 102; Gillies 2007, p. 79; Johnson, Johnson 1989, pp. 16, 86, 130-131; Deutsch 2005, pp. 27, 72-75). Eliot Aronson (2001, p. 33) proved, that learning in cooperation on the basis of pupils' mutual dependence, has brought positive desired results as far as the quality of social relations in racially and culturally differentiated groups is concerned. Owing to cooperation pupils liked one another, improved their school results, started to attend school more eagerly and their self-esteem got improved. Cooperation is a certain stage on the road to overcoming prejudices and discriminative attitudes. Advantages of learning in cooperation for disabled pupils, those with learning difficulties, as well as for those who are ethnically different, both in cognitive as well as in the social aspect, are also confirmed by the analysis made by Robyn M. Gillies (2007, pp. 118-120). By learning in cooperation

pupils become more caring, more eager to help and understand the others better (Kagan, Madsen 1971, pp. 32-39). Acquiring positive experience by an individual related to developing cooperation fosters repetition of cooperative behaviour (Weidner 2009, p. 54). In the course of cooperation, apart from gathering positive experience, people develop their trust towards others and their readiness to undertake mutual challenges grows. Research results provided by several authors speak for the fact that cooperation makes it possible for children and adolescents to obtain positive results in mastering the school programme material, furthermore, it improves their self-esteem and social relations, strengthens the group unity and fights social prejudices.

In pursue of assumptions of cooperative learning

The idea of cooperative learning refers to the concept of social educational models¹ suggested by Bruce Joyce, Emily Calhoun, David Hopkins (1999, pp. 37-46). Social models aim at developing pupils' widely approached competences related to cooperating with other people and functioning in a community. The value preferred in a social group of models is civic cooperation, whereas the mission of education is directed at offering help to a human being in his search for the place in a community (Brzezińska at al. 1996, pp. 202-205). Bruce Joyce, Emily Calhoun, David Hopkins (1999, pp. 37-46) distinguished seven versions within the family of social models, including: group, social and legal testing, a laboratory model, a model of playing roles, a model of positive interdependence and a model of structured social research. The social models of teaching use the phenomenon of synergy, the so called collective energy. It allows to generate possibly the best solutions in various task situations as well as to integrate participants of a joint action. Owing to this, a community of learning people is established. The approach to the educational model presented in the paper is close to understanding the problem of educational intervention as an activity meaning to interfere with the course of events in order to make a change in a certain state of affairs (Wiliński 1996, pp. 211-216; Szkudlarek 2003, p. 365). Irrespective of sociological, psychological or pedagogical perspective of approaching intervention, it is important, that people who design such activities were aware of the effects they want to achieve as well as of the methods of implementation.

¹The authors distinguished four families of models, to which certain educational solutions correspond to: (1) the model of processing information, which stresses improvement of pupils' processing of information about themselves and the world, (2) personality models, in which the basic educational category is a pupil's "I", (3) behavioural models that aim at modifying people's behaviour and (4) social models to which the paper refers.

The author of the paper accepted the approach presented by Anna I. Brzezińska (2000, pp. 233-234) towards a double character of every educational activity, including educational intervention. It means that, educational intervention interferes with the individual reality of a pupil, with his values, knowledge, attitudes, the concept of his/her own person and other people. Furthermore, educational intervention infringes the social reality, including the cultural world of events. The double character of educational intervention means, that on one hand it contributes to changing a person, but also to changing his/her operating methods. On the other hand, changes from the social point of view, require from a person changing his/her current operating methods as well as his/her private world of events. The present paper is limited only to signalling the selected aspects of the model of cooperative education. According to Piotr Wiliński (1996, pp. 211-216) the assumptions of educational intervention should take into account the following: (1) the link between the intervention and social needs, (2) values that lay the foundation of the model, (3) the link between the model and development of personal and social competences, which make it possible for pupils to transfer from individual activities to group and collective ones (4) methods of interfering with the pupils' individual and social reality.

1. The link between the intervention related to cooperation and social needs

There are numerous arguments that justify the need to teach cooperation to children and adolescents. On one hand, these arguments are related to weakening person-to-person ties, the low trust people have to one another, instrumental treatment of social relations by anticipating benefits they may bring, increasing importance of competitiveness and rivalry, as well as little civic engagement (Czapiński 2007, p. 74; Marody, Giza-Poleszczuk 2004, pp. 137-146). On the other hand, globalisation causes that people experience how much they depend on one another. The suggested model of cooperative education may contribute to fighting negative changes in social relations, as well as favour building a social capital in a community, which, apart from its economic value, allows to reach a sense of security, joy of life, exchange of goods and services through the network of relations (Putnam 1995, p. 263; Bartkowski 2007, p. 56). The many features of education for future include, among other things, reflectiveness, openness to negotiations and cognitive choices, axiological heterodoxy, participation as a tendency to control due to the learning subjects, criticism related to readiness to reinterpret meanings and to understand them from different points of view (Malewski 2010, pp. 73-73). On the other hand, Józef Koziński stresses the importan-

ce of the so called group transgression. It means, that an individual faces new challenges, which require from him collective, creative, innovative and emergency activity (Kozielecki 2001, pp. 22-24). The authors do not refer to cooperation directly. However, it is hard to imagine an educational discourse without negotiations, and a group transgression without cooperation and consensus. Jerome Bruner (2006, p. 126), an expert on culture of education, correctly noticed that, "Mind is in your head, but also in interactions with others".

2. The value of the cooperative education modelling

The value that is preferred in social groups of models is civic cooperation, and the mission of education is directed at helping people in their pursue for a place in the community (Brzezińska 1996, p. 202-205). The educational model that aims at learning in cooperation is educating for democracy and in accordance with the assumptions of democracy. Education in this sense means providing conditions allowing pupils to cooperate in task groups and to gather social experience related to interpersonal relations, conflicts and negotiating, etc. Educational activities facilitate promotion of the values that lay foundations of democratic social order, such as: tolerance, solidarity, civic cooperation, reflexiveness, criticism, respect for other people and their views.

3. The link between the model of cooperative education and pupils' personal and social competences

Richard Rorty (1993, pp. 86-102) reasonably noted, that education is expected to exercise the two functions: emancipating and socializing. The emancipating function is related to developing pupils' individuality, aspirations as well as skills necessary to perceive and solve intensified social problems, fight discrimination and social exclusiveness. The socializing function is related to preparing people to function in communities, developing social competences and adaptation skills. Educational solutions that refer to social models foster learning, getting familiar with one's own advantages and disadvantages, making decision in a group and solving problems, thus shaping cognitive (personal) and social competences. Cooperative education contributes to development of such pupils' cognitive (personal) competences as: reflexiveness, self-esteem, planning activities, making decisions, acquiring knowledge and applying it to actions taken. Cooperative learning also develops such social competences as empathy, negotiating, thinking in the "WE" category, openness towards others, etc. The educational model links the emancipating function of education with the socializing one (ibid. pp. 96-97). On one

hand, this approach stresses development of an individual, and makes it possible for this individual to experience the sense of social interdependence, on the other.

4. Task as a source of triggering cooperation

Robyn M. Gillies (2007, p. 6) thinks, that a productive cooperation can be triggered by proper tasks, in which pupils must establish interactions with one another and agree on a direction of the action to be taken. In terms of the assumptions of a model of cooperative education it is worth referring to the task typology elaborated by Ivan D. Steiner (1972). The researcher distinguished the following task types: additive, disjunctive, conjunctive, compensatory and divisible (compare: Mika 1981, pp. 361-362; Steiner 1972, pp. 14-39).

Table 1

Types of tasks in favour of cooperation

Task type	Definition
Additive	It means that members of a particular group when performing the same tasks obtain results better than those when acting individually. It is important that individual performances of all the participants are summed up.
Conjunctive	Requires involvement of all group members, both the most and the least competent.
Disjunctive	In this task type a group member identifies a correct solution of the problem in the quickest time.
Compensatory	It means a discussion in which group members exchange individual solutions in order to reach a mutual agreement.
Divisible	It means to divide a task into smaller elements, the so called sub-tasks to be assigned to group members.

Source: based on: Steiner 1972, pp. 14-39.

C. K. Oyster (2002, p. 179) rightly noted, that when assessing task productivity its is important to establish the basic criterion: (1) whether the final effect is important, (2) or, for example, the work that has been done and the course of interaction? According to I.D. Steiner there are three universal groups of factors, which affect group productivity: type of the task, team resources and the processes that take place in the group (Steiner 1972, pp. 41-67; Brown 2006, p. 160). Some can increase productivity and the other restrict it. When pupils are performing the determined tasks, the cooperation they establish takes different forms due to the methods in which

the pupils are working, task sharing and the work done or communicating by the group members. As I. D. Steiner notes (1972, p. 15) that the nature of every task is different.

For the needs of the analyzed model of education we are concerned about a processual approach to cooperation, which means that task completion, the work done and the process of work performed by pupils can be more important than the result itself. The effect of experiencing interdependence, which leads to cooperation, is communicating with one another, offering help and sympathy to one another, group cohesion, learning about one another, as well as improved self-esteem and acceptance of otherness (Brown 2006, p. 47; Deutsch 2005, pp. 21-40). The work done in the course of cooperation speaks for the group efficiency, however, it cannot be the only criterion of assessing pupils' performance. The experimental research work done makes it possible to verify the potential social productivity of tasks². The aspect analyzed in the research referred to social framework the tasks impose on their participants during cooperation. The potential task productivity in terms of cooperation is the social framework, the interpersonal space which is created in the course of the activity, which facilitates pupils' ability to communicate, their agreeing on the action strategy, sharing knowledge etc. The research analysis shows that the best results, as far as cooperation is concerned, were obtained by pupils in the conjunctive task. A little bit worse results were in the additive and compensatory tasks. It is worth stressing, that in all task types the average of results obtained by pupils correspond to the average level. This, unfortunately, speaks for low cooperative skills of young people subject to experiments. Considering the level of cooperation, the least productive was a divisible task. The researchers decided not to verify the productivity of a disjunctive task in terms of cooperation. The activity in this type of a task means that a member of a group, who knows the answer, offers a solution to a certain problem. Differences in cooperation were manifested especially between the divisible and the other task types (Bąbka 2012, pp. 185-195). The research results can be interpreted by referring to the ideas presented by I. S. Steiner (1972, pp. 41-67) who thinks, that the task type determines the scope of cooperation developed by participants of a joint action. Conjunctive tasks are in favour of negotiation and reaching agreements jointly, which provides real chances for occurrence of a wide communication spectrum and decentration and cooperation. Compensatory tasks allow pupils to spot differences among one another as

²Potentiality, as the author of the present paper understands it, is "the existing set of circumstances, which assumes a hidden possibility, anticipating, that certain hidden properties or talents will develop" (Reber 2002, p. 259).

well as to find out that each pupil can be active and contribute to the job assigned provided its weaknesses and strengths have been taken into account. Additive tasks give pupils a chance to experience the strengths that are in a group effort. They require from their participants responsibility as well as a good communication, otherwise we may experience the so called “free riding”. Divisible tasks require from pupils a good action organization and assignment, communication related to determining the terms of cooperation and rules of assigning sub-tasks. Tasks of this type require individual work, which significantly restricts the cooperation communication.

The positive experience accumulated by pupils related to performing tasks together increases the possibility of searching for opportunities for cooperation, increases performance efficiency and magnifies effects which are connected with the phenomena of social synergy. Thus, there are reasons for using the task typology as a means of implementing the assumptions of the cooperative education model.

Conclusions

The problem of cooperation is quite rarely approached to in the Polish literature on the subject. It is a pity, because it has been proved, that a well organized cooperation allows people to obtain numerous personal (cognitive) and social benefits. Learning in cooperation fosters, among other things, a better mastering of the school course material, developing trust to other people, creating more satisfactory interpersonal relations, social integration, a better mental health and better self-esteem. Apart from that, gathering positive experience on cooperation by an individual contributes to repeating cooperative habits, without which social capital cannot be built. In the meanwhile, western researchers have been continuously interested in using cooperation in the process of making social changes through cooperation (see: Borsch 2010, Gillies 2007, Weidner 2009). Empirical evidence on benefits from learning in cooperation justifies the importance of getting insight into the problem.

The paper attempts to show, that the model of education that incorporates cooperation can be an answer of pedagogy to many questions resulting from social changes taking place in the present world. The presented assumptions of the cooperative education refer to the social group of educational solutions, in which the value is civic cooperation, whereas the mission is offering help to an individual in his search for a place in a democratic society. This does not mean, however, that the suggested way of approaching education is the only correct and binding one. The present paper does not complete the discussion on the problems of cooperative education, which

still requires numerous conceptual supplements. The presented description of the criterion of an analysis of a cooperative activity is only a suggestion of indicators making it possible to assess cooperative behaviour manifested by participants of an educational process. A complement to the cooperative education model is a description of the task typology verified through tests, which present a confirmed means of triggering cooperative attitudes in pupils.

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Jarosław Bąbka

**COOPERATIVE MODEL OF EDUCATION CHALLENGED
BY CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL CHANGES**

Keywords: education, cooperation, types of tasks in favour of cooperation.

The purpose of the present paper is to present the assumption of the model of education, which prepares young people for subject functioning as well as for being in the network of relations with other people, implementing mutual initiatives and for civic engagement. The description of the presented cooperative model includes: (1) the link between the intervention and social needs, (2) values that lay the foundation of the model, (3) the link between the model and development of personal and social competences, which make it possible for pupils to transfer from individual activities to group and collective ones (4) methods of interfering with the pupils' individual and social reality. The presented description of the criterion of an analysis of a cooperative activity is only a suggestion of indicators making it possible to assess cooperative behaviour manifested by participants of an educational process

Hana Kasikova*

SCHOOL: A WAY TOWARDS SOCIAL REVITALIZATION THROUGH CONSTRUCTIVE CONFLICTS?

“If civilization is to survive, we need to cultivate science about human relationships – the ability of people of all kinds to live together on this world in peace”.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Introduction

We are starting with the notion, that school is an institution, which should support the bloom of the civilization in its fundamental parameters, react to and foresee change in those values, which are beneficial for living in this civilization. Changes of this kind do not come without conflicts. One of the most important categories, about which the educational sciences should be concerned, is therefore conflict, and strategy of resolving conflict should be deeply rooted in the schools “philosophy”, schools and class’s management (Jones 2004).

In this text we are introducing an approach towards revitalization of the society through revitalization processes inside school: school’s “treasure within” and it’s capitalization are introduced from the point of view of the schools work with conflicts. In the first, core portion of the paper, we are introducing basic approaches towards education, which are working with conflict, the second portion is showing an example of the concrete program, which is based upon these approaches.

Part one: School as a place of constructive conflicts

How is school doing in regard to relationship with conflicts? School can assume negative or positive position towards conflicts. Negative attitude

***Hana Kasikova** – Ph.D. in Pedagogy, Associate Professor, Charles University in Prague; research interests: equity and diversity in education, cooperative frame for education and cooperative learning, teachers social competencies and skills; e-mail: hana.kasikova@ff.cuni.cz

of the school towards conflicts is based on the assumption, that they are destructive. This leads towards the need to eliminate them: by repressing, avoiding and denying their existence. Conflicts are therefore assumed as the source of problems in school, perceived as destabilizing element of the system. Also the procedures designed to prevent conflicts cause negative consequences (for example isolation of the persons, who are participating in the conflict). The training which deals with problem solving is missing from the curriculum.

When schools have positive attitude towards conflicts, the conflicts can be understood as characteristic for the school's life, education and teaching. They are valued as a meaningful tool that can help the school to be able to reach restoration processes. Fully utilizing the potential of the conflict means teaching the actors of the school life their acceptance and handling them even in communities in which they will operate outside the school – to their and these communities benefit (Tjosvold, Johnson 1989).

We, therefore, assume that school environment is offering the means for a long-term and lasting influence. We assume that the actors in this environment – teachers, directors and students should receive not short-termed unsystematic training in the strategic solutions of the conflicts, as we can often see in the practice, but really complex educational program. It is not dealing with minor innovation, but with fundamental change, which amounts to asking the questions like *What is substantial about education? On what principles are we basing teaching children? What will be characteristic about the climate of the school?*

It is obvious, that these questions ought to be asked by those people, whose profession is based upon questioning of this type. Complex program therefore starts with them. To create a school with positive attitude towards conflicts means that those, who are educating, must understand:

1. The nature of the conflict;
2. The difference between destructive and constructive resolving of the conflict;
3. The positive results of the constructive handling of the conflict.
4. Approaches that ensure, that students and teachers will be using matching procedures for conflict handling;
5. Steps, which will lead towards learning how to constructively handle the conflict (Johnson, Johnson 1995).

Ad 1. To understand the nature of the conflict

Conflict is a term, which is often used in everyday language, which is one of the reasons why there are layman interpretations for it. What is important for educational program directed to all of the promoters is that they have to understand its nature identically. There are many definitions of the conflict; from socio-psychological standpoint widely accepted definition comes from the works by Morton Deutsch (1973), who has also dealt with research of people's behavior in conflict for a long time. According to this definition conflict exists whenever incompatible activities appear, i.e. one activity is obstructing or influencing effectiveness of another activity. If we accept this definition, then there are four types of conflict which are important for the research of the relationship of the school environment and conflict:

- a) Controversy: comes to existence, even though ideas, information, conclusions, theories, opinions of the one person are incompatible with the ideas, information etc. of the other and these persons are searching for an agreement.
- b) Conceptual conflict: comes to existence if, when in the mind exist in the same time incompatible ideas, or if obtained information is in conflict with what a person already knows.
- c) Conflict of the interests: comes to existence if the actions of one person are to maximize his or her benefit and there appears a tendency to deny maximizing the benefits of another person.
- d) Development conflict: is related with the cycles of social and cognitive development (with their stability and change), which contribute to the incompatibility of the activities of a grown-up child¹.

The knowledge of all the conflicts that take place in the environment in which people appear is essential from the point of view of higher efficiency of different activities. To understand conflicts therefore means to understand their nature, their typology and also the basis upon which these types are identified.² Understanding can be based upon this knowledge, and therefore

¹Ie. In specific developmental period of the child that depends upon an adult, demanding adult's approval is important, in another period important is refusing this approval and we should remember that it is not child's choice, but an expression of socio-developmental imperatives.

²Ie. During conflict of the interests the need for understanding the volition (desire for something), need (universal necessity for survival) and goals (demanded ideal state of the future matters), which are based upon the volition and needs, arises. From this fundamental core understanding can be further developed, and therefore conflict can be managed.

conflicts can be resolved.

Ad 2. To understand the difference between the destructively and the constructively mastered conflict

Whether the conflict is constructive or destructive determines the way how the conflict can be controlled.

Constructive conflicts:

- a) The entry into the compliance, which allows all participants to achieve their goals. Common consensus then maximizes the shared outcomes, everyone benefits from it and it is in the best interest of participants.
- b) They strengthen the relationship between the participants in a way that the popularity, the mutual respect and the trust to one another grow.
- c) The ability of participants to deal with the future conflicts with one another constructively increases.

The constructive potential of the conflict increases when individuals:

- d) appreciate the differences and the ways in which these differences support and enrich the learning and the teaching, decision making, problem solving;
- e) seek some mutual favors that can result from the solution of the conflict, they understand that they have some mutual interests and seek their common basis;
- f) have confidence in their abilities and the abilities of their classmates or colleagues to skillfully use the same procedure to resolve conflicts;
- g) see the effectiveness of conflict management.

The destructive potential of the conflict deepens when the results of the victory of one participant over another dominate over their related emotional states (anger, disbelief, disappointment, etc.). The conflicts mastered destructively are “unprofitable” for the organization; they reduce the possibility of solving future conflicts constructively and thus reduce the efficiency of the organization. Negative relationships between adults and children and the lack of a sense of security distract the attention from the essential aspects of the life of the community, which is meaningful education, effective teaching and learning (Kasikova, Valenta 2009).

For the school development, it is essential to understand the difference between these two approaches to the conflicts. The necessary key to change it is that the school should recognize the current approach to the conflicts, realize the possibility of these two basic options as well as any change of the position of school on the imaginary attitude scale designed for the specific conflicts. From here, the tendency may result from the shaping of the school environment with the positively mastered conflicts.

Ad 3. To understand the positive values of resolving conflicts in a constructive manner

According to the research of last decades (Deutsch 1973, Tjosvold, Johnson 1989, Jones 2004) constructively resolved conflicts have many positive results:

- a) They can raise quantitative and qualitative performance; lead to higher thought processes and creative problem solving.
- b) They can raise the quality of the decisive processes and problem solving, in connection with ethical questions.
- c) They are essential for a healthy cognitive, social and psychic development.³
- d) Conflicts supply energy towards individuals for action.⁴
- e) Skills to resolve conflicts constructively lead to students being better at finding employment in labor market⁵, but they are also increasing the possibility of a career growth and quality of life in general.
- f) Constructively resolved conflicts are supporting the quality of the community life. If school is understood as a center of the community, then the dealing of this type is one of the creators of the new concept of the school.

³Conflict helps the child to back away from egocentrism, through conflicts in social relationships the sociability of individual is developed, development stimulation starts usually with the appearance of the discrepancies between the world of the adult and that of a child. Through well managed conflicts mental health, the ability to deal with stress and unfavorable factors are unfolding.

⁴Realizing of the conflict is releasing mental energy, intensive psychical focus comes to existence, which leads towards strong motivation to deal with conflict and convert their imaginations, plans towards action.

⁵School, according to the experts, is offering a twisted image of reality, because it does not equip students with knowledge essential for the labor's world, to work cooperatively in team also means to contend with conflicts.

- g) Conflicts support change – they are creating offers towards change of the stereotypes, strayed-out and non-functional ways of solutions, customary behavior patterns change towards others, personal habits.
- h) Conflicts lead towards self-discovery (who are we, what do we need to change about ourselves) and towards knowledge of others (we can see what do they stand for, how do they seek solutions), we get to know their values, attitudes, perspectives.

To summarize: The investment into the creation of programs concerning constructive conflicts is one of the most beneficial strategies of schools development, formation of the optimal education and learning environment, which is helping the revitalization processes.

Ad 4. To know how to provide for all students and school staff identical procedures for conflict resolving

It is established through our upbringing and influence of social environment, that everybody has his or her own strategy how to solve conflicts. Students also have their notion how to deal with conflicts (some are reliant upon their physical dominance, others use verbal attacks, others renounce them etc). This diversity is natural; on the other hand it leads towards many misunderstandings, uneasy balancing with problems. Programs aimed at constructive handling of the conflicts therefore include processes of so called co-orientation. Co-orientation should secure that everybody understands relevant processes and is able to use them in according manner.

Process of the co-orientation is starting with establishing of the norms, i.e. common expectation, what behavior is appropriate in conflict situation and which procedures should be used. These norms should be clearly and publically established: physical violence, humiliating of the other, lies and scams should be excluded. All of the actors should afterwards learn consistent range of procedures towards conflict solving in such a way that their goals should be achieved and their relationships towards others strengthen so that their ability to solve future conflicts improves.

Ad 5. To understand steps, which will lead towards learning to solve the conflicts in a constructive manner

To handle conflicts in a constructive manner means to work with three basic steps:

- A) Creating of the co-operative complex.
- B) Usage of the academic (educational) controversies.

C) Integration of the conflict solving program/peer mediation.

Ad A. Creation of the co-operating complex.

Co-operative environment is a frame, in which the using of the teaching strategy of academic controversies and integration of the programs that deal with conflicts, thrive. The optimum path of how to install co-operative environment at school is the selection of the cooperative learning as basic means of arrangement of the social relationships in tuition, its predominance over other means of arrangement – individual and competitive.

Cooperative learning is based upon five basic principles: interaction face to face, positive mutual dependency of the members in a group, individual responsibility of each member of the group, usage of interpersonal skills, reflection of group activity (Johnson, Johnson 2009)

Complex research of cooperative learning, which intensively proceeds namely since the 1970´s, has shown positive effects of the cooperative learning in many ways – cognitive growth of the student, the inner motivation towards learning, mental health and sociability of the student (Kasíková 2009). Significant for the forming of the school “constructive conflicts” are all effects of the cooperative teaching, namely two: the focus on long-termed perspective and the support of the learning of the social skills (Kasikova, Valenta 2008).

If school is to become a place of the constructive conflicts, it is necessary to recognize, that long-termed relationships are more important than the result of any short-termed conflict. Mutuality during the reaching of the goals is a core condition of this knowledge and also condition of the acknowledgement of this arrangement, which works as a mutual investment. Because co-operative endeavor requires interaction of the individuals and coordination of their actions, the integral part of this workability are social skills. To most significant (and also most difficult) are skills to manage the conflict in a constructive manner.

Formation of the co-operative complex also concerns the environment outside the teaching. This is particularly about formation of the collegial relationships of the teachers, their activities in teaching and profession communities, in which they will not avoid conflicts, dealt with the principles of cooperation.

Ad B. Usage of the academic (educational) controversies

It is important, within co-operational context, to support intellectual controversies, conflicts of the ideas, during with an agreement is sought (see above). Strategy of academic dispute is based upon so called conceptual

conflicts. Conceptual conflicts are the basic category of the new educational paradigm, which is defined not as handing over the knowledge, but as creating the conditions for constructive activity of learners. Contemporary didactic tendencies highlight the value of conceptual conflicts (Bertrand 1998). Effectiveness of the teaching, maximization of the student's performance, critical thinking, usage of higher mental processes and argumentation strategies relates with integrating of the intellectual conflicts into the notion of education.

A view upon the practice of the schools suggests that we will not encounter intellectual conflicts too often. Strategy, which has been designed for their support, is based upon the theory of controversies (Johnson, Johnson 2009). It provides to teachers the structure, which is based upon two only seemingly contradicting phenomenon – cooperation and conflict.⁶

The basic goal of the strategy is to encourage the process of investigation of alternative views upon problem in that manner in which the students occupy contradictory standpoints. In opposition to well-known methods, based upon the same principle (disputation i.e.), this strategy is carefully structured into several steps in co-operative context. Students in groups occupying contradictory standpoints realize from the start of this activity, that they are heading towards mutual goal, which is position, with which all the members of the group can agree upon. These phases are characteristic for the strategy: a) Work on contradictory standpoints (pairs) and their presentation to another pair in group of four; b) Discussion in this group based upon rules given in advance; c) Reversal of the perspective: pair will reverse their perspective on given topic and they present their standpoint to each other. (This step, often difficult for participants, is helping to ensure, that they need not to stay bound to one specific position, but they can be open towards the consideration of other alternatives.); d) Joint report: Group of four processes common material, with which every member of the group can agree, based upon well-structured information and provided evidences.

The topics of the dispute can be varied, including topics of revitalization. Strategy of the controversies can even be an approach to the problem of how to deal with dispute amongst the members of the teaching staff. If

⁶Authors of this strategy prove, that the stronger the cooperation, the more conflicts appear: if the members of the group are motivated, engaged towards performing a task and towards helping each other, it is even accompanied by disagreement. The key towards effectivity of the strategies that use conflict is a mix of cooperative and competitive elements: the more cooperative and less competitive element, the more constructive conflict is (Deutsch 1973).

the teachers are aware of this strategy and can use it in the time, when they need to reach substantial conclusion, then it can become a significant instrument.

Ad C. Implementation of the program of conflict resolution/peer mediation

Implementation of this program has several steps:

a) Learning to negotiate in conflict management.

Bargaining (negotiation) occurs when individuals have the same or opposing interests and they want to try to come to an agreement. For long-term relationships it is preferable to negotiate toward solving the problem, rather than to win. Pupils and teachers are in long-term relationships, so they should be taught problem solving negotiation procedures. It is a so-called knowledge. We can tease out two interests in conflict (own needs, goals versus maintaining adequate relations), and unfold from them knowledge of several strategies for managing conflict, here belong: negotiations to solve the problem, smoothing, pressure (win – loss), compromise escape. It is important that all gain competence for all five strategies as each situation requires different strategies, depending on the interests of the two.

b) Learning mediation.

Mediation implies the intervention of three – a neutral person (mediator) interventions should help resolve a conflict between two or more people in a way that will be acceptable to them. Mediator listens carefully to both sides and helps them go through every step of effectively negotiating sequences that would lead to an agreement. Mediation skills are useful not only to students but also to those of teachers who do not have these skills.

c) Implementation of the peer mediation program.

One option of work at the school of constructive conflict is the inclusion of this program. After students have passed the initial negotiating and mediation training, the school according to its specific conditions implemented peer mediation program. Every day selected pairs of students take part in their classes or perform the role of school mediator, the model situation was tried in the US.

d) Improving pupils' skills in negotiation and mediation.

In the school curriculum it should be calculated to improve pupils' skills to negotiate and to be good mediators. This time it can be provided outside school hours or during conflict resolution, negotiation and mediation can be part of the normal teaching. Practising these skills is embedded in the curriculum and arranged to be taught in every school year at more complex level.

e) Arbitration of the pupil conflict.

If pupils fail in the conflict settlement and mediation also fails, a space for teachers or other school employee appears. Arbitrator of the dispute is an uninvolved third party that assesses dispute or makes a final decision on a solution. This decision does not often satisfy both sides, so the process of arbitrage is used in the last resort in resolving conflicts in the classroom and at school.

Implementation of the program of conflict resolution and peer mediation program is basically a program focused on discipline, that teaches pupils to regulate and to control their behavior and the behavior of pupils. It is contrary to commonly used mode where conflicts of pupils at the school are solved. (The children thus learn that they need to resolve the conflict or suspend any adult authority). Thus, the program teaches responsibility and self-regulation, i.e. the qualities that will make the most of their apprentices for professional and family life.

Second part: Realization of programs aimed at complex subject of constructive conflicts.

In this part we provide a brief view into issue of realization of program, which was founded on ideas outlined in the first part. It is a program designed for teaching staffs of individual schools. Educational programs for teaching staff have their pros and cons.

- a) Pros: Possibility of application of chosen method and technique for individual school optimally for problems and relations in said school, possibility of easier evaluation of program, thus not only realization evaluation (how did training work out for participants), but also result evaluation (how do the learnt principles and skills work in environment that they are applied in).
- b) Cons: Longer time required for co-orientation of participants on issue (not every participant chooses said issue willingly), overcoming hurdles for open communication (stereotypes of teaching staff, norms which they hold unto, issue of conflict is a personal issue, where people must overcome emotional barriers).

We established optimal process on basis of experiences gained from programs realized in last two decades.

1. Let's begin with program used for creating cooperative context. This context creates conditions for communication, which are necessary for execution of next phases of project and also for understanding key information and learning basic skills, which are required in said phases.

Main goal of this project is to understand basic differences between positive and negative relations of people in task situation (e.g. cooperation and competition) and their consequences in school application, whether it is concerned with activities of students or teachers themselves.

2. Second part of the project – also in time order – is a program aimed at learning academic controversies. Program is mainly aimed at exploring and perhaps changing view on conflicts. Work with intellectual conflicts – e.g. work with conflicts of knowledge, ideas and opinions are a good start for the following work with conflict of interests in school environment. School is a place for gaining knowledge and work with knowledge: If teachers accept the fact that conflicts can be instruments for introducing ideas, it creates a possibility for accepting conflict as constructive part of evolution of organization. Strategy of educational conflict, which is the main method for these goals, can then be used by teachers as one of basic methods of teaching. It can also be used to solve problems concerning restoration of school and life in it.
3. Third part of project is solving of problems in conflict/peer mediation. This phase is on the last place in time ordering because of reasons, which were written previously. Another reason is the fact, that this issue was at schools transferred to assigned person: educational councilors, school psychologists or educator. Goal of this phase is not only having all teachers complete said program, but also making solving conflicts and peer mediation an integral part of life in school. This is why the core of this program is application of ability to solve conflict of interests in close connection to educational content of respective school.

Methodical characteristic of the program:

- The program is based on analysis of educational needs of respective schools.
- It is based on principle of learning by experience.
- The program is of interactive, active nature, but also it is working with extension of these rules into discussion on themes such as philosophy of education, school policies, etc. (meaning and nature of education in present society, need of renovation of school and revitalization of social life, etc.).

- Integral part of the program are reflections and evaluations done by participants of the program, and reviewing application of the program in real school environment.

In realization of this program, we verified, how difficult it is sometimes for teachers to change their opinions regarding renewing processes in school. In our experience, it is caused by fact, that some aspects of school life and education are not reflected upon enough. In relation to our topic it is for example criticizing students for inability to cooperate, their presented positive attitude towards cooperation was supported by real competences. Need for improvement was discovered in connection with issue of cooperation and also in ability to work with conflicts of ideals and interests. We consider as necessary for teachers and principals at schools to adapt a positive outlook on the program. It is a complex, extensive and long term program, where training phase (programs led by trainer-animator-lecturer) must flow into programs, which are organized by school leadership, teaching staff themselves or student peer programs (Marzano et al.2000). A path to making constructive conflict integral part of school life should be then more obvious. Extension of this idea into life of community outside of school is then also more probable.

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Hana Kasikova

SCHOOL: A WAY TOWARDS SOCIAL REVITALIZATION THROUGH CONSTRUCTIVE CONFLICTS?

Keywords: education, conflict, school, conflicts resolving.

The study deals with the issue of possibility to revitalize the society through revitalization of the inside school processes. The conflict as an important concept of these processes is introduced: strategy of resolving conflict should be deeply rooted in the school "philosophy", school and class management. The study is divided into two parts: in the first part of the study, we are presenting basic approaches towards education, which are working with the concept of conflict. Focus is put predominantly on understanding positive values of resolving conflicts in a constructive manner and on implementation of identical procedures for conflict resolving for all students and school staff. In the second part of the contribution we are presenting an example of the concrete program, which is based upon these approaches. It is an educational program designed for teaching staff of individual schools: as we have to take into account some obstacles in the program implementation, we propose optimal steps in procedures based on own experience gained from programs realized in last two decades.

Hana Kasikova^{*}
Josef Valenta^{**}

TEACHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SKILLS CURRICULUM

Introduction

We consider socio-relational dimension of the teacher profession and the competence of teachers to develop the social skills of pupils to be key factors in education nowadays. Teacher education and teacher training focusing on social dimension are closely connected with challenges like societal changes, inclusion, multiculturalism, but also life on social networks, socio-pathological phenomena etc. From that point of view curriculum reconstruction is in need with stronger accent on teachers social competence in the frame of new approaches in education sciences and psychology.

When we mention “stronger accent on sociability”, we mean that social competence is not an entity that is side by side with the teacher academic competence and social curriculum dimension, it is just added to intellectual one, but rather in developing them we can count on support of one area towards the other. As Nemo (Boudon et al. 2001, p. 111) reminds us schools could not be understood like after-school clubs where teachers just monitor students behavior: impulses for students intellectual growth should be the core of their professional endeavour. And based on these ideas, do we know whether teachers are ready for this quite a complex work with children? And if not, how could we help them to succeed?

Teachers social competences are often taken for granted (in the norms, postulates, professional standards), but less attention is paid to its development or building up the conditions for it. Thus it is obvious that a field

^{*}**Hana Kasikova** – Ph.D. in Pedagogy, Associate Professor, Charles University in Prague; research interests: equity and diversity in education, cooperative frame for education and cooperative learning, teachers social competencies and skills; e-mail: hana.kasikova@ff.cuni.cz

^{**}**Josef Valenta** – Ph.D. in Didactics of Latin Language, Ph.D. in Pedagogy, Associate Professor, Charles University and Academy of Performing Arts in Prague; research interests: didactic personal and social education and dramatic, performative concept of education, teacher’s work; e-mail: josef.valenta@ff.cuni.cz

for educational research is open with quite important research questions. The general research question which has tied together our research over the last several years (1999-2015), which will continue into the following years, is as follows: How do we create the educational conditions for the development of teachers' social competence for a curriculum in which the social relationship dimension is emphasized? We approached the research field from two essential, mutually interconnected – points of view:

1. Teacher social competences and their development
2. Competences for teaching personal and social education

1. Teacher social competences and their development

In order for us to not stay at a general level, we will specify the teacher social competences with focusing on the issue of cooperation. Cooperation, in the current educational environment, is a key concept and also an essential structure for the teachers social development. Cooperation – between teachers and students – is established as a basic requirement and means of the transformation of schools. However, the reality does not yet meet these requirements. In curriculum documents for primary and secondary education, cooperation has an unshakeable position in the frame of student personal and social competencies. Cooperative learning is considered as an optimal educational model focusing on the cognitive abilities and on the social learning as well (Johnson, Johnson 2009, Kasikova 2009). This is a tendency but a challenge for the practice at the same time: in our research implementation processes break down very often because teachers are not offered systematically with possibilities to develop their social competence for cooperative activities.

Where and how we can find and create conditions for social competence development?

A. In the pre-service teacher education

We consider the whole conception of teacher education to be the key in forming optimal conditions for social competencies development. In analysis of teacher education in the Czech Republic we have concluded that in pre-service curriculum there are courses focusing on social competencies (courses of personal and social development, courses of communication, and so on) but there are carried in the context of the transmissive paradigm of education at university. The transmission of knowledge pushes out cooperation out of educational processes (Tonucci 1991): the practical cooperative activities become only a small part of the study programs for future teachers: according to our research (Kasikova 2015) it is approximately 5-10% of the entire teaching time. We know the effect of returning to “safe” teaching stra-

tegies like frontal recitation if teachers feel insecure in the difficult first few years of teaching in school practice. If we therefore want for the teachers to deal with cooperative skills smoothly both in the classrooms and staffrooms, there is no other option than to plan and realize pre-service curriculum where cooperative dimension is strongly accentuated. Student teachers should not only have knowledge of cooperation and cooperative learning, they need to learn intensively in a cooperative environment with the help of cooperative educational means.

How to do this specifically? Through cooperative strategies – from the simplest type of “think and share” which can be used also in large lecture auditoriums to the more difficult structures – for example, the use of academic controversy or cooperative projects based on principles of cooperative learning like individual accountability and processing (Johnson, Johnson 2009). The other possibility consists in studying in long-term cooperative learning groups (informal and so called base groups) where the members cooperate for example to complete or check of several assigned tasks, during preparation for exams, for the first supervision of teaching etc.: this is a powerful approach for their academic success and future teacher social competence as well (Johnson et al. 2007, Hui, Grossman 2008).

Results of our research oriented on cooperative strategies in pre-service teacher education (gained by observation, interviews, questionnaires, material analysis) could be summarized in several statements concerning students beliefs, attitudes and a level of social skills:

- Student teachers value these strategies as optimal in the preparation for their profession (both for teaching in the classrooms and for cooperation with other teachers in school practice).
- They appreciate these strategies for bringing trust among students which results in willingness to share ideas, materials etc.
- They are willing to incorporate cooperative strategies into their teaching strategies repertoire in quite a great amount of teaching time because they experienced them and thus believe more in their effectiveness.
- They believe that they will be able to implement cooperative strategies in classrooms and are open to learn more how to use them, elaborate them in various practice conditions. They expect support from management of the school in implementation processes.

- They have formed the basis of social competence for cooperation during studies but they feel more secure for organizing cooperation with their students than cooperate with future colleagues (Kasikova 2015).

B. In the in – service teacher education and training

If the teacher himself did not undergo the school curriculum which was explicitly and in a hidden manner saturated with social competencies for cooperation, he will always be somewhat in a position of someone who teaches a language yet is only one lesson ahead of his students. The teacher's fear of failure in implementation of the new strategies is natural but at the same time it is one of the greatest obstacles for their realization. This is why it is so important to rely on systematical support than simply graduate from a course focusing on training social skills.

The systematical approach for staff development is founded on the following factors: knowledge, workculture and environment, educational activities and personal/social competencies. Since our research was focused primarily on cooperation, we will again use examples from this area. Teachers need knowledge especially on the meaning of the curriculum based on social competencies (why) and significance of their personal social competencies during its realization. It is however necessary to provide this knowledge in the framework of schools which are indicated as the learning organization (Senge 1990, Mortimer 1995). Cooperation can then be considered as the main principle of this conception. According to Robert Mucchielli (1996) the greatest psychological barrier to the cooperation of individuals is so-called defense of one's ego, which is explained as an unconscious fear of changes in the perception of oneself. In the conception of school as a learning organization there can be found a number of mechanisms (for example the acceptance of risk in a secure environment), which support the cooperation of teachers. However, according to our findings, the Czech schools are only at the beginning to move towards this: when teachers and directors of schools described social relationship in the schools they seldom indicated higher forms of cooperation – professional opinions sharing and exchange of common work (Kasikova, Dubec 2009).

In the frame of school as learning organization there is a specific conception of educational activities. If we would like teachers to learn for social skills curriculum, we must consider teacher learning communities to be a basic means of this. Work in the so-called mutual assistance teams is based on the principles of cooperative learning that means that teachers follow the same principles as their students in the classroom (interaction face-to face, positive interdependence, individual accountability, using interperso-

nal skills for working in small groups, processing). It is not easy to get into the processes in aforementioned activities in teachers mutual assistance teams. To manage this, we coordinated participative action research: small teams from various schools (primary, secondary) analyzed their work in implementation new educational strategies and members of the teams described also what and how they learn from working in the teams (in diaries, questionnaires, interviews).

The research results clearly show a link to the global school conception (especially the role of school management – supportive or not): but besides that we collected findings concerning teachers' social skills. Among other things there are quite interesting data that teachers do the same thing they often criticize in their students – for example they do not cooperate with those they do not like. Another data show that teachers feel insecure in conflict situation, even in controversies (conflicts of ideas) and they often hurry on with group agreement (avoiding discrepancies, silent individual disagreement etc.) They indicated skills for communication of disagreement and dealing with conflicts as the weak part of their teams: they expressed need for training skills for solving conflicts and importance of training them in safe environment, where they can trust each other (often out of their own school staff). In our opinion to promote cooperation means to deal with conflicts as well (based on the thesis “The strong cooperation brings stronger conflicts which are solved constructively”) but training teachers in this area does not mean to undertake an isolated one-time step (to introduce a course on problem solving). It is about working with the complexity of the whole issue, focusing on the four aforementioned approaches – knowledge, workculture and environment, educational activities and personal/social competencies.

2. Competences for teaching personal and social education

Challenge coming from the curriculum in which the social dimension is accentuated is a challenge especially for the teacher competences to deal with it. Are teachers ready to plan, realize and evaluate possibilities for developing students personal and social competencies (i.e. self-recognition, self-regulation, building trust and respect in human relations and skills for social interaction)? And if not, what is missing and how could we overcome difficulties and help them to succeed?

In this part of the article we present results of research and investigation in a relatively new school curriculum component called “personal and social education” (primary and secondary schools as well). To get ready teachers for teaching this component, courses in preservice and inservice were run by authors of this article: investigation and research have been carried on

(1999-2015) concerning issues connected with our general research question How do you create the educational conditions for the development of teachers social competence for a curriculum in which the social relationship dimension is emphasized? More specifically: What are the difficulties in teaching (in so called methodology/didactics of personal and social education) to overcome? In these courses we worked over time with approximately 500 teachers, we observed approximately 400 sample teaching hours, we analyzed 250 lesson plans. Conclusion of our research could be formulated in this statement: Teachers are not aware enough of lack of knowledge and skills which should be in their competence for teaching personal and social education. We came to the conclusion through following research results:

1. The teachers are not adequately embedded in the theory of personal competencies, theory of trust, respect, human relations and social skills. In defining these phenomena and in working with them they often use “folk-concepts”.

2. The teachers do not have “pedagogical content knowledge”, that is they do not have an adequately clear perception of the practical functioning of social competence. It means that:

- they do not have the understanding knowledge of phenomenon from the area of social competence
- they do not have the skills of practical differentiation/recognition of these phenomenon

3. The teachers have problems connecting to certain themes from the area of personal and social competence and building trust and respect with specific methods (games, exercises etc., despite the fact that they know many games and exercises) (Valenta 2006, p. 139; 2013, p. 47).

The following explanation will include examples of these three areas whether they are separate or connected.

- There is a lack in knowledge. The knowledge level of phenomenon from the area of examined competencies is quite low, the theoretical basis or practical activities are poor.

The teachers do not have adequate knowledge of phenomena associated with self-recognition, building trust and social competence. For example, they do not completely know what is empathy, active listening, or group dynamics. The following problems emerge out of this to a large extent:

- Phenomena are labeled with incorrect terms

For example several aggressive displays are labeled as assertive.

- There are problems in the differentiation and recognition of phenomena in practice

When using the methods of role play the teachers repeatedly said that the students “live”/empathize in these roles, however from the students in the games it was evident that this was not the case. Or: They do not differentiate that in a game training body language students will begin to be interested rather in mutual relations in the classroom than body language. If they do not see this, evidently an important theme which the students bring to the games themselves escapes.

- There are problems in the knowing or understanding of the connection among certain phenomena

A number of teachers – during the period of our investigation – for example believed that dividing students into groups for work on a certain task automatically creates cooperation among all members of the groups. But from the point of observer it was not so.

- They try to apply one pedagogical theory that they know into an area where it is not suitable.

For example, we repeatedly met with efforts to use Bloom’s cognitive goal taxonomy for planning objectives in the area of behavioral skills (Valenta 2013, 2016)

- They do not know how to determine precisely the core of social competencies. Therefore, they often use inadequate teaching methods.

For example although the aim of the lesson is focused on promoting empathy, teacher uses methods of text reading (mismatch) (Valenta 2013, 2016). During research time we finally defined so-called “myths” relating to the personal and social education teaching. Here are several of them:

- Personal and social education (abbreviation P. S. E.): is used whenever we talk about life.
- P. S. E.: Occurs as soon as children are taught in an active manner or can talk to each other.
- P. S. E.: It is not possible to train social competence when children do not have social competence.

- P. S. E.: Reflection after activities means that the teachers say what they think and how it should be.
- P. S. E.: Where there are groups, there is cooperation and cooperation = P. S. E.
- P. S. E.: Everything relates to anything else – whatever game can reach whatever educational goal.
- P. S. E.: Teachers do not need to have the competencies which they want from the children – they are teachers, not students.
- P. S. E.: Every teacher “has” a personality and an university degree – they are therefore experts on how to live (Valenta 2013, p. 48).

We see the solution of aforementioned difficulties in giving more attention to curriculum for social skills, define it more clearly. Here we obviously enter into the field of debate on what social skills curriculum is and what we expect from it. Social competencies – for example, for us in the Czech Republic is often understood as a part of the hidden curriculum or as a part of the informal curriculum and it is expected that social competence as an objective value of the work of schools will grow out of the optimal social climate of schools and from good mutual relationships. In conclusion, there is a need to educate teachers so that they could teach personal and social competencies as explicit ones.

We are on the right path now: in basic curricular documents of the Czech school reform there is “personal and social education” part.¹ We have our own point of view on personal and social competence, respectively skills which the school should pay attention to in order to move within the framework of standard and formal curriculum.

But if we have curriculum in which skills are indicated it still doesn’t mean that teachers will teach them really as skills. There is a need to teach skills, not about skills. Then we arrive at the same platform which was expressed in the 1970’s in the USA, in the nicely titled book by Karen Stone: *The subject is me!* That is the student, where the subject is the student himself, the student’s social competence. The student at this same

¹The Czech concept of personal and social education (as a part of the climate of the schools, as a cross-curricular topic or as a subject) was created at the Pedagogical Department of the Prague Philosophical Faculty – and it contains overall 11 themes (further specified) in three areas: personal orientation (self-concept; self-regulation; psychohygiene; social creativity; cognitive development); social orientations (human relations; getting to know others; communication; cooperation and competition; moral orientation (daily morality and solving problems of a moral nature) (Valenta 2007).

time becomes an element of the curriculum: he is the objective; he is the subject and also partially the means.

And in order to be even more complicated, we would like to add that a further element of the curriculum becomes even the teacher, respectively his behavior. Or in the case of the development of social competence, the teacher is not just an actor who thinks up games for social competence and skills. We would be happy if in schools, the skills used in the social competencies of the students and the teachers were not understood only as a part of the hidden curriculum, but also as a part of the evident curriculum. That is: not only the Sahara, not only the Battle of Hastings, not only the past perfect or squirrels is the subject, but also the students and the teacher are teaching materials.

Our school transformation is however based on the principles of competencies. Four of the six key competencies defined in the curriculum documents lead are connected also with personal or social skills. It will therefore be evidently necessary for even universities teaching future teachers to take into account that not only squirrels but also the teachers and students are elements of the curriculum.

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Hana Kasikova
Josef Valenta

TEACHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SKILLS CURRICULUM

Keywords: teacher education, curriculum, social competence, social skills, personal and social education.

We consider socio-relational dimension of the teacher profession and the competence of teachers to develop the social skills of pupils to be key factors in education nowadays. Teacher education and teacher training focusing on social dimension are closely connected with challenges like societal changes, inclusion, multiculturalism, but also life on social networks, socio-pathological phenomena etc. From that point of view curriculum reconstruction is in need with stronger accent on teachers social competence in the frame of new approaches in education sciences and psychology.

In the article we analyze especially two ways of developing curriculum based on social- relational dimension. First one is focused on promoting the personal level of teacher social competence, especially cooperative competence, the second one on teacher education and training in the didactics of social skills (why, what and how) in the frame of cross – curricular theme of “personal and social education”. The analysis of two ways are based on research and authors experience both in pre-service and in-service education.

Eva Vincejová*
Ivan Pavlov**

SLOVAK TEACHING IN THE DIMENSIONS OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS¹

Preface

In the last decades the Slovak educational system underwent turbulent changes, that can hardly be labeled only as positive. The deterioration of the student results (in international and national measurements), unfit system of funding that supports mediocrity, but not the quality, insufficient equipment of the schools with modern didactic tools, reduction in the amount of candidates to teacher's profession and its social prestige, distrust of the society towards the potential of the school system's ability to react with flexibility to the needs of the practice, non-conceptualization of the departmental educational policies and other manifestations of the falling behind are justifiably the object of criticism from every side. Reduction of the seriousness of the education and training in the society (including the programs of the political elites), is the result of the crisis of the societal trust in schools as the engine for change in science, engineering and as a pillar of the democracy and citizenship in the society. The searching for the solution of the indicated crisis phenomena is happening also on the soil of the sciences about education. Teaching andragogy (Pavlov 2014) and teaching ethics explore and provide stimuli for the practice of the upbringing and education on how to professionalize the work of a teacher.

International comparative research have developed theoretical model that is specifying the essential signs of professionalism, which are the criteria for the assessment of the degree of professionalism of the teachers.

***Eva Vincejová** – Ph.D. in Pedagogy, Charles University in Prague; research interests: andragogy, teachers' education, didactics; e-mail: eva.vincejova@ff.cuni.cz

****Ivan Pavlov** – Ph.D. in Pedagogy, Matej Bel University; research interests: andragogy, ethics; e-mail: ivan.pavlov@umb.sk

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Concept of the professionalization appears as a promising way to “equalize” teaching with the other professions. The balance in the professionalism of the teacher in all dimensions of his development was comprehensibly proposed by Bronislava Kasáčová (2004, pp. 22-45). Štefan Švec (2003, pp. 1-2) has specified the characteristics of the teaching profession, which are distinguishing it from the profession of the lower level. These characteristics amount to refined scientific-theoretical foundation and a considerable amount of wisdom in profession and practical work experiences accumulated by tradition; specific culture of the institutionalized work; autonomy in the competent labor decisions and self-regulation in the working procedures; high level of personal responsibility for the exercise of the profession; code of professional ethics with obligation to the member of the profession; universally accepted catalog of the standard professional competence; higher societal calling, prestige and its straightforward bond with generally shared values (of education). We understand professionalization as equivalent and, at the same time, a condition of the improvement of the teaching work (described in the paper as characteristics and criteria), professionalism as a construct pertaining to the professional community (status aspects, attitudinal attributes and values) and professionalism as a notion pertaining to pedagogical performance (knowledge, fitness and attitudes) of the individuals in the profession. Every construct introduced in the last decades as a result of societal changes changed its attributes, developed along with contemporary postmodern individualism, its meaning of free and responsible choice supported by neoliberal policies and its school reforms was deregulated. Beáta Kosová (2013, p. 114) states that “trends towards the professionalization of the teaching profession are not possible to be brought to life without deeper changes in the teachers’ sphere of values and orientation within them. In the area of working with people the technical competency has to be always corroborated by ethical conduct and behavior of a professional.” Theoretical analysis of criteria, which are the condition for professionalization of the teachers even in Slovakia within “Ethical code of the profession are helping to solve disputed questions of its performance” has led us to the finding, that code of ethics does not exist and is being replaced by provision of professional law about the set of rights and obligations of a teacher, which do not have the character of free signing up to the principles of the duty towards children regarding their education (Pavlov 2013, p. 13).

Soňa Dorotíková (2013, pp. 127-129) is pointing out that teaching is usually associated with role and duty in the meaning of fateful determination, bound to self-fulfillment in the teaching profession. Teaching belongs to relational professions, which are oriented towards human and which it

influence reasoning and actions of others, they demand also high degree of moral seriousness of professional decisions and moral responsibility. Mutual relationship is conditioned by intensity of intellectual and emotional potential of the teacher, which is difficult for specialized preparation of even personal (moral) assumptions. High degree of moral commitment of the teachers for fulfillment of the “call of duty towards others” is giving unique ethos to the profession – the challenge for self-betterment and fulfillment of cultural, humanitarian and moral ideals. Naděžda Pelcová and Ilona Semrádová (2014, p. 115) consider part of ethos in teaching profession as social commitment, internalization of human values, but also as self-realization and the ability of critical thinking about the nature of own educational and learning activity. Jaroslava Vašutová (2007, p. 43) states, that ethical behavior of a teacher is considered as his primitive attribute, on the other side a conviction exists, that it is formed automatically together with the achievement of professional status. Status is representing a social position or the respect, that the teaching profession enjoys regarding with the degree of acknowledgment of importance of its function and the ability to fulfill it (Samuhelová, Tokárová 1996, p. 18). Status as a prestige (seriousness, importance) is characteristic to individuals (teacher at school, some category in teaching) or to the whole professional group. We regard status of a profession as directly proportional to the ethical behavior of the teachers. If the research of ethical side of the teaching profession (Vacek 2013, pp. 162-177) points towards lasting adverse symptoms in the behavior and the conduct (violation of moral principles), it is obvious, that it has influence upon the status.

Theoretical basis of teaching ethics as part of applied (professional) ethics

The mission of professional ethics is to create a concept of certain profession in relation with structure of social values, to which this profession is directed. Consensual social values represent the reference framework for the assessment of the calling of each profession with the help of professional ethics. Dominant and evaluative criterion of profession is the service to the values, effort to justify them and to confront professions, that should serve them, with them, which creates the essence of the searching for the identity of profession (Žilínek 2001, p. 346). Professional groups are developing such moral norms and principles, which help them in professional activity to distinguish right from wrong, to choose the good and act as to not to harm other people. In other words, they are creating their own professional ethics, which is expressing the sum of moral norms and values that are

characteristic for the given profession. Professional ethics exhibits itself on two basic levels: at the individual and the institutional. At the individual level it concerns individual ethics of particular individual and at the second level it concerns group ethics, which is institutionalized. Existence of the professional ethics is the source of shaping of professional honor – conscious pride of belonging to a given profession and conscious compliance of moral obligations, by means of which the performance of this profession is regulated. Professional ethics acts as a regulator of behavior of the members of the group in accordance with values, moral norms, and ethical principles of professional group. Professional ethics is, on the one side, bound with the requirements of the society, on the other side it is bound with the interests of individual members of the group. Professional ethics is therefore reflection on societal, group and individual values (Remišová 2000, p. 219).

We are using the term professional ethics in relation to the moral values, norms and principles, that regulate the behavior of social-professional group that is teaching. It regards the applied (professional) ethics as the exercise of the teaching profession. Teaching profession within the borders of current law (on schooling and education) is planned to serve the public interest. It regards professional ethics, which model is according to the Emília Sičáková and Ľubica Slimáková (2001, pp. 8-9) based on phenomenon of strong professionalism, bureaucratically supported and oriented towards the support of the cultivation of high standards of professional behavior as expected forms and manifestation of behavior. Basic assumption is the ability of healthy and responsible decision making and binding trust towards the skills of the workers to differentiate between the fragile boundaries of ethical and unethical. Applied and customary principles are creating protection from irresponsible behavior. Jan Průcha et al. (1998, p. 190) characterize professional ethics as a set of requirements, which are necessary to be respected during the exercise of the profession (code of ethics). These requirements are: professional status in society, required qualifications, definition of a relation between a client and a professional, keeping the professional secrecy, professional growth, rules for rewarding, rules for policy violation, definition of consultation, advisory, and judging services, rules for public relationships and the means to monitor the exercise of the profession.

Ethics of teaching profession has theoretical and normative character of common ethics during the performance of educational activities. The morale of the teaching profession represents a set of moral standards valid and typical for the teaching profession. We are, according to them, judging the moral thinking, attitudes, behavior and actions in the educational activities. Morality of a personality of teachers is a sign of their professiona-

lism. Professional (teaching) ethics is a subject of scientific theory studies and research is a part of study on colleges that prepare the future teachers (as a teaching subject), pedagogic textbook and didactic (where rules create separate parts). Pedagogical ethics is in broader sense oriented towards the process of education, schooling and training of children and school-age pupils and teacher ethics that concerns the bearers of educational and schooling influences – adults. Ethics of a teaching profession as well as other professional ethics is based on the assumption of ability to be educated, susceptibility of an adult person during the exercise of profession. We consider this aspect as a key in the discourse about the opportunities to actively influence value orientation and attitudes of teachers in the teaching practice. The notion of the ability to be educated is understood here as the openness (potential) of an adult person towards the growth of his personality traits with the help of functional and intentional influences. Education of adults is a system of formative (preferentially auto-formative) influences and activities, that shape and develop personal traits of character in a manner that a person is able to enforce them in life and at work in human society. Process of education of adults consists of complex conditions and difficult changes. In result the individual human being appears to be the effect of the lifetime of shaping the personality and character. He becomes a member of socio-cultural, socioeconomic and environmental society. Education as “instructing about desirable”, or about rehabilitation as “wean away from unacceptable”, is not “tutoring and specifying acquired”, but it is about self-education as “self-learning of self-development” in accordance with moral and value systems and principles (Pavlov 2015, pp. 14-15).

Ivan Pavlov and Martin Schubert (2015, p. 20) understand adulthood as an unfinished process of forming the personal integrity which occurs during entire lifespan and is usually finished in later adulthood (entirety, complexity, maturity, synergy) and manifests itself in the manner, that nothing is in a conflict, in contradiction with the rest and the truth (ethics, values, morality), what we trust becomes a pattern of life. Integrity is the keeping of moral principles, clear stance on what we believe. Integrity is different from honesty, which says the truth to the others, while integrity tells the truth to self (it avoids self-deception). Integrity represents harmony of thinking, feeling, action and the conviction about the values, consistent attitudes, that do not suppress any personality traits, but overcomes the duality of internal conflicts by bringing compliance. Concept of the integrity (psychological basis) is also pivotal for education, adult education and adult counseling, because its fulfillment and completion is a part of support in the life journey, which requires active approach of adults towards chan-

ge and readiness to co-shape own personal integrity. Psychological science (psychology of personality and moral psychology) provides valuable sources of knowledge and inspirations about concept of the integrity of a person to the andragogy, which is also applied to content, methods, forms and resources of effect of andragogy upon the members of teaching profession.

We count teaching ethics as belonging to the set of professional ethics (similarly as medical, business, management, governmental, media etc.) Applied ethics critically reflects deformations of morality and moral collisions of contemporary world and focuses on moral revitalization and those measures, which support the healthy moral development of businesses, institutions and society as a whole. Pavel Fobel and team (2013, pp. 39-48) represent concept of organizational ethics, which is an application and institutionalization of ethics environments in organization of various kinds. The basis is, that in organizations we encounter ethical problems associated with the behavior of employees (even supervisors), which can be judged as acceptable or not, depending on the organizational ethics and culture. Organizational ethics expresses the consensus of all actors, for whom these characteristics are valid:

- integrated interest of employees, employers and management,
- solving of moral problems, arising from a clash of interests of these groups,
- reaching conformity in achieving the common goals, resulting from values, vision, mission, norms of behavior, recognition of universally valid standards in the organization,
- consensus in values and common interest in reaching goals as a part of modern (uneconomic) policy of organization.

Stated characteristics are present also in the school environment as organization, in which teachers perform their profession. Elaboration of organizational ethics of teaching profession is considered as a concept, which will allow to discover until now unknown aspects of teaching ethics, but mainly it will provide concrete impulses for its application in the management and pedagogical practice. The task of applied ethics is, according to Fobel and team (*ibide.*, p. 44):

- to justify, what is ethically proper and ethically improper in the organization of ethics,
- to provide critical analysis of actual condition of ethics in specific organization,

- to formulate and design specific ethical norms and requirements agreed upon by both employees and management,
- to articulate ethical recommendations for organization, so that it would gain a reputation of responsible and socially beneficial with high loyalty and commitment of employees.

Dimensions of teaching ethics

We assume, that the development of teaching ethics as applied professional ethics takes place in at least three dimensions heading towards active expression of moral principles and their interpretation in everyday pedagogical practice.

In the first dimension occurs the theoretical reflection on practical ethical issues of performance of teaching profession, their comparison with foreign trends and experiences. This level provides sufficient resources, material for scientific-theoretical study and impulses for teaching practice. In teaching ethics we are encountering an ambition to determine theoretically what belongs to the ethics of exercising the profession, the meaning of ethics determines those key personality traits, characteristics, which describe the most specifications of the exercise of teaching profession. Until recently this dimension in pedagogy (pedeutology) was represented by the psychology topics of relations between the teachers and pupils (Štefanovič 1964), later by pedagogical mastery, tact. Today authors approach this task by creating inventories, categorizing the personal moral qualities and virtues, i.e. pedagogical love, wisdom, courage and credibility (Helus et al. 2012), by introducing teacher personality typology in relation to moral approaches towards pedagogical activity (Beňo 2000); standardization of (competence profiles) professional competence (Pavlov 2013); models of professional behavior in ethical and department dimension (Vašutová 2007); philosophical and historical studies about the nature, content of teaching ethics (Žilínek 2001, Kasáčová 2004, Kosová 2013, Gluchmanová 2013) and by expanding the research finding about the issues of teaching ethics in pedagogical practice (Darák 2001, Vacek 2013).

Active support of positive self-concept of teaching (as a part of activities of professional development) can mean increase of self-confidence, understanding of the new contexts of requirements, motivation for coping with changes, or transition of proven pedagogical experiences to the colleagues. International researches OECD (TALIS) suggest, that concept of subjectively perceived fitness of teachers significantly influences their pedagogical activity and successfulness of pupils (NÚCEM 2013). Finally, it

should be stated that the research has markedly interdisciplinary character because the knowledge of psychology of adults, teaching andragogy, school management (for example, culture of school as a condition and a result of application of ethical principles in pedagogical activity) and apparently others (Černotová 2005, Gluchmanová 2008) overlap.

In second dimension (normative-legislative) endeavor implements (mainly organs of state administration body) principles of teaching ethics to legal norms (laws, edicts or other regulatory departmental documents). In conditions of SR it concerns mainly §5 law NR SR n. 317/2009 Z. z. amended, which contains rights and obligations of teachers². We also fill in a proposal of set of professional standards for all categories according to the professional, which has the potential to raise the status of profession in the society. Proposal of professional standards of Slovak teachers results from ethical principles (as a components of professional competences) used during teaching. They are ranked into the area nr 3. Professional development, which contains competences related with a role of pedagogical employer, his self-improvement and activity in the school of law (<http://pkrmpc.dev2010.lomtec.com/stranka/o-projekte>). Resulting from the Chart 1 is a positive finding, that the proposition of Slovakian professional standard (for lower secondary education) contains mutual requirement for all career degrees about basis, principles and practices of

²Right to: conditions necessary for the exercise of one's own rights and responsibilities, protection from violence from pupils, parents and others, protection from improper interference with the exercise of pedagogical practice, participation in school management through membership or election of representatives in counseling, methodical and self-governing regions, proposals to improve education, selection and application of pedagogical methods, forms and resources, which form conditions for teaching and self-development of pupils and development of their competences, continual education and professional development, objective assessment and rewarding of the performance of pedagogical activity.

Obligation: protect and respect the rights of pupil and his legal representative, maintain confidentiality and protect from the abuse of personal records, information and medical data about the health of pupils and results of psychological examinations, with which he came to contact, to respect individual educational needs with regards to their personal abilities and options, social and cultural background, take part in the developing and leading of pedagogical documentation and other documentation, direct and objectively assessing work of the pupil, prepare for performance of direct educational action, participate in the making and realizing of school teaching program, maintain and develop own professional competences through continual study or self-study, perform pedagogical activity in accordance with actual scientific knowledge, values and goals of school educational program, offer to pupil or legal representative guidance counseling or professional help connected with education, regularly inform pupil or legal representative about the progress and results of education concerning him.

teaching ethics (similarly constructed are professional standards even for further categories of teaching). The problem is, that this requirement leaves beginning teachers at the entrance to profession. Definition on the level of knowledge and competences creates potential, which can suggest indicators exhibited directly in pedagogical practice. However, gradation of indicators (in dependence with career levels) does not reflect the extent of “professional ethical development” of teachers during career path.

Table 1

Professional competences of teachers of lower secondary grade of education (extract from the proposition of professional standard)

Competence 3.2 Identify with professional role and school
Beginning teacher of second grade of elementary school
<p><i>Knowledge and competences required for entry into profession:</i></p> <p>Knowledge:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge of organizational characteristics of a school system, as well as institutional rules of school, • knowledge of basic theories of teaching profession, • knowledge of basic structure of profession and professional background of a profession. <p>Competences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reflect and perfect the effectiveness of own teaching activity, • identify with own profession.
<p>Individual teacher of second level of elementary school, teacher of second grade with the first certificate, teacher of second grade of elementary school with second certificate</p> <p><i>Knowledge and competences required for achieving the corresponding career degree:</i></p> <p>Knowledge:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge of role and goals of pedagogical profession and of school, • knowledge of and respect the basis, principles and practice of professional ethics. <p>Competences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identify with role, vision and declared values of school, • perform as a presenter of profession and of school, • identify with the role of facilitator, effectively communicate with social partners.

Indicators – verifiability of competence		
Independent teacher of second degree of elementary school	Teacher of second degree of elementary school with first certificate	Teacher of second degree of elementary school with the second certificate
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In professional performance performs as a supporter of learning of pupils, example of values and cultivated, ethical behavior. • Performs as a representative of a profession and of school in relation to legal representative and further partners of school. • Keeping and developing the value system of school and school facilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides feedback to colleagues in the area of their pedagogical activity and career growth that leads towards its improvement in relation to program of development of school. • Presents own pedagogical expertise in specialized press, publications and on specialized forums. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides help and counseling to pedagogical and specialized employees and participates in the creation of projects of development of the school. • Coordinates the preparation of education and further activities of teachers in the area of program of the school development, create projects of cooperation with various partners.

Source: authors' own work.

The third dimension (application-regulating) presents teacher's initiatives involving professional needs and interests and consensual acceptance of ethical obligations in the form of a code of ethics of the profession of nationally designated authority which will deal with contentious cases. It also includes the provision of education for future teachers and teachers that use teaching ethics. The study of teaching ethics should be an integral part of initial training as required by Marta Černotová (2005) and Marta Gluchmanová (2008), but in particular, it has become part of a continuous lifetime support for teaching. From this point of view the analysed theme has highly interdisciplinary character, because here the knowledge of adult psychology, teacher's andragogy, school management (eg. school culture as a prerequisite and a consequence of the application of ethical principles in teaching activity) and possibly others overlap.

It should be noted that there is a lack of knowledge about the specifics of the development of moral consciousness in the profession and we do not know means of intervention in ethical decision-making process and acting of teachers and teachers in variable and dynamic teaching situations. Research of aspects affecting accepting ethical decisions of teaching presents the unknown factors in the reasoning and assessing the moral behavior of schoolchildren in the educational process, but also questions a group responsible for ethical decision-making in the performance of educational activities (Bavoľár 2012).

Until 1990 in Slovakia a profession was controlled by ideological understanding of ethics of the work of the teacher, significantly affected by Marxist-Leninist worldview and socialist ethic (i.e. Grišin 1978, Budinec

et al. 1986). Gluchmanová (2013) is presenting an overview of the development of teaching ethics in Slovakia, until societal change after the year 1989, when a fundamental change in the understanding not only in teaching professionalism, identity, but mainly of ethical principles in its performance appeared. In the strategic document about the development of Slovak education – a request was in the Miléniu in the part 5 about teachers, formulated: “develop and establish into practice a control of compliance with code of ethics of the teaching staff” (Milénium. Koncepcia... 2002, pp. 51-54). Švec (2003, pp. 1-4) justified the need of the code of professional ethics as a part of characteristics of a helping profession and laid out for discussion a proposition of wording of code of ethics (taken from the USA). Jozef Gál (2000, 2003) processed a brief proposition of code of ethics in Slovakia (after the commenting of teachers from elementary and high schools), in three parts: preamble, rules of conduct towards pupils and towards own profession. Ľubomír Pajtinka (2003, p. 5) introduced in the discussion a proposition of code of morals of a teacher, which contained besides general obligations also declaration of relations towards profession, pupils, colleagues and society, but some of the principles had legal-labor character, rather than ethical. His proposal was followed up in the year 2010 by Civic association – Slovak chamber of teachers (civic association), which has submitted as its own initiative a proposition of code of ethics (<http://www.komoraucitelov.org/sekcia-6-kodex.html>) and opened a discussion about it. This proposition, however, does not have the features comparable with professional code of teaching (i.e. applied abroad) and is missing clear name of moral (value) aspects of performance and instruments of decision making in the contentious cases. None of these initiatives raised interest and reaction of teaching community, or decision making sphere responsible for realization of National program of education until the year 2015, hence the code of the code of ethics remains on the margin of interest of teaching organizations and pedagogical practice. Discussion about the need of the code is occurring sporadically, only if there are medialized sensitive cases of unethical conduct of the teachers in the pedagogical process or, if the need arises to react to unlawful proceedings of actors of education (i.e. initiative: www.zberstrachu.sk). Ministry by publishing the manual for the protection of the rights of teachers (procedure in cases of rights violations) has at the same time advised to unions, professional assembly and organizations to accept own code of ethics (MŠVVaŠ SR 2015). Our teaching reaction towards the principles of professional ethics as a source of professional honor, pride towards belonging to profession and conscious fulfillment of moral obligations is lukewarm, which may be due to the strong

ideological indoctrination from the past or a resignation in the present. It is as if the basic values of teaching profession, such as universal human values and rights, respect for equality and the freedom of rights for learning and confidentiality of information, personal professional integrity (autonomy and responsibility for accepted decisions) do not contain adequate response. From the impulse of schools arises so called a “code of education” (school schedules) enshrining moral principles of conduct of teachers and pupils in school or codes that arise for specific professional groups for specific types of school (code of ethics of christian educator (https://pasaca.edupage.org/files/Eticky_kodex_krestanskeho_pedagoga_pdf)).

Teachers (even in Slovakia) make a numerous and differentiated group. They differ according to the types, degrees and types of schools, degree and quality of initial training, approbation, differentiate itself politically, ideologically, in worldview, morally, in relation towards past and future, in relation toward pupils, school, money, material possession and in other ways. The more crucial the importance of place in life of teacher and his value orientation, the more visible is displaying his career in given direction (Beňo 2000, pp. 24-25). This heterogeneity is natural and unavoidable part of professional specialization accountable to the structure and needs of schooling, education. In the same time it creates fragmentation, which does not allow the creation of professional organization bringing together and representing interests of all professional groups. Only in this way would be possible to initiate public discussion that would lead towards unity and harmonization of the opinions of various categories in the teaching pertaining to the norms and demands of teaching elite, which meaning should be its codification (Darák 2001, p. 355). It is significant that the same societal (school) events teachers perceive and assess in optics of suggested specifics, which in principle does not allow to accept propositions expressing common professional interests. We assume, that this area is touching mainly expertize department of performance of the profession, but it is not clear to what extent it threatens acceptance of consensus in the area of ethical norms of a teaching job.

Conclusion

We have suggested in the paper some aspects, which are at the forefront of interest of teaching ethics. Various other as, for example, the issues of teacher’s identity, integrity, processes of forming ethical norms and decision making about their enforcement in pedagogical process or appearances of professional standard of Slovak teaching and its code of ethics remain still open and are a challenge for teacher’s andragogy.

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Eva Vincejová
Ivan Pavlov

SLOVAK TEACHING IN THE DIMENSIONS OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

Keywords: teacher, teaching profession, professional ethics, teaching ethics, code of ethics.

Teaching ethics belongs among applied – professional ethics. The subject of its examination are ethical questions concerning the performance of teaching profession. One of the assumptions of professionalization of the Slovak teaching is theoretical study and praxeological suggestions for improvement of the preparatory education and support of the professional development of teaching, its professional identity, value orientation and code of ethics.

Maria Zielińska*
Ludmyła Sokuryanska**

**OPINIONS ON THE EVENTS IN EASTERN UKRAINE
IN 2014 AS AN INDICATOR OF THE GENERALISED
SOCIO-POLITICAL BELIEFS, POLISH-UKRAINIAN
COMPARISONS**

Introduction

Politicians in numerous countries are much interested in events happening in Ukraine in recent years, especially the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in Crimea lasting since April 2014, they are predicting the course of events and their impact on the world. Russia's policy towards former Soviet republics has long been a matter of concern for observers, who perceive Russia's actions as a desire to subjugate the regions that it lost after 1990. Those who are not interested in politics have little knowledge about current events. Their knowledge comes primarily from popular media, where it is selective, overworked and does not give the full picture of the situation. Those who are involved in an event perceive it differently from those who do not take part in it. The residents of western Ukraine see the conflict in Crimea differently from the residents of the regions involved in the war; and their perspective is different from the perspective of Poles living in areas bordering with Ukraine, in turn, it is different from the perspective of people living nearby the western borders of Poland. Probably, the further from Crimea, and the more time passes since the beginning of the conflict, the less interested in the Crimean events societies are. The opinions are varied, but the reasons for these differences have different sources. This applies to all opinions held on various issues.

***Maria Zielińska** – Ph.D. in sociology, Associate Professor, University of Zielona Góra; research interests: sociology of youth, sociology of education, sociology of social change, transborder processes, methodology of social research; e-mail: m.zielinska@is.uz.zgora.pl

****Ludmyła Sokuryanska** – Ph.D. in sociology, Full Professor, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University; research interests: sociology of youth, sociology of education; e-mail: sokuryanska@karazin.ua

In sociological studies opinions are usually considered to be definitional and/or inferential indicators of political beliefs, attitudes and affections, and also stereotypes and prejudices (Nowak 1973, p. 29). The article assumes that people with prejudices against Ukrainians and Ukraine as a state will be less opposed to the annexation of Crimea by Russia and more likely to assess actions taken by the Ukrainian side critically. Ukrainian students have not only greater knowledge concerning their own country, but also their opinions on the events occurring in the eastern Ukraine can be more rational and they are formulated on the basis of wider knowledge¹. In the case of Polish students, opinions about these events are rather a consequence of collective opinions and so-called collective consciousness, that is, opinions delivered by a circle of friends and acquaintances, family members, and teachers as well as opinions presented in the media, and they do not result from a fair, thorough historical-political knowledge². One personal attitude component, let's call it emotional, was analyzed in this article. A knowledge about Ukraine, or specific behaviors concerning Ukraine (e.g., signing petitions, participating in protests) were not a subject of the study. It was considered that opinions are in this case the indicator of other socio-political beliefs of students and may be associated with an individual's self-identification, a sense of hostility towards others and a sense of national identity.

Studies carried out by the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) confirmed the high degree of interest in the events among Polish society, however, it was lowering with the passage of time. This shows that a significant majority of Poles (over two thirds) feel a high sense of danger arising from the fear that the conflict in Ukraine could spread and threaten the security of Poland. Poles are worried about Russia's activities. They are worried about further events in Ukraine (the lack of predictability of the future is noticeable – almost every scenario seems to be possible), and the situation in other post-Soviet countries.

According to the CBOS data (CBOS research reports 2014a, 2014b,

¹The basis for understanding the concept of “collective consciousness” is how the term is understood by Emil Durkheim as “the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a society” (see: Marshall 2004, p. 379).

²In accordance with the assumptions adopted by Stefan Nowak regarding the structure of an attitude, its components (behavioral, cognitive and affective or evaluative-emotional) can take different values. “Therefore, the attitude becomes a three-dimensional typological construct, arranging a three-dimensional space in which we can organize people's attitudes towards a certain subject matter” (Nowak, 1973, p. 29). The subject matter of attitudes in this article are the events in eastern Ukraine in 2014. Only the opinions on these events were studied, which means analyzing one, emotional component of personal attitudes.

2014c, 2016) interest in the situation in Ukraine in 2015, when the survey was carried out among students of Poland (Zielona Góra) and Ukraine (Kharkiv, Lutsk) was high and it is quite likely that even those students who are not interested in politics, heard comments on it from their families, friends, or in the media and have opinions on these events. In lubuskie voivodeship the situation in Ukraine may raise particular emotions, taking into account the fact that students of the University of Zielona Góra are mostly local residents. This means that some of them may be the descendants of those who were relocated from Ukraine and Belarus after the World War II. Stories told by their grandparents about the life of Poles in Ukraine, about their relations with the Ukrainians, about genocide in Volhynia and then their long journey to western Poland facilitated the formation of prejudices and negative stereotypes rather than positive connotations. This, in turn, may affect attitudes towards current events in Ukraine, even though it has been over 70 years since the World War 2.

In contrast, the students of Ukrainian universities (Kharkiv and Lutsk), participating in the study in 2015 declared to be of Ukrainian nationality, although some could have Russian ancestors. Kharkiv is a city located near the border with Russia. In the days of the Soviet Union it was one of the largest towns in the region, which meant it used to be under a big influence of the Soviet authorities, and it used to have a large Russian-speaking population. Lutsk is a city in western Ukraine, located near the border with Poland. Its history is closely related to the history of this country. In this publication we will not differentiate the two groups of Ukrainian students (from Kharkiv and Lutsk), because, as our analysis demonstrated, there are no significant differences between the characteristics of their consciousness and behavior, including their values. This, in our opinion, somewhat denies the known S.F. Huntington's thesis about the crisis of values in Ukraine. The attitudes of Ukrainian students towards current events may also be a consequence of the ambiguous attitude to the contemporary Russia. The size of the article does not allow for the in-depth historical and political analysis of the processes taking place in Ukraine and of those occurring in lubuskie voivodeship since the end of World War 2.

The primary purpose of the article is a representation of the differences in the opinions of the Polish and Ukrainian students on the events occurring in the eastern Ukraine since April 2014. Sociological survey, which is part of the project entitled "Academic Youth in Poland and Ukraine in the times of distrust and threats to civilization. International comparative studies" became the basis for the verification of the hypothesis of the relationship between opinions on the current political events and presented generalized

socio-political attitudes³.

Part one of the article outlines the theoretical context which gave inspiration to the formulation of the research questions and to the adoption of certain assumptions. Part two discusses selected methodological issues, describes variables and presents the results, which will be analysed. Two further parts contain statistical analyses: regression analysis and cluster analysis. The final part contains conclusions, a summary and comments.

Youth in cultural change. Theoretical inspirations

Many researchers of youth believe that youth is a litmus test of phenomena and processes occurring in a society, and the behaviour and beliefs of young people say a lot about adults and to some extent they make it possible to predict the nature of future society. According to Karl Mannheim's concept, in the youth phase of a given generation (between 19-24 years of age) its identity is constituted, and its collective habitus and way of experiencing reality are formed (Mannheim 1944, 1952, 1992/1993). This means that identity of generation is shaped by relations between older generations and the generation that is "entering" the social stage; It determines the community of attitudes towards social events. As a result of experiencing the same events in the formative stage of life, which is early adulthood, a habitual conformity of views and attitudes is born. Jürgen Habermas describes the critical potential of young people, seeing the power of youth in it (1970, 1999). He is of the opinion that a critical overview of the authorities and state institutions triggers activity and initiates a new view of reality. In principle the attitudes of young people towards current events differ from the attitudes of adults. Attitudes belong to the worldview of the individual as its elements; if a community awareness is formed, a particular worldview within one generation will become dominant and will determine the character of the given generation (Zielińska 2010, 2015).

The generation concept is worth mentioning here, because generation is not only a product of its time, as it contains the traits of previous generations and, above all, it creates a common meta-attitude towards reality as a counterpoint to the world of adults and older generations. Dilthey introduced a classic definition of a generation to sociology. It includes three elements: proximity of time, common destiny, which means similar historical, life and intellectual experiences, and spiritual likeness. Jerzy Mikułowski-Pomorski (1968, pp. 69-70) defines the generation as a category of peers who while growing up mentally have experienced certain historical events

³More information from this survey are presented in Maria Zielińska and Dorota Szaban (2016).

or have gone through similar conditions that objectively shaped their life. These common formation factors cause the community of attitudes and values.

Young people are an important part of the social structure, and university students are an important part of a group of youngsters. The fact that they go to university makes them different from other people in their age group, because in the future they may constitute part of intellectual and managerial elites, occupy higher positions, work as managers, create culture, educate new generations. It is expected that elites should generally have more expertise, competencies, skills, but also more general knowledge of the world. Being interested in current social, cultural and political events is connected with intellectual activity. Many sociological studies show that young people are not interested in politics and current events, nor they are interested in political activity through membership in political parties. If young people organize demonstrations or take part in them it is primarily because their interests are threatened (for example ACTA) or demonstrations concern directly young people.

Students are expected to present certain behaviour and attitudes. They are often a leaven and bond-forming binder of their generation who should be role models for others. At the same time, Krystyna Szafraniec claims, contemporary 19-year-olds (and hence university students) *“are often young people, who do not know modern recent history, are politically naive, but also ruthless – they will show no feeling towards authorities that cannot solve their problems. Understanding some things is connected with leniency that they no longer possess. Pragmatism with which they live is incredible and it kills their motivation and reflex of looking at the world with some reflection.”* (Szafraniec 2015, p. 15)

Patriotic attitudes (largely based on historical memory) are a function of socio-political events, which means that they are not constant but subjected to revitalisation under certain conditions. The threat of war fosters patriotic attitudes. It is possible that political events that have occurred in the last few years in Ukraine have shaped the political generation (Kosela 1999), who is living at the risk of war. The armed conflict in Crimea has already caused hundreds of deaths and it continues to kill. Definitely living in these conditions affects certain attitudes towards consent to the escalation of armed conflicts. The closer to the area where the conflict occurs, the greater the sense of threat and the greater the need for peace. Attitudes towards foreign intervention of third parties may be a consequence of a more realistic assessment of the current situation rather than well-established stereotypes and prejudices.

The socio-political situation in Poland is different. Polish young people learn about the situation in eastern Ukraine primarily from the media. Those more interested possibly use the Internet and other sources of knowledge. The media in Poland showed the events in Crimea in a particular form, with comments, often in the context of the involvement of Polish authorities in resolving the conflict. Even if young people perceive the conflict in Ukraine as a threat to Poland, the further from the eastern border of Poland they live, the less it is perceived as the real one.

Here, two significant interpreters of postmodernity should be mentioned: Ronald Inglehart (1995, 2005, Inglehart, Baker 2000) and Ulrich Beck (2002, 2012), as their concepts were the foundation of the conceptualization of the Polish-Ukrainian project. The former described the relations between the development of civilization and cultural change, the latter emphasised significant phenomena that accompany the changes in postmodern societies. Poland and Ukraine, just like other post-socialist countries, have been going through significant cultural changes. When in 2004 Poland joined the European Union it entered the path of accelerated civilizational development. Ukraine still aspires to be a member state of the EU. Inglehart listed three basic phases of social changes:

- Phase 1 – civilizational progress in the socio-economic sphere.
- Phase 2 – cultural transformation in attitudes and values.
- Phase 3 – institutional change, synonymous with democratization.

Ulrich Beck drew attention to the phenomena that accompany social change. These include: (1) a shift toward modernization; (2) multitude of risks in a society of risk, (3) change within the phase of “youth”, (4) increasing individualization and (5) increasing unpredictability of the course of social biographies.

In Poland, the economic indicators clearly reveal a large civilizational leap after 1990, and later after 2004, since the Orange Revolution Ukraine has not been able to produce leaders who would help the state to join the EU. Currently, Ukraine torn by war is not able to raise the standard of living or the economic level of the country, but still tries to apply for the EU membership. After 1989 changes in values towards cultural change began in Poland and the process of democratization occurred, which, however, may be suspended after the victory of the conservative party in 2015, which is not friendly to the European Union. Without going into details of the socio-political situations in both countries one can easily notice that the

differences are significant, which can affect the attitude of the young generation towards various social issues. It is possible that young Ukrainians are likely to be more pro-European, open, tolerant and peace-oriented than young Poles. Experiencing the closeness of war, fear of the escalation of military actions and at the same time knowing about the standard of living and relative peace in European countries may strengthen these attitudes. Current Polish university students lived their childhood and early youth in a sense of security, increasing prosperity and new opportunities arising from open borders in Europe. At the same time the current government's approval of nationalist demonstrations, xenophobia and Euroscepticism imply the growing radicalism of Polish youth.

The above briefly presented theoretical concepts concerning cultural, technological, organizational changes of postmodern society, as well as the concepts of youth and generations became the basis for a general assumption that differences in the attitudes of Polish and Ukrainian students towards events taking place in eastern Ukraine result from differences in the civilizational development of the country, functioning at a different stage of cultural change (defined by Inglehart), differences in the social situation of Poland and Ukraine (stabilization vs armed conflict and the threat of war). A more specific assumption was also accepted that the direct experience of the threat of war may be a factor deciding about students' opinions on the intervention of other countries in the Ukrainian-Russian conflict.

What is common for the surveyed communities is their phase of life – late socialization / early adulthood. Going through this phase of life in postmodern society means a lot of similarities of universal character; going through this phase in countries at different levels of development may cause differences in the perception of social phenomena. Both communities have post-communist past, which, however, may be perceived by Ukrainian students differently from Polish youth.

Within the research project⁴ students of Polish and Ukrainian univer-

⁴A series of questions in the Polish-Ukrainian survey conducted within the project “*Academic youth in Poland and Ukraine in times of distrust and threats to civilisation. Comparative studies between countries*” was devoted to study the opinion of students on the current political situation in Ukraine. The main context was the pro-Russian separatist movement in eastern and southern regions of Ukraine. This part of the survey consisted of six complex questions concerning the respondents' opinions about the importance of the events in Ukraine for the security of neighbouring countries, Europe and the world, and the attitude of the international community toward the situation in Ukraine. The young people were also asked to indicate the sources of their knowledge about the events in Ukraine and their own assumptions on the development of Ukrainian-Russian relations and possible scenarios of further events in eastern Ukraine.

sities were asked about their opinions on the events in eastern Ukraine, assuming that their responses in this regard would be indicators of their attitudes towards Ukraine as a state and as a nation.

Basic methodological assumptions and presentation of research results

A few comments on the study. Characteristics of the population

417 students from the University of Zielona Góra and 797 students of three universities in Kharkiv (Karazin Kharkiv National University, Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University and National Technical University in Lutsk) participated in the study. The study was conducted using the audit questionnaire in spring 2015 (in April – May). The field phase of the study was preceded by several months of preparing conceptualisation and the research tool was subjected to several linguistic verifications to meet the conditions of methodological equivalence. Individuals for the study were drawn from the group of third year students of undergraduate studies. This method of selecting individuals for the study allows the authors to draw conclusions at the error of the estimate of $\pm 4\%$ and the confidence level of 95%. The procedure for selecting individuals for the study started from defining the size of the population. The collected data contained information about the courses the students were doing, the number of groups and the number of students in the groups. In this way the size of the population was determined. The next step was to calculate the sample size according to the accepted assumption concerning the confidence level and the error of the estimate. The sample was varied in terms of socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, place of residence, level of affluence.

Research questions and assumptions

For the purposes of this article, it was initially assumed that the opinions of students about the interference of foreign parties (the actions of other states and international organizations) in the Crimean conflict are a component of generalized attitude towards Ukraine (as a state and a nation), and they are an indicator of other socio-political beliefs indicating a sense of civic identity, a sense of identification with one's own country and with Europe and a sense of hostility towards the members of other nationalities.

The university students from the University of Zielona Góra and three Kharkiv universities who took part in the sociological research are in the same phase of life: early adulthood (they are all about 21 years old). During this period of life an individual has fairly established attitudes towards

different social and political issues⁵. In this stage of life, regardless of living conditions and the level of the country's development, some phenomena are universal. Young people become independent from their parents, they start further education or start their professional career. They enter into partnerships, they experiment with social roles. In this regard, Ukrainian and Polish students showed a strong resemblance. In general terms student life is very similar at any latitudes. During this time young people perform the roles of students: they acquire knowledge and skills, they become involved in activities which they find important for their careers, they take examinations, but also they make friends and participate in social and cultural life.

At the time of the research the socio-political situation in Poland and Ukraine was significantly different and, according to the accepted assumption, it significantly affected the students' attitudes towards the involvement of other countries and international organizations in the conflict in eastern Ukraine. Ukrainian students in Kharkiv experience the effects of war every day and they fear that armed activities will be moved to the west. Every day they find out about victims, they see refugees. Help from other countries and international organizations in the form of weapon supplies, troops and even purposeful financial assistance would only intensify the conflict rather than stop it. However, people living in other countries, including Poland, perceive this situation differently. The CBOS (Public Opinion Research Centre) reports revealed Poles feared that the conflict in Ukraine could spread to other European countries. Poland as a country bordering directly with Ukraine would be, in the opinion of many Poles, the most exposed to the conflict. Therefore, one could expect that Poles, and therefore Zielona Góra students would be interested in stopping armed actions, which they believe could be achieved by offering help to Ukraine in the form of weapon supplies or NATO troops sent to Ukraine UkraECL.

In order to verify the thesis about the relationship between opinions on events in eastern Ukraine and beliefs concerning the self-identification, state identity, xenophobia and nationalism, a regression model was created in which opinions on the interference of other states and international organizations in the armed conflict in Ukraine were the explained (subsidiary)

⁵Attitudes can even vary within life, but in line with the theories of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, Passeron1990), Klaus Hurrelmann (1994), Martin Kohli (1980) and many other researchers of the course of life where the primary habitus is relatively stable. The theoretical basis for the formation of attitudes within the individual's life was also described in the articles by Hanna Malewska, Antonina Kłoskowska, Irena Nowakowa, Julia Sowa, Stanisław Mika and Janusz Reykowski in the book edited by Stefan Nowak (1973).

variable. As a result of factor analysis a variable was extracted which, in further analysis, is called the support for interference of foreign parties. The independent (explanatory) variables are: sex, pride of being Polish/Ukrainian, respect for state symbols, sense of hostility towards people of other nationalities, the feeling of being a citizen of a state, the feeling of being European. The components of the second part of the regression equation in the case of the presented analyses, are the beliefs that were considered as components of the socio-political awareness. The pride of being a citizen of own's country and respect for state symbols (flag, emblem, anthem) are components of a national identity; hostility towards representatives of other nationalities is a manifestation of nationalism and xenophobia; a sense of being European and/or a world citizen can be considered as indicators of tolerance toward others, a support for the idea of multiculturalism and self-identification.

Description of empirical material – Polish-Ukrainian comparison

This section presents selected results of empirical research, which will be used to test the main hypothesis of the existence of the relation between support for the escalation of armed actions in Ukraine and the general worldview. The question containing answers indicating the proposals of assistance to Ukraine was the basis for constructing the explained variable. The regression model of support for the escalation of armed actions in Ukraine includes the following independent variables: gender, pride in being Polish / Ukrainian, respect for state symbols (as the components of the state identity), the feeling of hostility towards people of other nationalities (the components of the nationalist identity), the feeling of being a citizen of the state, a sense of being European (components of self-identification). According to the theory of R. Inglehart cultural change and modernization progress are followed by change in these values. This means that with the development of civilization and radical cultural change, emphasis on the quality of life and self-expression increases, and the attachment to traditional political, religious, moral and social norms decreases, fundamental values shift from materialism to post materialism.

World news can be found in a variety of sources. For young people today the Internet is the main medium of information. Definitely they use television or the press less often. As Figure 1 shows both students from Zielona Góra and Kharkiv learned about the events in eastern Ukraine from, respectively, Polish and Ukrainian mass media. Only every fifth student from Kharkiv acquired this knowledge from the Internet, compared to 60% of Zielona Góra students. It should be noted that talks to friends and family were an important source of knowledge about the Ukrainian events

for Polish students (64.4%). Every fifth student, regardless of the country they live in, used the western media. The data show that the knowledge of Zielona Góra students about the events in Crimea is based primarily on the comments of politicians and journalists, though the use of the Internet indicates that they search for more objectified knowledge.

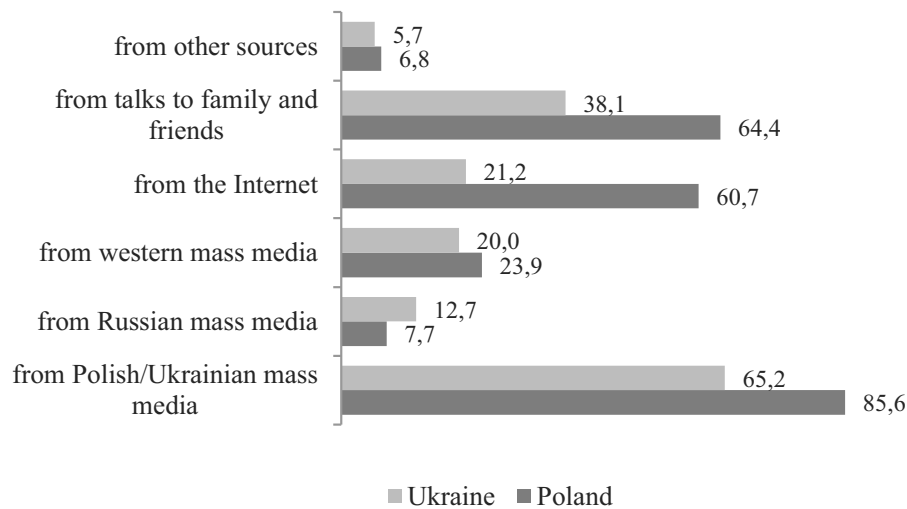


Figure 1. Sources of knowledge about the events in Ukraine among Polish and Ukrainian students (%).

Source: authors' own work.

Students' opinions about possible methods of limiting military operations in eastern Ukraine

The question about possible assistance in resolving the conflict in Ukraine was considered the index question that reveals the generalized attitude of Polish respondents to Ukraine as well as prejudice and resentment in this regard. It has already been explained in the sections above.

Figure 2 shows that the opinions of Polish and Ukrainian students about possible actions are highly diverse. The vast majority of Polish students supports all types of assistance, including financial and military support as well as stricter sanctions against Russia. Ukrainian students usually opted for easing economic sanctions imposed on Russia. Probably their opinions stem from the fear of escalation of military actions resulting from the intervention of other countries and international organizations. Polish students look at the events in eastern Ukraine through the prism of the risk of spreading the conflict into the Polish territory and it is probably the reason why

they support any assistance to end the Ukrainian-Russian conflict.



Figure 2. Students' opinions about possible actions towards Ukraine and Russia (in %).

The figure includes only the following answers: *definitely yes + probably yes*.

Source: authors' own work.

After the factor analysis (see Table 1) the number of indicators within the variable was reduced, which allowed for the creation of a single variable that was used as an explained (dependent) variable in the regression equation. Table 1 shows that all the factor loadings obtained high value, which means that their share in the structure of the variable is statistically significant and internally consistent.

Table 1

Factor analysis of the question "In the current situation, the international community should..."

Question	Poland	Ukraine
In the current situation, the international community should:		
provide financial assistance to Ukraine	0.611	0.557
put diplomatic pressure on Russia	0.692	0.869
tighten economic sanctions against Russia	0.741	0.882
arm the Ukrainian army, sell weapons and military equipment to the Ukrainian army	0.685	0.869
send troops to Ukraine	0.727	0.687

Source: authors' own work.

The new variable “*Support for the escalation of military actions*” has three dimensions, where the high level of support means that all factors that fall within the variable were indicated as strictly necessary; moderate support means that the respondents chose the middle value of the variable; low support means that they selected the lowest values of the variable (they answered “definitely not”, which means lack of consent to the intervention of other parties). Numbers for the three dimensions are shown in Figure 3. These results clearly show that most Ukrainian students are strongly against taking actions that might intensify the conflict and lead to an escalation of military actions on both sides. Compared to the Ukrainian students, more Polish students pointed to the need for taking all possible actions.

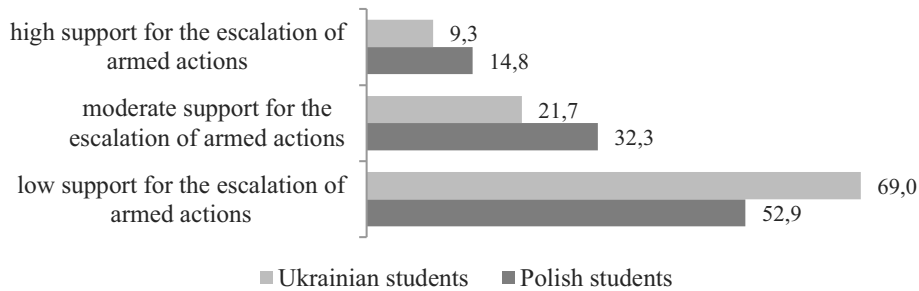


Figure 3. Support for the escalation of military actions in Ukraine among Polish and Ukrainian students (in %).

Source: authors' own work.

The following variables require a short description due to their presence in the regression model:

1. A feeling of hostility towards members of other nationalities
2. State identity
3. Self-identification.

The feeling of hostility towards members of other nationalities is a manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism. Table 2 shows that the feeling of hostility towards members of other nationalities among Ukrainian students occurs twice as often as among Polish students. However, the feeling of hostility towards members of other nationalities at a medium level (hostility felt sometimes) occurs much often (twice as often) among Polish students. It is quite difficult to interpret this result. But it should be mentioned that

Ukrainian students did not select Poles as those to whom they felt hostility, however, Polish students relatively often mentioned Ukrainians as the nation towards which they felt hostile⁶. The feeling of hostility towards Ukrainians is probably a consequence of family stories, in which the memory of Ukrainian nationalists in World War 2, responsible for the genocide on the Polish population living in Ukraine, is still alive and strongly present.

The study of self-identification included two identifications: (1) pride in being a citizen of Poland / Ukraine, (2) a sense of deep respect for state symbols. The numerical values for these two indicators are comparable, though a high level of pride in being a citizen of Poland appeared slightly more often among Zielona Góra students.

Moreover, the study of self-identification also included two identities: (1) the feeling of being a citizen of Poland / Ukraine, (2) the feeling of being European. A high level of identification with their own country and Europe occurred much more often among Polish students than the Ukrainian respondents. For both groups the identification with their own country is more important than with Europe.

Table 2

Numerical values of independent variables in the regression model (see Table 3)

	Polish students	Ukrainian students
Feeling of hostility towards members of other nationalities (a manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism):		
<i>Often</i>	5.5	11.7
<i>Sometimes</i>	4.3	23.9
<i>Seldom</i>	5.5	41.4
The feeling of being a citizen of Poland / Ukraine (responses: <i>definitely yes + mostly yes</i>)	91.3	65.1
The feeling of being European (responses: <i>definitely yes + mostly yes</i>)	64.9	44.1
Pride in being a citizen of Poland / Ukraine (responses 6 + 7 points on 7-point scale, where 7 means the highest level, 1 means the lowest level)	74.4	63.2
Feeling deep respect for the state symbols, anthem, flag (responses 6 + 7 points on 7-point scale, where 7 means the highest level, 1 means the lowest level)	65.1	65.2

Source: authors' own work.

⁶The survey contained the question: "Do you feel hostility towards people of other nationalities? If so, which ones?"

Support for the escalation of military actions in Ukraine as an indicator of socio-political beliefs

On the basis of the data presented in Table 3 it can be cautiously concluded that the hypothesis of a strong relation between opinions on current events in the eastern Ukraine and the generalized beliefs have been confirmed. The regression model constructed for the data from the Ukrainian part of the study is definitely more suited for the data from the Polish part of the study than the corresponding model. There is no reason to reject the hypothesis. However, farther analysis would be needed to verify the results achieved here, but after the preliminary analysis it can be concluded that in the case of students from Kharkiv their opinions about the intervention of foreign forces are affected by their assessment of the current situation and fear of escalation of the conflict. In the case of students from Zielona Góra prejudices and nationalist elements were the elements that affected their opinions.

In the case of Polish students distortion of the model may have caused the beliefs and opinions about the situation in eastern Ukraine, internalized in the socialization process, gained from media and heard in the own social environment. Socio-political awareness of an individual, which is shaped in the process of socialization, education, family influence and activities of the whole social environment includes a number of beliefs, more or less stable attitudes towards a variety of social issues, as well as prejudices and stereotypes. In the case of formulating opinions about current events, the elements of consciousness, that an individual uses to its expression are activated.

When Polish and Ukrainian students were asked about their attitudes towards the events taking place in eastern Ukraine in 2014 they based their opinions on the information found in various types of media, or while talking to family and friends. At the same time, other contents which have shaped the worldview of the individual also appear.

The regression analysis shows that in the case of Ukrainian students there is a linear relation between the lack of support for the intervention of other countries and international organizations and elements of the state identity, self-identification and the feeling of hostility towards representatives of other nationalities.

Those who feel pride in being a citizen of Ukraine, respect national symbols, and identify strongly with their country and with Europe do not support actions that might intensify the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine and cause its expansion to the west. This relation reflects the fact that the Ukrainian students have already experienced a situation of war and their opinions are the result of a more realistic assessment of the situation.

It is highly probable that the Polish students formulate their opinions based on the previously attained knowledge, prejudices and stereotypes. Their knowledge about Ukraine and the events in eastern Ukraine is not in-depth or reliable, they acquired it from the Internet or other media, that generally provide rather comments and processed information. The events taking place thousands of kilometres from the place of residence and the place of living are rather abstract. They have become the topic of conversation because they appeared in the media.

Table 3

Multifactorial regression model for the variable "Support for the escalation of armed actions in Ukraine"

Model	Polish students ($R^2 = 0.079$)			Ukrainian students ($R^2 = 0.239$)		
	Non-stand-ardized coefficients	Stand-ardized coefficients	Signi-ficance	Non-stand-ardized coefficients	Stand-ardized coefficients	Signi-ficance
	B	Beta		B	Beta	
(Constant)	2.499		0.000	2.939		0.000
R. feels proud of being a citizen of Poland / Ukraine to a great extent	-0.063*	-0.0117	0.039	-0.087**	-0.219	0.000
R. respects the national symbols Poland / Ukraine: the anthem, flag, emblem, etc to a great extent	0.080**	0.137	0.015	-0.029	-0.072	0.126
R. identifies with their country to a great extent	0.004	0.008	0.869	-0.0108**	-0.144	0.001
R. identifies with Europe to a great extent	-0.059*	-0.087	0.086	-0.105**	-0.200	0.000
R. often feels hostility towards people of other nationalities	-0.302**	-0.159	0.001	-0.027	-0.018	0.944
Gender 1 - Male 2 - Female	-0.157*	-0.104	0.037	-0.003	-0.070	0.591

Source: authors' own work.

Factor determinance of student's' valuations of the situation in Ukraine development perspectives

Analyzing the attitude of Ukrainian and Polish students to the current situation in Ukraine and possible options for its further development, we have attempted to identify factors that contribute to a particular position of our respondents with regard to the "Ukrainian question". The position of students is most clearly revealed in their responses on the question about the most likely scenario of Ukrainian situation development in the near future, because they, as we believe, reflect not only the assessment of the prospects of the situation in the country resolving, but also its actual state. Six of these scenarios were presented in our study questionnaire:

- the first – «Ukraine allows the autonomy of the territories, which are now controlled by separatists, but will gain control over them»;
- the second – «Ukraine returns the control over the eastern territory of the country, but the Crimea will remain outside»;
- the third – «Ukraine finally loses the territory controlled by separatists, but the rest of Ukraine will retain independence»;
- the fourth – «Ukraine regains all the lost territories»;
- the fifth – «Ukraine loses control over several areas, but will retain its independence from Russia in limited boundaries»;
- the sixth – «Russia is likely to subdue the whole Ukraine».

As evidenced by our findings, the first scenario is considered the most realistic by 12.7 % of the students surveyed in Ukraine and 11.2 % of our Polish respondents; the second – by 24.2 % and 13.1 %, respectively; the third – by 18.9 % and 17.5 %, respectively; the fourth – 15.9 % and 2.9 %, respectively; the fifth – by 8.8 % and 10.2 %, respectively; the sixth – by 2.9 % and 14.8 %, respectively. 16.6 % of Ukrainian students and 30.3 % of their Polish "colleagues" could not give a definite answer to this question (see. Fig. 4). The latter is quite natural, as the Polish students are not included directly in the situation, which possible development they were asked to identify.

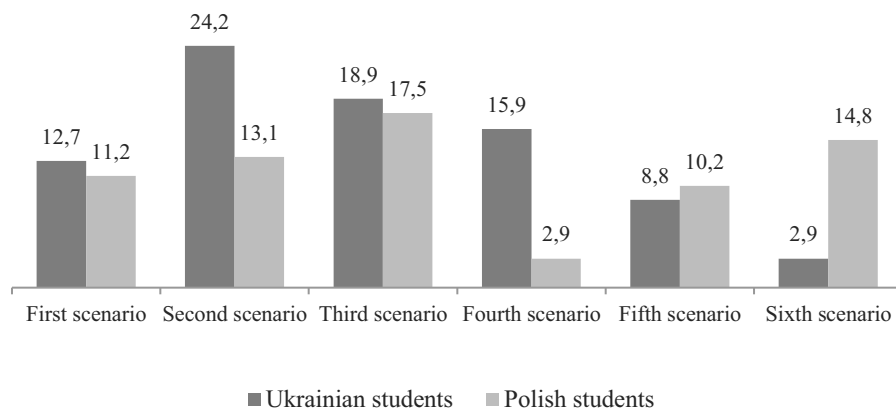


Figure 4. Ideas of Ukrainian and Polish students of the perspectives of development of Ukraine (in %).
Source: authors' own work.

As the answers to this question were alternatives, we decided to select in both groups of respondents six subgroups that differ in their attitude to the events in Ukraine, and place them on the “optimism-pessimism” axis.

We have nominated the “absolute optimists” the subgroup of students (in both arrays), who believe that Ukraine will regain all the lost territories. We have named two subgroups the “moderate optimists” as they have chosen the second and fifth scenario of change in Ukraine. The “Absolutely pessimistic” was called a subgroup of students who believe that Ukraine will be conquered by Russia, and those supporting the first and the third scenarios were called the “moderate pessimists”. Thus, in each array, we have identified three subgroups of students, perceiving Ukraine’s future in an optimistic and pessimistic way.

It turned out, that there are more “optimists” among Ukrainian students (almost 49%) and more “pessimists” among the Polish (43.5%). Accordingly, the cumulative percentage of “pessimists” among Ukrainian students amounted to 34%, and “optimists” among Polish students – 26.2%.

As it was shown by the correlation analysis, the results of which are presented below, a higher level of optimism of Ukrainian students in their ideas about the future of their country is linked to their patriotism, willingness to defend the independence and integrity of their homeland, its freedom.

Let us turn to a more detailed analysis of certain objective and subjective characteristics of selected respondents groups.

As Ukrainian and Polish versions of our research tools (the “Student’s Questionnaire”) were somewhat different, we have carried out the analysis

for each array separately. The only exceptions are some issues on which example it was possible to make a comparison. These are the financial situation of students in selected groups, their political and ideological preferences, social and territorial identification. These are issues we will begin our analysis from.

Speaking of such an objective characterization of the analyzed groups as the respondents financial situation, it turned out (see Table 4), that among students prospecting scenario of Ukrainian development pessimistically, there is more pauper (those to whom money is not enough even for the most necessary products) and poor (in whose family the entire salary is spent on the purchasing of food and needed inexpensive items) than in the “optimists” groups. The most striking example is a group of Ukrainian “absolute pessimists”, among which more than half (52.4%) present low-income layers of the population.

This link between the financial situation and the future of Ukraine assessment can be explained by a higher level of optimism among people wealthy enough in comparison with the poor. With regard to the subjective characteristics such as students’ political and ideological preferences, the correlation analysis confirmed one of the hypothesis of our study on the relationship between a pessimistic assessment of the future of Ukraine and the leftist views of the respondents. Thus, among the Ukrainian “absolute pessimists” those who profess communist ideology are met 6 times more than among the “absolute optimists” (15% vs. 2.5%) (see Table 5).

In respect that our analysis of the received data is so far preliminary, we will in the future analyze the link between optimistic / pessimistic students’ vision of the situation in Ukraine and their political and ideological preferences in more depth.

Analyzing the relation between the socio-territorial identity and ideas of students about the future of Ukraine, we found that the Ukrainian students, which are characterized by a higher level of civic, ethnic and European identity, have a higher level of optimism in the assessments of the country development prospects. Among the Ukrainian students who identify themselves with the Soviet human, “pessimistic” (especially “absolute pessimists”) are relatively more frequent.

Table 4

The financial condition of students, imagining further events in Ukraine differently (% to respondents)

The family financial condition	The students' ideas of further development of Ukraine															
	The first scenario		The second scenario		The third scenario		The fourth scenario		The fifth scenario		The sixth scenario		It is hard to answer		Total	
	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P
Money is not enough even for the most essential products	3.3	11.4	0.6	5.7	1.5	2.8	3.3	-	5.0	4.9	9.5	-	1.7	1.6	2.4	3.5
All salary is spent on food and the necessary in expensive things purchasing	16.5	6.8	11.6	9.5	24.1	9.9	11.8	8.4	21.7	4.9	42.9	11.7	25.6	6.6	18.7	8.2
In general, there is enough money, but the purchasing of durable goods (a TV, a refrigerator) is difficult	29.7	25.0	43.6	35.8	28.6	38.0	37.8	33.3	30.0	41.5	28.6	41.6	35.0	41.0	35.0	38.0
Live in prosperity, but are unable to get some expensive items (a car or apartment)	49.5	43.2	38.4	39.6	38.3	38.0	39.5	33.3	38.3	31.7	9.5	31.7	32.6	41.0	38.1	38.0
Are able to get almost anything wanted	1.0	13.6	5.8	9.4	7.5	11.3	7.6	25.0	5.0	17.0	9.5	15.0	5.1	9.8	5.8	12.3

U – Ukraine, P – Poland

Source: authors' own work.

Table 5
The political and ideological preferences of Ukrainian and Polish students, who are imagining development of Ukraine differently (% to respondents)

The political and ideological trends	The students' ideas of further development of Ukraine														Total	
	The first scenario		The second scenario		The third scenario		The fourth scenario		The fifth scenario		The sixth scenario		It is hard to answer		Total	
	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P
Communist	1.1	2.2	-	-	3.1	-	2.5	-	8.6	-	15.0	-	5.2	-	3.1	0.2
Socialist	4.3	2.2	1.7	3.8	3.1	2.8	3.4	16.7	5.2	2.4	-	8.3	7.8	0.8	3.8	2.2
Social-democratic	12.9	-	17.4	11.3	11.5	12.5	13.4	16.7	8.6	9.8	15.0	11.7	12.1	4.1	13.4	7.7
Liberal	18.3	17.8	16.3	26.4	26.0	23.6	11.8	33.3	8.6	9.8	10.0	21.7	6.9	9.9	15.2	16.3
National-democratic	28.0	26.7	21.5	17.0	22.9	15.3	30.3	16.7	19.0	22.0	-	16.7	8.6	14.0	4.2	18.1
Ecological	11.8	6.7	9.9	3.8	6.9	4.2	5.0	8.3	1.7	2.4	5.0	-	8.6	4.1	7.8	6.2
Radical nationalist	5.4	-	5.8	-	3.1	1.4	5.0	-	1.7	-	5.0	21.7	2.6	0.8	4.3	0.5
Christian democratic	6.5	20.0	12.2	13.2	5.2	16.6	12.6	-	6.9	19.5	15.0	3.2	6.9	18.2	9.0	17.6
Other (which concretely)	1.0	4.4	1.2	3.8	5.2	1.4	1.7	-	13.8	4.9	5.0	16.7	6.0	3.5	3.9	3.2
It is hard to answer	10.7	20.0	14.0	20.7	13.0	22.2	14.3	8.3	25.9	29.2	30.0	-	35.3	44.6	18.3	22.0

U – Ukraine, P – Poland

Source: authors' own work.

As for the Polish students, those who are showing the highest level of civil identification, in their assessments of the future of Ukraine demonstrated the highest level of pessimism. In our view, this can be explained by the fact that Polish students regard the pessimistic scenario of events in Ukraine the serious threat to their own country, especially a scenario in which Ukraine is conquered by Russia. Polish students-“optimists” believe that to prevent the most pessimistic options for the future of Ukraine the international community should carry out a more serious financial support of Ukraine and provide a more effective pressure on Russia to strengthen economic sanctions against the country. At the same time Polish students-“pessimists”, on the one hand, frequently articulate the need for the Ukrainian army rearmament and selling it military equipment, on the other – they say that it is not necessary to intervene in the determination of the Ukrainian borders or that economic sanctions against Russia could be eased.

Now let us turn to a more detailed analysis of certain characteristics of the Ukrainian students – the “optimists” and “pessimists”. It is quite logical that the vast majority of “optimists” (90%) are proud that they are citizens of Ukraine. They perceive it as their homeland, are eager to work for its benefit, associated with it their fate, deeply respect the state symbols of Ukraine and are ready to defend it in case of threat to its sovereignty and integrity. Among the “pessimists” such attitude towards Ukraine characterizes less than the half of the respondents.

In this context, we should emphasize that among Ukrainian students who wish to obtain citizenship of another country (in the whole sample this group comes to 27.5%), 44.4% supported the optimistic scenarios for the development of Ukraine, 38.7% – the pessimistic scenarios, 16.9% could not give a definite answer. Among those who do not want to change his citizenship (this group amounted to 50.5%), there were 53.7% of “optimists”, 31.1% of “pessimists” and 15.2% of undecided. It should be emphasized that there is almost 2.5 times more of those who would like to obtain citizenship of another country among the “pessimists”, than among the “optimists” (about 72% and 30%, respectively).

Responding to a question about how to stay in the border region impact on civil and patriotic feelings of the people, student-“optimists” often talked about how it enhances their patriotic sentiments, student-“pessimists” were closer to a neutral assessment of this factor.

It is interesting to analyze the relationship between the potential protest activity of Ukrainian students and their ideas about the future of their country. As evidenced by the materials of our study, optimism is more inherent to students with the highest level of protest activity (“actively protested

against the actions of the authorities would be causing the disturbance, even if it threatens their own security”) (one third). Among those who said that “rallies, demonstrations and pickets increase tension in society and nothing really changes”, it is more people with a higher level of pessimism.

Thus, our analysis revealed the differences, sometimes quite substantial, in the estimates by Ukrainian and Polish students of different scenarios of the situation development in Ukraine. It is conditioned by both objective and subjective factors, including, current political and economic situation in these countries.

Conclusions

The primary purpose of the article was to present the differences in the opinions of the Polish and Ukrainian students about political events in eastern Ukraine in 2014. It is also an attempt to explain the causes of the observed differences. The subject of the analysis were opinions about potential actions and interference of other countries and world organizations in Ukraine. The exposed differences in the opinions of Polish and Ukrainian students primarily derive from the degree of being involved in the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. For the Polish students the events are rather abstract, they do not concern them and their close friends and family. For the Ukrainian students it is their direct experience. Their and their families' lives depend on how the situation develops and it may completely change at any time, including the need to evacuate. It can be assumed that if a similar situation occurred in Poland, students would most probably perceive a possibility of foreign interference differently.

The article also presents the relationship between opinions about the escalation of military action in eastern Ukraine with selected beliefs which constitute a socio-political awareness of an individual. For the purposes of the article, it was considered that such elements are: a sense of national identity, self-identification and a sense of hostility towards foreigners. It turned out that this relationship is stronger in the case of Ukrainian students, as it is evidenced by the value of the coefficient of R^2 (0, 239). It is possible that the situation of a direct threat of military actions activates patriotic attitudes, with their essential ingredients of a sense of pride of one's own country, respect for national symbols and identification with the country. Although the Polish and Ukrainian students are linked by the fact of experiencing youth and by the similar cultural circle, a direct experience of the war situation clearly differentiates views on the current events and affects the sense of their own identity.

The empirical material does not allow in-depth analysis of a relationship

between opinions and more permanent socio-political beliefs. The article should be considered as a contribution to this kind of reflection and inspiration for further exploration. The analysis of the results obtained in the studies conducted within the framework of the Polish-Ukrainian scientific project leads to a more general reflection about the situation of university students in Poland and Ukraine. In Poland the generation that is entering adulthood knows the country's communist past only from stories and they spent their childhood in a society that builds prosperity and security. They are the generation that can freely travel around Europe and the world where plenty of possibilities are offered to them. They were raised to openness, tolerance towards diversity, multiculturalism. It was not until recent years that world terrorism emerged in its worst form, and the increasing wave of refugees from Syria, North Africa and the Middle East showed the enormity of prejudices, xenophobic, nationalistic attitudes, resentment towards the followers of other religions (especially Islam), hatred and other negative emotions. Also, a radicalization of youth has been observed.

The empirical data gathered in the study have become an inspiration for discussion about the social role of young people in modern societies with communist experience (Poland and Ukraine) that are at different stages of development. Ukrainian youth can watch the armed conflict in their own country, experiencing violence and helplessness of modern organizations and institutions. It is possible that they perceive the problems of Europe differently from young people in Poland, who are closer to the youth of western Europe. Undoubtedly, social awareness of young people is changing, although now it is difficult to describe the direction of these changes. Any transformation should be constantly monitored to foresee the future on their basis.

Global terrorism, mass migration from countries involved in wars and the conflict caused by ISIS, as well as the Brexit will have a significant impact on the shape of contemporary societies. Due to the size of this paper this thread could not be discussed, but the attitude towards the above events should be studied in subsequent studies verifying the relations between attitudes towards current events and the general worldview of the individual.

The young Ukrainians are observing an armed conflict in their own neighbourhood, experiencing violence and helplessness of modern organizations and institutions; at the same time they present an attitude of greater openness. They might perceive problems of Europe in a different way than young people from Poland, who are closer to the youth of the Western European countries.

As evidenced by the materials of our study, Ukrainian students have a higher level of optimism in assessments of the prospects of the situation development in Ukraine, than their Polish peers do. This optimism is fed primarily by patriotism, civil attitude of the Ukrainian studentship, the desire to defend the freedom and independence of the country. Pessimism of the Ukrainian students in the assessments of Ukraine future stems from factors such as the Left (especially the Communist) attitudes and Soviet identity of some of them, the negative attitude to the protest actions, etc. The predominance of pessimism in Polish students views about the future of Ukraine can be explained by possibly more realism of the “view from outside”, as sure as the awareness of threats to Poland itself in case of realization of negative scenarios to resolve the situation in Ukraine.

It seems that our research is not only answering many questions of interest to the authors, but also actualizes the new research challenges that we face in the course of further cooperation between sociologists of V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University and the University of Zielona Góra.

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Maria Zielińska
Ludmyla Sokuryanska

**OPINIONS ON THE EVENTS IN EASTERN UKRAINE IN 2014
AS AN INDICATOR OF THE GENERALISED SOCIO-POLITICAL
BELIEFS, POLISH-UKRAINIAN COMPARISONS**

Keywords: youth, students, public awareness, worldview, social attitudes, Poland, Ukraine, armed conflict, current events.

The primary purpose of the article is a representation of the differences in the opinions of the Polish and Ukrainian students on the events occurring in eastern Ukraine since April 2014. Sociological survey, which is part of the project entitled "Academic Youth in Poland and Ukraine in the times of distrust and threats to civilization. International comparative studies" became the basis for the verification of the hypothesis of the relationship between opinions on the current political events and generalized socio-political attitudes. The project has been implemented within the framework of international cooperation between the University of Zielona Góra and the V.N. Karazin National University in Kharkiv. The initial assumption has been made that different opinions of the students are a consequence of historical circumstances, family narratives, prejudices, stereotypes, and their existing beliefs. Opinions on the current events were considered in this article as indicators of generalized political attitudes of an individual. The theoretical framework to build the conceptualization of research has been provided by concepts of cultural change of values by R. Inglehart and generational concepts by, inter alia, K. Mannheim, S. Eisenstadt, J. Habermas.

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