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Social Order. Between Expectation and Reality

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Abstract

This study refers to the ‘decatalogue of renewal’, a concept generated by the Polish social opposition movement in 1980–1981 reconstructed by Piotr Sztompka, and later applied by Zbigniew Kwieciński as one of the benchmarks (criteria) of good social order. The study aims to establish to what extent the expectations of that mass social movement, largely included in the ‘decatalogue’, have been met and ‘modernised’ after three decades in Poland’s transformation. Which of the decatalogue values influence what contemporary young adults think about social order? The study also seeks to assess the level of social order in today’s Poland. To this end, a survey was conducted in 2020 at one of the universities in Pomerania, Poland. The empirical material was collected using an opinion questionnaire developed by Kwieciński (1987). Young people (education students) were asked to make two assessments of the level of social order on a six-point scale. In the first, the respondents evaluated to what degree they recognised the listed social life values as their own and therefore worth the effort to achieve their implementation. The second assessment was intended to determine to what extent a given value is currently present in Polish social life. The unfolding analysis is founded on concepts of socio-cultural evolutionism and isomorphic mechanisms of social development. Such an approach seems pedagogically justified as it allows us to consider social and educational processes in terms of developmental stages, and thus, build a relatively universal framework for studying not only individual and social development but also the

level represented by members of society. According to Habermas's and Kohlberg's hypotheses on developmental isomorphism of an individual and society, well-integrated within the insights of the evolutionary model, the vast majority of people are incapable of moving beyond the development stage currently represented by society. Our study revealed a deficit in social life values perceived as desirable by young adults, as well as only a limited interest in community values among students. Consequently, it may be concluded that the three decades of 'modernisation' processes in Poland have not contributed to a transformation of attitudes and value systems represented by individuals and institutions, in particular those responsible for education.

Keywords: social order, social life values, evolutionism, learning community.

Introduction

Education and ideology are two concepts that are inextricably linked. While ideologies determine the content of political programmes, authorities decide about the state structure and education systems to spread and reinforce worldviews that promote a particular image of desirable citizens.

The twenty-first-century political perspective on education has largely been dominated by lifelong and life-wide learning¹. One can hardly deny the importance of these two concepts seeing nearly every day how crucial they are for our ability to face challenges at work and in social life. Nevertheless, the four pillars of learning, i.e. "learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be" (Delors, 1996)—while raising the profile of general, cultural, and intercultural education, education for peace, understanding, integration, social solidarity, personal development, and critical thinking—do not seem to have caused major changes in society's development.

According to some researchers (Męczkowska-Christiansen, 2015; Jurgiel-Aleksander, 2017), neoliberal states tend to approach education mainly as an instrument for improving economic productivity. The general global trend is to emphasise professional development and skills that facilitate people's ad-

¹ Lifelong and life-wide learning are two complementary concepts. The former presents learning as a prerequisite to ensure that one has adequate knowledge and skills to operate effectively in the volatile labour market and dynamic reality. It emphasises the responsibility of individuals for their learning experience outcomes, in which they should be supported by employers and providers of educational services. The concept of life-wide learning focuses primarily on the diversity of real contexts and settings (work, educational and cultural institutions, family, associations and social organisations, leisure time, hobbies, travelling, etc.) in which citizens can learn and form their identity (Reischmann, 2014).

aptation to labour market requirements. As Eugenia Potulicka and Joanna Rutkowiak (2010, p. 8) highlight, “neoliberal reforms in education are an integral part of a project leading to an extraordinary concentration of economic and political powers, alteration of the state model, and a mass influence on people to make them fit the needs of the global finance and economy”. Bogusław Śliwerski (2014, p. 232) argues that “education in Poland has become an inhibitor rather than a source of democratic changes”, largely because democracy itself has taken a neoliberal form. While the fundamental democratic procedures may be preserved, the freedoms of an individual are violated, citizens do not participate in public life, social stratification is growing along with the group of the excluded, and corporatism is on the rise. All these processes affect education and learning, making them more instrumental and polarised, one-sidedly “pragmatic, simplified—if not infantilised—and passive” (Potulicka & Rutkowiak, 2010, p. 9).

Poland, like the rest of Europe, is struggling with problems such as increasing inequalities among people and regions, hostility towards outsiders, populism, the increased attractiveness of anti-democratic, anti-European, and anti-EU groups, demography, migration, inclusion, social cohesion, climate change, and the growing technologisation of everyday life.

The problem field of the analysis

In his article *Czy skazani jesteśmy na bezradność? Wobec zapaści społeczeństwa wychowującego* [The Collapse of An Educating Society: Are We Doomed to Helplessness?], Zbigniew Kwiecieński (2018) argues that today’s Poland has found itself in a deep crisis marked by the decline and regression of educating society. The author identifies the “decatalogue of renewal”, a concept generated by the Polish social opposition movement in 1980–1981 and reconstructed by Piotr Sztompka (2001), as one of the benchmarks (criteria) of good social order.

The present study aims to establish to what extent the expectations of that mass social movement, largely included in the “decatalogue”, have been met and “modernised” after three decades of Poland’s transformation. Which of the decatalogue values influence what contemporary young adults think about social order? The study also seeks to assess the level of social order in today’s Poland. To this end, a survey was conducted in 2020 among young adults education students in the years 2018–2020 at one of the universities in Pomerania, Poland. For each of the general values listed in the decatalogue of renewal—1. Equality and Justice, 2. Truth, 3. Rule of Law, 4. Rationality, 5. Discipline, 6. Democ-

racy, 7. Political Representation and Organisational Pluralism, 8. Creativity, 9. Dignity, and 10. Patriotism—four specific norms were identified.

The empirical material was collected using an opinion questionnaire developed by Kwieciński (1987). Contemporary young adults were asked to make two assessments of the level of social order on a six-point scale. In the first, respondents evaluated to what degree they recognised the social life values as their own and therefore worth the effort needed to realise their implementation. The second assessment was intended to determine to what extent a given value (quality) is currently present in Polish social life. In light of the above, two primary research problems were identified: 1) To what extent do young adults recognise the said social life values as their own, personalise them, and consider them worth the effort necessary to implement them, even if it were to be difficult? 2) According to young adults, to what extent is a given quality present in Polish social life? Finally, given the empirical evidence, it seems equally crucial to attempt to answer the ultimate question about the quality of the modern education system. Is it a prerequisite as well as a methodology for changing the structure of Polish society to ensure its sustainable continuation (Kwieciński, 2018, p. 21), or are we indeed facing the collapse of an educating society?²

Kwieciński's questionnaire lists 40 specific values and norms grouped into 10 'decatalogue of renewal' values (summary scores). The survey was conducted among 136 randomly selected students of pedagogy in the years 2018–2020 at one of the universities in Pomerania, Poland. Respondents were selected based on the criterion of availability (during seminars and lectures as the authors of the study are academic lecturers). The study focused on students because of previous ample research and analyses of attitudes and moral choices among young people (both secondary school and college students), indicating that this population functions as a good barometer to diagnose the moral condition of Polish society. "It is not so much about the fact that young people can change their ethical views, but about the 'purity of awareness' that allows them to accommodate different trends of Polish cultural reality and absorb them as they come along. Young people are like a pristine mirror" (Świda-Ziemba, 2010,

² The term "educating society" appeared in a classic work by Florian Znaniecki (1928), who used it when discussing the educational impact of extracurricular activities, processes, conditions, and mass communication. In this sense, the term seems to be timeless as it refers to a system of individuals and social groups, including institutions and other forms of collective life, in which processes take place that shape the personality of citizens as a group, particularly the young generation, in a given society. In terms of the sociology of education, Znaniecki's work is extremely valuable for its insights into the social process of the transmission of cultural patterns through education.

p. 68). The collected material was subjected to statistical analysis, including an analysis of mean values for the studied categories, both at the level of the individual questions from the questionnaire (specific values and norms) and summary scores (the “decatalogue of renewal” values), with the latter calculated as a sum of responses to the four questions in each score.

A theoretical model of the analysis

Education is one of the faces of the social world that can be analysed using three critical categories: the individual, society, and changes in society. Social change may be briefly defined as a sequence of social events and phenomena that occur in a specific period. According to Sztompka (2004, p. 437), social change represents a difference “(...) between the state of a social system (a group, an organisation) at one point in time and the state of the same system at another point in time”. It is most frequently triggered by natural environmental, demographic, and technological changes, cultural diffusion, new ideas, and social conflicts. While it is undoubtedly the fundamental focus of sociology, social change has also entered education sciences as a research category exploring the rules that govern educational processes—their continuation, renewal, possible tensions, development trends, etc. Researchers’ attention is particularly drawn to a catalogue of values that motivate human actions and worldviews, and their evolution due to modernisation processes which lead to a change in the status of both individuals and social groups, as well as their participation in building their own life and social order (Sztompka, 2005).

In recent decades, the social sciences have relied on three theoretical models to explain changes in the social functioning of individuals and social groups. The first uses the analysis of evolutionary economic development as a factor of change. The second, the radicalising of modernity, as it was termed by Anthony Giddens, looks into modernity as a key category in organising the life of individuals and social groups. Once radicalised, the primary features of modernity (e.g. individualism, rationality, the market economy, the free market, the development of bureaucratic systems, etc.) also become the principal properties of social change. The third model of sociological eschatology proves, as the name suggests, that social change is a result of a sudden collapse of the current social order, i.e. the end of an epoch³. For our analysis, the first—evolution-

³ All these models are described in detail by Boksański (2016, pp. 9–22), who studies aspects of social change and how views, attitudes, and values evolve and modernise. He then applies his findings in research practice.

ary—model was adopted. Such an approach seems pedagogically justified as it allows us to consider social and educational processes in terms of developmental stages, and thus, build a relatively universal framework for studying not only the individual and social development but, above all, the level represented by members of society.

Development is a fundamental category of the evolutionary model. Researchers use it to determine the advancement level of a studied society and its institutions, values, and lifestyles (Boksański, 2016, p. 11). Consequently, development denotes social change that in the modernisation vision can either proceed linearly (from pre-industrial to industrial to post-industrial society) or through structural differentiation with changes triggered by impulses leading to the evolutionary adaptation of society to altered conditions (Paluch, 1976). It should be noted that “according to most theories of modernisation, there is a relationship between economic growth and modernisation changes conducive to it, such as domination of the service sector, urbanisation, education development, social mobility, and ‘mental mobility’” (Osicka-Kajda, 2009, p. 88).

The empirical foundations of the evolutionary model were created by Ronald Inglehart and his team. In the late 1970s, they launched a large-scale research project, “World Values Survey”, to analyse the effect of modernisation processes on the transformation of value systems and attitudes in more than 100 countries worldwide. Based on the collected empirical material, the researchers found the following regularity: with modernisation, economic development, and prosperity present and relatively constant for a longer time, it is possible to predict the trajectory of values adopted and recognised by individuals and society. Moreover, their predictability is not undermined by the historical, cultural, or political differences of individual countries (Boksański, 2016).

According to Habermas’s and Kohlberg’s hypotheses on developmental isomorphism of an individual and society, well-integrated within the insights of the evolutionary model, the vast majority of people are incapable of moving beyond the development stage currently represented by society (Jasińska-Kania, 1983; Witkowski, 2010). As Kwieciński (2018, p. 16) argues, “in the 1980s, the vast majority of Polish youth did not move beyond the fourth stage of moral development, i.e. respect for and observation of the law and norms of the professed religion”. This suggests that if values recognised as important by the youth are not present in social life, young people cannot absorb or develop them, and consequently, cannot reach the level they aspire to—the subsequent stage of development. This thesis is further supported by Piotr Sztompka’s sociological theory of cultural trauma (2000). In his concept, trauma encompasses

all phenomena originating from cultural changes such as revolutions, coups, political and economic breakthroughs, acts of terrorism, etc. They can lead to pathologies in social subjectivity as society is no longer capable of preserving its “complex, synthetic value of human community that provides for creative self-transformation” (Sztompka, 2000, p. 20). Although long-expected, progressive, and triumphant, the post-1989 transformation was also biologically, demographically, structurally, and culturally traumagenic for Polish society. The theory of cultural trauma seems to work well for interpreting the level of Poland’s post-transformation order in the early 1990s. However, later research on the moral condition of Polish youth indicates greater instability (Świda-Ziemba, 2010), with symptoms of anomie present in Polish society.

In light of the above, this study aims to determine the level of development of Polish young people’s awareness based on the evolutionary model and developmental isomorphism.

The results of the empirical study

A values deficit? A discrepancy between the extent to which a value is recognised and present in society

The results show that there is a difference between the extent to which particular values are recognised by students and the extent to which students believe them to be present in public life (Figure 1). While the score for the latter

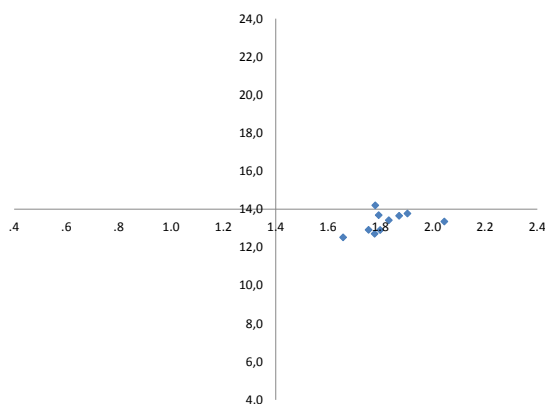


Figure 1. The discrepancy between the ‘decatalogue of renewal’ values recognised by young adults and their presence in public life (means for ten summary scores)

Source: Authors’ study.

was either average or below the average for nearly all values, the mean results for those recognised by students as their own were significantly above the average. In other words, the meaning that students ascribe to all values, in their opinion, does not translate into present-day public life—the said values seem to be more appreciated rather than actually present in the social context.

This regularity is presented in detail in Figure 2. The greatest discrepancy may be seen for the Dignity score—while highly appreciated by respondents, this value is also the most absent from public life (it scored much below the possible average). In contrast, Political Representation bears some symmetry as the value least recognised by young adults as their own and least present in public life.

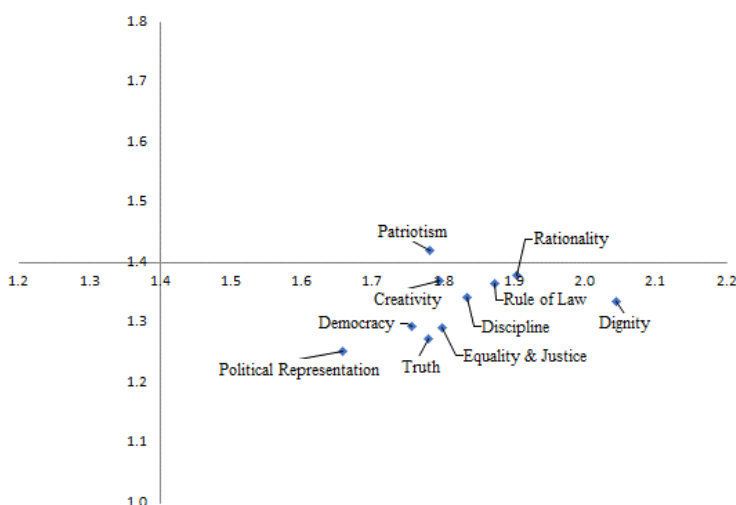


Figure 2. The scatter plot for the ‘decatalogue of renewal’ values recognised by young adults and their presence in public life (means for ten summary scores)

Source: Authors’ study.

Values recognised by young adults as their own and therefore worth the effort necessary to implement them, even if it were to be difficult

On average, Dignity, Rationality, and the Rule of Law were among the values recognised by respondents as their own to the greatest extent, although the other decatalogue values also scored high. Political Representation on a par with Democracy, while Truth proved to be relatively the least important, which seems alarming from the point of view of a democratic state and young people’s involvement.

Table 1. The degree to which the listed social life values are recognised by students as their own (means for ten summary scores).

Social life values	Mean
Dignity	20.4
Rationality	19.0
Rule of law	18.7
Discipline	18.3
Equality and Justice	18.0
Creativity	17.9
Patriotism	17.8
Truth	17.8
Democracy	17.6
Political representation	16.6

Source: Authors' research.

To better understand the reference systems of values important for young adults, Table 2 lists detailed norms included in the scores. According to respondents, the following were considered the most important (based on mean scores): respect for opinions of others, tolerance for individual beliefs, recognition of people's knowledge and skills in matters that directly concern them, freedom of expression, as well as independent and original thinking (5.0–5.4—the Dignity score). This shows that what young people appreciate the most are individualistic values focused on an individual's role and place in social life, recognition, freedom, and individual treatment. The least valued are those related to public life: social trust in broadcasters (3.9—the Truth score), trust in people's representatives who perform public functions (4.1—the Political Representation and Organisational Pluralism score), readiness to engage actively in public affairs (4.1—the Creativity score), multiple organisations and associations (4.1—the Political Representation and Organisational Pluralism score), and completeness and objectivity of information on public matters (4.2—the Truth scale). These results show a deficit with regard to young people's involvement in public affairs and building a civil society.

Table 2. To what extent do you recognise the listed social life values as your own and, therefore, worth your effort to implement them, even if it were to be difficult?

Specific values (identified in the questionnaire)	Mean
Respect for opinions, professions, and social status of others	5.4
Tolerance for individual and religious beliefs, customs, and habits	5.3
Recognition of people's knowledge and skills in matters that directly concern them	5.1
Freedom of expression (within one's responsibility for one's words)	5.0
Independent and original thinking	5.0
Requiring appropriate qualifications for each job and being responsible when making decisions in particular areas of social life	5.0
Treating everyone like a person who is aware and capable of making decisions about themselves—a subject with diverse needs, individual pursuits and aspirations	4.9
Recognising that people have diverse opinions on public matters and tolerance for views that differ from yours	4.8
Recognition for well-organised and diligent work	4.8
Respect for scientific knowledge, expert opinions, and competent consulting	4.8
Equal opportunities to achieve goals, aspirations, and expectations, availability of goods	4.8
Well-qualified, competent professionals in all functions ('the right people in the right place')	4.8
Consistency in the implementation of plans	4.7
Critical thinking when approaching common truths	4.7
Concern for the preservation and consolidation of the national tradition in its various trends	4.7
Reliability, conscientiousness, integrity when carrying out tasks	4.7
Taking all objective circumstances into account when making decisions	4.6
Taking pride in being Polish and solidarity with other Poles	4.6
Completeness and objectivity of information on public matters	4.6
Negotiations in the event of divergent interests and group aspirations after a genuinely frank discussion representing the most divergent of views	4.6
Ensuring at least a minimum standard of living for all members of society	4.5
Decentralisation of initiatives and decisions while ensuring the overall coordination of activities to avoid a conflict of interests or acting against the interest of society as a whole	4.5
The majority decides when it is not possible to reconcile individual or group interests	4.4
Taking initiative and striving for meaningful changes in every area	4.4
Preventing the exploitation of people, getting rich at the expense of others, treating people as a means to an end	4.4
Remuneration proportional to the effort invested in work and its social outcomes	4.4
Compliance with decisions and arrangements worked out democratically and lawfully	4.4

Table 2. To what extent do you recognise the listed social life values as your own and, therefore, worth your effort to implement them, even if it were to be difficult?

Specific values (identified in the questionnaire)	Mean
Acting in compliance with the role of a civil servant, complete loyalty of people performing public functions towards those whose interests and aspirations they represent	4.3
Caring for the interests of the national community without jeopardising the interests of other nations	4.3
Taking into account the national specificity and recognition of specific political, organisational, and institutional solutions	4.3
Self-governance at all levels of organisation	4.3
Responsibility towards the represented people as ensured by authentic elections and the possibility to recall those elected for a given office	4.3
Multiple organisations and associations representing the interests and aspirations of groups, generations, and professional and environmental interests	4.1
Readiness to actively engage in public affairs	4.1
Trust in people's representatives who perform public functions	4.1
Social trust in broadcasters and services disseminating official information—reliable information sources	3.9

Source: Authors' research.

Values present in Polish society

According to young Poles, Patriotism is a value that is most fully present in Polish public life, while Democracy, Equality and Justice, Truth, and Political Representation are, in relative terms the least represented. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised once again that the differences between the values are small (much smaller than in the question about recognising the values as one's own). In general, representatives believe that the 'decatalogue of renewal' values is present in Polish public life, if only to a small degree (Table 3).

Table 3. The degree to which the listed values are believed to be present in Polish public life (means for ten summary scores).

Social life values	Mean
Patriotism	14.2
Rationality	13.8
Creativity	13.7
Rule of law	13.7
Discipline	13.4

Table 3. The degree to which the listed values are believed to be present in Polish public life (means for ten summary scores) (cont.).

Social life values	Mean
Dignity	13.4
Democracy	12.9
Equality and Justice	12.9
Truth	12.7
Political representation	12.5

Source: Authors' research.

At the level of the specific norms included in the summary scores (Table 4), respondents consider the following as the most common: taking pride in being Polish and solidarity with other Poles (3.9—the Patriotism score); concern for the preservation and consolidation of the national tradition in its various trends (3.9—the Patriotism score); respect for scientific knowledge, expert opinions, and competent consulting (3.7 the Rationality score); requiring appropriate qualifications for each job and being responsible when making decisions in particular areas of social life (3.6—the Rationality score); and recognition of people's knowledge and skills in matters that directly concern them (3.6—the Dignity score). In contrast, the following are believed to be the least present in Polish public life: completeness and objectivity of information on public matters (3.0—the Truth score); trust in people's representatives who perform public functions (3.0—the Political Representation score); tolerance for individual and religious beliefs, customs, and habits (3.1—the Dignity score); responsibility towards the represented people as ensured by authentic elections and the possibility to recall those elected for a given office (3.1—the Political Representation score); and remuneration proportional to the effort invested in work and its social outcomes (3.1—the Equality and Justice score).

At this point, it is necessary to highlight which values proved crucial for the respondents while only found to be slightly present in public life. They include tolerance for individual and religious beliefs, customs, and habits; respect for the opinions, professions, and social status of others; competencies, qualifications, professionalism in each area of activity ('the right people in the right place'); and freedom of expression (within one's responsibility for one's words).

Table 4. Extent of presence of specific values listed below in Polish social life (cont.).

Specific values (identified in the questionnaire)	Mean
Taking pride in being Polish and solidarity with other Poles	3.9
Concern for the preservation and consolidation of the national tradition in its various trends	3.9
Respect for scientific knowledge, expert opinions, and competent consulting	3.7
Requiring appropriate qualifications for each job and being responsible when making decisions in particular areas of social life	3.6
Recognition of people's knowledge and skills in matters that concern them directly	3.6
Independent and original thinking	3.5
Freedom of expression (within one's responsibility for one's words)	3.5
Social trust in broadcasters and services disseminating official information—reliable information sources	3.5
Critical thinking when approaching common truths	3.5
Treating everyone as a person who is aware and capable of making decisions about themselves—a subject with diverse needs, individual pursuits and aspirations	3.5
Equal opportunities to achieve goals, aspirations, and expectations, availability of goods	3.5
Recognising that people have diverse opinions on public matters and tolerance for views that differ from yours	3.5
Readiness to engage actively in public affairs	3.5
Recognition for well-organised and diligent work	3.5
Consistency in the implementation of plans	3.4
Multiple organisations and associations representing the interests and aspirations of groups, generations, and professional and environmental interests	3.4
Taking initiative and striving for meaningful changes in every area	3.4
Taking all objective circumstances into account when making decisions	3.4
The majority decides when it is not possible to reconcile individual or group interests	3.4
Compliance with decisions and arrangements worked out democratically and lawfully	3.4
Respect for opinions, professions, and social status of others	3.4
Taking into account the national specificity and recognition of specific political, organisational, and institutional solutions	3.3
Negotiations in the event of divergent interests and group aspirations after a genuinely frank discussion representing the most divergent of views	3.3
Reliability, conscientiousness, integrity when carrying out tasks	3.3
Caring for the interests of the national community without jeopardising the interests of other nations	3.2
Ensuring at least a minimum standard of living for all members of society	3.2
Preventing the exploitation of people, getting rich at the expense of others, treating people as a means to an end	3.2

Table 4. Extent of presence of specific values listed below in Polish social life.

Specific values (identified in the questionnaire)	Mean
Decentralisation of initiatives and decisions while ensuring the overall coordination of activities to avoid a conflict of interests or acting against the interest of society as a whole	3.2
Acting in compliance with the role of a civil servant, complete loyalty of people performing public functions towards those whose interests and aspirations they represent	3.2
Self-governance at all levels of organisation	3.2
Completeness and objectivity of information on public matters	3.2
Social trust in broadcasters and services disseminating official information—reliable information sources	3.1
Well-qualified, competent professionals in all functions ('the right people in the right place')	3.1
Recognising that people have diverse opinions on public matters and tolerance for views that differ from yours	3.1
Remuneration proportional to the effort invested in work and its social outcomes	3.1
Responsibility towards the represented people as ensured by authentic elections and the possibility to recall those elected for a given office	3.1
Tolerance for individual and religious beliefs, customs, and habits	3.1
Trust in people's representatives who perform public functions	3.0
Completeness and objectivity of information on public matters	3.0

Source: Own study.

Correlations between values

Table 5 presents the Pearson correlation coefficient for the respective scores. The purpose of this analysis was to verify to what extent the listed values correlated with each other. The strongest correlations were found between Equality and Justice and Truth (0.720), Truth and Rule of Law (0.657), Political Representation and Truth (0.607). In contrast, the following proved to be the least correlated: Patriotism and Equality and Justice (0.280); Patriotism and Democracy (0.293); and Political representation and Rationality (0.325). In this analysis, a high positive value of the Pearson correlation coefficient indicates that those respondents who have high regard for a given value find the other value also important.

Table 5. To what extent are the listed values correlated with each other and therefore important for young people? Pearson's correlation coefficient for summary scores (significance of values for respondents).

	Equality & Justice	Truth	Rule of law	Rationality	Discipline	Democracy	Political representation	Creativity	Dignity	Patriotism
Equality & Justice	1	.720**	.533**	.365**	.466**	.435**	.456**	.345**	.376**	.280**
Truth	.720**	1	.657**	.441**	.529**	.585**	.607**	.495**	.543**	.357**
Rule of law	.533**	.657**	1	.522**	.540**	.591**	.523**	.456**	.397**	.420**
Rationality	.365**	.441**	.522**	1	.643**	.443**	.325**	.427**	.397**	.407**
Discipline	.466**	.529**	.540**	.643**	1	.482**	.423**	.565**	.471**	.447**
Democracy	.435**	.585**	.591**	.443**	.482**	1	.546**	.498**	.432**	.293**
Political representation	.456**	.607**	.523**	.325**	.423**	.546**	1	.457**	.461**	.399**
Creativity	.345**	.495**	.456**	.427**	.565**	.498**	.457**	1	.561**	.443**
Dignity	.376**	.543**	.397**	.397**	.471**	.432**	.461**	.561**	1	.570**
Patriotism	.280**	.357**	.420**	.407**	.447**	.293**	.399**	.443**	.570**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: Authors' research.

Who has particularly high regard for the 'decatalogue of renewal' values? An attempt at data segmentation

A two-stage cluster analysis was also conducted to find significant similarities and differences, allowing us to identify subgroups within the studied sample. The analysis showed that respondents could be divided into two groups: one consisting of people who recognise the studied values as their own to a large degree (55% of respondents) and the other consisting of people who personally find the studied values less important (45% of respondents). The size of the study sample did not allow us to conduct analyses that would lead to strong conclusions regarding the characteristics of both groups (e.g. origin, gender, attitude to faith and church, etc.). Therefore, a further in-depth research is recommended.

Discussion of the results

All summary scores (the 'decatalogue of renewal' values) have revealed a values deficit in public life observed by Polish students. To understand the order of social life values listed in the questionnaire, it is worth coming back to, even if only briefly, Milton Rokeach's typology of values most often applied in the humanities and social sciences. It is also relevant to this study as it constitutes an element of a larger theory regarding people's system of beliefs.

Milton Rokeach defines a value as 'an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence' (1973). He distinguishes two separate but related systems of values: (1) terminal/intrinsic values (including the individual and social ones), defined as end-states of existence worth the individual and social efforts to realise; and (2) instrumental values (including the moral and competence-related ones), defined as the individually and socially most desirable modes of conduct.

The hierarchy of values introduced into the scientific discourse by Stanisław Ossowski (2000) can also be applied to our analysis of the empirical material. In his typology, Ossowski differentiates recognised (explicit) values from felt (implicit) values. The former have the nature of accepted social norms. As such, they are typical of an entire social group modifying its behaviour. In contrast, the implicit values express human desires and carry a higher emotional component than the explicit values. They also have a stronger motivational power even though they are more susceptible to change, less stable, and more sensitive to fickle human moods and desires.

In pedagogical discourse, values are frequently discussed in terms of culture. Leon Dyczewski (1993) describes this approach as a socially sanctioned value that is characteristic of a given culture and internalised by members of society who rely on it when making choices, setting goals, and identifying courses of action. On the one hand, the meaning of a value can be assessed objectively based on the value's place or role in the local cultural system of values. On the other hand, a subjective criterion may be defined as the value's place or role in the personality structure of an individual.

Values to which young people attribute the greatest importance are, in their opinion, also the ones least implemented in public life. This discrepancy between students' beliefs and the actual state of affairs appears to be the highest for the Dignity score: despite ranking as the most important among respondents (20.4), this value is also perceived by them as the least present in public life.

As a result, Polish young adults seem to lack awareness of their subjectivity as persons with diverse and specific needs, pursuits, and aspirations. They do not feel recognised for their knowledge and skills in matters that concern them directly. Instead, they demand individualistic and personal values related to social status. Consequently, they do not show much regard for community values, i.e. the ones related to public life and listed in the Political Representation and Organisational Pluralism score. This can be a sign that they are not ready to engage actively in public affairs as they do not believe in their power of agency.

Assuming that the education system is a function of social, cultural, and political processes occurring in a given society, rather than the other way around, it may be said that, first, the education system must adapt to its immediate social environment, structure, processes, and needs (Kwieciński, 2011), and, second, as the results of our study show, that competences represented by young people are of a sociogenic nature. Their awareness, expressed by how they ranked individual values despite the general absence of the latter from social life, could point to a cumulative effect of primary socialisation rather than the impact of educational institutions. In light of the above, one can assume that young adults tend to reproduce the moral and social orientations of their parents. In other words, primary socialisation contributes to their cognitive and axiological development to a greater extent than institutionalised education which, contrary to what it declares, continues to pursue the ultimate goal of cultural and social reproduction, serving a rather 'diaphragmatic' function and thus, probably leading to the de-socialisation, also observed in our study, where the social world is perceived as alien and therefore not worth one's effort or involvement (Szafranec, 1986).

Similarly, many doubts arise concerning processes of democratisation. While democracy offers significant freedoms, e.g. in terms of speech or culture of exchange, it also brings about oscillations of the state system (centrifugal-central), actions of short-lived nature, alienation, and corruption of authorities, while creating a demand for passive, indiscriminate people and populists, as also evidenced by our study. Students demand democracy (17.6) despite its general deficit in public life (difference of 4.6). They signal an even greater dissonance with respect to rationality (difference 5.3), equality, justice, truth, and the rule of law (5.1) while having high expectations for their presence (between 18 and 19). It is symptomatic that although young adults believe that democracy creates opportunities for improving the quality of life (private, public, etc.), they are not prepared to participate in it and its procedures. The education system offers neither space nor permission for participation, proactive attitudes, and

building a learning community. This observation is further supported by students' strong focus on individualistic values. All of this happens irrespective of the fact that moving from the stage of the primary community (whose members are unaware of mutual connections among them) to the stage of the modern community (whose members realise their mutual relations) constitutes one of the most important elements of collective learning or, in other words, maturing (Szahaj, 2012b, p. 90).

Also ranking high in young people's hierarchy of values, pluralism creates, on the one hand, opportunities for people to open up to diversity, otherness, and tolerance, but on the other hand, problems with identity, nostalgia for unambiguous standard interpretations of economic life and human civilisation, as well as a hunger for cultural and national identity, giving rise to xenophobia and the politics of memory (Kwieciński, 2011, p. 235).

Regarding the deficit of norms and values in the dignity score, it is vital to ask whether Poland has managed to develop a decent society in the last three decades and to what extent education has contributed to this process. Avishai Margalit defines a decent society as one that does not humiliate, as fighting systemic humiliation is a morally more pressing issue than, for example, showing respect (1996). According to this Israeli philosopher, humiliation is the most traumatic, painful, and constraining type of treatment experienced both individually and collectively. It is not so much humiliation inflicted on each other by individuals as humiliation caused to individuals by institutions. Margalit discusses humiliation in the context of other categories such as honour, dignity, and respect. He says that humiliation is 'any sort of behaviour or condition that constitutes a sound reason for a person to consider their self-respect injured' (Margalit, 1996, p. 9). In other words, it refers to people being treated as if they were not human. Following Margalit, a decent society constitutes a model image against which institutions are tested with respect to the degree and ways in which they humiliate people.

In our study, dignity proved to be the most deficient value in public life according to students, with the difference between its 'supply' and 'demand' amounting to 7.1. There are many indications that Poland has not managed to create a decent society and that we are still living in a culture of humiliation (Szahaj, 2012a). While Western countries are currently contemplating a possible promotion to the second stage in the post-conventional level of development (Level 3), i.e. a society capable of self-orientating based on universal ethical principles, Poland, as our study shows, continues to struggle with its transition to the next stage in the conventional level (Level 2): the rule of law.

At this point, it needs to be highlighted that individuals operating at the post-conventional level (Level 3) are aware, sovereign, and autonomous people. Our respondents, who are still operating at the level of role identity and do not aspire to the identity of autonomy, are oriented towards law and order (a sense of order and justice). Axiologically, they remain distant from the ultimate stage of the universal ethical principle orientation. While convinced as to the shortages of democracy, justice, the rule of law, etc., they accept the political and institutional coercion, which then manifests itself, for example, in the weaknesses of community action.

Following the evolutionary model, it may, therefore, be concluded, with a high level of probability, that the three decades of “modernisation” processes in Poland have not contributed to the transformation of attitudes and value systems represented by individuals and institutions, in particular, those responsible for education. While a focus on individualistic values could indicate a slow transition to the culture of individual independence, the deficits in the area of norms and values, found particularly in the domains of democracy and the rule of law, suggest subordination to external social norms. Upon the transition from collectivism to individualism, from pro-social orientation to subjective egoism, the autonomy of individuals becomes a symptom of civic self-exclusion and, thus, “the end of community” (Kwieciński, 2011).

Finally, it must be emphasised that the extremely dynamic conditions of life, in all its civilisational, organisational, and social aspects, may form an obstacle on our path to the post-conventional level of development. This has already been pointed out by Hanna Świda-Ziemba, who said: “Norms and social control develop slowly; they may be detailed and may differ across areas to fit the reality and existing conditions. A rapidly changing reality does not provide a fixed point of reference for the newly developed norms. One’s entire attention is consumed by the constant need to adapt to the dynamic conditions so as to ensure one’s personal gain and safety” (2010, p. 73). This dynamic and never-ending changeability of life in its civilisational, organisational, and social dimensions can also be traumagenic, as suggested by Sztopmka.

While the presented results and our proposal of interpretation cannot be generalised due to the size of the study sample, they point to possible reasons why members of society may be incapable of creative self-transformation. By doing so, the study contributes to research on pathologies of social subjectivity and the prospects for an educating society.

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