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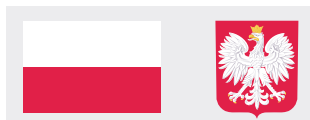
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Pedeutological Research: Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Badania pedeutologiczne.

Problemy teoretyczne i metodologiczne

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Introduction

The volume of the journal *Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana* presented here is dedicated to pedeutological research, primarily from a historical perspective. The question of the essence and conditions of the teaching profession remains highly relevant. An analysis of the history of pedeutological thought reveals the emergence of numerous viewpoints on the teaching profession over the centuries. This diversity is due to the specific assumptions and expectations adopted by researchers regarding individuals entering the teaching profession and the associated deontology and praxeology of teachers.

Examples showing the multiplicity of views on the nature of a teacher's personality, the teaching profession, and the varied paradigms of educational effectiveness, as well as methodological approaches, can be found in numerous publications (e.g., Bieś 2011, 2015, 2018; Duraj-Nowakowa 1986; Homplewicz 1996; Korczyński 2001; Królikowska 2018, 2019; Madalińska-Michalak 2021; Nowicki 1981; Pitala 1993; Smołalski 1990, 1994, 2006; Szulakiewicz 2014, 2017, 2018; Topij-Stempińska 2016, 2018; Wierzbicki 2011). Particularly useful in research on the history of the teaching profession are the findings in the works of Antoni Smołalski, an expert in pedeutological issues. Smołalski carefully

classifies publications on the subject of teaching into various research trends: normative, empirical, technological, legal and administrative, sociological, political and agitational, corporate, prognostic, comparative, biographical, ethical and moral, and ecclesial (Smolański 2006: 31–39).

In this volume, researchers from various academic centers comment on the theory of the teacher and the teaching profession from a historical perspective. The published texts include both the pedeutological ideas present in the works of the analyzed authors and document the pedeutological postulates found in ego-documents illustrating teaching practice. The studies address issues corresponding to the research trends distinguished by Antoni Smolański: normative, technological, sociological, biographical, ethical and moral. However, the biographical trend dominates in these studies. The essays published here highlight the methodological aspects of pedeutological research, especially the importance of surveys used in the search for the ideal teacher. This research model was popular mainly in the interwar period.

The texts collected in this volume enrich the achievements of Polish pedeutological historiography and demonstrate the timeless relevance of many ideas related to the teaching profession.

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Wprowadzenie

Prezentowany, kolejny tom czasopisma „Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana” poświęcony jest problematyce badań pedeutologicznych, głównie w ujęciu historycznym. Pytanie o istotę i uwarunkowania zawodu nauczyciela było i jest wciąż aktualne. Analiza historii myśli pedeutologicznej dowodzi pojawiania się na przestrzeni wieków wielu punktów spojrzenia na zawód nauczyciela. Wynikało to z faktu przyjmowania przez autorów projektów badań pedeutologicznych określonych założeń i postulowanych oczekiwań wobec osób podejmujących się wykonywania zawodu nauczyciela oraz związanej z tym deontologii i prakseologii nauczycielskiej. Przykłady ukazujące wielość spojrzeń na zagadnienie osobowości nauczyciela, a także wykonywanego zawodu, oraz zróżnicowanie paradygmatów efektywności działalności edukacyjnej czy wreszcie różnorodność stanowisk metodologicznych możemy odnaleźć w licznych publikacjach (m.in.: Bieś 2011, 2015, 2018; Duraj-Nowakowa 1986; Homplewicz 1996; Korczyński 2001; Królikowska 2018, 2019; Madalińska-Michalak 2021; Nowicki 1981; Pitala 1993; Smołalski 1990, 1994, 2006; Szulakiewicz 2014, 2017, 2018; Topij-Stempińska 2016, 2018; Wierzbicki 2011). Szczególnie przydatne w badaniach nad historią zawodu nauczyciela są ustalenia zawarte w pracach Antoniego Smołalskiego, znawcy problematyki

pedeutologicznej. Autor ten, dokonując skrupulatnej klasyfikacji publikacji dotyczących tematyki zawodu nauczyciela, wyróżnia takie kierunki badań, jak: normatywny, empiryczny, technologiczny, prawno-administracyjny, socjologiczny, polityczno-agitacyjny, korporacyjny, prognostyczny, porównawczy, biograficzny, etyczno-moralny czy eklezjalny (Smołański 2006: 31–39).

W oddawanym do rąk Czytelników tomie czasopisma badacze z różnych ośrodków akademickich wypowiedzieli się na temat teorii osoby nauczyciela i zawodu nauczycielskiego w ujęciu historycznym. Publikowane teksty ukazują zarówno idee pedeutologiczne obecne w dziełach analizowanych autorów, jak również odtwarzają i dokumentują postulaty pedeutologiczne zawarte w egodokumentach obrazujące praktykę nauczycielską. W prezentowanych opracowaniach zostały odtworzone zagadnienia, które wpisują się w wyróżnione przez Antoniego Smołańskiego kierunki badań: normatywny, technologiczny, socjologiczny, biograficzny i etyczno-moralny. Dominuje jednak nurt biograficzny. Ponadto w opublikowanych opracowaniach zostały ukazane metodologiczne aspekty badań pedeutologicznych, a w szczególności znaczenie ankiet, którymi posługiwano się w poszukiwaniu ideału nauczyciela. Taki model badań był popularny głównie w okresie międzywojennym.

Zgromadzone w tomie teksty wzbogacają dorobek polskiej historiografii pedeutologicznej i ukazują aktualność wielu idei odnoszących się do zawodu nauczyciela – idei, które mają charakter ponadczasowy.

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Articles and dissertations

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Artykuły
i rozprawy

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Pedagogy and Pedeutology of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius: Insights from Hans Urs von Balthasar and Adrienne von Speyr

ABSTRACT

This essay seeks to elucidate the pedagogical and peedeutological concepts within the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius, as interpreted by Hans Urs von Balthasar and Adrienne von Speyr. The research deals with the narratives of these two twentieth-century authors regarding the *Spiritual Exercises*, with particular attention to their pedagogical and peedeutological insights. The primary method employed is the analysis of both primary and secondary literature pertinent to this research subject. The argument unfolds in distinct stages. The first section examines the peedeutological aspect, emphasizing the role of the retreat master and his rapport with retreatants. In the second section, the focus shifts to the pedagogy of the *Exercises*, which encompasses three key components. Firstly, it examines the theocentric worldview outlined in the *Foundation and Principle* (SE 23) and the concept of Ignatian indifference implicit within it. The cultivation of this disposition emerges as the fundamental objective of the *Exercises'* pedagogy. Following this, the methods for instilling and reinforcing the disposition of indifference are outlined as a second component. Lastly, the third key component of this pedagogy—the discernment of personal vocation—is discussed. The essay concludes that the pedagogical and peedeutological frameworks of the *Exercises* serve as

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countervailing forces against contemporary societal challenges, such as secularization, egocentrism, and the fear of lasting commitments. Thus, this pedagogical model maintains both relevance and significance in today's context.

Introduction

This article seeks to reconstruct the pedagogical and pedeutological concepts within the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius (Loyola 2016)¹ as interpreted by Hans Urs von Balthasar and Adrienne von Speyr. Both the *Exercises* themselves and their interpretation by these two twentieth-century authors are strictly theological. Therefore, I analyze their interpretation within the framework of the pedagogy of religion. Following Zbigniew Marek and Anna Walulik (2020: 23), and Bogusław Milerski (2010), I consider the pedagogy of religion as an autonomous discipline, defined as “the object of research of which is the educational potential of various forms of religion and the processes of religious education (teaching and upbringing) and religious socialization in the religious community (Church), family, school, and society” (Milerski 2010: 56). For the pedeutological dimension of this pedagogy, I adopt Joanna Szempruch's (2013: 10) definition of pedeutology as the study of the teacher from a personalistic and relational perspective, which complements the theological context of the pedagogy of religion.

Noteworthy examples of scholarship on pedagogical and pedeutological issues within Ignatian pedagogy include the collective work *Pedagogika ignacjańska: Historia, teoria, praktyka* [Ignatian Pedagogy: History, Theory, Practice], edited by Anna Królikowska (2010). This volume features articles by scholars such as Józef Augustyn, Wacław Królikowski, Jacek Poznański, Marek Wójtowicz, Beata Topij-Stempińska, Ludwik Grzebień, Barbara Adamczyk, Anna Królikowska, Jerzy Kochanowicz, Janusz Mólka, Ewa Dybowska, Krzysztof Biel, Andrzej Paweł Bieś, Stanisław Cieślak, and Władysław Kubik. Other significant contributions include Ewa Dybowska's *Wychowawca w pedagogice ignacjańskiej* [The Teacher in Ignatian

1 Hereafter, we will use the abbreviation SE (*Spiritual Exercises*) in accordance with the commonly accepted edition principles.

Pedagogy] (2013) and Zbigniew Marek's *Pedagogika towarzyszenia* [*The Pedagogy of Accompaniment*] (2017).

Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988) is widely regarded as one of the foremost theologians of the 20th century, known for his “theology of the saints” and “theology on its knees.” His mentor and close friend, Henri de Lubac, once described him as “the greatest erudite of the 20th century.” Balthasar’s intellectual journey was “rooted in the rich heritage of European culture—philosophy, literature, music, theater, all centered on the personal experience of God” (Piotrowski 2005, note). Initially earning a doctorate in German studies, he later joined the Jesuits. Under the influence of Adrienne von Speyr (1902–1967), a physician, mystic, and convert from Protestantism, he left the Jesuit order (remaining a diocesan priest) to devote himself to leading the lay Community of St. John (Johannes Gemeinschaft) and directing St. John’s Publishing House (Johannes Verlag). For his outstanding contributions to theology, he was appointed cardinal by Pope John Paul II on May 28, 1988, though he passed away on June 26 of that year before being formally inducted.

Viewing Speyr’s and Balthasar’s theological concepts as complementary is warranted by their years of close collaboration and by Balthasar’s insistence on the inseparability of their joint theological work (Balthasar 1994: 13; 2004: 17). According to Jonas Wernet, the translator of an anthology of Balthasar’s Ignatian texts, “Balthasar’s entire theological work is based on the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola (Wernet 2019: XI).” Perhaps the most telling indicator of the *Exercises*’ influence on Balthasar is his decision to translate them into German (Loyola 1959), despite the availability of several existing translations by figures such as Rudolf Handmann, Johann Roothaan, Alfred Feder, and Erich Przywara. He aspired to capture the text in such a way “that the bursting fire of the personal ‘more’ pierces through the word—the common rhythm of Ignatius and John” (Balthasar 2004: 18). Balthasar himself commented on the significance of the *Exercises* with the following words:

Thus, the *Spiritual Exercises* seem younger and more up-to-date than ever; in the past four hundred years they have too little become the charismatic nucleus of the theology of Revelation—the kind of theology that could give a better answer to all the current problems which frighten Christians. (Balthasar 2004: 18)

Balthasar personally experienced the existential nature of the *Exercises* at key moments in his life. During a 1929 retreat, he sensed a calling to join the Jesuits, and in 1948, another retreat in which he took part affirmed his conviction that God was leading him to leave the Order to devote himself to leading the lay Community of St. John. Additionally, Balthasar often led Ignatian retreats; by 1965, he claimed to have done so nearly 100 times (Balthasar 2004: 38; Servais 2019: XVII). Adrienne von Speyr assisted him in this work on many occasions, providing support for retreatants through prayer, penances, and charismatic guidance for individuals, received during her own prayer (Speyr 1975b: 193). Physical distance did not prevent her engagement: “She was with us in Einsiedeln so intensely,” Balthasar recalls, “that she even knew whether the participants were asleep or awake; whether they were disturbed by something during the night” (Speyr 1975b: 72). Johann Roten notes that Speyr’s involvement in retreats was often associated with her profound personal suffering (Speyr 1975a: 478; Roten 1991: 74).

Pedeutology of the *Exercises* according to Balthasar and Speyr

A comprehensive Ignatian retreat necessitates the presence of a leader and at least one participant (usually in a group setting). The role of instructor in these retreats is filled by a figure known as the exercise leader, giver, or possibly the exercise director; the term *master* is used less frequently (Jalics 2017). Full-length Ignatian retreats generally take place in Catholic retreat centers run by Jesuits, but they are also hosted by other religious orders or dioceses, with lay leaders occasionally directing them as well.

One responsibility of the director is to present introductions to meditation, or “points” (SE 2). In order to do so, the director must possess both necessary knowledge and communication skills. Balthasar stresses that guiding the *Exercises* demands a thorough understanding of Ignatian literature and the subject to convey its essence (Loyola 1959: 95).

Another important dimension of the retreat is the personal interaction between leader and retreatant. In this context, the leader’s practical experience and authority in spiritual discernment (SE 6–10, 313–336) are even more significant. This discernment

involves differentiating between the spirit of Christ—characterized by humility—and the spirit of the antichrist, marked by boundless pride. Balthasar maintains that guidance in this discernment process is essential: the person “who wants to enter into the very heart of the Christian mystery will not be able to find his way among these spirits without the help of the Church” (Servais 2019: 12).

The authority of the *Exercise's* leader, as an educational guide, is to strive for a gradual withdrawal, for becoming more and more transparent or even superfluous; the leader's role is to mediate a direct relationship between God and the retreatant. This aim is articulated in the 15th note of the *Exercises*: “Therefore, the director of the *Exercises*, as a balance at equilibrium, without leaning to one side or the other, should permit the Creator to deal directly with the creature, and the creature directly with his Creator and Lord” (SE 15). Ignatius also explicitly commands: “admonish him not to be inconsiderate or hasty in making any promise or vow” (SE 14). Nevertheless, Balthasar reminds us that each choice ultimately points toward a mission to be fulfilled within the Church (SE 170, 353; Balthasar 1983: 491–492). Thus, the retreat leader is expected to evaluate the retreatant's discernment, guided by the Church's teachings on the discernment of spirits. This guidance transcends human reason illuminated by faith; it is a special gift of discernment granted to the leader by the Spirit and tied to the objective Spirit of the ecclesiastical office (cf. SE 8–10, 14; Balthasar 2005: 353).

Adrienne von Speyr elaborates on her views concerning Ignatian retreats and the role of the leader in her book *The Christian State of Life* (Speyr 1986), which shares the title of a later work by Balthasar. She distinguishes between two ways of conducting retreats. The first type involves retreats without direct contact with the leader, where individuals engage in personal meditation with God. In this case, the emphasis falls on the mystery of self. However, she warns that such isolation also carries the risk of detachment from God. In the second, more complete form, the retreat includes conversations with the exercise leader, in which case the emphasis is on the mystery of the community (Speyr 1986: 23).

According to von Speyr, the leader of the *Exercises* must fulfill three conditions: first, the leader should present the path of discernment as something he has personally experienced; second, he should

recognize that the retreat is an established, objective method used by the Church to help those making their choices; and third, he should develop an understanding of the personal problems faced by the retreatants (Speyr 1986: 25).

The objectivity of the method lies in the leader's role of presenting all retreatants with the options and choices available to them. During personal conversations, the leader should embody these three qualities as well. While drawing on his own subjective experience of discernment, he should be able to combine this with the ecclesial objectivity of the retreat without shirking his responsibility for the subjective situations of the retreatants. Only in this way will he be able to discern what is subjective and what is objective in the retreatant's experience. However, in order for the director to arrive at an objective understanding, the retreatant must first share a personal outline of their own perception of their situation.

Von Speyr observes that objective truth very rarely appears evident from the outset; as a rule, the layers of subjectivity must first be set aside so that both the *Exercise* leader and the participant can recognize the objective nature of the inner reality being revealed. The director of the *Exercises* generally views the process from a different perspective than the retreatant, but they share "an impartial desire for the objective will of God to be fulfilled" (Speyr 1986: 26).

Speyr points to the great responsibility of the leader as a representative of Christ, directing retreatants toward Him (Speyr 1986: 26), while also acknowledging that it is difficult to judge how often and to what extent directors of the *Exercises* conduct them as objectively as they should (Speyr 1986: 32). Thus, she recognizes the possibility of directors making mistakes arising from a lack of objectivity—that is, from their personal biases about the choices made by the participants.

Pedagogy of the *Exercises* as seen by Balthasar and von Speyr

Balthasar summarized the course of the Ignatian retreat in two sentences:

The Ignatian Exercises are a means of introducing the Christian, through evangelical "penance" (Week One), to the life of personal discipleship

of Christ and to trying oneself in that life (Week Two to Week Four), and this, essentially, within the Catholic Church. This, in turn, leads to a choice of place (or state of life) within this Church. (Balthasar 2019: 4)

In this outline, Balthasar particularly stressed the choice of one's state of life in service to the Lord, be it through the evangelical counsels, priesthood, or marriage. He considered this decision the very heart and essence of the *Exercises* (Balthasar 2000: 15), as it takes place at the center of man's existence, and marks a turning point in life. This is a fundamentally different approach from that proposed by most medieval textbooks sketching the Christian path to perfection (Balthasar 2019: 6). Let us then turn to a more detailed analysis of the pedagogy underlying the *Exercises*.

Theocentric vision of reality: *Indiferencia*

The vision of reality that Hans Urs von Balthasar presented in his works, was fundamentally theocentric. His famous dictum stated, "He who is not ready to listen to God first has nothing to say to the world" (Balthasar 1968: 78). Having been profoundly formed by the *Ignatian Exercises*, Balthasar was superbly equipped to guide hundreds, perhaps thousands, of young adults in this spirit. The essence of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius is a theocentric vision of reality, expressed in the Principle and Foundation:

Man is created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul.

The other things on the face of the earth are created for man to help him attain the end for which he is created.

Hence, man is to make use of them in as far as they help him in the attainment of his end, and he must rid himself of them in as far as they prove a hindrance to him.

Therefore, we must make ourselves indifferent to all created things, as far as we are allowed free choice and are not under any prohibition. Consequently, as far as we are concerned, we should not prefer health to sickness, riches to poverty, honor to dishonor, a long life to a short life. The same holds for all other things.

Our one desire and choice should be what is more conducive to the end for which we are created. (SE 23)

The Foundation of the *Exercises* thus contains a distinct vision of God, humanity, and the world. It contains, on the one hand, an ontological norm—the analogy of being (*analogia entis*)—in which God calls created humanity toward a destiny of grace. On the other hand, it provides an existential norm: *indifferentia* (indifference), which should guide the created person's relationship to all other created things (Servais 1996: 133–134).

The concept of the analogy of being, as referenced in the Second Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), was further developed in the 20th century by Erich Przywara (2014). Przywara understood the analogy of being as the fundamental structure of reality, defining the relationship between God and the world, between infinite and finite being, involving a dynamic process of man's participation in God's being. *Analogia entis* unites similarity with an even greater difference, and in Catholic philosophy and theology, the ultimate expression of this analogy of being is found in the person of Christ (Zeitz 1982).

From an existential perspective, however, indifference (*indifferentia*) emerges as a key concept. It signifies a person's inner disposition to allow God to direct their life remaining ready to accept any mission from God, whatever it may be. In this way, a person becomes, in Balthasar's words, a "theological person":

In the area of action opened by Christ, created conscious subjects can become persons of theological significance, co-participants in the theodrama. They cannot enter this area of action of their own accord; still less, once admitted, they can themselves choose their theological role. But, as we have shown, it is an area that, through Christ, creates and maintains freedom in God; and if man freely affirms and accepts the choice, vocation and mission which God in sovereign freedom offers him, he has the greatest possible chance of becoming a person, of grasping his own substance, of grasping that most intimate idea of his own self which would otherwise remain undiscovered. (Balthasar 1978: 241)

Presenting the figure of St. Ignatius elsewhere in his *Trilogy*, Balthasar notes that the Ignatian concept of *indiferencia* is rooted in the broader Christian tradition. This concept draws on the *apatheia* (detachment) of the Church Fathers and the *Gelassenheit* (tranquil submission) of the Rhineland mystics. *Indiferencia* means "to rise above all creation towards a direct experience of God, while the

human being is suspended in the transcendent cloud of ignorance that is neither (of the world) nor (of God)” (Balthasar 2013: 92–93).

Balthasar notes, however, that while Ignatius develops the idea of detachment in its Christian radicalism, he refrains from adopting the metaphysical formula given to it by the Rhineland mystics, especially Master Eckhart. Ignatius rejects the hylemorphic view, in which God would serve as form and creation as matter. Therefore, the practice of indifference, as Ignatius understands it, does not imply the annihilation of human beings or will (as in monotheletism or pantheism). Rather, it involves cooperation, self-sacrifice, service, and, above all, the active choosing of what God has chosen for us (Balthasar 2013: 94–95). Ignatius incorporates the Thomistic metaphysics of secondary causes and the analogy of being “so that an internal synthesis of the two main currents flowing side by side in the Middle Ages—‘scholasticism’ and ‘mysticism’—could succeed” (Balthasar 2013: 96).

Method of the *Exercises*

Balthasar (2019: 23–24) believes that the goal of the *Exercises* is to attain Ignatian indifference at all costs. From a negative perspective, this means overcoming “disordered attachments” that compel people to seek what is attractive and avoid what is unpleasant. These disordered passions originate in natural inclinations: for instance, it is natural to prefer health over illness or a long life over a short one (SE 23). As seen here, Ignatius initially adopts an anthropological criterion, only to then apply a transcendent and theological criterion: “seeking and finding the will of God” (SE 1).

At the beginning of the second week, the vision of God presented in the Foundation of the *Exercises* (SE 23) takes concrete form in the figure of Christ in the Meditation on the Call of an Earthly King (SE 91). This meditation calls us to follow Christ in the state of life that He has chosen for us (SE 135) (Servais 1996: 131). Balthasar’s comprehensive book, *The Christian State of Life*, which examines the various states of life within the Church, opens with an emphasis on the importance of this meditation:

The sole purpose of this book is to present a comprehensive meditation on the foundations and background of St. Ignatius' meditation on the Call of Christ and on the response we must give if we want to "give greater proof of [our] love" (SE 97), and on the choice He clearly demands of us. (Balthasar 1983: 9)

Balthasar's identification of the meditation on the Call of the King (Christ) as the key starting point for the process of the *Exercises* stems from his interpretation of Ignatius' work as a theological "reduction." In Balthasar's view, Ignatius distills faith into a movement of love directed toward the person of Jesus—the retreatant hears the call to follow Him and responds by abandoning everything to do so. This interpretation of the word of God as a personal call to each individual contrasts fundamentally with that found in medieval treatises on perfection (Balthasar 1967: 81). All subsequent meditations on the life of Jesus throughout the retreat are intended to be understood in this same spirit.

The path to indifference—a precondition for making a good choice—leads through learning to manage alternating moods, i.e., states of desolation and consolation. In cases of clear, disordered attachment, the retreatant should pray for the opposite of the attachment (SE 16). Balthasar examines the Ignatian rules for the discernment of spirits in the third volume of *Theo-logic* which is entirely devoted to the person of the Holy Spirit (Balthasar 2005: 351–354). He notes that these rules form the first nucleus of the *Exercises*, born from Ignatius' experiences in Manresa, where he encountered both consolation and a sense of hopelessness. A particularly important experience for Ignatius was his vision of the bright serpent, which, while bringing consolation, also appeared alongside discouraging thoughts about his new lifestyle after his conversion (Loyola 2022: 47–48). Ignatius classified this experience as desolation precisely based on the discouragement it fostered regarding spiritual matters. This classification of desolation aligns with the second rule of the first week, which distinguishes between desolation and consolation (SE 315).

Moreover, the first set of rules provides important guidance from Ignatius on how to behave in times of desolation: one should remain steadfast and act against (*agere contra*) desolation (SE 318–319, 323–324), seek the root cause of the desolation (SE 320, 322), and learn

to identify the tactics of Satan and the means of defense against him (SE 325–327). In turn, the second set of rules alerts us to the subtle ambiguities of consolations, and encourage us to examine the purpose of the consolation (SE 331) and the “course of thought” it inspires (SE 333). For Satan aims at his own ends (SE 332), makes himself known “by his serpentine tail” (SE 334), and is distinguishable from the good spirit by his noisy and unsettling actions (SE 337). Ignatius also acknowledges the existence of consolations that come directly from God, without any prior cause (SE 330), while urging vigilance when God’s direct action has ceased so that one is not deceived by some false appearance of good (SE 336) (Balthasar 2005: 352).

Balthasar combines the art of discerning spirits in particular situations with the Meditation on the Two Banners (SE 136–147; Balthasar 1997: 115). He points out that the two opposing forces represented in this meditation—Christ in humility and Lucifer in pride—are a reference to the Augustinian vision of the struggle between the *civitas Dei* (Christ’s heavenly kingdom) and the *civitas terrena* (the demonic kingdom of Babylon), although here reduced to the question of inner attitude towards God (Balthasar 2019: 127).

As the moment of choice draws near, the struggle to achieve true indifference becomes even more intense. What may prove helpful at this stage is the Ignatian meditation on The Three Classes of Men (SE 149–157). Balthasar considers the second pair as a key reference point. This pair has acquired a considerable amount of money through less-than-honest means. Now they want to rid themselves of attachment to this money, but in such a way that does not require giving up the money itself, i.e., in a way in which God is to follow their will. The third pair, in turn, also want to free themselves from their ill-gotten wealth, but they wish to do so “in such a way that they desire neither to retain nor to relinquish the sum acquired” (SE 155). Their decision is guided only by a desire to act for the greater glory of God. Recognizing the difficulty of this detachment for human nature, Ignatius advises asking the Lord to strip us of wealth “against the flesh” (SE 157; Balthasar 2019: 143). The call to the boundless love of God is simultaneously an invitation to receive God’s love towards the one who is called. Each special vocation comes with its own specific form and grace of response. As Balthasar notes, only from this perspective can one fully understand another

Ignatian meditation on preparing for choice, titled *The Three Kinds of Humility* (SE 165–168). The first level of humility requires the retreatant to refuse to commit a mortal sin, even to save their own life; the second involves a similar refusal, even regarding venial sin. The third, “the most perfect kind of humility,” entails choosing poverty with Christ, who was poor, rather than riches, and choosing insults with Christ, who bore them, rather than honors (SE 167). Balthasar emphasizes that this level of humility is a grace granted in response to a special divine invitation. While sharing in Christ’s sufferings is a universal aspect of every Christian to some degree, only a select few receive an understanding of this mystery as a guiding principle for their lives (Balthasar 1983: 429–430).

Choice of the state of life

Modern times are not conducive to making lifelong commitments. Faced with an uncertain future, many people, especially the young, find it difficult to make an irreversible commitment or to invest their entire future in something. The *Spiritual Exercises* provide a counterpoint to this state of indeterminacy that characterizes what sociologist Zygmunt Bauman terms “liquid modernity” (2006). At their very center, Ignatius of Loyola places the act of choice (SE 135).

The theme of choice also necessitates an explanation of the role of different states of life within the Church. In his work *The Theology of History*, Balthasar (1996) introduces an organic metaphor that defines Christ as the divine Head of the Church and Christians as the members of His body. In Christ’s Church there are two fundamental states: “the state in Christ” and “the state in the world.” These two states are intrinsically connected, like parts of a single body—they work together but remain distinct (Balthasar 1996, 104–106). The aspect of transcendence is emphasized by the “state of being in God” in which existence is subordinated to Christ’s presence and is manifested in the act of following Him.

A disciple should follow in His footsteps. He should remain in time and not rise above time. He should strive to understand the signs of the times and the message they contain, without wishing to titanically impose his own self-invented meaning on time. He/she should accept the content and interpretation of one’s life, and even simply one’s time, as being at

all times given by God, without trying to own them in a Promethean manner. He/she must bear in mind that the basic spiritual state in which meaning emerges and becomes real at all is human openness towards God: faith and prayer. (Balthasar 1996: 107)

The most perfect model of this attitude is Mary, whose entire life was marked by devotion and did not equate to passivity, but rather to a continual effort to remain faithful to God's message. Complementing the transcendent dimension of this life is the aspect of immanence, represented by the "state of being in the world," which is responsible for progress in a vertical and horizontal sense (Balthasar 1996: 111–117).

The theology of states of life within the Church is developed by both Speyr and Balthasar. Johan Roten (1991: 76) argues that Balthasar is significantly influenced by Speyr in this regard, a fact Balthasar himself acknowledges on many occasions (Balthasar 1994: 13; 2004: 17). Speyr identifies three states of life to which a choice in retreat can lead: the state of the evangelical counsels, the lay priesthood, and the married state (Speyr 1986: 32–36). According to Speyr, "It is inconceivable that the *Spiritual Exercises* should lead to a decision to adopt an egotistical life plan. If the decision is made in faith, it will unfailingly lead to a life of faith and apostolate" (Speyr 1986: 36). Each of these states is a path to Christian perfection, though the preferred path is that of the evangelical counsels: chastity, poverty, and obedience. Speyr sees the source of the choice of the evangelical counsels in the attitude of Mary, who says "yes" to the Angel, and the Christian origins of the marital state in the obedience of Joseph, who, influenced by the words of the Angel, does not dismiss Mary (Speyr 1986: 83).

A decision made in the right way leads a person to change their relationship with God, with others, and with themselves. Their relationship with God becomes more vibrant, intimate and committed. In terms of relationships with others, the question of mutual responsibility for the development of Christian life becomes more apparent. Finally, in the relationship with oneself, this change involves moving from an ego-centered existence to one of objective service—toward becoming someone who has been called by God (Speyr 1986: 37–38).

Balthasar's exploration of states of life begins with Ignatian meditation on Christ's call and the response we are called to make

(SE 97). At the core of Christian life, Christ's call is a call to love, expressed as a commandment of love (Balthasar 1983: 25). Balthasar identifies three stages in responding to this call: a call to a general state within the Church; a call to a specific state within the Church; and, ultimately, a call to a specific situation within a particular state (Balthasar 1983: 392–393).

Following St. Ignatius, Balthasar notes that during the *Exercises*, there are three moments of choice (SE 175–177)—three spiritual states in which decisions can be made. The first moment represents a clear intervention from God, which leaves no doubt as to the direction of His call. The second moment involves various spiritual stirrings, i.e., such as consolations or desolations, in which case the rules of discernment of spirits become an essential tool. The third moment is a quieter time when the mind relies on its natural faculties. According to Balthasar, a vocation to the priesthood or religious life is mainly linked to the first or second moments of choice, while a general call to the secular state is more related to the third moment (Balthasar 1983: 451–456).

Conclusions

The question of making a definitive and unchangeable choice of one's state of life, which Balthasar and Speyr identify as a key moment in the *Exercises*, seems to remain highly relevant today. The increasing secularization, the rise of egocentric individualism, and the fear of making firm commitments have led to fewer and fewer people choosing a life according to the evangelical counsels, whether in the priesthood or in indissoluble marriage. There is also a growing lack of perseverance in maintaining an “unchangeable” choice, which is reflected in rising divorce rates, withdrawals from religious orders, and departures from the priesthood. The situation of individuals betrayed or abandoned by a spouse is especially problematic.

Meanwhile, a number of studies (Komorowska-Pudło 2017; Zbyrad 2021; Marks, Dollahite 2016; Mahoney 2010) show that higher levels of religiosity correlate positively with both the greater durability of marriages and an increased sense of happiness and satisfaction in married life. Therefore, the pedagogy of the *Spiritual Exercises* is significant in that, through acquiring an attitude of Ignatian

indifference, they help individuals develop a more mature attitude to life. Most importantly, they create a space in which God can act, preparing the retreatant to make a sound, well-informed choice.

Although the *Spiritual Exercises*, as a somewhat exclusive form of Christian education practiced by a relatively small group of laypeople, are obviously not a cure for the aforementioned ills, they remain an important resource. In addition to the pervasive atmosphere of individualistic liberalism, the personal disposition of the retreatant and the competence of the director of the exercises are important. This leads to the conclusion that the demands placed on those leading the *Exercises*—in terms of their knowledge, interpersonal skills, and religious experience—are very high. To reiterate, in the language of St. Ignatius, Balthasar, and Speyr, the ability to discern spirits should be considered a key competence of the leader of the *Exercises*. This skill should also be acquired by the retreatant in order for them to be able to make the right choice.

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Respecting Students’ Developmental Potential and Reflecting on Personal Experience: Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski’s Perspective on Teaching and Education (1864–1934)

ABSTRACT

In 2024, we commemorate the 160th anniversary of the birth and the 90th anniversary of the passing of Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski—a philosopher, Jesuit, teacher, educator, and author of widely read and highly regarded works on education, particularly esteemed in German-speaking regions. Despite his roots in a prestigious Polish noble family who lived near Lviv, Dunin-Borkowski’s contributions to educational thought have regrettably remained underappreciated in Poland. This article endeavors to shed light on specific facets of Dunin-Borkowski’s pedeutology through an in-depth examination of his pedagogical autobiography. The focal points of analysis include his profound belief in the formative influence of teacher figures in shaping one’s identity as an educator. Moreover, the author delves into Dunin-Borkowski’s commitment to identifying and nurturing individuals with above-average potential, primed to assume leadership roles in society. The author also places significant emphasis on Dunin-Borkowski’s advocacy for recognizing and honoring the inherent potential of students, a principle that continues to resonate in European pedagogical discourse from the late 19th to early 20th century and beyond.

KEYWORDS

pedeutology, teacher,
education, Jesuits,
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Artykuły i rozprawy

Articles and dissertations

Introduction

The year 2024 marks the 160th anniversary of the birth and the 90th anniversary of the death of Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski—a world-renowned scholar of Spinoza’s philosophy and a teacher, pedagogue, and educator. He authored several influential monographs on education, many of which saw numerous editions between the wars. This Polish nobleman from Lviv, later a German Jesuit, spent his entire life studying and working in Western Europe, and wrote almost exclusively in German. The aim of this article is to present selected strands of his pedeutology.

In Poland, Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski’s publications, especially in the field of pedagogy, have not been analyzed in detail. An exception is the work of the Catholic educator Jan Andrzej Kuchta (1900–1946), who was influenced by Dunin’s views on the trust-based relationship between the teacher and the student (Kostkiewicz 2013: 529–531). Polish philosopher and psychologist Fr. Paweł Siwek SJ also synthesized Dunin’s pedagogy in his posthumous memoir published in the Warsaw journal *Przegląd Filozoficzny* [*Philosophical Review*] (Siwek 1935). Fr. Siwek’s text included a biography of Dunin, which was recently revisited by Jacek Rodzeń in an article examining Dunin’s view on Einstein’s theory of relativity (Rodzeń 2022).

In this study of Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski’s pedeutological views, I used the method of personal document analysis, focusing foremost on his intellectual and educational autobiography (Dunin-Borkowski 1926), which he wrote in 1926 at the age of 62. This work was composed in response to a request and offered his pedagogical observations from the standpoint of his long career as a teacher and educator (11 years at the Austrian Jesuit institution “Stella Matutina,” 8 years at a boarding school for grammar school students in Bonn, and 10 years as a spiritual director at the seminary for priests in Wrocław).

My goal was not to create a new pedagogical biography of Dunin-Borkowski, as he had actually written one himself, albeit within the brief framework required by the publisher. While any autobiography is inherently historical, Dunin did not compile his as “a witness, describing things he had seen or heard,” intended as “the basis for

reconstructing the actual objective course” of events (Znaniński 1976: 154). Rather, he subjected his life experiences to a form of psychological analysis, making a determination of his “impressions, perceptions, notions, feelings, emotions, desires, dispositions, [and] inclinations.” Concurrently, he approached his life like a sociologist who reflects on his surroundings and on “in what character the objects that compose them enter into his consistent conscious personality” (ibid.: 155).

Most importantly, Dunin crafted his autobiography as an educator, outlining the ideals and educational philosophies of his era and the ways in which they were put into practice. This autobiography also serves as an educational document, which allows us to probe into his character and to “apply, in contemporary educational practice, the ideas learned through this research endeavor” (Szulakiewicz 2004: 7). Dunin-Borkowski’s autobiography is a quintessential ego-document—a source that reflects self-perception and

presents a personal account of oneself, others, and events. A common feature of all texts that can be described as ego-documents is that they provide information on the author’s attitude towards value systems and their evolution over time. They also reveal the author’s state of knowledge and life experiences. (Szulakiewicz 2013: 67).

Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski’s text embodies all the elements typical of autobiography as described by Władysława Szulakiewicz, who writes that, in this genre

the author focuses primarily on himself, his actions, the successive stages of his life, the turning points in his biography, and the value system he adheres to—his successes and failures.... Autobiography is thus an attempt at self-knowledge, as autobiographers endeavor to record their own story, and this results in a literary work that offers insight into their personality. (Szulakiewicz 2013: 68)

For me, Dunin-Borkowski’s autobiography provided the impetus for attempting to understand his pedeutological insights by situating them within the broader context of his pedagogical and religious beliefs, as well as by considering the potential impact of the intellectual milieu in which he studied and worked. At this point, however, an important remark must be made: despite being well-read in pedagogical literature, Dunin-Borkowski, when formulating his educational concepts, including his views on pedeutology, almost

completely disregarded scholarly sources. Instead, he relied heavily on his extensive experience as a teacher and educator, coupled with careful observation of his students. He commented on this approach candidly: “Books and lectures, even by eminent and important authors, have not influenced me even nearly as much as thinking through the problems myself and creating educational concepts based on my own observations” (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 8f.). This does not suggest that his views on teaching and education were entirely original. Rather, they grew out of the Ignatian tradition in which he was initially shaped as a student at the Jesuit grammar school in Feldkirch and later as a student under the guidance of Jesuit scholars in classical and modern philology, philosophy, and theology.

Three prominent themes in his *pedeutology* and conception of the teacher seem to be relevant and thought-provoking for contemporary educational theory and practice.

Teachers and pedagogues inspired by personal role models from the past

The first point to which Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski draws attention is the importance of personal role models for those entering the teaching profession. Young teachers or candidates for teaching may draw inspiration from pedagogues they admired during their own school years. In his educational autobiography, Dunin-Borkowski notes that positive memories of one’s own teachers are very rare, but for current teachers, they are a real treasure (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 9). Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on this statement, but merely notes that he himself had few teachers who played an important role in his life. However, he mentions that in the three Austrian schools where he studied—the grammar school at the Benedictine Abbey in Kremsmünster, the Theresian Academy for the nobility in Vienna, and the Jesuit institution “Stella Matutina” in Feldkirch—he never experienced unfair or demeaning treatment from his teachers.

Dunin-Borkowski considers only one of those teachers to be an exceptional figure: Friedrich Slameczka (1843–1913), his class teacher in fifth and sixth grades at the Vienna Theresianum. Slameczka, a fairly well-known classical philologist from Lviv like

Dunin-Borkowski, taught at the Austrian state gymnasium in Cieszyn and published a short article on Sophocles in its yearbooks (Slameczka 1869). He later taught Latin and German at the Theresian Academy and eventually served twice as principal of the Vienna Academic Gymnasium (Akademisches Gymnasium) (1888–1889, 1905–1906). Dunin-Borkowski remembers him as an extraordinarily gifted educator. He writes that Slameczka's sense of justice, calm strength, conscientiousness, and love of order kept all the boys in line, even though he never used punishment or had outbursts of anger (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 8).

From Dunin-Borkowski's description of Slameczka's attitude, his character and teaching successes, we can infer that Slameczka was an important personal role model. The affection seems to have been mutual, as Slameczka exchanged letters with his former student even 30 years later, when Dunin-Borkowski had become a prominent writer and educator at "Stella Matutina" ([*List Friedricha Slameczki do Stanisława Dunina-Borkowskiego*] 1905, July 9).

Dunin-Borkowski also mentions three other teachers, all Jesuits, whom he considered "far beyond the average" (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 8). The first was Augustin Link (1819–1886) who taught at Feldkirch for 23 years as a renowned music teacher and organizer of musical life, transforming "Stella Matutina" into a regional center of church music (Link, P. Augustin. *Musikpädagogie* 1971). Another exceptional teacher for Dunin-Borkowski was Johann Nepomuk Fischer (1843–1893), also based in Feldkirch, Austria, where he served as professor, prefect of studies, and college rector. He helped secure state teaching rights for the Jesuits in Feldkirch (Koch 1934: 558). The third notable teacher was Aloisius Piscalar (1819–1892), one of the pioneers of the Feldkirch center, first director of the grammar school, teacher of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and religion, and rector of the college (Koch 1934: 1428). These three educators were all leaders in Jesuit education of the time and contributed to the high standard at "Stella Matutina," which became a popular school for many noble families from Germany and Austria-Hungary, including prominent Polish families.

Dunin-Borkowski does not specify what qualities he admired in these educators, but his mention of them by name indicates that they left a positive impression on him and may have inspired

him during his 11-year tenure as a teacher and pedagogue at “Stella Matutina.”

Reflecting on these teachers, Dunin-Borkowski adds an important remark: neither they nor any other people served as models for him to be “slavishly” imitated (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 8). He also cautioned his students against copying others, adding that the same applies to modeling oneself on any great historical figures. Such figures may have been inspirational, but it would be completely unnatural to try replicating their life goals, motivations, or specific behaviors and personality traits. For Dunin-Borkowski, memories of influential teachers and authority figures hold significant value in shaping the personalities of future or current educators, and contribute to their personal and professional growth. However, for obvious reasons, these memories should inspire rather than lead to mindless imitation of their models.

Focusing on gifted students

In his remarks on the role of teachers and pedagogues, Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski emphasizes the importance of focusing on particularly gifted students. In his autobiography, he acknowledges developing an aversion to mediocrity through his interactions with young people, which led him to believe in the need for careful selection of students and special attention to those with exceptional talent or strong character (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 9). The education of leaders, directors, and outstanding personalities is a recurring theme in his pedagogical writings, where he openly advocates for elite education over an egalitarian approach.

What underpins this emphasis on educating above-average students? Dunin-Borkowski’s background likely played a significant role—coming from an influential noble and intellectual family in Lviv, coupled with his own remarkable intellect, may have contributed to a worldview that sometimes limited his understanding of those underprivileged. His unique intellect was evident not only in his extensive and insightful works on Spinoza’s philosophy (spanning over 2,500 pages), but also in the impressions he left on those who knew him. Even Benito Mussolini acknowledged this remarkable Jesuit in a solemn speech before the Italian Senate on May 25,

1929, marking the signing of the treaty with the Holy See, calling him “the most outstanding scholar of Spinoza” and “a man of great intellectual ability” (Siwek 1935: 135). Similarly, Josef Pieper (1904–1997)—a prominent German Catholic philosopher and leading neo-Thomist of the twentieth century who met Dunin-Borkowski in 1925—wrote that Dunin-Borkowski was among the few people he had met in his life that he could, without hesitation, call wise (Pieper 1976: 73). Thus, Dunin-Borkowski was exceptionally talented and naturally gravitated toward spending time with similarly gifted people, including his own students.

The Lviv nobleman’s predilection for exceptional individuals was also shaped by his family upbringing, especially under the influence of his mother. Stanisław was strongly attached to her throughout his life. In one letter, he described her as “a woman distinguished by her strength of spirit and magnanimity, a modest yet majestic woman, who, by her very appearance, aroused respect and silence” (Pummerer 1935). After his father’s tragic suicide at age 33, his courageous mother sent him to boarding schools hundreds of kilometers from home, so she raised him up mainly through her lengthy letters, which he regarded as “literary and ethical masterpieces.” In these letters, she urged him to be “independent, prudent, and reliable” (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 7). Consequently, he developed a lasting aversion to any kind of mediocrity.

Dunin-Borkowski’s focus on gifted students was undoubtedly also influenced by his Jesuit formation, which followed studies at the prestigious scientific and educational establishment run by the Jesuits at Feldkirch. From its inception, the Jesuit order had emphasized training the elite and admitted its representatives into their ranks. Further selection involved allowing only those young Jesuits who scored higher than *mediocritas* (average) on exams to advance to the full three-year course of philosophy and then the four-year course in scholastic theology (*Ratio atque institutio studiorum SJ* 2000, Provincial Rules, no. 19.11). It was these graduates of these studies who were assigned to teach the lower grammar school grades, while those completing theology moved to teach the upper grades. This process functioned as a positive selection for the teaching profession: only gifted and well-prepared individuals became teachers. As a result, these educators, willingly or unwillingly, often had a better

understanding of students like themselves and little patience for weaker students (unless they came from influential families). Consequently, teachers tended to dismiss underperforming students from school or informed their parents that their sons would likely not succeed in further studies.

Although Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski was active in the newly re-established Society of Jesus (revived in 1814), he embraced the order's traditional focus on cultivating unique individuals who were, currently or in the future, likely to play significant roles in society. This leadership-oriented training, characteristic of the Jesuit order, stemmed largely from a deep admiration for its founder, Ignatius Loyola, a proud and influential member of the Basque nobility. Loyola was raised with the expectation of becoming a leader—someone who would command respect and strive to “mean more” (*valer mas*), aspiring to be stronger, wealthier, and more prominent than others (García Mateo 1991: 27). Later, as a result of his spiritual awakening and conversion, Ignatius redirected his ambitions toward serving the “Eternal King,” but even in this, he sought to excel and distinguish himself (Loyola 2019, no. 94). His great ambition set a standard for the Jesuits, who sought to emulate him.

For Ignatius Loyola, the *Spiritual Exercises*—steeped in his personal religious experiences and reflections—were the main tool for forming future Jesuits and influential laypersons associated with the order. The conscientious execution of these *Exercises* (hours of meditation combined with an examination of conscience) was intended to lead retreatants to reorient their lives. However, Loyola believed that only individuals with strong desires and ambitious goals should undertake the full *Spiritual Exercises*. As Dunin-Borkowski observed, for those lacking these traits, it was better to offer a sort of “Ersatz” of the *Exercises*—a smaller taste or preview, nothing more (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 19). Not only did Dunin-Borkowski himself complete the full, rigorous 30-day *Spiritual Exercises* twice in his life, then repeated an abbreviated version annually, and frequently led others through the process. He also authored a biography of Ignatius in which he portrayed him as a man of great ambitions (Dunin-Borkowski 1930). This immersion in Ignatian spirituality likely had an impact on Dunin's psyche and outlook, leading him to adopt

a selective approach with his students concentrating on unique individuals who demonstrated exceptional potential.

Dunin-Borkowski condemned the exceptionally harmful tendency in schools at the time —consistent with educational regulations—to treat all students equally and to strive to make them more alike. In his view, this stifled the growth of students with strong character by placing them in the same line as those of average ability. Dunin-Borkowski insisted that “one must not offer the same thing to everyone, even though we may be accused of bias; even though students deprived of attention may look at this with envy” (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 19). He argued: “One must have the courage to distinguish between the leaders and the crowd. One must have the courage to devote much more time to the chosen few than to the rest of the mass. Even if the latter bear thirtyfold fruit, the elect bear a hundredfold” (ibid.). Therefore, for Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski, the fundamental condition for education and upbringing is a careful selection of students.

This approach may seem shocking to contemporary readers who advocate the commendable, albeit utopian, claim that all students should be treated equally and who hold the *a priori* (as it is not supported by research) view that all students have the same developmental potential. Dunin, who began publishing on pedagogy at age 54 after years of experience as a teacher, would strongly disagree with this statement, even though he was employed in institutions chiefly attended by students from families with high cultural capital. Even among them, he recognized diversity in intellect, motivation, and diligence. However, he also cautioned against bringing excessive attention to gifted students at the expense of the average—an effort he described as “a real art” (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 19). He did not elaborate on what this pedagogical virtuosity was supposed to entail but formulated a general Jesuit principle: education is not about achieving success, but about making an effort (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 9).

In summary, Dunin’s answer to the question of whether a teacher should treat all students equally is a firm “no.” The focus, he argued, should be on cultivating the development of those students who have leadership potential, though this does not mean completely

neglecting average students. In their case, great success might not be achieved, but the teacher's efforts will remain significant.

Appreciation of the developmental potential of students

If a teacher or pedagogue wants to shape strong characters and raise future leaders, should they use some form of coercion? Dunin-Borkowski would answer this question with a clear “no.” Just as Carl Rogers (1902–1987), two generations younger, viewed the psychological relationship between therapist and client as a model for the educational relationship between teacher and student, so the German Jesuit was convinced that the school classroom relationship should be modeled on the dynamic between the leader of an Ignatian retreat (*Spiritual Exercises*) and its participants.

Josef Pieper pointed out some features of this relationship in his memoirs of a 30-day retreat he attended near Basel under the direction of Fr. Dunin-Borkowski. Pieper described Dunin as a master who displayed “a generous showing of appreciation [to the retreatant], ... an ability to reveal to him infinite dimensions of freedom, and, above all, a compelling kindness.” Pieper recalls: “When I entered his room, I immediately got the impression that not only was I welcome, but that he was waiting only for me, as if no one else was going to visit him again that day” (Pieper 1976: 74). The master/teacher shows the retreatant/student kindness and appreciation for his uniqueness.

Dunin-Borkowski emphasized that only what the retreatant discovers and understands on his own brings true satisfaction. Therefore, the master must not deprive him of the opportunity to make his own discoveries or impose his own beliefs. In the language of the *Spiritual Exercises*, this principle is expressed as follows: “Let [the retreat master] permit the Creator to deal directly with the creature, and the creature directly with his Creator and Lord” (Loyola 2019, no. 15). Similarly, a teacher should allow the student to discover knowledge independently, form their own judgments, and deepen their understanding of themselves and the world.

It would be perfect—writes Dunin-Borkowski about the *Spiritual Exercises* if the content presented to the retreatant were concise and substantial, without forcing anything on them or extracting anything by force. The grace-guided soul seeks, ponders and finds on its own. Meanwhile,

the person leading the retreat should always be nearby, ready to help, walk alongside, ask questions, and offer explanations. (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 20)

According to Dunin-Borkowski, this is an accurate picture of how a teacher or pedagogue should relate to their students. He professes that he has always strived to be guided by respect for his students and for their developmental potential. He writes:

Discovering the unique form of each individual person, sensing what is primordial and formative in him or her, accompanying the student on their developmental path without imposing or even suggesting my own person or way of doing things—all this I have always considered to be my main task ... Unfortunately, despite my most sincere intentions, I did not always succeed in adhering to this principle. Authentic, independent young people are very delicate and sensitive, but they can also be infinitely grateful when they perceive this delicacy in the educator. (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 20).

Undoubtedly, such words could be spoken by many representatives of the New Education movement.

But should a teacher perhaps resort to some form of coercion when faced with the immaturity of their students? Dunin approaches this question in the following way:

One must be patient, persevering, cheerfully forbearing, and allow time and natural developmental processes to heal certain weaknesses themselves, rather than prematurely overwhelming the struggling young soul with exorbitant ideals. For, in that case, such a soul would learn self-deception, conceit, and even hypocrisy. (Dunin-Borkowski 1926: 20)

Like Célestin Freinet, who belonged to a younger generation and followed a different educational philosophy, Dunin-Borkowski allows his students to wander and learn in the dark because he is patient and trusts in their natural developmental processes.

No form of coercion is needed to shape strong individuals. On the contrary, gentle handling enables them to develop according to their natural inclinations and external conditions. This way, they are not molded in the fashion of closer or more distant authorities, but instead fulfill their own potential.

Conclusion

If one were to remain faithful to the pedeutological guidelines developed by Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski, one might not discuss his ideas and legacy at all. He insisted that teachers and pedagogues should work out their own educational credo based on interactions with individual students, especially those who are exceptional. This Polish nobleman, whom contemporaries describe as a remarkably modest man despite his significant academic and educational successes, would certainly not want to be considered a personal model teacher or educator to be imitated.

In his teaching, educational activities, and writings on pedagogy, he concentrated on the importance of raising leaders—strong and decisive people—while firmly rejecting any form of coercion or violence, even symbolic. Instead, he advocated for discreetly accompanying students and trusting in their natural developmental processes. In this regard, intentionally or not, Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski's views came close to those of prominent figures in the New Education movement and could even be counted among them, although it is uncertain whether this association would have mattered to him. As Josef Pieper writes:

In his conversations with me, Dunin never spoke about himself or his own affairs, even later when I met him among friends. I learned, by chance, from someone else that in many countries he is a well-known authority on research concerning Spinoza. I had not heard him ever even mention Spinoza's name. Also, from others, much later, I learned that this always cheerful man had suffered all these years, all his life, from severe headaches. (Pieper 1976: 74).

This article provides only an outline of Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski's views on the teacher and pedagogue. A fuller exposition would require further research into his other pedagogical works, especially his books, which were numerous and which enjoyed great popularity (*Reifendes Leben* 1920; *Führende Jugend* 1922; *Schöpferische Liebe* 1923; *Miniaturen erzieherischer Kunst* 1929; *Jesus als Erzieher* 1934). Reading these texts is not easy due to the author's rather complex argumentative style and the use of Schwabacher script in which they were printed. Unfortunately, Dunin-Borkowski did not have time to complete the systematic work on pedagogy he had been

preparing, as he died suddenly on May 1, 1934. All his notes were destroyed by the Gestapo when they began occupying the Munich Jesuit house on April 18, 1941 (Stasiewski 1959: 198).

Undoubtedly, however, his thought is worth studying, as it constitutes an interesting alternative to the views of the representatives of the New Education movement. On one hand—like them—it emphasizes the uniqueness of each student, values their latent potential, and calls for the teacher's respect for their developmental potential. On the other hand, it avoids the mythologizing of the child, the overemphasis on the child's subjectivity to the detriment of external elements of education, and the one-sided elevation of "heart and hand" over "mind." In this form, it can also serve as a compelling source of inspiration for contemporary pedeutology.

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“A Good Teacher”: Outline of the Concept of Pedeutological Research by Jadwiga Zaleska (1900–1993)

ABSTRACT

This article contributes to the field of historical pedeutology. Its purpose is to reconstruct the concept of *A good teacher* as presented through the statements of school youth collected by Jadwiga Zaleska. This project was initiated within Kazimierz Sośnicki's pedagogical seminar. The main subject of the research is the question of what defines a good teacher, what are their qualities and conditions necessary for effective pedagogical practice. The main research method involved historical and pedagogical analysis of archival and published sources related to this topic.

The first part of the article outlines a brief biography of Jadwiga Zaleska, detailing her educational path and pedagogical studies at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, along with information on her educational activities. The second part discusses the methodological foundations of Zaleska's research on the theme of “a good teacher,” and presents findings that helped shape the profile of an ideal educator. This analysis revealed a vision of a teacher primarily viewed through a normative lens. Finally, the concluding remarks indicate the enduring relevance of Zaleska's project dedicated to defining the characteristics of a good teacher, as well as the soundness of the methodological approach she employed.

KEYWORDS

Jadwiga Zaleska,
pedeutology, research
concept, good teacher,
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A truly good teacher, endowed with pedagogical and instructional skills, deeply passionate about young people, wholeheartedly dedicated to the school, continuously improving themselves, and aware of their significant responsibility—even within a flawed school system—can fulfill their noble calling almost entirely. If we had only good teachers, exemplary both as educators and citizens, the matter of the school system would likely take on a secondary role.

(Twardowski 1912: 13)

Introductory remarks

The question of what constitutes a good teacher remains both relevant and open-ended. Efforts to define the qualities of a good teacher can be seen in the work of numerous twentieth-century pedagogical theorists, including Jadwiga Zaleska, who began her career in the 1920s.

Jadwiga Leontyna Zaleska was part of the generation of Polish intelligentsia who survived the First and Second World Wars. She was a secondary school and university teacher, a scout leader, a participant in clandestine education during World War II, an active member of the Home Army, and a prominent social and educational activist. Her life and career were associated with various university cities, namely Lviv, Toruń, Warsaw, and Gdańsk. Despite her significant contributions, historiography has thus far paid limited attention to her. Only a few biographical accounts devoted to her work in secondary education and scouting have been published, mainly in the form of anniversary and memoir pieces (Zaleska Jadwiga Leontyna 2006: 773–774; Sołtys 1993: 10; Sroczyńska-Wycańska 1989: 391; Tarnawska 1995: 187–195; Zając 1997: 5).

This article is primarily concerned with Zaleska's time in Toruń, particularly her academic studies and teaching at Nicolaus Copernicus University (Polish abbreviation: UMK), with a focus on her development of a concept for pedeutological research. It should be noted that Zaleska played an essential role in the early days of the University of Toruń and the establishment of university-level pedagogical studies

in the city.¹ Her concept of pedeutological research was encapsulated in her master's thesis, completed under the mentorship of Kazimierz Sośnicki, an outstanding pedagogue and founder of Toruń's academic pedagogy (Nalaskowski, Szulakiewicz 2009; Pólturzycki 2003: 19–27; Wołoszyn 1989: 295–301). The article is based mainly on archival sources housed in the Archives of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, including materials concerning Zaleska's studies, her professional biography, including certificates of her work as a teacher and, finally, her master's thesis.

Jadwiga Leontyna Zaleska: Educational and professional biography

Jadwiga Zaleska was born in 1900 in Sanok, into the distinguished Zaleski noble family, bearing the Jelita coat of arms and known for its rich patriotic traditions. Her father was a doctor, and her mother was a teacher. Zaleska's educational and professional journey spanned several cities, including Sanok, Lviv, Gdańsk, Warsaw, and Toruń. Her educational and professional life can be divided into three main periods: before the Second World War, during the war and occupation, and after the war.

Stages of Jadwiga Zaleska's education

Zaleska completed primary school and an eight-grade secondary school in Sanok, where she also passed her final exams. Between 1921 and 1924, during the interwar period, she pursued studies at Jan Kazimierz University (UJK) in Lviv. Her main field of study was Polish philology, with French philology as a secondary subject and philosophy as a required subject obligatory for students of Polish and French (WH UMK, sygn. 107. Zaświadczenie o odbytych studiach na UJK). During her time at UJK, she attended lectures, classes, and seminars conducted by such eminent professors as

1 The beginnings of the formation of the UMK structures, including Toruń's pedagogy, are mentioned in the following publications: Bandura 1965; Duczowska-Moraczewska 1995; Nadolski 1957; Pleśniarski 1957; Tomczak 1995.

Kazimierz Twardowski,² Henryk Ułaszyn, Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, Wilhelm Bruchnalski, Juliusz Kleiner, and Zygmunt Czerny. Records also indicate that she studied under Mścisław Wartenberg, Jan Kasprowicz, Konstanty Wojciechowski, Eugeniusz Kucharski, Edward Porębowicz, and Fr. Władysław Żyła.³ It is notable that her examinations with these professors were consistently graded as excellent or very good.

Zaleska enrolled in pedagogy studies in Toruń on January 5, 1946. In her questionnaire, she reported that during the occupation she organized and conducted secret teaching for junior high and secondary school students. From 1939 to 1944, she led the Secret Examination Boards in Sanok. In addition, she taught Polish language and literature, business correspondence, and physical exercises at the non-secret Polish Trading School. During the 1944/45 school year, she taught Polish, Latin, and physical exercises at the Queen Jadwiga State Secondary and Junior High School in Sanok (A UMK, WH, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107. Ankieta).

When she submitted her certificate of studies from Lviv (1921–1924) to the authorities of the Faculty of Humanities at Nicolaus Copernicus University (UMK), she requested that the Faculty Council consider these studies as part of her master's exam, with Polish philology as a secondary subject and pedagogy as the main subject (WH UMK, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107). The Examination Board at the Faculty of Humanities at UMK in Toruń approved her request, and noted in the verification protocol that her studies and examinations in Polish philology at UJK were recognized as equivalent to an examination in Polish philology within the field of pedagogy, with a result of "very good" (WH UMK, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107. Protokół weryfikacyjny).⁴

2 For a more extensive discussion of Kazimierz Twardowski's pedeutological views, see Szulakiewicz 2014: 5–19.

3 Many of her documents were lost during the war, which is why the truthfulness of the information about the course of her studies was confirmed by, among others: Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, Zygmunt Czerny, Juliusz Kleiner, Henryk Ułaszyn (WH UMK, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107. Zaświadczenie o odbytych studiach na UJK w latach 1921–1924).

4 The UMK Examination Commission, which gave its opinion on Zaleska's request, included the following Professors: Bronisław Włodarski, Konrad Górski, Eugeniusz Śluszkiewicz, and Stefan Srebrny.

Her time at Toruń marked the second stage of her university education. This time she pursued pedagogical studies at Nicolaus Copernicus University.⁵ She enrolled at the age of 46 (A UMK, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107). By then, she was already an experienced teacher who had completed excellent studies at Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. During her pedagogical studies at UMK, her instructors and examiners included Henryk Elzenberg (History of Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, History of Modern Philosophy), Tadeusz Czeżowski (Logic with Methodology and Theory of Cognition), and Andrzej Lewicki (General Psychology).⁶ Kazimierz Sośnicki served as an examiner for a subject titled "Pedagogy and Didactics with a Review of Contemporary Trends in and Special Reference to the Views of One Contemporary Pedagogical Author, School Legislation, and Organization of Schooling." Moreover, Sośnicki, alongside Jadwiga Lechicka, examined Zaleska in "History of Upbringing, Including the History of Upbringing in Poland Against the Background of Social Development and Ethical Currents," and, with Andrzej Lewicki, examined her in "Upbringing Psychology and Experimental Pedagogy."

Apart from the previously mentioned examinations in the curriculum, Zaleska took both written and oral exams in educational psychology and pedagogy on August 29, 1949, with Sośnicki and Lewicki as examiners. For the written exam, she chose from three proposed topics: Educational Realism in Soviet Pedagogy, Analysis of the Feeling of Disappointment and Its Pedagogical Meaning, and Within What Limits Must Upbringing Consider the Developmental Phases? She selected the second topic. Her written response consisted of 12 pages and was assessed as very good by both Lewicki and Sośnicki, with their opinions documented in the examination protocol.

5 Jadwiga Zaleska's field of study was both psychology and pedagogy. Writing an opinion in relation to her employment, Andrzej Lewicki stated: "student of the fourth year of psychology and pedagogy (upbringing psychology)". See: A UMK, Akta osobowe, sygn. K-1/344. Opinia z 1949 r.

6 In the examination questionnaire, Andrzej Lewicki added (apart from a very good mark): "The candidate demonstrated a very good level of knowledge, diligence and accuracy in the use of scientific terms, and a high degree of composure" (A UMK, WH, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107).

Sośnicki's assessment was as follows:

The study on the topic focuses on the analysis of the feeling of disappointment, while the second part of the topic—its pedagogical significance—has not been discussed thoroughly enough. It is noteworthy that the entire content presented in the study was constructed by the author almost independently and creatively; she could not rely on reproducing pre-learned knowledge, as the topic in its entirety lacks monographic studies in the scientific literature, and relevant materials are rare. Thus, the study is more of a sketch compiling various issues related to the feeling of disappointment than a comprehensive treatment of the topic. Given the considerable independence in approaching the subject and considering that the sketch presented can be regarded as fully successful, the work should be rated as very good. August 30, 1949. (WH UMK, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107)

Lewicki, in his assessment, wrote:

The candidate has provided an insightful and generally accurate psychological analysis of the experience of 'disappointment', and has put forward a series of plausible hypotheses regarding its physiological symptoms. While the analysis is based on Adler's theory of individual psychology, it is perhaps too one-sided for the author to portray the experience of disappointment as a relatively negative and inhibiting moment in psychological development. It should be noted that such experiences can also sober a person up and correct their unrealistic views of knowledge and reality. (WH UMK, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107)

Zaleska's oral examination in upbringing psychology was highly rated by both professors.

After successfully completing her exams, on June 26, 1949, Jadwiga Zaleska submitted a request to the Commission of Master's Examinations at UMK to recognize her thesis, *Dobry nauczyciel w świetle wypowiedzi młodzieży szkolnej* [*A Good Teacher in the Light of the Statements Made by School Youth*], as fulfilling the requirements for a Master's thesis in pedagogy ("Upbringing psychology and experimental pedagogy in a detailed study" [A UMK, WH UMK, sygn. 107]). On August 30, 1949, she was awarded the degree of Master of Philosophy, marking the completion of her higher education in pedagogy. During her time at UMK, both as a student and faculty member, she collaborated mainly with Sośnicki and Lewicki (Kulikowska

1986: 187–193; Zaleska Jadwiga Leontyna 2006: 410–411; Rzepa, Dobroczyński 2019: 138, 216, 256; Stachowski 1992: 134–135).⁷

After completing her master's degree, Zaleska began work on her doctoral dissertation titled *Attitude of Children and Youth towards the Laws of Motor and Mental Game*.⁸ However, she did not complete the dissertation due to her return to Sanok.

In addition to her university studies, Zaleska completed various other educational programs during the interwar period. These included the State Course of Physical Education in Lviv (1923–1924), the Course of Physical Education for Foreigners in Lund, Sweden, and the Course of Gymnastics using the Björkstén method in Ryslinge, Denmark—both of which she completed in 1930. Her trip to Scandinavia was made upon the recommendation of the Ministry of Education. In 1928, she earned a secondary school teaching diploma in physical education in Lviv (A UMK, WH, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107; A UMK, Akta osobowe H-3/103. Przebieg studiów).

Professional work: Jadwiga Zaleska as a teacher

Jadwiga Zaleska worked as a teacher in various educational institutions in several cities, including Sanok, Lviv, Gdańsk, Toruń, and Warsaw. She began her teaching career in 1919 in her hometown of Sanok (A UMK, Akta osobowe, sygn. H-3/103. Życiorys, Przebieg pracy zawodowej).⁹ That year, she participated in educational work by teaching an elementary education course for illiterate women (housemaids). After obtaining her teaching certificate in 1928, she started regular pedagogical work, i.e. she taught Polish language and literature as well as physical education at secondary schools in Sanok and Lviv.

7 Andrzej Lewicki (1910–1972), student of Mieczysław Kreutz and Juliusz Kleiner, head of the first Department of Clinical Psychology in Poland (Poznań).

8 The subject of the doctoral dissertation is given after: A UMK, Akta osobowe, sygn. K-1/344. Information in Lewicki's opinion. The topic is given incorrectly by Edward Zajac who claims that it was on the Commission on National Education (Zajac 1997: 5).

9 I provide all the details of her career and education in accordance with the documents contained in the archival sources, i.e. Personal Files, which include relevant copies of diplomas, certificates, as well as CVs and opinions.

From 1930 to 1932, she worked at the Central Institute of Physical Education in Warsaw, where she taught the history and methodology of physical education and served as an instructor and supervisor in the women's department. Additionally, in 1930 and during the years 1932–1937, she taught at the Polish Secondary School of the Gdańsk Educational Centre (Janik 1996: 208–209; Zaleska 1989: 225–226). From 1937 until the outbreak of World War II, Zaleska was a full-time teacher at the Queen Jadwiga State Secondary and Junior High School in Toruń, as well as an instructor in physical education, military preparation, and scouting, at the request of the Toruń District School Superintendent's Office (A UMK Akta osobowe, sygn. H-3/103).

She remained committed to her pedagogical mission during the war and German occupation. Zaleska took every available opportunity to teach in Sanok, where she had returned from Toruń at the outbreak of World War II. After the war ended, she returned to Toruń to teach at the Queen Jadwiga State Secondary and Junior High School starting on September 1, 1945. She also served as an instructor of physical education and military preparation at the request of the Pomeranian District School Superintendent's Office in Toruń, while simultaneously studying at Nicolaus Copernicus University (UMK).

Even before formally beginning her university studies, she was entrusted with teaching responsibilities at UMK (A UMK, Akta osobowe, K-1/344 i H-3/103¹⁰). Starting on December 1, 1945, she taught physical education and, in subsequent years, conducted courses and lectures in various subjects, including Physical Education for Women, Bodily Exercises from Physical Exercises for Women, Theory of Physical Education, Experimental Psychology, and Psychology. Additionally, before completing her degree, she applied for a position at the UMK Library, stating, "After 25 years of teaching in general secondary education, I would like—while simultaneously preparing for my master's degree in pedagogy—to work in the library." Her application received strong support from Sośnicki, who wrote: "Zaleska is in the process of completing her master's degree in pedagogy. She is one of the most diligent and talented students in the Department of

10 Among the sources (A UMK, Akta osobowe), there are letters and opinions connected with her subsequent employment: by the Rector Ludwik Kolankowski, Prof. Lewicki and Prof. Sośnicki. Some of the documents are repeated; they are both in collection K-3/103 and in collection K-1/344.

Pedagogy. I strongly support her request” (A UMK, Akta osobowe K-3/103. Pismo z 11 X 1947 r.).

All preserved sources attest to her exceptional skills as a pedagogue, her dedication to Poland and its youth, and her commitment to the institutions where she worked. The following opinions from her superiors illustrate this dedication. Zaleska’s work certificate, issued by the Principal of the Secondary and Junior High School in Sanok on July 7, 1945, includes the following note:

J. Zaleska worked at this establishment as a teacher of Polish, Latin, and physical education during the academic year 1944/45. She regarded her work, for which she prepared very conscientiously, as a profound national and social duty, and brought with her to the school a great sense of responsibility, conscientiousness, and dedication. Her tact and kindness made her well-liked and respected by everyone. She supervised the development of scouting and sports and took an active part in all school events. In addition to her patriotism, her work was characterized by deep idealism. (A UMK, Akta osobowe K-1/344)

At UMK, Zaleska was highly regarded as an academic. When submitting applications for her continued employment, Lewicki consistently emphasized her thorough preparation and her conscientiousness in fulfilling her duties. In a 1947 opinion, he wrote: “Because of her conscientiousness and capacity for scientific work, she is highly suitable for the position of University assistant.” In a 1949 statement, he added: “Given her education and extensive pedagogical experience, she is an asset, marked by a high degree of accuracy and conscientiousness in her work, and demonstrates excellent command of psychological material.” Lewicki noted that she was simultaneously conducting a physical education seminar, a free physical education lecture for all students, and performing administrative duties, including library work. In addition, she was giving a series of lectures on physical education as part of the Training Course for Teachers Involved in Summer Holiday Programs for Children and Youth in Toruń (A UMK, Akta osobowe, sygn. K-3/103). She delivered these and other course lectures free of charge.¹¹ In another letter, Lewicki, in requesting that the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities nominate Zaleska as a senior assistant, stated: “The personal qualifications of J. Zaleska, MA, also speak in

11 She gave lectures to day care center managers.

favour of the nomination. She is a very reliable and conscientious worker, exhibits strong didactic abilities, and as a result, enjoys the trust and appreciation of students who seek her out for consultations, often even outside office hours” (Opinia z roku 1951).

It should be mentioned that Zaleska experienced some health problems during her time in Toruń, as evidenced by medical certificates and sick leaves. One certificate states: “I certify that Jadwiga Zaleska, examined today, suffers from general exhaustion and ... rest is recommended” (A UMK H-3/103, Medical Certificate from March 2, 1950). These health issues, along with family problems, led her to write a letter on April 25, 1951, to the head of the Department of Psychology, requesting not to be considered for permanent employment as an assistant.¹² Consequently, her work at UMK concluded on August 31, 1951 (Zaleska Jadwiga Leontyna 2006: 774), and she returned to Sanok, despite Lewicki, then head of the Department of Psychology, expressing plans to continue her employment, as evidenced by his correspondence.

Upon her return to Sanok, she became head of the library at the Automobile Industry Technical School. She retired in 1964 but remained actively engaged in social and cultural activities. She was a member of organizations such as the Polish Gymnastic Society “Sokół” [Falcon], the Catholic Intelligentsia Club, and the Polish Teachers’ Trade Union. Jadwiga Zaleska devoted her entire life to teaching and to social and cultural activities. She combined her teaching work with social and scholarly work. A notable chapter in her life was her involvement in scouting, which she chronicled in her publications (Zaleska 1989: 151–165, 261–266). She died in Sanok on January 25, 1993.

Profile of a good teacher in the light of Jadwiga Zaleska’s research

The material for this analysis was drawn from Jadwiga Zaleska’s master’s thesis, *A Good Teacher in the Light of the Statements Made*

12 This refers to her sister’s illness.

by *School Youth*.¹³ Zaleska's pedeutological project was conducted as part of her university studies at UMK (UMK, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107. Praca magisterska). Her research, which took place in 1947 and 1948, was carried out in public schools. The thesis was supervised by Sośnicki, the founder of academic pedagogy in Toruń, and it was one of several dissertations on this topic produced under his seminar guidance.¹⁴ The completed thesis spanned 69 pages, with additional collected materials organized in a separate folder.

The structure of Zaleska's work, as outlined in the table of contents, consisted of an introduction in which she defined: (1) the subject of the research, (2) the relevance of the concept of an "excellent teacher," and (3) the state of existing research in this area. The main body of the thesis was divided into two primary sections. (1) the origins of the survey and a detailed description of the preliminary work involved in designing the survey text and establishing its methodology, and (2) the data obtained from the first and second surveys.

In Part B, Zaleska presented her findings, organized as follows: (1) the results of the first survey, including participant demographics (e.g., place of residence, school, grade level, gender, and age), (2) key themes raised by students regarding the characteristics of a good teacher, (3) a profile of a good teacher based on students' statements, including a register of qualities and their interpretation, and (4) a comparison of students' preferences for a teacher's qualities with the demands of educational psychology and pedagogy.

The results of the second survey were further detailed in Part B (Section II), where Zaleska presented the following information:

1. Overview of survey participants
 - a. by place of residence, school, and class
 - b. by age and sex
 - c. by age, gender and class as a percentage.
2. Summary of the results of survey two.

13 Further in the footnotes I use the abbreviation of the title of the work: *A Good Teacher*.

14 Zaleska's thesis was one of several research projects developed under Sośnicki's seminar. Studies devoted to the role of the teacher were conducted under the guidance of this supervisor by, among others: Ludwik Bandura, Maria Lipowska, Fr. Zygfryd Kowalski, and others.

3. Based on the statements of young people participating in the survey, the profiles include insights from students in individual classes, as well as comparisons between the 11–15 and 16-year-old age groups, broken down by gender.
4. Features added by young people in printed lists of features.
5. Final conclusions. Conclusion.

The structure of this work also includes the following sections: Bibliography, List of Tables, List of Charts, and List of Materials.

The subject literature used in this study is critical to the topic and warrants particular attention. Zaleska draws upon works on the psychological and pedagogical foundations of pedeutology. Among the authors cited in her work are Stefan Baley, Jan Władysław Dawid, Wanda Dzierzbicka, Georg Kerschensteiner, Franciszek Kieffer, Mieczysław Kreutz, Zygmunt Mysłakowski, Bogdan Nawroczyński, Kazimierz Sośnicki, Stefan Szuman, and Zdzisław Żerebecki.

Two of these authors, Kieffer¹⁵ and Żerebecki, who may be less familiar to Polish readers, deserve special attention. Kieffer is the author of the book *Autorytet w wychowaniu domowym i szkolnym* [*Authority in Home and School Upbringing*], in which Zaleska cites his directives for good conduct: 1) Control yourself; 2) Understand the child, 3) Respect the child, 4) Love the child, 5) Be firm, 6) Treat punishment as a last resort, 7) Praise and reprimand in a timely and precise manner (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, p. 7).¹⁶ Żerebecki's publication¹⁷ titled *Nauczyciel – szkice o zawodzie nauczycielskim* [*Teacher: Sketches on the Teaching Profession*], outlines the views of John Adams (1857–1934),¹⁸ a professor of pedagogy. It categorizes the roles of a teacher into three groups: public roles, professional roles, and personal roles.

Zaleska uses these works not only to present a theoretical perspective on the subject in the first part of her thesis, but also to interpret the collected research results. This includes analyses of developmental

15 Kieffer Francis (1864–1940) – a canon priest; superior general of the Society of Mary.

16 These issues were extensively discussed in Kieffer's publication, see Kieffer 1934: 31–150.

17 Zdzisław Żerebecki (1896–1968), Polish teacher and consular officer, graduate of the UJK.

18 John Adams (1857–1934), professor of pedagogy at the University of London. Author of many publications on education.

characteristics, the specific features of school classrooms, the roles of teachers in their professional work, and the psychological and pedagogical aspects of the teaching profession.

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As Zaleska wrote in the Introduction, the purpose of this work is “to compile and evaluate the results of a survey conducted among young people in mainstream schools to gather material to sketch the profile of a good teacher—the kind of teacher that schoolchildren wish to have” (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, p. 2). In justifying the validity of her study, she cited various authors who identified various teacher characteristics. The study includes an impressive 34 tables, 40 charts, and questionnaires. In her research, Zaleska employed two questionnaires and written essays by young people addressing the following topics: 1. What do I like about a teacher and why? 2. What kind of teacher would I like to have and why? 3. Am I a teacher? When designing the questionnaires, she took into account criteria such as age, school, place of residence, and gender, and provided appropriate justifications for each. The research was conducted in schools located in Toruń, Inowrocław, Bydgoszcz, and Chełmża, with participants ranging in age from 11 to 16.

Particularly noteworthy is the detailed process that Zaleska followed in formulating the content of the questionnaires. According to her work, this process required significant time and effort, both during their creation and in the final evaluation of the research findings. Her reflections included considerations of methodological and stylistic principles, as well as the importance of clearly formulating the research problem. A substantial portion of her analysis was devoted to the strengths and limitations of the questionnaires she employed, referencing relevant literature (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, pp. 35–37). She also pointed out the differences between psychological and pedagogical approaches to the research process.

Zaleska paid considerable attention to the conditions under which the survey was conducted, and the instructions provided to

ensure proper administration. She raised “the issue of styling the survey text” so that it is understandable and encourages frank responses from participants. In her opinion, the topic or questions must be clearly formulated, as they guide respondents thinking. She also emphasized the significance of detailed survey instructions, as well as the importance of the time and location of the survey for the overall research process.

No less important, in Zaleska’s opinion, is the necessity of maintaining respondents’ anonymity and ensuring that the survey was administered by individuals who were not directly involved in teaching the young people surveyed. To conclude her remarks on the role of surveys in research, she discussed the process of analyzing the material contained in the collected questionnaires. She provided a register of the most important principles for designing and implementing surveys, adherence to which is essential for obtaining objective research results.

The results of the surveys were thoroughly discussed. She collected 731 responses from the first survey and 697 from the second. The surveys were carried out in 1947 and 1948. The second survey included a register of the qualities of a good teacher, ranked in order of importance and significance. In her interpretation and evaluation of the material, she wrote:

The survey contains many interesting, sometimes unsettling qualities of young people. It also has a touch of humor. The young people raised a vast range of topics, which can be grouped as follows: I. What kind of teacher would I strive to be?; II. Why did I choose the teaching profession?; III. The importance and hardship of the teaching profession; IV. Young people’s opinions on a. punishments used at school, b. student evaluation, c. didactic methods that enhance student performance, d. educational practices that have a beneficial influence on individuals and their peers e. the role of the school, f. the hierarchy of authorities, g. organizational structures; h. Young people’s interests, ambitions, ideals, and characteristics representative of the post-war era. (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, pp. 21–22)

Through her research, Zaleska created profiles of a good teacher, listing the qualities of successful educators and presenting them in charts and tables. She ensured that previously established criteria (age, gender, place of residence) were considered and referenced these criteria in her final conclusions (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, pp. 62–64). The

34 tables that organize the collected data are particularly commendable. The most noteworthy aspect of Zaleska's analysis is that she not only presented young people's opinions on the predefined criteria but also offered an in-depth interpretation of their perspectives on what makes a good teacher. Thus, it can be said that both the survey and its results were meticulously prepared. Her extensive knowledge and teaching experience undoubtedly contributed to the outstanding interpretation of the findings.

Without going into a detailed analysis of Zaleska's findings, it is worth citing some of the results she obtained from her research over 70 years ago. For example, it is worth recalling the responses students provided when asked, "Why did I choose the teaching profession?" Here are some of their responses: 1. *Poland lost many teachers during the war, imprisoned in camps.* 2. *Many children in villages do not attend school because there is no teacher.* 3. *I teach because I want Poland to be strong, as it was during King Sobieski's reign.* 4. *I have had a passion for teaching since I was young. I enjoy being with children.* 5. *I teach the subjects that interest me.* 6. *I was an excellent student as a child.* 7. *I am a university student and need to earn a living, so I teach.*

In interpreting these responses, Zaleska emphasized a range of motives for choosing the teaching profession, including: a. Inborn talents and passions; b. The belief that a teacher must be talented and knowledgeable; c. An awareness of the importance of schooling; d. Patriotism and an awareness of the country's needs; f. A desire to help—an active, service-oriented attitude; g. Utilitarianism—viewing the teaching profession as a source of income.

Regarding the question about the importance and hardships of the teaching profession, she cited the following opinions:

- The teacher raises boys to be good citizens.
- The teacher raises boys to be good Poles.

Regarding the question of why the teaching profession is difficult, she cited the following opinions:

- You have to work nights and on Sundays, and you have to forget about leisure activities.
- You have to talk a lot (straining your voice), and endure stress.

- You must tolerate poverty because the profession is poorly paid, which requires additional sources of income.¹⁹

Zaleska also devoted a lot of space in her analysis to the opinions of young people regarding school punishments and their evaluation of such practices. As an example, here are some of the opinions expressed by students on this topic: 1. Criticizing students for bad behavior is ineffective. It is better to address the root causes, such as separating those who misbehave; 2. Writing notes in the diary for being late was considered ineffective, and the methods used were seen as inappropriate; 3. Calling parents; 4. Corporal punishment (flogging); 5. Imposing financial fines for being late; 6. Detention at school after lessons; 6. Standing in the corner; 7. Assigning extra reading as punishment; 8. Lowering behavior grades and others. For each opinion regarding the use of punishment, Zaleska provided commentary. In general, students were opposed to punitive measures; they were rather inclined to seek other remedies to deal with the underlying causes of misconduct (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, pp. 22–24). Notably, students' statements regarding assessment revealed that most believed gifted and less gifted students should be assessed in different ways. According to the students, grades should reflect diligence rather than innate ability. Among their comments were, "Don't give bad grades at all," and "Asking questions that are graded is a form of terror."

The profiles of a good teacher, as shown in the tables and charts, varied depending on criteria such as age (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, p. 44). For example, 11-, 13-, and 15-year-olds prioritized teaching abilities and skills, which they expressed in statements like, "a good teacher is an expert in didactics." They ranked religiousness second, justice third, and "good organizer" fourth. Meanwhile, 12-year-olds placed "expert in didactics" first, justice second, and religiousness and being a good organizer jointly third. The opinions of 16-year-olds were noteworthy, as they listed teacher qualities in the following order: 1) religious, 2) energetic, and 3) expert in didactics and good organizer.

A review of the detailed data allows for general conclusions to be drawn: a good teacher is an excellent instructor, fair, a good organizer and applies disciplinary methods (both punishments and

19 Zaleska also cites unconventional responses from students, including one that compares a teacher's work to training a dog (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, p. 22).

rewards) appropriately. Religiousness was ranked highly by students, even though it appeared only ninth among the traits listed in their questionnaire. Overall, Zaleska's vision of a teacher was framed within a normative perspective (Smołalski 2006). The evaluation of the qualities of a good teacher varied slightly across individual classes, and differed between male and female students. In explaining these results, Zaleska cites sociological and psychological factors and references Stefan Baley's work, *Psychologia wychowawcza w zarysie* [*Outline of Upbringing Psychology*].

Three qualities of a good teacher were most frequently mentioned by students: teaching skills, religiousness, and fairness. Moreover, female students mentioned traits such as a caring instinct, patience, and education, whereas male students emphasized qualities such as attentiveness, punctuality, conscientiousness, and understanding; they also expressed disapproval of corporal punishment. The distinct characteristics of each class were reflected in student comments added on separate pieces of paper. Zaleska summarized these observations: "It is typical that the postulates within the individual classes concentrate around a specific virtue or vice of the teacher, as if that virtue or vice held particular importance for that class" (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, p. 48, 50).

In the Conclusion of the paper, Zaleska summarized the results of her research as follows:

In the questionnaire, young people provide material for studying the teacher's personality in both empirical and normative terms, shaped by their worldview. Such a survey becomes a reflection of the prevailing trends among the youth of the time. The judgments and beliefs expressed in this survey acquire, in a sense, a historical dimension. If the ideal of the teacher can be inferred from the goal of education, then the ideal outlined by the youth makes it possible to identify, to a certain extent, educational goals as perceived by the youth of that era. As a starting point for researching the personality of the teacher-pedagogue, we may consider: 1. (following David and Kreutz) the presumed essential qualities of pedagogical talent, or 2. (following Szuman) the specific effective activities of exemplary, outstanding, talented teachers. No matter which approach we choose, the voices of the youth will supplement and enrich the research material, becoming particularly valuable as they come directly from the lived experience of school life rather than from purely theoretical considerations. The educational influence of a diverse team of teachers can be clearly seen where the child's personality is shaped—at school. (*Dobry nauczyciel...*, p. 65)

The value of Zaleska's dissertation is confirmed by the opinions of the dissertation's supervisor and reviewer at the time of its acceptance for a master's degree. These opinions were authored by Sośnicki and Lewicki. Both scholars gave high praise to the dissertation although Lewicki also included some critical remarks.²⁰ In contrast, Sośnicki noted in his review:

The paper discusses the results of a survey carried out among 11–16-year-olds in primary schools during 1947/48. It comprises a 69-page discussion on the origins of the survey and an analysis of the results obtained, complemented by 34 tables and 40 charts appended to the main text. For the theoretical interpretation of the survey results, the author has used well-established scientific literature on the issue of teacher personality. The study is highly thorough and meticulous as it characterizes the responses of the surveyed students from many angles, with the author aiming to derive general insights into students' perceptions of an ideal teacher. The author demonstrates a keen understanding of adolescent psychology and the ability to interpret the sometimes seemingly cryptic statements of teenagers. Although the material cannot be considered sufficient due to its somewhat limited scope (restricted age range of respondents), the author has applied a rigorous research method to this material, which merits attention. The overall outcome is very good. (A UMK, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107. Opinia z 28 sierpnia 1949 roku)

Lewicki, in a relatively lengthy review, noted that Zaleska's work sought to address the question of how young people envision an ideal teacher. He commended the comprehensive data she gathered, stating:

the author drew on rich empirical material collected through two surveys—the first involving 731 participants and the second comprising 697 participants. The topic, along with the design and administration of the survey, was developed during meetings of the UMK Pedagogical Seminar. The results of the research, meticulously analyzed and compiled with a great deal of effort, indicate that young people attach most importance to the teacher's teaching skills and abilities. However, there is notable variation in the responses, influenced by gender, age, and, most significantly, the living conditions of different groups of young people. (A UMK, Akta studenckie, sygn. 107)

In summary, Zaleska's question regarding how young people perceive the qualities of a good teacher remains relevant—not from

20 The comment referred to the lack of a detailed explanation to the tables and charts, and the schematic nature of the presentation of the conclusions.

a purely theoretical point of view, but from the perspective of pedagogical practice. I believe this is a research question that continues to merit investigation today. Furthermore, it would be interesting to compare contemporary findings with those of Zaleska's era to assess how students' perceptions of an ideal teacher have changed over time.

Concluding remarks

In her pursuit of defining a model for a good teacher, Jadwiga Zaleska positioned herself among the notable 20th-century theorists and practitioners dealing with the teaching profession. The significance of a good teacher in the education and development of the Polish intelligentsia was repeatedly underscored by Kazimierz Twardowski, Zaleska's mentor, who asserted that effective education hinges on the quality of the teacher, not merely the educational system. Zaleska followed in his footsteps, as well as those of other scholars referenced in her thesis, in her quest for the ideal educator. Equipped with a comprehensive understanding of various pedeutological theories, she shifted her inquiry on the essence of a good teacher to the students—the true subjects of educational interactions. Her well-structured research, combined with her theoretical expertise and practical teaching experience, allowed her to interpret and present the vast data she collected with exceptional clarity. This body of work reaffirms the enduring truth that what truly matters in teaching is the individual—their personal qualities and professional qualifications. These fundamental criteria for being a good teacher remain as relevant today as ever. However, in my opinion, the pedeutological study analyzed here warrants attention also for another reason: Zaleska's meticulous research design, her thoughtful analysis of results, and her adept integration of theoretical frameworks with empirical inquiry. She honed all these research skills during Kazimierz Sośnicki's seminar, which contributed to the high standard of her work. As such, her depiction of pedagogical education serves as a valuable testament to the history of educational training in post-war Poland.

In conclusion, it must be acknowledged that Jadwiga Zaleska left a significant part of her "teaching soul" in various Polish cities. She embodied, as evidenced by numerous sources, the qualities of a good teacher across different educational institutions. This legacy should

not be overlooked or forgotten in the annals of Polish pedagogy and education. Indeed, a more comprehensive study of Jadwiga Zaleska is both warranted and deserved.

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The First Lecturers of the State Institute of Special Pedagogy

ABSTRACT

The establishment of the State Institute of Special Pedagogy (SISP) in Warsaw in 1922 created an opportunity to train teachers for special schools. Maria Grzegorzewska, the Institute's first director, sought to appoint teaching staff who would guarantee the comprehensive preparation of individuals aspiring to work with children with disabilities. When recommending candidates to the ministry, Grzegorzewska prioritized individuals who not only possessed theoretical knowledge but also demonstrated practical experience and expertise in their fields.

This article profiles four SISP lecturers who taught courses related to the education of children with intellectual disabilities: Władysław Sterling, Michał Wawrzynowski, Halina Jankowska, and Witold Łuniewski. The research employs methods typical of the history of education and social sciences. The achievements of these lecturers are discussed, with particular emphasis on their contributions to SISP, based on materials preserved in the State Archives in Warsaw, Branch in Milanówek. By examining their work, the article highlights the significance that Grzegorzewska placed on selecting teachers with substantial experience in working with children and youth.

KEYWORDS

State Institute of
Special Pedagogy,
teachers, lectures,
studies

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Introduction

The first special school in Poland, a school for deaf children, was established in 1817. It was the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, relocated from Szczuczyn and headed by Father Jakub Falkowski. Over time, other special schools were created, including institutions for blind children, children with intellectual disabilities (formerly referred to as “mentally handicapped”), and socially maladjusted children (formerly termed “morally neglected”). After the restoration of independence, at the beginning of the interwar period, Poland had seven schools for deaf children, four schools for blind children, five schools and institutions for children with intellectual disabilities, and 11 establishments for socially maladjusted children and adolescents.

In the newly independent Poland, the number of special schools gradually increased, as did the number of pupils attending them, albeit at an unsatisfactory pace. However, there was no properly organized or systematic training for teachers working in special schools. Educators typically acquired knowledge of the specific aspects of working in such institutions from colleagues already employed in the field and while gaining experience through practical work. Over time, courses in therapeutic pedagogy (a term formerly used for special pedagogy) were introduced to provide formal training. Such courses were first organized in Poland during the war, with Michalina Stefanowska leading them in 1917.

Establishment of the State Institute of Special Pedagogy

In 1922, the Jan Siostrzyński State Phonetic Institute, which had been established somewhat earlier, was merged with the State Seminar of Special Pedagogy, resulting in the creation of the State Institute of Special Pedagogy (hereafter: SISP) in Warsaw. SISP was established to provide support for “all individuals who deviate significantly from the norm to the extent ... that they require specialized methods of pedagogical influence and, therefore, special training for the educators working with them” (Archiwum PAN, syg. III-333, 73, c. 4).

That same year, the first statute of the Institute was issued. It stated that the tasks of the Institute included training candidates to

become teachers for children who were unable to attend mainstream schools due to disabilities. Additionally, the staff were tasked with carrying out research, particularly research that would result in developing improved methods for working with specific groups of children. A further objective was to disseminate necessary knowledge to teachers in mainstream schools and to provide continuing education for teachers working in special schools.

In order to facilitate these efforts, the Institute was to establish teacher training schools,¹ a library, research laboratories, and counselling centres. The staff were also responsible for organizing conventions, conferences, excursions, courses, and study trips to promote knowledge and education in the field of special education. The Institute was under the authority of the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment (hereafter: MRDPE), who appointed its director. This position could be held by an educator with a university degree and expertise in special education. Other staff members were appointed based on the suggestions of the director. Maria Grzegorzewska became the first director of the Institute. It was thanks to her efforts that the initial teaching staff included outstanding specialists in fields such as medicine, psychology, and pedagogy. They had extensive professional experience and scientific accomplishments and were engaged in initiatives to support individuals referred to at the time as “abnormal people,”² now understood as people with disabilities.

Among the lecturers were Felicja Łuniewska, a psychiatrist; Halina Jankowska, a psychiatrist employed at the Psychiatry Clinic of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius; Witold Łuniewski, a psychiatrist, director of the hospital for the mentally ill in Tworki near Warsaw, and founder of the forensic psychiatry department; Feliks Wojnarowicz, a teacher; Marian Wojnarowicz, a teacher; Aleksander Manczarski, rector of the Institute of the Deaf-Mute and the Blind in Warsaw, educator, and president of the Association of Teachers of

1 In 1930, a competition was announced for the head of the teacher training school. Candidates were required to have a SISP diploma authorizing them to work in schools for children with intellectual disabilities, or to meet the qualifications established by the President of the Republic of Poland in 1926 (Dz.Urz. MWRiOP 1930: 617).

2 The text retains the terminology used during the inter-war period.

Schools for the Deaf-Mute and the Blind; Michał Wawrzynowski, a psychologist, pedagogue, and school inspector overseeing special education; Władysław Jarecki, a doctor, head of the Institute of the Deaf-Mute and the Blind in Warsaw, and president of the Deaf-Mute Society “Providence” and the Society of the Blind; Tytus Benni, a professor of phonetics; Władysław Sterling, a neurologist and psychiatrist and president of the Warsaw Neurological Society; Janusz Korczak, a doctor, writer, and pedagogue; Aleksander Mogilnicki, a lawyer and judge of the Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court; and Antoni Komorowski, a judge at the Juvenile Court in Warsaw.

This article focuses on profiling four selected SISP lecturers who taught classes on the education of children with mental disabilities.

Władysław Sterling (1876/1877–1943)

One of these educators was Władysław Sterling, about whom Maria Andrzejewska wrote, “he was, together with M. Grzegorzewska, J. Hellmann, W. Jarecki, T. Benni, and M. Wawrzynowski, the co-author of the Institute’s program. He worked on the verification, adaptation, and continuous advancement of knowledge in the physiology of the nervous system and child psychiatry” (Andrzejewska 1984: 426).

Sterling was born in 1876 or 1877 in Warsaw, the son of Leopold and Ernesta Sterling, née Kornfeld (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/768, c. 32). In 1895, he began his studies at the Faculty of Medicine of the Imperial University of Warsaw. During this time, he published articles in *Prawda* [Truth], a magazine edited by Aleksander Świętochowski, which featured his poems, reviews of plays, and other writings. His poetry also appeared in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* [Illustrated Weekly], *Wędrowiec* [Wanderer], *Głos* [Voice], and *Życie* [Life], publications based in Kraków. A volume of his poetry was published in 1899 (Herczyńska 2005: I).

Sterling earned his medical degree in 1901³ and subsequently traveled abroad to Munich, Paris, and Berlin, where he remained until 1903. During this time, he was mainly concerned with nervous and mental diseases. In Munich, he worked at Emil Kraepelin's clinic, where his interests included using quantitative psychological experimentation in clinical diagnosis. He also constructed an instrument for analyzing perceptiveness. In 1907, he published the results of his research in a paper titled *Badania psychologiczne nad spostrzeganiem i pamięcią przy porażeniu postępującym* [Psychological Research on Perception and Memory in Progressive Paralysis]. This work earned him the Romuald Płaskowski Prize from the Warsaw Medical Society. He received the prize again in 1910 for his paper *Zaburzenia psychiczne przy nowotworach mózgu* [Psychological Disorders in Brain Tumors]. Under the supervision of Professor Hermann Oppenheim in Berlin, Sterling studied issues such as asthenic paralysis, writing about his findings in German medical journals and in the Polish journal *Medycyna* [Medicine]. Paris was the third European city where Sterling conducted research and gained professional experience.

Upon returning to Poland, Sterling began working in the neurological clinic at the Old Jewish Hospital in Czyste. In 1932, he became the head of the hospital's neurological department. During the competition for this position, he delivered a lecture that Władysław Stein described as follows: "It was not just the lecture of a scientist; the beautiful literary, almost poetic language, the vivid description of the case, and the freedom and expressiveness of his gestures revealed a speaker who was not merely a neurologist of renown but also a poet and artist" (Stein 1950: 11). In addition to his work at the hospital, Sterling also ran a private practice.

He was a member of numerous professional societies. In 1905, he joined the Warsaw Medical Society. From 1907 to 1912, he served as secretary of the Polish Psychological Society. He also sat on the board of the Polish Society for the Study of Children, where he organized a Commission for the Study of Mentally Handicapped Children. Established in October 1909, the Commission researched children's

3 He did his specialisation in neurology in 1903; he was awarded a postdoctoral degree in neurology in 1932, and in therapeutic psychopathology in 1933 (Hryniewicka 2022: 180).

intelligence development and deviations from the norm. Members of the Commission developed the *Questionnaire for the Study of Children's Intelligence* in 1910 and the *Questionnaire on Juvenile Suicide* in 1915. Sterling delivered lectures at the Commission's meetings, in which he presented the findings of his research. These included talks such as: "Samobójstwo dzieci i młodzieży w świetle psychopatologii" [Suicide Among Children and Young People in the Light of Psychopathology] (1918); "Organizacja szkół dla dzieci nienormalnych i niedorozwiniętych" [Organization of Schools for Abnormal and Mentally Handicapped Children] (1919), and "Spostrzeżenia nad dziećmi w szkołach pomocniczych warszawskich" [Observations of Children in Warsaw Auxiliary Schools] (1921) (*Pamiętnik Polskiego Towarzystwa Badań nad Dziećmi* 1910: 7; Bodanko, Kowolik 2007: 25–26).

He also participated in both national and international scientific meetings. In 1909, he attended the First Congress of Polish Neurologists, Psychiatrists, and Psychologists in Warsaw, as well as conventions of neurologists and psychiatrists in Dijon and Brussels. During the Warsaw Congress, he presented three papers: "Padaczka a stany pokrewne" [Epilepsy and Related Conditions]—in the neurological section; "Zaburzenia umysłowe w przebiegu nowotworów mózgu" [Mental Disorders in the Course of Brain Tumors]—in the psychiatric section; and "Psychologia doświadczalna w zastosowaniu do badań nad dziećmi" [Experimental Psychology in the Application for the Study of Children]—in the psychological section (*Prace I-go Zjazdu Neurologów, Psychiatrów i Psychologów Polskich: odbytego w Warszawie 11–12–13 października 1909 r.* 1910: 245–265, 543–551, 899–920). He also served on the editorial committee of the journal *Neurologia Polska* [Polish Neurology]. In the 1920s, while working as a clerk in the Psychiatric Department of the Ministry of Public Health, he developed a program for three-year nursing schools at state psychiatric institutions.

He began working at the State Institute of Special Pedagogy (SISP) in 1922, initially employed as a contract doctor⁴ for the teacher training school, working six hours per week (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/768, c. 2). According to his contract, his responsibilities

4 He resigned from his job as a doctor in 1936.

included “total medical care of the children” and holding conferences with the teaching staff of the teacher training school on: (a) understanding the physical development of the children, (b) determining the type of handicap to which ... the child belongs, and (c) collaborating in the education and physical development of the children” (Ibidem, c. 3). Beginning in 1930, he also worked as a lecturer at the Institute, teaching two hours per week (Ibidem, c. 34). He continued teaching there until the outbreak of World War II. He taught classes in child psychopathology, which were designed for all students, regardless of the department of education they had chosen. Topics covered in his courses included: degeneracy, childhood nervousness, the application of experimental psychology to child psychopathology, moral degeneration, psychopathic constitutions, school-age suicide, hysteria, epilepsy, chorea, intellectual disability, idiocy, Down syndrome, the physiology and pathology of endocrine glands, disorders of the child psyche related to childhood psychopathology, schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychosis in children, and organic brain diseases in children (Grzegorzewska 1928/29: 165–167).

In 1932, Sterling embarked on a journey to gain new experience and broaden his knowledge. During his trip, he visited institutions for children with intellectual disabilities in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Spain (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/768, c. 14–15). In December 1936, he temporarily substituted for Maria Grzegorzewska as director of the Institute during her holiday and Christmas break (Ibidem, c. 6). SISP was not the only institution where Sterling taught. From 1923 to 1936, he lectured at the Free Polish University, and from 1930, he also taught at the University of Warsaw and the Institute of Teacher Education. The latter was another institution established by Maria Grzegorzewska, who led it for five years. The Institute trained primary school teachers who had completed a one-year advanced teacher training course (Domański 1972: 117). In 1932, the Institute’s staff were authorized to teach neurology at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Warsaw, and the following year, they were permitted to teach child psychopathology and therapeutic pedagogy at the Faculty of Humanities (Herczyńska 2005: V). That same year, Sterling also lectured at a summer course in special pedagogy held in Nowy Targ.

In 1923, Sterling co-founded the journal *Rocznik Psychiatryczny* [*Psychiatric Yearbook*]. He earned two postdoctoral degrees: in 1932, in neurology at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Warsaw, and in 1933, in child psychopathology and therapeutic pedagogy at the Faculty of Humanities at the same university. Sterling was actively involved in numerous societies, including the Warsaw Neurological Society, the Polish Neurological Society, the Polish League of Mental Hygiene, the Polish Committee of International Neurological Congresses (where he served as secretary), the Polish Pediatric Society, the Polish Psychiatric Society, and the Józefa Joteyko Psychological Society (where he held the position of chairman). His research interests spanned psychopathology, neurology, psychiatry, and physiology. Among his achievements are descriptions of extrapyramidal epilepsy (1924), genito-parietal degeneration (1916–1926), and pyramidal-extrapyramidal degeneration (1933–1934). He also identified the migraine-tetanic syndrome and the hand-finger flexion reflex. Sterling is regarded as a pioneer of child neuropsychiatry in Poland.

In the early 20th century, his works were published as part of the “Book for All” series. These included *Cierpienia nerwowe, ich przyczyny, objawy i leczenie* [*Nervous Illnesses, Their Causes, Symptoms and Treatment*] in 1902, *Dziecko nerwowe* [*The Nervous Child*] in 1903, and *Fizjologia człowieka objaśniona rysunkami* [*Human Physiology Explained by Drawings*] in 1914. He also authored several other influential works, including *Dziecko psychopatologiczne* [*The Psychopathological Child*], *Dziecko histeryczne* [*The Hysterical Child*], *Opieka lecznicza nad dzieckiem anormalnym* [*Medical Care of the Abnormal Child*], *Psychologia doświadczalna w zastosowaniu do badań nad dziećmi* [*Experimental Psychology Applied to the Study of Children*], and *Badania psychologiczne nad spostrzeganiem i pamięcią przy porażeniu postępującym* [*Psychological Research on Perception and Memory in Progressive Palsy*].

Sterling also authored numerous articles and book chapters. Notable among these are his contributions to *Choroby dzieci* [*Diseases of Children*] edited by Wacław Jasiński. His chapters, titled “Diseases of the Nervous System” and “Diseases of the Endocrine Glands,” were groundbreaking; in the latter, he introduced clinical endocrinology in children for the first time in Poland. During the Second World War, in 1941, Sterling was forced to relocate to the Warsaw Ghetto, where

he led the department of nervous diseases. He also lectured on child psychopathology at the Courses of Sanitary Preparation for Combating Epidemics and taught neurology at a continuing education course in epidemiology organized by Ludwik Hirszfeld. In 1942, he escaped from the ghetto, but the following year, he was tragically murdered by the Germans (Sroka 2004–2005: 445–447; Herczyńska 2005: I–V).

Michał Wawrzynowski (1899–1943)

Michał Wawrzynowski was a lecturer at SISP, head of the teacher training school, and a colleague of Maria Grzegorzewska, who described him as “an outstanding specialist in the methodology of teaching mentally handicapped children” (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/773, c. 63).

Born in 1899 in Raba Wyżna, Wawrzynowski was the son of a teacher. In 1906, he lost his father and his siblings (three sisters and two brothers). That same year, he moved to live with his uncle, a priest in Nowy Targ, and attended secondary school there. During the First World War, he fought in the First Brigade of the Legions (Ibidem, c. 71). He served in the army until February 1918, after which he settled in Rabka. Wawrzynowski completed the Pedagogical Course in Cracow, organized by Henryk Rowid, and began working as a teacher (Ibidem, c. 7). He later began studies in Warsaw and Vienna, becoming fluent in spoken and written German. In 1922, he applied to the MRDPE for a scholarship and a year’s paid leave to study issues related to special pedagogy (Ibidem, c. 6).

In 1923, he joined the teacher training school at SISP as a teacher (Ibidem, c. 11). In 1924, he was granted leave to prepare lectures on the Methodology of Teaching and Educating Mentally Handicapped Children (Ibidem, c. 8). Subsequently, he took up a lecturing position of 15 hours per week⁵ (Ibidem, c. 1). These classes were divided into three hours per week for both the winter and summer

5 From September 1937, this workload was reduced to 12 hours per week (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/773, c. 48), but in 1938, it increased again to 15 hours per week, reflecting a change in his workload (Ibidem, c. 63).

terms. During his lectures, Wawrzynowski educated his students on the care of mentally handicapped children, as well as their physical and mental development. He presented the classification of mentally handicapped children and outlined the educational responsibilities of special schools. He also discussed the curriculum, principles of teaching and upbringing, instructional methods, the importance of excursions, assessment techniques for pupils' work, classroom equipment, and the application of special school teaching principles (Grzegorzewska 1928/29: 189–191).

In 1925, Wawrzynowski was appointed head of the teacher training school operating at SISP (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/773, c. 12). In 1927,⁶ the School Superintendent's Office for the Warsaw School District granted him paid leave on the basis of a medical certificate (Ibidem, c. 2). He was also on leave from 1928 to 1935, which was granted due to his membership in the Polish Parliament during its second and third terms (Ibidem, c. 3).

When discussing Wawrzynowski, one cannot fail to mention his adaptation of Ovide Decroly's method of "centres of interest" to Polish conditions and needs. He contributed to introducing this approach in Polish special schools. As Wawrzynowski himself explained, in this method, "the starting point ... of all school work is the child, their personality, interests, and stock of acquired experiences. It is a thorough understanding of the child and their interests and the environment in which they develop and grow that provides the foundation for shaping and expanding the school curriculum. The teaching material flows from life and gradually develops with the child's developing interests" (Wawrzynowski 1931: 38). Wawrzynowski was also a member of the Special School Section, founded in 1924 and operating under the General Board of the Union of Polish Common School Teachers. He contributed to the editorial board of the Section's press organ, *Special School*.

Among Wawrzynowski's works are studies such as *Program i metody nauczania w szkole dla upośledzonych umysłowo* [*Program and*

6 He had also taken sick leave earlier—between November and December 1923, and again between September and December 1924 (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/773, c. 8).

Methods of Teaching in Schools for the Mentally Handicapped] and *Opieka wychowawcza nad dziećmi upośledzonymi umysłowo* [*Educational Care for Mentally Handicapped Children*], both published in the book *Opieka nad macierzyństwem, dzieckiem i młodzieżą* [*Care for Motherhood, Children and Youth*] (1931) edited by Bronisław Krakowski. Another notable work, *Program i metody nauczania w szkole dla upośledzonych umysłowo* [*Program and Methods of Teaching in Schools for the Mentally Handicapped*], was published in 1928 as part of the *Biblioteka Pedagogiki Leczniczej* [*Library of Therapeutic Pedagogy*] edited by Maria Grzegorzewska. This book was regarded as a supplementary resource for teachers in special schools for the mentally handicapped (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/773, c. 9).

In 1930, Maria Grzegorzewska wrote to the MRDPE concerning the second of these works. She requested that it be officially recommended for teachers. In her justification, she wrote:

The work is an extension and supplement to *Program and Methods of Teaching at School for the Mentally Handicapped*, a book that has already provided invaluable guidance for working with mentally handicapped children. Since the edition is now out of print, it would be highly desirable for this revised and expanded work by the author to also reach the hands of every special school teacher. (Ibidem, c. 5)

Later that year, the ministry approved this request (Ibidem, c. 22).

In 1925, Wawrzynowski was appointed a ministerial inspector for special education, and five years later, he transitioned to administrative work at the MRDPE (Ibidem, c. 13). At the Ministry, he served as a counsellor (Ibidem, c. 20). In 1937, the MRDPE granted him permission to accept the Commander's Cross of the Yugoslavian Order of Saint Sava (Ibidem, c. 72).

During the Second World War, he oversaw civilian education as part of the "Jerzyki" Insurgent Special Units. After his arrest in 1942, he was imprisoned in Majdanek and killed in April 1943 (Małeczka: 1–8).

Halina Jankowska (1890–1944)

Halina Jankowska was another distinguished lecturer at the university. She was born in 1890 in Berdychiv, Volhynia, to Janusz Ziemowit and Zofia Wielawska. After graduating from Jadwiga Sikorska's private boarding school in Warsaw, she began her medical studies at the Women's Medical Institute in St. Petersburg. She obtained her medical diploma in 1918 and began working in a hospital for the mentally handicapped in Vinnytsia, Podolia. Shortly afterward, she worked at an Institution for the Mentally Handicapped in Tworiki.

In 1920, after validating her diploma at the University of Warsaw, Jankowska began working at St. John of God Hospital in Warsaw. In 1923, she moved to Vilnius where she took up a position as an assistant at the psychiatric clinic of Stefan Batory University, later becoming an assistant professor. Committed to advancing her knowledge, she traveled extensively to Germany, France, and England.

In 1935, she returned to Warsaw to become the head of a ward at St. John of God Hospital. From 1937, she worked as a contract lecturer at SISP, teaching two hours per week (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/730, c. 9). She taught Psychopathology of the Child, a class previously led by Sterling (Ibidem, c. 15).

During the Second World War, Jankowska collaborated with the Home Army. She was killed in August 1944 (Got 1964–1965: 530–531).

Witold Łuniewski (1881–1943)

Witold Łuniewski, a colleague of Maria Grzegorzewska and regarded as a co-founder of the SISP program, was born in 1881 in Warta to Hipolit and Maria, née Dłużniakiewicz. Having completed his secondary school in Kalisz, he enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Warsaw in 1900. During this time, he taught anatomy and physiology of the nervous system as part of secret courses intended for manual workers.

After five years, Łuniewski moved to Kraków, where he worked at the Jan Piltz Neuropsychiatric Clinic. His health issues forced him to leave for Switzerland where he earned his medical degree in Zurich.

Upon returning to Poland, he began working in Kochanówka near Łódź and later validated his diploma in Kazan. Subsequently, he worked at the Neurological and Psychiatric Clinic in Kraków before returning to Switzerland, where he took up a job as an assistant at a sanatorium in Davos. During this period, he published research on mental disorders associated with tuberculosis.

In 1908, Łuniewski became an assistant at the psychiatric clinic in Zurich. The following year, he returned to Poland and organized a psychiatric institution in Warta. He continued to expand his knowledge of innovative patient care methods through travels to Germany, Austria, France, and Italy, including taking a supplementary psychiatric course in Munich under the supervision of Emil Kraepelin. During the final stages of World War I, he was deported to a German camp in Havelberg. From 1919 to 1940, Łuniewski served as the director of the hospital for the mentally ill in Tworki, where he championed patient welfare and hospital expansion. He attached great importance to the scientific development of doctors and the ongoing training of nurses. He also authored a textbook on forensic psychiatry.

In 1923, Łuniewski was awarded the degree of Doctor of Medicine for his dissertation *O gonitwie wyobraźni* [*On the Chase of Imagination*]. In 1932, he was awarded the degree of Associate Professor for his dissertation *Uczucia moralne i znaczenie samoistnego ich braku w patologii psychiki ludzkiej* [*Moral Feelings and the Significance of Their Spontaneous Absence in the Pathology of the Human Psyche*]. He introduced the term *kryerotypia* into scientific language, which refers to the underdevelopment of moral feelings. Since the establishment of SISP⁷ Łuniewski taught Fundamentals of General Psychopathology for two hours per week (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/748, c. 1). In his initial classes, he introduced students to the field of psychopathology, reviewed the structure of the nervous system, and explained aphasia. Teachers preparing to work with deaf children attended only part of these lectures, which covered topics such as the semiotics of mental

7 In the State Archives in Warsaw, Milanówek Branch, the first surviving employment contract signed by Łuniewski is dated 1930 (APW, Oddział w Milanówku, Państwowy Instytut Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 72/220/0/748).

disorders and the etiology of mental disorders and diseases, including apparent and essential causes (Grzegorzewska 1928/29: 167–169).

In addition, Łuniewski taught forensic psychiatry at courses for court assessors and trainees, as well as criminal psychopathology at the Institute of Mental Hygiene. Beginning in 1927, he served as a psychiatric consultant for the Department of Health Service under the Ministry of the Interior and later for the Ministry of Social Welfare. From the following year, he also acted as a consultant for the hospital for mentally ill prisoners in Grodzisk Mazowiecki. He was involved in the work of numerous scientific and research organizations. Starting in 1924, he served as vice-president of the Polish Psychiatric Society, where he also chaired its Warsaw branch. From 1933, he was a member of the commission for criminal-biological research at the Ministry of Justice. Additionally, he held the position of secretary of the Slavic Neurological and Psychiatric Society and was a member of the editorial committees for *Nowiny Psychiatryczne* [*Psychiatric News*], *Rocznik Psychiatryczny* [*Psychiatric Yearbook*] and *Higiena Psychiczna* [*Mental Hygiene*].

In addition to numerous articles, his published works include several notable books: *Wiadomości początkowe z psychopatologii ogólnej* [*Basic Knowledge of General Psychopathology*] (1925), *Uczucia moralne i znaczenie samoistnego ich braku w patologii psychiki ludzkiej* [*Moral Feelings and the Significance of Their Spontaneous Absence in the Pathology of the Human Psyche*] (1932), and *Zarys psychiatrii sądowej* [*Outline of Forensic Psychiatry*] (1950). He died in 1943 (Zakrzewski 1973: 510–511).

* * *

All the SISP lecturers were deeply engaged in working with children and youth with disabilities. They were not merely theorists in their fields; they worked daily with deaf, blind, intellectually disabled, and socially maladjusted children, adolescents, and adults. Consequently, they were first and foremost practitioners, and the knowledge they imparted was enriched by descriptions of their own experiences. They consistently pursued scientific development, authored articles and research papers, and devised new methods for working with children. They maintained connections with international researchers and

participated in numerous congresses and conferences, making significant contributions to the advancement of special pedagogy.

As Ewa Tomasik observed, the selection of lecturers made by Maria Grzegorzewska provided

the opportunity to learn in depth and establish constructive cooperation with related disciplines, which also allowed students to become acquainted with valuable empirical material from a given discipline and thus to achieve a deeper understanding and gain broader scientific and methodological perspectives on the knowledge provided at the Institute. For example, lectures on psychopathology could be supported by observation of patients at the Psychiatric Hospital in Tworki, where the lecturer of this subject was employed. (Tomasik, Janeczko 1995: 54)

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Exploring the Teacher's Role in Interwar Poland: Findings from Zygmunt Kukulski's Unpublished Research

ABSTRACT

Following Poland's independence, the educational landscape faced many challenges, such as inadequate infrastructure, disparate educational systems and curricula inherited from the partitioning powers, and financial constraints. Among the most serious problems was a shortage of well-trained teaching staff. Educational authorities sought to remedy this shortfall by establishing a network of teachers' seminars to cultivate a proficient workforce for the education sector.

The interwar period witnessed heightened scholarly interest in teachers as a distinct social group. Efforts were made to learn not only about their socio-economic backgrounds, educational qualifications, and professional training, but also their psychological predispositions and attitudes towards their profession and students. Zygmunt Kukulski, a professor at the Catholic University of Lublin who was instrumental in this research movement, collaborated with fellow scholars to develop an extensive questionnaire aimed at teachers. Despite remaining unexplored, these questionnaires serve as a valuable resource for understanding the teaching profession during the interwar period.

The purpose of this article is to shed light on the depiction of teachers in interwar Poland through the lens of Kukulski's unpublished research. Drawing on a collection of 289 questionnaires housed at the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, this study employs these primary sources as its principal research material.

KEYWORDS

teachers, interwar period, schooling, education, Zygmunt Kukulski

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Introduction

The interwar period in Poland was marked by intensive socio-political changes that affected all areas of life, including education. After regaining independence in 1918, Poland faced the monumental task of rebuilding its educational system, which had been largely neglected during more than a century of partitions. In the early years of independence, Polish schools faced many problems, such as a lack of school facilities, shortages of experienced teaching staff, financial constraints, and curricular disparities resulting from the country's prior political situation. Thus, Polish teachers bore the responsibility of adapting to a new educational system rooted in national and patriotic values. The introduction of the Polish language as the medium of instruction and the adaptation of the curricula to the realities of the newly independent state were given priority in this process. The role of teachers during this era was pivotal, as they were tasked with shaping the young generation in the spirit of an independent Poland.

Issues related to education during the Second Polish Republic have long been, and continue to be, a topic of considerable interest among researchers. Since the interwar period until the present day, a number of publications have been written on such issues as educational ideas and concepts, the organization and functioning of educational institutions at all stages of education, professional work and social activity of teachers, content and teaching methods, as well as monographs on schools and biographies of individual educators. At this point, we must ask: Who were the teachers of this period? What were their social backgrounds, education, professional preparation, and experience? What motivated them to choose this profession? What were their attitudes toward children and young people, as well as their mission to shape the young generation of Poles? These and other questions have led to a growing interest in teachers as a distinct social group (Magda-Adamowicz 2018).

A scientific look at the teaching profession and the personality of the teacher began in the early 20th century, initiated by Jan Władysław Dawid (Dawid 1912). This not only stimulated theoretical discussions but also spurred empirical research among teachers themselves (Nawroczyński 1929; Mirski 1933; Kuchta 1936). The foundational premise of pedeutological research was the belief that

teaching effectiveness is largely influenced by the personality traits of the teacher. In the 1920s, Wanda Dzierzbicka conducted a survey consisting of 20 questions among teachers, wishing to investigate primarily the psychological aspects of teachers' personalities. Unfortunately, she obtained very modest material, yielding limited results, with only 35 completed questionnaires (Dzierzbicka 1926). Far more extensive material was gathered by Zygmunt Kukulski, a professor at the Catholic University of Lublin.

Zygmunt Kukulski was born on May 2, 1890, in Jasło. After earning his secondary school certificate in 1909, he began studying at the Faculty of Law at the Jagiellonian University. However, after completing his first year, he transferred to the Faculty of Philosophy, where he took up Polish Studies. During his studies, he also attended lectures on pedagogy and the history of education. In the academic year 1912/13, he founded the student Pedagogical Circle at the Jagiellonian University and became its first president while simultaneously serving as president of the Polish Studies Circle (Draus 1989: 6). After graduating in 1914, Kukulski developed his interests in pedagogy, particularly in the history of education. In 1917, he defended his doctoral dissertation in philosophy at the Jagiellonian University based on his thesis *Działalność pedagogiczna Tadeusza Czackiego* [*Tadeusz Czacki's Pedagogical Activity*] (Starnawski 1971: 121). In 1925, he earned his postdoctoral degree (habilitation) in pedagogy at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv based on the thesis *Główne momenty myśli i badań pedagogicznych* [*Key Milestones in Pedagogical Thought and Research*], and in 1928 he was awarded the title of full professor (Starnawski 1971: 121).

In 1920, Kukulski joined the Catholic University of Lublin, where he was entrusted with leading the newly established Department of Pedagogy. In the same year, the Pedagogical Institute was founded, and he became its first director (Draus 1989: 7). He delivered lectures on the history of education, pedagogy, and didactics to students in the Faculties of Humanities, Theology, and Canon Law. From 1927 to 1930, he served as the dean of the Faculty of Humanities (Rynio, Skrzyniarz 2011: 50). Kukulski was also a founding member of the Scientific Society of the Catholic University of Lublin and a member of various scholarly societies and organizations, including the Commission for the History of Education and Schooling in Poland,

established in 1929 by Stanisław Kot under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków, and the Historical Commission of the Scientific Pedagogical Society (Draus 1989: 12).

Between 1920 and 1939, Kukulski was also involved with secondary schools in Lublin, including the Stanisław Staszic State Secondary School and the Lublin School, later renamed the Stefan Batory Private Male Secondary School. He taught Polish literature and history and served as principal (Draus 1989: 15). Additionally, he lectured at several institutions: beginning in 1925 at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv; from 1926 to 1930, he taught psychology and pedagogy at the State Higher Teachers' Course in Lublin; and during 1928–1929, he taught logic, psychology, and the history of education at the State Pedagogical College (Rynio, Skrzyniarz 2011: 50).

The outbreak of the Second World War found Kukulski returning from the United States, where he had attended the World's Fair in Chicago. Initially, he stayed in London before relocating to Scotland, where he taught the history of education at the Pedagogical Study organized for Polish teachers at the University of Edinburgh. He died unexpectedly on December 4, 1944, in Peebles (Draus 1989: 17). Kukulski devoted his studies mainly to the history of education and pedagogical thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the reception of the ideas of Jan Henryk Pestalozzi and Jan Amos Komensky in Poland, and the educational activities of Stanisław Staszic (Rynio, Skrzyniarz 2011: 50).

Kukulski's pedagogical interests, combined with his interactions with teachers during his time at the State Teachers' College, led him in 1927 to collaborate with other scholars on the development of a questionnaire. This survey consisted of 49 detailed questions on "the psychology of the teacher-pedagogue." A 50th item invited respondents to provide comments that were not covered in their answers to the earlier questions. The survey targeted teachers from general and secondary schools, and it received responses from 289 teachers, including 112 women and 177 men (*Ankiety... 1927–1928*).

The vast majority of respondents identified as being of Polish nationality and Roman Catholic faith. One person of Polish nationality declared himself irreligious, while 27 respondents did not specify their nationality. Among these 27, five identified as Roman Catholics, three as Jews, one as Orthodox and one as Greek Catholic, with

the remaining 17 not indicating any religious affiliation. Additionally, three respondents declared themselves to be Polish by nationality and Jewish by religion, while two identified as Jewish by both nationality and religion. The sample also included four individuals of Ukrainian nationality (two Orthodox and two Greek Catholic), two of German nationality and Protestant faith, and one of Russian nationality and Orthodox religion. Although these questionnaires have not yet been analyzed in detail, they represent an excellent resource for understanding the teaching profession during the interwar period.

Respondents approached the questionnaire in different ways. Some tried to provide exhaustive and comprehensive answers, while others offered only brief and concise responses. In a few cases, certain questions were left unanswered. For the most part, the respondents were teachers from mainstream schools with varying structures, ranging from one to seven grades. Only two respondents were secondary school teachers. What, then, is the image of the teacher that emerges from these surveys? It can be said that the teaching community was as diverse as Polish society as a whole. One of the most serious ills of education, both on the eve and after the restoration of independence, was the shortage of teachers and their inadequate qualifications. This problem was particularly acute in the territory of the former Kingdom of Poland. Often, the absence of a teacher made it impossible to establish a school in a given area. In such cases, the local community had to petition the authorities for the “assignment” of a teacher (Brodowska 1982: 147).

Over time, efforts were made to resolve this problem by expanding the system of teacher training to increase the number of qualified school staff. However, for many years, it remained common practice to transfer teachers from areas with a surplus to regions with a high demand for staff. For instance, a certain number of teachers were relocated to the former Russian partition from regions such as former Galicia, where staffing levels in primary education were relatively favorable (Juśko 2005: 98–99). In the early 1920s, 17% of teachers in the former Kingdom of Poland originated from the territory of the former Austrian partition (Gąsiorowska 1921: 51).

The practice of assigning teachers to regions with staff shortages sometimes even led to the separation of married teachers. Four such cases were identified in the analyzed questionnaires. In one instance,

a female teacher's husband worked at a school 400 kilometers away. This teacher, a 25-year-old with five years seniority, came from Radymno and worked at a seven-grade school, although its location is unspecified. She lived alone, so she may have moved from Galicia to the former Kingdom of Poland. A similar situation involved a 29-year-old female teacher with nine years of experience who also lived apart from her husband due to his distant teaching assignment. Two male teachers faced similar circumstances, as their teacher wives worked far from them—one 300 kilometers away and the other at an unspecified distant location.

Age and length of service

The age distribution of the teachers surveyed is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Age of teachers

Age	Number	%	Including	
			Women	Men
< 20	2	0,7%	2	—
21–25	79	27,3%	39	40
26–30	100	34,6%	37	63
31–40	78	27%	19	59
41–50	15	5,2%	7	8
> 50	1	0,35%	1	—
No data available	14	4,85%	7	7
Total	289	100%	112	177

Source: Based on questionnaires.

Another interesting aspect of the survey was the length of service in the teaching profession, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Length of service

Length of service	Number	%	Including	
			Women	Men
< 1	17	5,9%	8	9
2–5	95	32,9%	36	59
6–10	112	38,7%	40	72
11–15	39	13,5%	18	21
16–19	9	3,1%	2	7
> 20	11	3,8%	5	6
No data available	6	2,1%	3	3
Total	289	100%	112	177

Source: Based on questionnaires.

One teacher, aged 50, stated that he had been working at the Carmelite Friars' Male College in Wadowice for eight years. However, contextual evidence suggests that his overall length of service in the profession was much longer.

The data presented above shows that more than 77% of the surveyed teachers had worked in the profession for less than 10 years. Interestingly, length of service was not always proportional to age. The majority of respondents began their teaching careers at around 20 years of age, although there were instances of individuals starting as teenagers. For example, one teacher, aged 28, had already accumulated 11 years of experience, while another, aged 29, had 12 years of experience, which indicates that both began teaching in their late teens. One remarkable case involved a teacher who, at age 23, had already been in the profession for six years. On the other hand, there were teachers who entered the profession later in life for various reasons. Notable examples include a 55-year-old teacher with 20 years of seniority, a 45-year-old with 10 years of experience, and a 39-year-old with 4 years of experience. Understanding the motivations behind these early or late entries into teaching requires further analysis of statements regarding their reasons for entering the profession.

Social origin

In terms of social background, a large proportion of the teachers surveyed came from peasant families—98 (33.9%). Others came from intelligentsia families, actively involved in the cultural, social, and political life of the country. Among their parents were clerks—51 (17.6%); teachers—20 (6.9%); doctors—6 (2%); dentists—2 (0.7%); and lawyers—2 (0.7%). Many teachers also came from working-class families—35 (12.1%)—and craftsmen’s families—29 (10%). Eleven teachers (3.8%) identified their father’s profession as manor owner or estate manager; 13 (4.5%) as merchant; 7 (2.4%) as entrepreneur; and 3 (1%) as organist. Other occupations of the fathers mentioned in the questionnaires included surgeon’s assistant, military officer, gendarme, policeman, forester, actor, and horse trainer. In two cases, the parents’ professions were not listed, with only the information that they were townsmen, while three respondents provided no information at all.

Certainly, the immediate environment in which future educators grew up had a significant influence on their decision to pursue teaching. In some families, teaching was already a well-established tradition, with grandparents, parents (one or both), relatives (aunts, uncles), or older siblings working in the profession. Among the teachers surveyed, 24 had a father or mother in the teaching profession, and in two cases, both parents were teachers. In some instances, mothers left the teaching profession after marriage. A notably larger group—94 respondents—reported having siblings who were teachers. In some cases, it was a single sibling; in others, multiple siblings or even entire families worked in the field.

For example, a 36-year-old teacher had all four older sisters working as teachers, while the youngest brother, aged 33, did not follow in their footsteps and became a lawyer. Similarly, one teacher had five sisters in education, while her brothers chose other professions. Another example involved a 24-year-old teacher whose father was also a teacher. This respondent had eleven siblings, three of whom were already teachers, five of whom were studying at teachers’ seminaries, and only three who had chosen different career paths. Interestingly, this teacher was also married to a teacher. Similarly, a female teacher whose father was in the profession reported that all five of her siblings also worked in education, and she too was married to a teacher.

Among teachers, marrying someone within the profession was a fairly common practice. Among the male teachers surveyed, 67 were single, 109 were married, and one did not specify his marital status. Of the married men, more than half (58) had wives who were also teachers, although four of these women were no longer working in the profession. Two were identified as former teachers; one had stopped teaching a year prior, and another left the profession after having children. One teacher mentioned that his wife planned to leave her job at the school to focus on childcare. Aside from female teachers, the wives of male teachers included a midwife, a seamstress, and a medical student. It can be assumed that the remaining wives were not working professionally, but were instead involved in household responsibilities and childcare.

The surveyed teachers expressed a wide range of views on married women working in the teaching profession or women's employment in general. Some believed that, for the sake of both the school and the home, a wife should not work because it negatively affects both environments. Many men tolerated their wives' work only for financial reasons, stating that if they were able to support the family on their own, they would not allow their wives to work. One respondent, himself the child of two teachers and married to a female teacher, even advocated for a law prohibiting married women from working in the teaching profession. Such a law was implemented in Silesia, leading to the resignation of married female teachers from their positions (Urbańska 2011). Conversely, some teachers expressed the view that professional work ennobles a woman, or that if a wife finds satisfaction and passion in teaching, her husband should support her decision and accept it. A 23-year-old bachelor even stated explicitly that a teacher's wife should also be a teacher.

As for the female teachers surveyed, 80 were single, 30 were married, one was a widow (whose late husband had also been a teacher), and one provided very little information about her personal life. All that is known about her is that she had seven years of teaching experience and three much older sisters, aged 37, 40, and 44. Among the married female teachers interviewed, only seven had husbands who were teachers.

Motivation for career choice

The question of motivation for choosing the teaching profession is particularly intriguing. The vast majority of respondents (165 individuals—57.1%), cited a love for working in education and an inner conviction of a calling to the teaching profession as their primary motivations. Among these, two teachers noted that they had pursued this career against their parents' wishes. In one case, a female teacher chose teaching despite her father being a goldsmith and her mother a teacher. In the other, a male teacher, whose father was a clerk, already had one sister working as a teacher and another studying at a teachers' seminar. One respondent admitted that although she had originally chosen the profession out of passion, she no longer felt that passion and was now working solely to earn a living.

In the surveys conducted by Dzierzbicka, the majority of teachers also cited vocation as their reason for entering the profession. However, Dzierzbicka questioned the validity of this motivation, suggesting that 14- or 15-year-old students entering teachers' seminaries were unlikely to have a fully developed understanding of their sense of vocation. She argued that the most common motives for attending the seminaries were either the influence of their own teachers or the desire to continue their education (Dzierzbicka 1926: 23–24).

For many respondents, a secondary school education was unattainable, primarily due to financial constraints. One teacher wrote that he attended a teachers' seminary because he could not afford to go to secondary school, which, as he put it, "shaped his life path, so to speak." For 33 respondents, the choice of teaching as a profession stemmed from the need to take up any kind of job in order to earn a living. Some had little influence over their career path, as their parents made the decision for them. Four female teachers cited a desire to become independent as their motivation for pursuing a career in education.

For a large group of respondents, the choice of profession was a matter of chance or the result of various circumstances. Several had previously initially pursued studies in other fields—medicine, law, theology, philosophy, technical disciplines, or the natural sciences—but were forced to abandon them due to war, financial difficulties, or health issues. For some, the teaching profession offered an escape from military service; others entered the field at the urging of teachers, friends,

or siblings. As schools continued to grapple with staffing shortages and the difficult labor market, many were drawn to teaching for the stability and steady income it provided (Sanojca 2014: 282).

For one female teacher, the main incentive to work in education was the appeal of summer and winter holidays. Given the profession's requirement for good health, one teacher (24-year-old) revealed that he suffered from bone tuberculosis, which prevented him from working in other fields. His parents sent him to a teachers' seminary, and he subsequently became a teacher. Another teacher wrote that he felt called to the profession after marrying a female teacher. However, he later expressed the opinion that his wife's work negatively affected both the home and the school.

Preparation for the profession

In interwar Poland, the preparation of teachers for the profession was governed by education acts and regulations issued by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment (Polish abbreviation: MWRiOP). The basic form of teacher education was the teachers' seminaries, which admitted young people aged 14 or older who passed entrance examinations covering the curriculum of a seven-year primary school (Dekret... 1919; Regulamin... 1926). This system of teacher training remained in place until the 1930s, when, following the enactment of the Education System Act of 1932, seminaries began to be gradually phased out (Pyter 2016: 789). At their peak, during the 1926/27 school year, Poland had 204 teachers' seminaries attended by 37,420 students (*Rocznik...* 1928: 417, 419).

Despite the relatively extensive network of seminaries, they were unable to meet the high demand for teachers for many years. Initially, there was even a shortage of candidates who had completed a seven-grade general school. This led to the idea of creating separate schools to prepare students from lower-level primary schools in the shortest possible time to qualify for seminaries. This is how preparatory schools, also referred to as two-year preliminary courses, were established (Makarewicz 1963: 112–113). These schools admitted children aged 11–14 and were established mainly in the territories of the former Russian partition, where the shortage of teachers was most acute. Although preparatory schools existed for only a few

years, they supplied seminaries with many candidates. For example, in the 1920/21 school year, 599 candidates entered seminaries from preparatory schools, compared to 202 who entered after completing a seven-grade general school (Makarewicz 1963: 131). At their peak, in the 1922/23 school year, there were 49 preparatory schools serving a total of 3,090 pupils (*Rocznik...* 1928: 407).

Among the teachers surveyed, only one mentioned having completed one year at a preparatory school followed by five years at a teachers' seminary. It is possible, however, that more of the seminary graduates interviewed had also attended preparatory schools. The majority of respondents (150 interviewees—51.9%) were graduates of teachers' seminaries, while 107 had completed secondary school. Some teachers pursued studies at universities in cities such as Cracow, Lviv, Vilnius, Warsaw, and Lublin in subjects such as law, philosophy, Polish studies, technical studies, or natural sciences. In two cases, respondents had attended seminaries for priests but were forced to discontinue their studies due to the war. A few respondents mentioned undertaking university studies, but did not specify their field of study or whether they completed their programs. Most of the teachers who had begun higher education did not graduate, citing reasons such as war, financial hardship, or health problems. One respondent noted that she had to abandon her studies because her father was murdered, and she needed to work to support herself.

However, not all teachers had adequate preparation for the profession. When asked about their qualifications, seven respondents admitted that they had no or almost no formal preparation. Some had been educated in private schools and later supplemented their education with courses and qualifying examinations. One teacher had completed only five grades of primary school and a two-month course but claimed to have prepared for the profession through extensive reading and self-education. Another teacher, in a similar situation, completed primary school, continued studying privately, and passed a qualifying exam. One female teacher mentioned completing a course and passing a qualifying exam but provided no details about her prior educational background. For comparison, data from Tarnów County shows that among the 424 surveyed teachers (representing 60% of the county's total teaching staff), all had completed a teachers' seminary (Juško 2005: 107). Nationally, statistics from the

1921/22 school year indicate that fewer than 60% of primary school teachers had full professional qualifications (Kraeutler 1921: 527).

Although private tuition or even graduation from a teachers' seminary prepared educators for working in mainstream schools, it became evident that this was insufficient training for teaching all subjects, particularly in the upper three grades of a seven-grade school. In response, in 1923, the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment (Polish abbreviation: MWRiOP) established the State Higher Teacher Training Courses (Polish abbreviation: PWKN) (Boguszewska 2007: 9). The purpose of these courses was to enhance the scientific and professional education of teachers. Admission requirements included possession of a secondary school-leaving certificate qualifying the applicant to teach in mainstream schools and at least three years of uninterrupted teaching experience. Candidates could also hold a vocational school certificate, provided it was duly authorized by MWRiOP (Pyter 2016: 791).

The courses covered pedagogical subjects and the study of contemporary Poland. In addition, students chose one of several specialized subject groups (humanities, physics and mathematics, geography and nature, drawing and handicrafts, singing, or physical education) that they were expected to teach after completing the program (Dzierzbicka 1926: 121). It is worth mentioning that successful completion of such a course not only gave priority in applying for public education positions but also conferred the right to a salary supplement, an important benefit given the financial hardships many teachers faced at the time (Pyter 2016: 793). These courses also provided exposure to new pedagogical trends and experimental teaching methods, which participants often implemented in their schools.

In addition to PWKN, many teachers improved their competences and pursued further education through various supplementary courses, which lasted from a few weeks to two years and were typically held during vacations or holidays. By the late 1920s, the situation regarding teachers' professional qualifications was most concerning in the central and eastern voivodeships (see Table 3). However, by the early 1930s, practically 100% of teachers had obtained the required qualifications (Trzebiatowski 1970: 351).

Table 3. Professional qualifications of public school teachers in the 1927/28 school year

Voivodeships	Number of Teachers	Qualified	Partially Qualified	Non-qualified
Central	27 245	26 265	443	537
Eastern	7713	6287	739	687
Poznań and Pomerania	8676	8417	31	228
Silesia	3917	3802	9	106
South	17 713	17 709	–	4
Total	65 264	62 480	1222	1562

Source: *Rocznik statystyki Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (1928), vol. 6, p. 406

Certainly, another way for teachers to improve their qualifications was by reading contemporary pedagogical literature. Most of the teachers surveyed did not own private book collections, and only a small number subscribed to pedagogical magazines. Those who wished to deepen their knowledge often relied on books and journals while attending various in-service courses. Only a limited number of schools subscribed to journals, which were then made available to the teachers working there. Teachers eagerly read these publications and used them as a basis for discussions about new ideas for school functioning or reforms being implemented in the education system. The most frequently mentioned magazines in the analyzed questionnaires included *Ruch Pedagogiczny* [*Pedagogical Movement*], *Szkolna Praca* [*School Work*], *Życie Szkolne* [*School Life*], *Przyjaciel Szkoły* [*School Friend*], and *Głos Nauczycielski* [*Teachers' Voice*].

Education and characteristics of a good teacher

The surveys devoted a great deal of attention to issues of education, teaching methods, and attitudes toward students. These topics are broad and merit a separate study, so only the most important findings are highlighted here. When asked about the meaning of education, the most frequent responses included: “good preparation for life,” “formation of character,” “strengthening good qualities and weakening bad ones,” and “shaping a good citizen.” In general,

teachers approached the educational process with the perspective that, as the German pedagogue Georg Kerschensteiner suggested, the child represents the future embodiment of their values (Mirski 1936: 141).

Regarding teaching methods, the vast majority of teachers who had attended PWKN courses reported applying the methods they had learned in their practice. Among the interviewees, some employed approaches such as the work school, blended learning, Decroly's system, the project method, or group teaching. While some teachers relied on their previous experience and applied proven methods, newer teachers were often still experimenting and searching for approaches that best suited their needs and those of their students. When asked about the qualities of a good teacher, the most frequently mentioned attributes were a love for the profession, the ability to empathize with a child's soul, and a genuine love for children. This love for children was described as a deep desire for their well-being. Kerschensteiner referred to this as "pedagogical love," Józef Mirski called it an "upbringing attitude" (Mirski 1936: 141–142), and others described it as an "educational relationship" (Jeziorański 2022: 99–100). While the vast majority of respondents declared an ability to empathize with a child's soul, six admitted to feeling uncomfortable working with children. It can therefore be assumed that establishing an educational relationship was not easy for them.

A common response to the question about the qualities of a good teacher was that they should possess a well-formed religious and moral character. Many teachers emphasized the importance of the religious upbringing of children and young people, including those who themselves held indifferent or even hostile attitudes toward religion and the clergy. In addition, frequently mentioned qualities included a strong education, consistency, gentleness, and justice. Fairness, in particular, was noted as crucial—not only in assessing students' progress but also in ensuring their equal treatment. Among the responses, 126 teachers declared having equal feelings toward all students, while 161 admitted to harboring latent sympathies or antipathies. Greater sympathy was most often shown to gifted and polite children, while antipathy was directed toward less gifted, misbehaving students or those belonging to religious or national minorities. Some

teachers openly expressed antipathy toward children who, for example, appeared dirty or were of Jewish origin.

Other important traits of a good teacher included good health and posture, eloquence, composure, and an absence of unnecessary gesticulation. Interestingly, five respondents admitted that they lacked the ability to speak in public, while 60 described their verbal skills (the “gift of words”) as being poorly developed (two of these were not native Polish speakers). The remainder assessed their verbal abilities as either average or good. A significant portion of the teachers surveyed also reported various health problems. According to a study conducted in the 1920s by Walenty Miklaszewski, almost 23% of male and 10% of female primary school teachers described themselves as physically weak or sickly. Miklaszewski believed that the actual percentage might have been considerably higher (Miklaszewski 1924: 67–68).

The findings indicate that while the surveyed teachers had a clear concept of the ideal teacher, listing many qualities they believed essential, they themselves faced a number of problems over which they either had no control, such as health, or personal shortcomings that they were unable to remedy, like laziness, impatience, or lack of the gift of eloquence.

The pursuit of defining the ideal teacher has long been a subject of scholarly interest. Many researchers have sought to answer the question, “What psycho-physical traits best suit a person for the teaching profession?” (Kuchta 1936: 3). Over time, six types of teachers were identified: religious, theoretical, practical, social, aesthetic, and authoritarian. Analyzing these categories, Jan Kuchta concluded that “pure” types do not exist; rather, teachers embody mixed traits. He also identified a seventh type—the perfect type. According to Kuchta, the ideal teacher’s mental structure should combine elements of the social and aesthetic types because, without these, the teacher “will not empathize with the child” and will not be able to guide them effectively. This ideal structure should also incorporate a religious dimension to enable a deeper understanding of life and its ultimate purpose (Kuchta 1936: 16).

Conclusion

Education faced numerous challenges during the interwar period. Beyond expanding the network of schools and standardizing and reforming curricula, the goal was to ensure a well-qualified teaching staff. Accordingly, teachers' seminars were organized on a large scale, and various professional development courses were established, including the State Higher Teacher Training Courses, whose task was to train and improve teachers' qualifications. Despite these efforts, some of the surveyed teachers felt inadequately prepared for their profession and deficient in both their subject knowledge and teaching methodologies. Notably, over 60% of the respondents were under the age of 30, and the majority (77% had less than 10 years' seniority), so they often lacked not only sufficient knowledge but also the practical experience necessary for working effectively with children.

Regarding the social background of the surveyed teachers, the largest group (33.9%) came from peasant families, followed by a significant proportion from intelligentsia families (27.9%), and a fairly substantial representation from workers and craftsmen (22.1%). Many teachers came from families with educational traditions, where parents, siblings, or other relatives had worked in schools. More than half of the respondents (57.1%) reported that their motivation for choosing the teaching profession stemmed from a sense of vocation and a passion for working in education. For others, however, the choice was either coincidental or driven by necessity, as they sought any available employment to support themselves.

It is also worth mentioning that most of the surveyed teachers were former students of the State Higher Teacher Training Course in Lublin, i.e., those who were keen to improve their qualifications and teaching skills. From the analyzed questionnaires, it is evident that many teachers who received the survey chose not to complete it. This suggests that the image emerging from the analyzed responses is not a comprehensive portrayal but rather reflects a subset of the teaching community—those who were particularly conscientious about their duties and committed to the welfare of their students and schools. It is clear that the teaching profession of that time was incredibly diverse. They were people with very different personalities, experiences, beliefs, aspirations, and worldviews.

This diversity does not diminish the great responsibility that teachers had in shaping society during the interwar period. They had an enormous influence not only on the intellectual development, but also on the cultivation of civic and patriotic attitudes in the younger generation. The impact of their work left an indelible mark on Polish education, laying a foundation for future generations. For many years after World War II, the term “pre-war teacher” remained synonymous with professionalism and high moral standards.

This article attempts to outline the image of teachers in the interwar period as revealed through the questionnaires conducted by Zygmunt Kukulski, contributing to the rich body of literature on pedeutology and the history of education. These questionnaires certainly warrant further, more detailed analysis, particularly regarding the psychological predispositions and personal talents of those who dedicated themselves to teaching.

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Ethical Dimensions of Teaching: Insights from Andrzej Michał de Tchorzewski's Pedeutological Work (1943–2024)

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the ethical dimensions of the teaching profession as explored in the scholarly works of Professor Andrzej Michał de Tchorzewski. His publications notably examine values, obligations, and the moral competencies integral to the role of a teacher. These ethical principles can be considered rudimentary in discussions surrounding teacher ethics, as they significantly shape the nature of professional engagement and influence the efficacy of pedagogical practices across various educational contexts.

The aim of this article is to elucidate the axiological, deontological, and aretological dimensions of the teaching profession as conceptualized in Tchorzewski's pedeutological contributions.

An analysis of his work reveals a profound commitment to the ethical underpinnings of teaching, which is of vital importance in an ever-evolving and unpredictable educational landscape. Considering the breadth of Tchorzewski's scholarship on ethics and pedeutology, this discussion serves as a modest prolegomenon to his extensive body of work.

KEYWORDS

Andrzej
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pedeutology, teaching
ethics, moral values,
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Introduction

Professor Andrzej Michał de Tchorzewski, PhD, was born on 22 September 1943 in Chełmno (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship) into a family of teachers. He completed his secondary education in 1962 at the Pedagogical Secondary School in Chełmno. Between 1964 and 1969, he pursued his studies at the Higher School of Pedagogy in Gdańsk where he earned a Master of Arts in pedagogy.

In 1974, the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Gdańsk awarded him the degree of Doctor of Humanities in pedagogy. Later, in 1986, he achieved the degree of Doctor of Humanities with distinction from the same faculty. In 1990, he was appointed as an associate professor, and in 1996, he was conferred the title of Professor of Humanities by the President of the Republic of Poland (Kwaśniewska, Rak 1994: 193; Jakubiak 2018: 27).

Professor Tchorzewski's extensive academic output encompasses a wide range of roles, including author, co-author, editor, and co-editor, as well as numerous articles in scientific journals, chapters in multi-author monographs, and encyclopedic entries (Kwaśniewska, Rak 1994: 193; Milerski, Śliwerski 2000: 240; Jakubiak 2018: 30; Leguerinel 2018: 43–59). His body of work can be categorized into five primary research areas: (1) the theory of upbringing, (2) family pedagogy, (3) the ethical and deontological dimensions of the teaching profession, (4) pedagogical axiology, and (5) the education and personality development of future teachers (Jakubiak 2018: 29–30).

The recognition and high regard for Professor Tchorzewski's contributions are exemplified by a laudation delivered by Prof. Irena Jundziłł on the occasion of his 75th birthday and the 50th anniversary of his academic career. She remarked: "I think that he [Tchorzewski—note D.Z.] has greatly contributed to the development of the theory of upbringing, as well as related areas of pedagogy, especially pedeutology and teacher deontology, pedagogical axiology, and family pedagogy" (Jundziłł 2018: 25).

In 2023, shortly before his death, Professor Tchorzewski published yet another book, *Wprowadzenie do pedagogicznej teorii wychowania moralnego* [Introduction to the Pedagogical Theory of Moral Upbringing] (Krakow 2023) with Ignatianum University Press. Despite his illness, the Professor remained unwavering in his dedication to scholarly

activity. Professor Tchorzewski died on January 2, 2024, in Kraków and was buried in the Salwator Cemetery.

The aim of this article is to reflect on Professor Tchorzewski's scientific contributions within the context of the ethics of the teaching profession. This reflection draws upon the structure of ethics—axiological, deontological, and aretological dimensions (Tchorzewski 1994a: 7; Szewczyk 1998: 111–112)—to provide a thematic overview of his body of work.

It should be noted that the scientific legacy Professor Tchorzewski left concerning the ethics of the teaching profession cannot be thoroughly presented within the scope of a single article. This text is, at best, an introduction to a deeper exploration of the ethical dimensions of the teaching profession as developed in his pedeutological work.

Axiological structure of the ethics of the teaching profession

The realm of moral values is central to Tchorzewski's study of the ethical dimensions of the teaching profession. It can even be said that, for him, pedeutological axiology forms the foundation for conceptualizing the teacher's role in ethical terms.

In his scholarly investigations, Professor Tchorzewski searches for the essence of moral values and their connection to the goals of upbringing. He seeks to demonstrate the obligatory nature of values, linking them to the value-creating role of the teacher (Molesztak, Tchorzewski, Wołoszyn 1996: 59–80). His emphasis on values—particularly moral values—within the ethics of the teaching profession stems from his conviction that these values underpin teachers' moral obligations (Tchorzewski 1997a: 74). In fact, it can be argued that, in Tchorzewski's reflections, a multifaceted and intricate pedagogical axiology serves as the basis for teacher deontology. Within the teacher's axiological framework, dignity holds a prominent position. Tchorzewski views dignity as “a unique value, momentousness, and even grandeur” (Tchorzewski 2020a: 162). To him, human dignity in the axiological

means being faithful to values that guide one's life. By discovering these values and engaging thought, will, and action, individuals uncover what they should devote themselves to in life. Respecting these values in daily tasks reinforces the meaning of life itself. (Tchorzewski 2016c: 23–24)

The Professor underscores the special place and role of dignity in educational processes, seeing it as the cornerstone of mutual respect and recognition between teacher and student, as well as a foundation for the pursuit of truth, moral goodness, tolerance, and kindness (Tchorzewski 1997a: 72). One can risk stating that dignity understood in this way, becomes a prerequisite for the existence and acceptance of other values, as well as their realization in teachers' pedagogical practices.

Another key value in the teaching profession, according to Tchorzewski, is responsibility, which he identifies as a hallmark of a teacher's moral attitude (Tchorzewski 1997b: 45–50), a defining element of this attitude (Tchorzewski 2000a: 101–103), and a measure of professional maturity (Tchorzewski 1998a: 98–99) and professionalism (Tchorzewski 2020a: 170–174). The Professor argues that responsibility, due to its complexity, must be viewed from multiple perspectives, including situational and personal dimensions (Tchorzewski 1998a: 95–98). The multifaceted nature of professional activities, particularly the interpersonal relationships inherent in teaching, imposes on teachers a unique kind of responsibility. without which it is difficult to speak of the proper conduct of both the didactic and educational processes.

In addition to responsibility, integrity holds a significant position in the teacher's axiological framework. Professor Tchorzewski defines integrity as moral honesty, ethical decency, and an attitude characterized by sincerity, openness, straightforwardness, and unwavering commitment to moral values (Tchorzewski 1998a: 91). Like responsibility, integrity is a key determinant of a teacher's moral attitude.

A righteous teacher, writes the Professor, is one who, in his lifelong personal and professional conduct, is guided by a certain moral good and the freedom of choice. ... The teacher's attitude of integrity is based on moral values, which, in turn, form the foundation of any ethical stance towards others, including students, and towards oneself. (Tchorzewski 2000a: 99)

Tchorzewski closely associates integrity with truth, which, like responsibility and righteousness, is another cornerstone of a teacher's moral attitude (Tchorzewski 2000a: 100). He elaborates:

The foundation of the teacher's integrity is determined by truth, which is a core element that shapes the personal and social dimensions of an individual's life. Truth facilitates the achievement of our goals that contribute to our full development. ... The teacher establishes their relationship with students based on truth, on seeking it in the didactic process, and on being guided by it in the educational process. (Tchorzewski 2000a: 100)

The Professor attributes a special role to truth, freedom, goodness, and responsibility in the professional conduct of academic teachers. Reflecting on the erosion of the traditional academic ethos and the crises and conflicts within academic circles, he points to the need for these spaces to become more morally sensitive to fundamental moral values. An academic teacher, he argues, should seek and revisit such values as truth in science and freedom and tolerance in intellectual inquiry. Goodness, manifested in scientific achievements, should serve humanity, while responsibility involves accepting the consequences of one's actions (Tchorzewski 2001: 72). Responsibility, in particular, is linked to the dignity and integrity of the academic teacher (Tchorzewski 2006a: 343–344).

In analyzing axiological issues within the ethics of the academic teaching profession, Tchorzewski identifies truth, dignity, responsibility, and freedom as the foundational pillars for constructing ethical attitudes among academic employees (Tchorzewski 2006b: 342). He asserts that the ethics of an academic teacher is, first and foremost, centered on serving the truth, which cannot be separated from such values as freedom, responsibility, and tolerance. These values are essential attributes for representatives of this socio-professional group (Tchorzewski 1999b: 75). Freedom, in particular, is accorded a special role in Tchorzewski's academic explorations (Tchorzewski 1999c: 5–8). Linking freedom to the work of an academic, he writes as follows:

Freedom as a moral value is made present in the actions and conduct of academics and, by its very nature, encompasses both "freedom to" and "freedom from." This dual nature allows freedom to be understood as the ability to make independent decisions, express views freely, engage in dialogue and cooperation, solve problems autonomously, and pursue unrestricted intellectual growth. Conversely, it also encompasses freedom from manipulation, despotism, indoctrination, subjectivity, autocracy, imposed patterns of thought, and interference by incompetent individuals. (Tchorzewski 1999b: 76)

Defined in this way, freedom as a moral value assumes particular importance within the academic environment, especially in relation to scientific inquiry, which inherently demands intellectual autonomy and openness.

According to Tchorzewski, the teacher's axiological framework cannot exist without tolerance, which serves as a medium through which truth, freedom, and responsibility are fully realized and through which they become more mature (Tchorzewski 2000b: 106). Tolerance manifests most clearly in attitudes of forbearance, compromise, and empathy (Tchorzewski 1999b: 78). These qualities render tolerance an invaluable virtue in today's pluralistic social and educational reality. However, the Professor is careful to underscore the necessity of acknowledging the boundaries of tolerance, a topic he emphasizes deeply in his research (Tchorzewski 1998a: 93; 1999b: 78).

In concluding his reflections on the axiological underpinnings of teacher ethics, Tchorzewski is fully aware of the contemporary crisis of values, which has also affected schools and thus teachers. He writes:

The collapse of the authority of the school as a social institution and of the teacher, who is one of the main agents of school education, is associated with a broader crisis occurring in the modern world, including a crisis of values. Schools are no longer the sole source of knowledge or the exclusive venue for acquiring essential skills for human existence. Likewise, the teacher has lost the primacy they once held in the educational process, as many educational functions are increasingly assumed by non-school institutions and individuals not professionally involved in teaching or traditional forms of upbringing. (Tchorzewski 1999a: 34)

Thus, it seems all the more justified to address axiological issues within the teaching profession, a theme that Tchorzewski consistently explores in his works written in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. His publications invite contemplation on the ethical and moral dimensions of contemporary teaching, especially in light of the socio-moral disruptions of our time. Franciszek Adamski aptly describes this moment as a breakdown in the axionormative order (Adamski 1999: 11–18).

The values delineated by Tchorzewski offer a foundational framework for constructing a model of teacher axiology, which serves as a crucial reference point for the design and implementation of

educational processes. Within these processes, the moral values upheld by teachers play a decisive role in shaping the quality of their professional activities across all levels.

Deontological structure of the ethics of the teaching profession

In addition to axiological issues, Tchorzewski's pedeutological scholarship is preoccupied with the domain of teacher deontology, which he defines as "a scientific field concerned with moral principles and ethical duties" (Gr. *deon*, *deontos*—duty, what is necessary, obligatory, proper; *logos*—word, science). These principles and duties are expected to be observed and respected by both professional and non-professional pedagogues, a group that today generally includes teachers, tutors, instructors, moderators, inspirers, and others involved in upbringing, socialization, education, and interventions aimed at personal development, particularly among children and youth but also adults" (Tchorzewski 2003: 640).

In the mid-1980s, Tchorzewski points to the importance of incorporating teacher deontology into the academic preparation of pedagogy students, proposing its inclusion within a subject he referred to as pedeutology. He argued:

Universities training future teachers should incorporate issues of pedagogical deontology into their curricula. These topics could be integrated into the pedagogical-psychological course block. It seems reasonable to establish a dedicated course titled *Pedeutology with Elements of Teacher Deontology*. (Tchorzewski 1985: 153)

This early proposal for a deontology curriculum, suggested almost forty years ago, may provide a starting point for developing a contemporary approach to the discipline.

Tchorzewski's analysis of various sources and studies seeks to establish the position of teacher deontology within Polish pedagogical thought. His research brings attention to how the teaching profession has historically been framed within moral and ethical terms. While the specific duties of teachers evolve with the times, the essence of their ethical obligations remains anchored in the dual-subjectivity of pedagogical processes, which involve both an educating subject and an educated subject. This duality, according to Tchorzewski,

necessitates societal expectations of teachers akin to those placed on professions with significant social importance, such as doctors, lawyers, officers, politicians, and clergy. These professions demand exceptional personal qualities, reflecting their ethical responsibilities, which have both individual and societal implications (Tchorzewski 1993: 28–29).

The historical dimension of teaching ethics holds particular relevance, as it helps identify both enduring and mutable elements in this domain. Such an understanding is invaluable for constructing a robust and cohesive conceptualization of teaching ethics within modern pedeutology.

In the co-authored monograph *W kręgu powinności moralnych nauczyciela* [*Within the Circle of a Teacher's Moral Duties*] (Bydgoszcz 1994), Professor Tchorzewski devotes one of the chapters to teacher deontology, in particular topics such as the duties and obligations of teachers, the subject of deontology, the evolution of views on the norms of teacher deontology and their distinctiveness, and the fundamental deontological requirements of the teacher-pedagogue (Molesztak, Tchorzewski, Wołoszyn 1994: 49–108). The discussion of these basic duties and moral obligations serves as a foundation for broader debates about the ethical dimensions of the teaching profession, in particular its deontological aspects.

In his writings, Professor Tchorzewski attributes a special role to teachers' moral duties, particularly in the context of the student-teacher relationship. He states:

The teacher's moral duties are a distinct expression of their interaction with students. In the multifaceted educational process, the teacher-pedagogue must not forget that within every "ought" lies an imperative to transcend what is inhuman, worthless, or obstructive—barriers that hinder both the teacher and the student from becoming authentic human beings filled with personal dignity and a shared responsibility for themselves and the world they shape together. (Tchorzewski 1997a: 75)

Tchorzewski associates the moral duties of teachers with the moral values inherent in their profession. These include integrity (Tchorzewski 1994b: 72–73; Tchorzewski 2005: 63), dignity (Tchorzewski 1997a: 72), responsibility (Tchorzewski 1998a: 94–98; 2000a: 101–103), justice (Tchorzewski 1998a: 93), and tolerance (Tchorzewski

1999b: 77–78; 2000b: 106). Recognizing the duty-bound nature of these values, he conceptualizes teaching ethics as:

a set of principles, justified by truth and goodness, of individual action in the educational space, having a duty-like character, internally urging the teacher to be guided in his professional work by such values, with the help of which he derives goals indicating to the student the path of his/her development as a person. (Tchorzewski 1998b: 34)

Professor Tchorzewski's interest in the deontology of teaching also extends to his inquiries into the personality development of educators. He defines this process as:

A dynamic and continuous process of a pedagogue's internal development occurs not only during professional preparation, which includes extremely important—elements that shape the qualitative aspects of their professional activity—but also outside the confines of the profession. (Tchorzewski 2008: 9)

In Tchorzewski's framework, the process of teacher formation is categorized into three key areas: intellectual, professional, and ethical/deontological. The ethical/deontological dimension pertains to the moral aspects of a pedagogue's actions, which are connected with both the mandates and prohibitions that shape professional conduct, as well as the objectives educators are expected to serve. When analyzing this aspect of teacher development, Tchorzewski puts forward its relevance to teachers' attitudes toward moral norms, duties, and ethical principles in various relational contexts: teacher-student, teacher-parent, teacher-colleagues, and teacher-supervisors. Within this domain, the Professor assigns particular importance to ethical sensitivity, moral competencies, a sense of responsibility, and conscience as a subjective norm of ethical behavior (Tchorzewski 2008: 8; 2016a: 42–43; 2016b: 233–234; 2020b: 30–35).

Tchorzewski further links these elements of personality formation to the professional identity of teachers. He posits that this identity is not only reflected in teachers' knowledge, erudition, wisdom, cognitive curiosity, and natural predispositions but also through their ethical sensitivity, sense of duty, moral proficiency, and personal responsibility. Collectively, these attributes constitute the ethical-deontological dimension of teachers' identity (Tchorzewski 2022: 119). In conclusion, it is evident that teacher deontology occupies

an important place in Tchorzewski's pedeutological scholarship. The ethical requirements he associates with the teaching profession testify to the distinctive nature of educators' responsibilities,

Aretological structure of the ethics of the teaching profession

Considering the ethical aspects of Tchorzewski's pedeutological work, it is impossible to ignore aretological issues. Aretological ethics concerns itself with moral virtues (from the Greek *arete* = virtue + *logos* = study) (Klimowicz 1994: 17). In scholarly discourse, moral virtues are often equated with moral skills, which Tchorzewski identifies as the practical manifestation of virtues (Tchorzewski 2017: 27–30). Throughout his extensive scholarship, the Professor devotes a great deal of attention to moral skills, and to their prominent importance in the educational activities of teachers. Tchorzewski defines moral skills as “a set of enduring attitudes and a model of behavior of individuals, certain groups of people, or social environments, characterized by the recognition of a specific value system and adherence to the norms derived from it” (Tchorzewski 2013a: 88). He further elaborates that moral skills include:

Reliability in conduct is an outward-directed relationship stemming from the acting subject. It represents a constant inclination and acquired readiness to pursue the good, provided that one can distinguish between good and evil. This reliability embodies the ethical dimension of everyone's behavior. The content of moral skills lies in moral goodness. (Tchorzewski 2017: 29)

Referring moral skills to the teaching profession, Tchorzewski treats them as integral to pedagogical professionalism. These skills, he asserts, are essential for meeting the ethical demands associated with teaching and educational activities (Tchorzewski 2010: 211). He describes this form of teacher proficiency as:

the acquired ability to act reliably in the teacher's didactic-educational and caring behavior, directly or indirectly related to the fulfillment of duties and obligations of a moral nature. (Tchorzewski 2016a: 44)

An analysis of Tchorzewski's writings reveals the depth and diversity of the moral skills expected of contemporary teachers, which largely influence the quality of their professional undertakings.

Among these skills, Tchorzewski assigns particular importance to the teacher's moral skill of hope, which, together with faith and love, forms the basis of pedagogical action and provides personal meaning to the teacher's work. Hope, according to Tchorzewski, prompts reflection and is a motivating force for authentic pedagogical engagement, which involves imparting something meaningful to the student (Tchorzewski 2014: 17–18). In one of his writings, he examines hope as a virtue that improves the quality of life in contemporary society, identifying its two core pillars: confidence and encouragement (Tchorzewski 2018: 31–54). These reflections offer valuable insights into the role of hope within the ethics of the teaching profession, and inspire further study of its place and impact in teachers' moral frameworks. Among the moral skills affirmed by Professor Tchorzewski, love occupies a central place. Together with prudence and patience, love serves as an embodiment of wisdom, including what the Professor terms "educational wisdom" (Tchorzewski 2013b: 25). He considers love the foundational cause of upbringing, as it provides the essential condition for establishing a meaningful relationship between the educator and the one being educated (Tchorzewski 2012: 57–58).

Another virtue highlighted by Tchorzewski is fortitude, which he views as both a reflection of human nobility and an expression of an individual's appreciation for moral beauty. As a cardinal virtue, fortitude, in the Professor's view, must also manifest as a moral skill (Tchorzewski 2015: 64). Recognizing the complexities of modern educational contexts, he writes:

The rapidly evolving modern world requires a particular attitude of fortitude from teachers and educators. However, in the case of the teaching profession, this fortitude that would require him to make a sacrifice of his own life. And yet, when all pedagogical processes (the quality of which is determined by many different crises) occur amidst the complexity of social realities, a specific attitude is expected of the teacher-educator. This attitude is shaped by what can now be described as a nearly global axionormative chaos. (Tchorzewski 2015: 67)

Fortitude, as part of a teacher's set of moral skills, can mean both courage and, in some cases, heroism in taking difficult moral decisions and taking actions that are important for the well-being of the individuals with whom teachers engage in interpersonal educational relationships.

In addition to these foundational skills, Tchorzewski points to other moral proficiencies, such as self-creativity, self-discipline, conscientiousness, and diligence (Tchorzewski 1999b: 79–81). These qualities, like the aforementioned virtues, are integral to the ethical maturity and fulfillment of the teaching profession. Tchorzewski posits that these moral skills should form part of the essential professional toolkit of every teacher, regardless of the educational level at which they work or the specific nature of their teaching, educational, or caregiving responsibilities. According to Tchorzewski, a teacher's professional due to its unique nature, is not merely a task but a platform for exhibiting and perfecting the ethical virtues necessary for the proper fulfillment of their responsibilities.

Conclusion

The analysis of Professor Tchorzewski's scholarly contributions, presented here in a necessarily concise form, brings to light his meticulous and erudite approach to examining the ethical dimensions of the teaching profession. With a focus on moral values, duties, and the competencies of educators, the Professor's works convey his vision of teaching as an ethically grounded profession. Given its nuanced and multifaceted nature, this vision calls for ongoing scientific inquiry, particularly within the framework of contemporary pedeutology.

Tchorzewski's thought-provoking reflections can be a motivating force for those who engage with ethical and pedagogical concerns. and seek answers to the rudimentary questions: How can one be an ethical teacher in today's world? Which values and moral obligations should guide a teacher's professional practice? Among the array of suggested moral skills, which are most important to a teacher's educational activities?

Answering these questions is neither simple nor definitive, and requires a broader contemplation of the actions and responsibilities undertaken by educators. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that Professor Tchorzewski's body of work holds both theoretical and practical significance. As such, it merits consideration as a resource for reflecting on the ethical dimensions of the teaching profession, whether in its ideal or current state.

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Miscellanea

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Miscellanea

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Teacher-Parent Cooperation and Social Engagement in 1945–1989: Legal and Educational Perspectives

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to describe, explain, and evaluate the cooperation between teachers, parents, and the broader social environment from 1945 to 1989 within a legal-educational framework. A critical analysis of source materials and scientific studies was conducted. The study reveals that the dynamics of statutory solutions were closely tied to the political situation, necessitating a division of this historical period into distinct stages, each characterized by its own legal and educational framework.

The research draws inspiration from the theory of Andrzej Janke, who identified six periods of school-family cooperation between 1944 and 1989. However, this study shifts the focus from the school to the teacher, expands the analysis to include the social environment, and refines the nomenclature and time periods based on the author's findings.

The main conclusion is that, despite differences across the various stages, all were marked by a monocentric order and shared common features. Top-down legal regulations and strong ideological influences hindered the development of a culture of mutual trust. Consequently, collaboration between teachers, parents, and the social environment was fraught with shortcomings from the outset, including schematism, superficial actions, actionism, and opportunism.

KEYWORDS

school, teacher, parents, social environment, cooperation, education law, Polish People's Republic

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Introduction

In the humanities and social sciences, as well as in common perception, the school is understood as an institution with a social character. This perspective is reflected in its history, development over time, and its tasks (Milerski, Śliwerski 2000: 227–228). The importance of schools has been emphasized both in the works of classical pedagogical and sociological theorists and in contemporary pedagogical-sociological approaches (Znaniński 2001; Bystron 1933; Kowalski 1976; Szymański 1988; Kawula 1996; Mikiewicz 2016).

A unifying element across these various positions is the central role of the teacher, who is of strategic importance to the school's existence and functions. Each of these functions—adaptive, reconstructive, and emancipatory—contains a strong socializing element. The school is perceived as an integral part of the social environment, with cooperation between the school and its community largely determining the effectiveness of the educational process.

However, the essence, goals, and forms of this cooperation, as well as its legislative underpinnings, have varied significantly depending on the historical period.

The goal of this analysis is the cooperation of teachers with parents and the social environment in Poland from 1945 to 1989, a period that should be regarded as distinct due to its unique political and legal context. The aim is to highlight the main developmental trends in legal regulations governing teacher cooperation with the school's external environment and to identify the factors that influenced these trends.

New reality. New teacher

The collaboration between teachers, parents, and the social environment from 1945 to 1989 was embedded in the social order of the time, which organized a system of individual and group agreements. This monocentric order, characterized by central authority and an extensive control apparatus (Ossowski 2001: 60), determined the nature, direction, and expected outcomes of this collaboration. It also defined the place and social role of the actors involved. The teacher had a pivotal role here as the one who was entrusted by the

authorities with the mission of fulfilling top-down ideological and political objectives integrated into their educational duties (Mielczarek 1997; Grzybowski 2013a; 2013b; Chmielewski 2006; Kahl 2008). The teacher was no longer just a facilitator of institutional educational and upbringing goals but became, as it was termed, the “right hand of the party”—an extension of political power within both the school and the community (Grzybowski 2013a: 179–184). This pattern persisted, with varying intensity, throughout the period of People’s Poland, officially known as the Polish People’s Republic after 1952. This reality gave the teacher’s cooperation with various social actors a unique character, which was further reinforced and sanctioned by specific legal frameworks.

The shifting social and educational processes between 1945 and 1989 complicate any attempt to describe uniform legal regulations governing teachers’ cooperation with the social environment during this period. The evident dynamics in legislative solutions necessitate dividing this historical period into distinct stages, each characterized by specific legal and educational circumstances. With regard to family and school relations, such a division was made by Andrzej Janke who distinguished the following periods:

1. Prefiguration of a forward-looking and instrumentally oriented model of family-school relationships (1944–1948).
2. Programmatic alienation of family-school relationships (1949–1953).
3. School-centric determination of socialist family-school relationships (1954–1959).
4. Pseudo-democratic consolidation of family-school relationships based on the dominant role of the school (1960–1972).
5. Programmatic-instrumental incorporation of family-school relationships (1973–1987).
6. Dramatic attempt to democratize adragocentrically oriented family-school relationships (1988–1989) (Janke 1995: 278).

Andrzej Janke’s framework was, as I have already mentioned, a research inspiration. However, given the subject matter of this study, it became necessary to shift the focus from the school to the teacher, to broaden the scope to include the social environment, and to revise the nomenclature and time divisions based on my own conclusions.

Stage one (1945–1947): Prefiguration of the instrumental-ideological model of cooperation

The post-war years are an exceptional period in the history of Polish education for a number of basic reasons, including the scale of economic and social destruction, demographic disruptions that hindered or even halted school operations, problems with securing infrastructure such as buildings, books, teaching aids, and educational staff. A number of issues, including the matter of cooperation between teachers, parents, and the social environment, were dealt with on an ad hoc basis.

Formally, provisions from the interwar period remained in force such as the Act on Associations of October 27, 1932 (Dz.U. 1932, poz. 808) and the Act on the Integration of School Self-Government with Local Self-Government of February 27, 1939 (Dz.U. 1939, poz. 93). Legal continuity in this area was further affirmed by a circular letter from the Ministry of Education dated August 11, 1945, which stated that school committees or parents' circles "cooperating with the school in the fulfillment of its tasks to the extent practiced so far" should continue to operate in schools (Pęcherski, Świątek 1978: 246–247). However, from a legal standpoint, this was a rather enigmatic directive, as the outbreak of war had prevented the issuance of executive regulations for the 1939 Act (Janke 1996: 167). This was neither the first nor the last instance where educational issues were governed by lower-level regulations, while pre-war provisions were selectively retained in force "in part, in those areas that the people's government deemed suitable for adaptation to the new political reality" (Pyter 2015: 107).

The 1945 circular brought the implementation of compulsory education and the associated task of rebuilding schools, reflecting the core goals of post-war educational policy (Pęcherski, Świątek 1978: 246–247). This emphasis was further reinforced by instructions issued to organize general education and teacher training institutions from 1945 to 1948, which highlighted the importance of collaboration among educational and social actors, particularly in terms of sending children to school and providing material and financial support (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 41–43, 172–176, 178–180, 185–186).

The professional role of the teacher, centered around a sense of social mission, was also embedded in the concept of cooperation. A key document in this regard was an appeal to teachers made on August 1, 1944, by Stanisław Skrzeszewski, the head of the Ministry of Education of the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PKWN). Skrzeszewski called for active teacher participation in reopening schools, securing equipment, textbooks, and teaching aids—all with substantial assistance from the public and the National Councils (Dz.U. RO 1944, poz. 24). The activation of teachers was further emphasized in each subsequent set of instructions regarding the organization of the school year (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 41–43, 172–176, 178–180, 185–186).

The center of gravity in legal-educational cooperation (1945–1947)

During the years 1945–1947, the legal-educational dimension of the teacher's cooperation with the extracurricular environment focused on organizational and financial issues. Simultaneously, however, changes were unfolding that gave Polish education—and by extension, this cooperation—a distinctly ideological character in the subsequent historical period. The process of ideologization began as early as 1944, and a careful reading of the documents of the time reveals the direction of the modernization of the educational system (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 41–43, 172–176, 178–180, 185–186).

Equally indicative was the 1945 proclamation by the Board of the Union of Polish Teachers (Polish abbreviation: ZNP), which encouraged union-member teachers to participate in collective action and to shape the new socio-political reality (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 541–542). In practice, this meant working for trade unions, worker-peasant organizations, local governments, and cultural and educational institutions (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 541–542). While initially directed at ZNP members, these expectations soon became binding on the teaching profession as a whole.

A significant turning point came in April 1947 with the Political Bureau of the Polish Workers' Party (Polish abbreviation: PPR) Central Committee meeting, where an “ideological offensive” in education was announced (Jakubowski 1975: 227). This moment marked

the beginning of a new socio-political reality for the cooperation of teachers with parents and the broader social environment.

Stage two (1948–1959): Offensive-ideological and programmatically indoctrinated model of cooperation

The structural and symbolic Sovietization that permeated the post-war socio-educational reality (Hejnicka-Bezwińska 1996: 38–52) also influenced the relationships between teachers and other social groups. The teacher retained a strategic role within this framework. Stanisław Skrzyszewski's 1947 declaration of the "battle for the soul of the teaching profession" (Kryńska, Mauersberg 2003: 156) shaped the education system, teacher training, personnel policies, and the model of the so-called socialist teacher. This model emphasized ideological commitment alongside youth, proper social background and strong political and political loyalty, with social engagement as a key component (King 2012: 351–363). In other words, the political-agitational direction promoted by Eustachy Kuroczko began to take effect and became a core pedagogical function, with ideological agitation considered one of the main pedagogical responsibilities (Smołalski 2006: 36).

This was the case throughout the entire historical period, even during times of lower ideological pressure. The requirement for active involvement nothing of its relevance, as evidenced by its inclusion in the first post-war legislation regulating teachers' rights and duties: the Act of April 1956 (Dz.U. 1956, poz. 63). In practice, this legislation formalized teachers' roles in election campaigns, agricultural censuses, agitation for production cooperatives, workplace ceremonies, committees of national councils, and combating illiteracy (King 2014: 393–411).

Parents' committees and guardianship committees were regulated through separate legal and educational provisions. The functioning of parents' representatives and their cooperation with teachers was standardized during the period in question by ministerial decrees issued in 1949, 1951, and 1954, as well as circulars from 1950 and 1957. Additionally, the Act on Territorial Organs of Uniform State

Power of 1950 (Dz.U. 1950, poz. 130) played an indirect but equally binding role in this context.

The Ordinance of the Minister of Education of 1949 was the first post-war legal act devoted specifically to parents' committees. Its legal foundation was the Act on the Temporary Establishment of School Authorities of 1920 (Dz.U. 1920, poz. 304). The publication of the ordinance coincided with the completion of the fundamental phase of constructing the new socio-political system, and the moment for implementing plans to formally involve parents in the ideological tasks of schools.

As mandated by the legislation, parents were expected to cooperate with teachers in the following areas: enabling access to education for children from peasant-worker backgrounds, promoting democratic and progressive upbringing, countering reactionary influences on children and youth, organizing campaigns and celebrations, helping with homework, and undertaking care-related responsibilities (Dz.U. MO 1949, poz. 25). The prioritization of these duties coincided fully with the objectives of the educational policy of the time. To reinforce this cooperation, the ordinance granted legal legitimacy to the participation of the chairman of the parents' committee in recruitment and scholarship committees. Moreover, teachers were required to strengthen closer relationships with the parental community through provisions obliging parents to observe lessons and attend board of teacher meetings

Oversight of this cooperation fell to school authorities, who retained the right to suspend or dissolve parents' committees if it was found to be inactive, to violate the interests of the school or to exceed its powers (Dz.U. MO 1949, poz. 25). The fully indoctrinating nature of teacher-parent collaboration became evident in the Act of 1950 and its accompanying circular. With increased powers granted to national councils in educational matters, it was decided that upcoming elections to parents' committees would be held under the auspices of local education committees (Nalepiński 1967: 23). This change effectively removed parents' committees from the school setting, subjecting teacher-parent cooperation to full supervision. Committees were required to report on the conduct of lessons and classes they observed and approve educational and ideological work plans (Dz.U. MO 1951, poz. 233).

By making parents instruments of control and indoctrination, this undermined the culture of trust that was the basis of genuine cooperation, and rendered parents, at least formally, external and alien to the school and its teachers. Ironically, this was also disadvantageous for the authorities since the foreseeable ineffectiveness of such cooperation called into question the fulfillment of the ideological goals that they sought to achieve. This circumstance, as well as political developments, such as the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, which signaled, at least in theory, a loosening of the system, prompted decision-makers to revise the rules for parents' committees in 1954 (Dz.U. MO 1954, poz. 115).

Under the new regulations, principals, teaching staff, and education departments once again assumed supervisory responsibility for the committees' functioning and their cooperation with teachers. However, the priorities for collaboration remained unchanged, with the ideological formation of the "builder of socialism" coming to the fore. The regulations also introduced a requirement for the so-called "pedagogization" of parents, which was framed as a manifestation of agreement between teachers and parents on the ideological education of the younger generation. The authorities aimed to activate parents and unify activities while silencing dissent through the newly established class councils.

Despite the legal changes, the continuation of the previous course was evident. National council committees retained the right to exercise social control, and committee members were permitted to observe lessons and school activities (Dz.U. MO 1954, poz. 115). Although reports from these observations were to be submitted only to the headmaster or teachers, this could hardly be considered valuable element of cooperation. Additionally, the vague stipulations regarding social control by national councils and the reasons for suspending or dissolving committees further hindered effective collaboration (Dz.U. MO 1954, poz. 115).

The future, moreover, showed that these fears were not unjustified. October 1957 saw the publication of a circular delineating new scopes of cooperation with teachers. Notably, ideological matters were given surprisingly little space in favor of custodial-educational and material-financial issues, which, however, did not equate to the marginalization of the priorities set by previous legal acts

(Dz.U. MO 1957, poz. 156). As Janke observed, “the real intentions of the authorities of the time became fully clear after 1960” (Janke 1995: 281).

Among the social entities with which teachers cooperated—or were required to cooperate—were the welfare committees established by a ministerial directive in 1949 (Dz.U. MO 1949, poz. 45). The Soviet pedigree of the committees, the purpose of their establishment, and their assigned tasks clearly indicate their political nature. They were to be set up in workplaces and rural cooperatives with the aim of bringing the school closer to life and fostering connections between students with the working class and rural peasant masses. They were composed of the most ideologically dedicated workers—members of the Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR)—along with non-party members who supported party policies, school management, a representative from the parents’ committee, and a teacher. Notably, the inclusion of a workplace representative alongside parents’ representatives and the social-pedagogical committee (Dz.U. MO 1950, poz. 90) further extended the committees’ influence over the direction of educational work.

Cooperation with teachers was explicitly focused on issues that were most important for the authorities of the time: organizing meetings with labor leaders and social and workers’ activists, hosting ideological lectures at schools or workplace facilities, participating in school and workplace celebrations, contributing to recruitment committees and final examinations, and meeting the material and financial needs of students and schools (Dz.U. MO 1949, poz. 45). The committees’ top-down appointment process and indoctrination-oriented objectives were fully in line with the offensive-ideological model of cooperation prevalent at the time.

This was not made easier by the presence of welfare committees, which added another layer of control over teachers, supplementing the oversight already exerted by parents’ committees. This dual oversight, coupled with the mandated nature of cooperation, led to the waning of committee activity after an initial period of intensive engagement. Over time, this cooperation became largely formalistic, often reduced to the provision of financial support by the workplaces. A revival of committee activity occurred during the 1960s.

Stage three (1958–1972): School-centric and programmatically indoctrination-polytechnic model of cooperation

The period after the so-called October Thaw of 1956 was used by educational authorities to consolidate the changes consistently pursued since 1944 (Janke 1995: 281). A pivotal moment in this era was the 1958 meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), during which key decisions for the future of Polish education were made. In terms of pedagogical cooperation with parents and the social environment, the most significant decisions were intensifying the ideological nature of schools, secularizing education and polytechnizing teaching. This placed heightened demands on teachers requiring an ideological awakening and active participation in combating perceived forces of backwardness, ignorance, and clericalism (King 2013: 89–102). It was also in this spirit that the "Act on the Development of Education and Upbringing" of 1961 was prepared (Dz.U. 1961, poz. 160).

This legislation was preceded by two notable regulatory changes in 1960: a new set of guidelines for parent committees issued in May and updated arrangements for welfare committees in August. According to these new provisions, parent committees were ostensibly given more autonomy and self-governance. Cooperation with the teacher was also mentioned in a correction in the provision, i.e. the regulation on parental visits to classrooms was revised, stipulating that such visits could occur only at the teacher's invitation with the permission of the head of the school. Additionally, direct supervision of teacher-parent cooperation by education and culture committees of the national councils was abolished, which created the appearance of democratization (Dz.U. MO 1960, poz. 132). However, if one reads the Regulations more carefully, this impression quickly fades as for the first time the regulations explicitly required cooperation "with the school in strengthening the socialist direction of teaching and upbringing," and to link "this teaching and upbringing with life" while disseminating "pedagogical knowledge and the principles of socialist upbringing" among parents (Dz.U. MO 1960, poz. 132).

The indoctrination-polytechnic profile of cooperation was further reinforced by the August 1960 instruction, which legally formalized the activities of welfare committees. These committees' role was

bolstered by the establishment of welfare councils tasked with coordinating committee efforts and providing instructional and methodological support. Schools, and by extension teachers, were overseen by work councils in regular contact with workers' self-government, school authorities, and social organizations. This collaboration aimed to bring students closer to workplaces and supervise efforts to "pedagogize" parents (Nalepiński 1967: 78). The policy's emphasis on professionalization, pedagogy, and ideological conformity fully coincided with the priorities of educational policy, which culminated in the educational reform of 1961 (Dz.U. 1961, poz. 160).

From a practical point of view, however, the ideological directives did little to alter the actual dynamics of interaction between teachers, parents, and the social environment. Cooperation remained formalistic and superficial. The ideological overlay certainly did not help in shaping mutual relationships, further alienating participants, deepening distrust, and undermining genuine collaboration. These difficulties were exacerbated by the political crises of the era, including the socio-political unrest of 1968 and the protests of 1970, ultimately leading to the failure of the parademocratic initiatives and unification efforts championed by the authorities.

Stage four (1973–1987): A programmatic incorporation-instrumental model of cooperation

The political and social crises of the late 1960s and early 1970s, followed by Edward Gierek's rise to power, brought a sense of hope for the renewal of Polish education. The concept of teacher cooperation with parents and the broader social environment became integral to the intensively promoted vision of building a developed socialist society. The importance of the non-school environment in creating a comprehensive and unified system of education and upbringing was acknowledged by the party authorities, the authors of the 1973 Report on the State of Education, and the authors of the Resolution on Educational Reform passed by the Polish Parliament in October of the same year.

According to the prevailing concept, educational impact was to take a coordinated form, in which the school and the teacher occupied strategic positions. However, the ideals of socialist pedagogy required

the support of all educational and cultural institutions as well as social organizations to achieve effective implementation (Cichosz 2020: 103–107). This vision of cooperation soon translated into concrete legal measures. One notable example was the 1973 amendment to the rules governing parent committees. A ministerial decree issued in October of that year strengthened the legal status of these committees, expanded their aims and tasks, and required them to popularize the principles of socialist education both within schools and families, in collaboration with teachers (Dz.U. MOiW 1973, poz. 124).

The bolstering of the committees' legal standing and the addition of new prerogatives were not coincidental. First of all, these changes were in line with the overarching concept of a socialist society, in which the balanced authority of all educational entities was intended to ensure the efficacy of a unified educational system. Second, in implementing the party resolution, the authorities had already, the year prior, taken steps to shape the composition of these committees. Local PZPR authorities selected the chairpersons, while increasing the number of committee members who were also party members (APS KW PZPR WNiO 1972, sygn. 6, p. 7). Under these circumstances, the legislators could afford to minimize the overt ideological content in the new committee regulations, as Janke observed. These regulations were further addressed in a special letter from Jerzy Kuberski, then Minister of Education and Upbringing, directed to parents and teachers (Janke 1995: 283).

Allies of teachers in fulfilling the vision of a unified socialist education system traditionally included workplace welfare committees. In June 1976, a relevant ordinance on the matter was issued, narrowing the essence of this cooperation to three basic tasks: ideological and educational efforts, the pedagogization of society, and the organization of leisure activities. The most significant forms of recommended collaboration included disseminating knowledge of civic and socio-ideological duties by teachers, familiarizing students with the role of workplace party organizations, promoting modern and rational family life organization, and fostering the idea of education for work and through work. These goals were pursued through initiatives such as organizing socially useful work, arranging excursions to workplaces, inviting work leaders to schools, and hosting joint cultural and educational activities (Dz.U. MOiW 1976, poz. 56).

The escalating political and economic crises of the late 1970s and early 1980s, culminating in mass strikes and the imposition of martial law in December 1981, not only failed to create an atmosphere of positive cooperation between teachers and educational entities, but also introduced destabilizing factors, exacerbating atomization and mutual distrust. Despite these realities, the party authorities doubled down on the ideological agenda. In December 1982, they introduced a resolution aimed at integrating and coordinating all school and non-school institutions in ideological and educational work. This initiative was formalized a year later through the program “Main Directions and Tasks of the Educational Work of Schools” which became part of educational practice (Janke 1995: 283).

To ensure proper implementation, so-called advisory teams were set up, consisting of representatives from school administrations, cooperating organizations, parent committees, and welfare institutions. Functioning under local party authorities, these teams effectively placed the Commissions for Science and Education of the PZPR in full control and supervision of cooperative efforts (APS, KW PZPR WNiO sygn. 65). The determination of party-educational authorities to maintain the ideological course of cooperation and to promote their vision of a socialist educating society—supported by pedagogical theorists¹—was of little use. The system continued to erode, and cooperation, when it occurred at all, became ad hoc and strictly formalistic. Under these circumstances, any collaboration was driven more by inertia than by genuine commitment or enthusiasm.

Stage five (1988–1989): Transformational and forward-looking programmatic democratic model of cooperation

The political transformation of this period signaled changes not only within socio-political structures but also marked—at least in

1 The concept of a socialist educating society was discussed in the following publications, among others: Suchodolski B. (ed.) (1985). *Pedagogika. Podręcznik dla kandydatów na nauczycieli*, Warszawa: PWN; Muszyński H. (ed.). *System wychowawczy szkoły podstawowej. Założenia teoretyczne*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie; Wołczyk J. (1976). *Szkoła otwarta*, Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy CRZZ; Lewin A. (1983). *System wychowawczy a twórczość pedagogiczna*, Warszawa: PWN; Wroczyński R. (1968). *Wychowanie poza szkołą*, Warszawa: PZWS.

principle—a new chapter in the history of Polish education. The departure from the socialist school paradigm led to a model of cooperation between teachers, parents, and the social environment that aligned with democratic standards, emphasizing autonomy and self-governance as both its essence and primary goal.

This shift was highlighted in two major documents from this period: one a legal act and the other a programmatic guide for educational development. The first, the Regulation of the Ministry of Education of November 1988, granted parent committees a meaningful role for the first time in the history of the People's Republic of Poland. These committees became “self-governing representatives of parents” with the right to voice opinions on “important matters of school” and to offer “social evaluation” (Dz.U. 1988, poz. 292). The second document, the 1989 *Report on the State and Directions of Development of National Education in the People's Republic of Poland*, extended this direction. It marked a significant shift that was extremely important from the point of view of the philosophy of education from a statist model of cooperation to a civic one. The concept of an educating society was re-envisioned, this time focused on “the principles of integration and agreement in matters of education at the level of specific local environments, around specific human communities, in specific living conditions” (*Edukacja narodowym priorytetem* 1989: 291).

The notion of educational coexistence and cooperation in raising the younger generation, as expressed in these documents, was still in its infancy and burdened by the legacy of the past. Nevertheless, it represented a symbolic return to the ideals espoused by the classics of pedagogy and the sociology of education. The true legal-educational departure from socialist principles, however, did not occur until the passage of the Act of 7 September 1991 on the Educational System (Dz.U. 1991, poz. 425).

Conclusion

In the introductory discussion, it was emphasized that the legal-educational foundation of teacher cooperation with parents and community organizations from 1945 to 1989 was an immanent part of the monocentric order prevailing during that time, which influenced the essence, objectives, and tasks of such cooperation. Its

entanglement with educational policy meant that, aside from the brief post-war phase and the fleeting end of the communist period, cooperation rarely took on a substantive form. Instead, it was constrained within an ideological framework.

The ideological foundation and core of this cooperation took shape during the second highlighted period, 1947–1959, which explains its apparent overrepresentation in this text. Over time, certain aspects of this cooperation naturally lost their vigor, while others persisted largely out of inertia. Taken as a whole, the cooperation model from 1945 to 1989 can be regarded as a prototype for relationships between educational actors during this period. However, in educational practice, the ideological anchoring of this legal foundation rendered it temporary, performative, and prone to conflict.

Mikołaj Winiarski also noted the systemic objectification of this cooperation by identifying distortions in its axiological, ethical, pedagogical, organizational, and sociotechnical dimensions. The imperative-administrative and adragocentric nature of the system, combined with ideologization, slogan-driven superficiality, impoverished psycho-pedagogical relationships, asymmetrical interdependence, and a unified, schematic approach, shaped the model of cooperation. These factors made it ineffective from a socio-educational perspective (Winiarski 2000: 74–80). This outcome occurred despite the legislator's intentions, but it was inevitable in a system where the humanist-pedagogical dimension of education was supplanted by a political one, and all educational actors were embedded in an ideological world of senses and meanings.

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Educational Efforts of Teachers at the Ursuline Sisters' Junior High School and Secondary School in Cracow from 1945 to 1953

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to spotlight the educational efforts undertaken by teachers at the Cracow grammar school administered by the Ursuline Sisters during its reactivation from 1945 to 1953. The research is based on an analysis of documents housed in the Cracow Provincial Archive of the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union, most of which were not previously utilized by the author in his doctoral thesis. The essay outlines the primary objectives of the school's educational mission of religious, moral, and social upbringing, with a focus on preparing female students for service to God, the Church, the Homeland, and their communities. This mission was primarily fulfilled through educational programs devised by the teaching staff, at first through official channels and later through the so-called "second circuit" in response to the ideological offensive in education. Additionally, the article discusses the contributions of extracurricular organizations, such as the School Circle of the Polish Red Cross and Cracow scout teams. It also shows the importance of instilling good manners in students and the pivotal role of teachers in alleviating the burdens of wartime experiences, setting directions for educational initiatives, overseeing their execution, and maintaining positive rapport with students.

KEYWORDS

educational activity,
education, teacher,
secondary school,
Catholic school, Ursuline
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Introduction

The origins of the female secondary school run by the Ursuline Sisters in Cracow date back to 1875. At that time, the Order established a school with a boarding house, which was later transformed into a post-primary school in 1898 and subsequently into a junior high school in 1909. On December 22, 1910, with the approval of the Ministry of Religion and Education (under the supervision of the Austrian government), the Ursuline Sisters also founded a secondary school. The development of the school contributed significantly to its growing prestige and importance. While graduation from a post-primary school opened up the opportunity to continue studies at a teachers' seminar at most, female graduates of the junior high school could attend university classes as free students. Secondary school graduates, on the other hand, were eligible to apply for university admission (Rogozińska 2013: 244–245).

In 1921, shortly after Poland regained independence, the general secondary school was transformed into an eight-class humanities secondary school. Two years later, however, the secondary school was closed. Further modifications in the structure and operation of the Ursuline secondary school resulted from the Act on the Educational System of March 11, 1932, introduced by the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, Janusz Jędrzejewicz. This legislation transformed the humanities secondary school into a four-year general junior high school and led to the establishment of a general secondary school with humanities and science classes (Rogozińska 2013: 245).

On November 13, 1939, after the defeat of the September Campaign and the German occupation of Cracow, local occupation authorities ordered the closure of the Ursuline secondary school. However, almost immediately after its shutdown, the sisters organized a center for secret education at the Private Secondary and Junior High School, later designated as Center No. 1. This center conducted clandestine classes throughout the German occupation until January 18, 1945 (Kotowska, Szarska 1998: 43–45; Chrobaczyński 2000: 130–131).

Functioning of the school in 1945–1953 and its educational programs

Shortly after the Soviet army entered Cracow on February 10, 1945, the Ursuline nuns reactivated their schools without much difficulty (Klich 2017: 179). The Ministry of Education did not impede the reopening of Catholic schools. This tolerance was influenced by the fragility of the new government, which was not ready for open confrontation with the Church, as well as the state's financial constraints, which were alleviated by the presence of private schools. Furthermore, under interwar regulations, students were permitted—and even required—until the enactment of the Council of Ministers' Decree on Freedom of Conscience and Religion of August 5, 1949, to say prayers at the beginning and end of lessons, attend Sunday and holy mass together, participate in three-day retreats, and receive confession and Holy Communion three times a year (Grudziński 2013: 99, 200–203).

Initially, Sister Teresa Ledóchowska, a Polish language teacher, served as principal of the secondary school. In her post-visit report dated May 4, 1946, Dr. Maria Chrzanowska noted that at the Ursuline school, under Ledóchowska's leadership, "in educational work, besides religious influence, great emphasis is placed on the social education of the youth" (Klich 2017: 180). Subsequent reports from March 1947 and February 1948 emphasised the thorough preparation of teachers for lessons, positive teaching outcomes, and the exemplary behavior of female students (Klich 2017: 181–182).

The perception of the Ursulines' school changed after the Ministry of Education launched its ideological offensive (Lewandowski 1997; Jarosz 1998; Koźmian 2002; Szuba 2002; Mezglewski 2004: 275–317; Mauersberg, Walczak 2005) which coincided with personnel changes in the Cracow school superintendent's office. As a result, starting in the 1948/49 school year, Antoni Wolański took over as the school's inspector. In his report on his first visitation, conducted in October 1948, he stressed that the aim of the educational activities conducted in the institution was to instill in the pupils an attitude of love for God and the Homeland. However, he noted a simultaneous reluctance to "switch to a new track of upbringing" and a readiness to "serve the classes that had ended" (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/5.

Sprawozdanie z wizytacji). For Wolański, this was tantamount to the school's failure to fulfill the expected "social and state tasks," which consequently put its existence in serious jeopardy. Following Wolański's observations, acting superintendent Wincenty Danek suspended Sister Ledóchowska. Five days later, Stefan Kropaczek, PhD, a teacher from the 3rd State Secondary School, was appointed as the new school principal (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/5. *Sprawozdanie z wizytacji*).

The superintendent also ordered the establishment of a Circle of the Union of Polish Youth (Polish abbreviation: ZMP) on the school premises, whose main task was to shape the ideological orientation of the youth in alliance with the Polish Workers' Party (Polish abbreviation: PPR) and later the Polish United Workers' Party (Polish abbreviation: PZPR). Activities included collaboration with state farms (PGR), collecting scrap metal, celebrating national holidays, and promoting state reforms (Król 2013: 64–65). Despite the steps taken by Kropaczek, the ZMP Circle was quickly dissolved due to strong opposition from the Ursuline Sisters' Superior, and the girls who had joined it transferred to other institutions (Grudziński 2013: 236–237; Klich 2017: 226–227).

Faced with resistance from the Order's superiors, Kropaczek stepped down as principal at the end of the 1948/49 school year. His duties were assumed the following year by Sister Henryka Sosnowska and, from June 1950, by Sister Katarzyna Pol. It is worth noting that neither had the approval of the educational authorities. In the 1948/49 school year, the school was deprived of its state rights for the first time, a situation that recurred during its final two years of operation (1951/52 and 1952/53). In June 1953, the school was officially closed (Klich 2017: 227).

The inspectors' observations also influenced the school's educational programs. Immediately after the war, the educational authorities permitted the inclusion of religious content in the curriculum. However, starting in the 1947/48 school year, when the Ministry of Education began requiring approval of schools' educational plans, there was a growing emphasis on eliminating religious elements from the curriculum, a trend that became increasingly evident over time.

Despite this, even during the 1950/51 school year, the teaching staff of the Ursuline Secondary School declared in their framework

plan of ideological and educational action” that the main educational objective was to prepare female students for active participation in social and state life “based on the principles of Catholic faith and morality.” However, there was little content relating to Catholic pedagogy in the tasks outlined in the plan. While goals such as nurturing a deeper love for the homeland could be regarded as such, objectives like broadening knowledge about the Soviet Union as the implementer of the socialist system or “linking school work with the 6-year plan for Poland’s economic development” were clearly inconsistent with Catholic pedagogical principles (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/41. *Plany wychowawcze. Sprawozdania 1950/52, Ramowy plan pracy ideologiczno-wychowawczej*).

From the 1951/52 school year onward, official school programs made no references to religious education. Instead, the primary educational objectives for individual classes were to work on implementing the 6-year plan alongside an active struggle for peace, e.g. through adherence to student rules and regulations, scientific competitions, creating sea-related decorations, participating in the “I Look, I See, I Serve” competition, and encouraging peer self-help and the use of criticism and self-criticism. The Pedagogical Council was tasked with activities such as “regularly following press reports on the achievements of laborers and forefathers, showcasing them on a special bulletin board, using them as models of commitment in school-work, and linking education with real life while fostering the skills needed to live in a working society” (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/41. *Plany wychowawcze. Sprawozdania 1950/52, Roczny plan pracy pedagogicznej. Rok szkolny 1951/52*; sygn. Sz. III/42. *Plany pracy wychowawczej 1951/52, Ramowy plan wychowawczy. Rok szkolny 1951/52*).

Even in the final year of the Secondary and Junior High School’s operation (1952/53), teachers were expected to combine didactic and educational activities with efforts to “fight for peace,” achieve the best possible teaching outcomes, and ensure rigorous adherence to student regulations. Other objectives included familiarizing students with the ongoing successes of the 6-year plan and integrating topics related to the Constitution, the directives of the 7th Plenary Meeting of the Party, and the speeches of President Bierut into teaching and educational practices (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/41. *Plany*

wychowawcze. Sprawozdania 1950/52, *Roczny plan pracy pedagogicznej. Rok szkolny 1952/53*).

Despite the consistent exclusion of religious elements from schools, teachers at Ursuline institutions continued to impart religious knowledge to their students and shape them according to the principles of a Christian worldview (Klich, Kotowska, Rogozińska 2015: 147–151). These schools implemented “dual” educational plans: official plans designed to meet the requirements of the educational authorities and alternative, unofficial plans that reflected the true educational activities occurring within the schools. Based on the draft educational work plan from 1952, the educational influences in Ursuline secondary schools were intended to encompass the following areas:

- Religious education: Teachers, particularly religion instructors, were tasked with deepening students’ understanding of Christian dignity and the grace of baptism.
- Moral education: The goal was to guide students toward God, instill a deep faith in the Catholic Church, and teach them to follow Christian morality by living with honesty, approaching schoolwork conscientiously, recognizing personal faults and mistakes, and seeking God’s will.
- Practical education (manners): Students were expected to maintain order in classrooms and public spaces at school, take care of personal hygiene, and ensure their clothing was clean.
- School-related education: This required students to adopt a responsible approach to their academic duties, while teachers were expected to implement the curriculum as much as possible in accordance with religious and Catholic moral principles (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/44. Materiały do pracy wychowawczej, *Przykładowe opracowanie Planu Pracy Wychowawczej dla Liceum Urszulańskiego*, Poznań, wrzesień 1952 r.).

Expectations of teachers in light of children’s wartime experiences and post-war educational realities

In the post-war reality, it was very important for teachers to take into account the impact of wartime experiences on the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of their students. The teaching staff took this issue very seriously, taking measures to mitigate these effects and making them the focus of their educational efforts and initiatives.

Anonymous surveys, prepared by Polish language teacher Sister Konstantyna Baranowska, asked students about their wartime experiences and how these affected their material circumstances, mental health, relationships with parents and teachers, religiousness and school education. Based on the survey findings, pedagogical and didactic objectives were outlined in May 1946 during a Pedagogical Council meeting and Parents' Committee gatherings. Teachers were required to implement these recommendations. Additionally, the results of the survey were discussed during homeroom sessions in senior classes.

The surveys revealed significant changes in the lives of students due to the war (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/46. *Nasza młodzież powojenna. Wpływ przeżyć wojennych na uczennice zakładów urszulańskich – w półroczu szkolnym 1945 i roku szkolnym 1945/46*). Negative consequences included: deterioration of material conditions and health, increased nervousness and pessimism about the world, emotional detachment and lack of trust in the older generation, reduced physical fitness and ethical standards. However, positive effects were also noted: broader and deeper intellectual interests, an increased sense of social solidarity, a heightened desire for knowledge, deepened religious faith, strengthened patriotism (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/46. *Nasza młodzież powojenna. Wpływ przeżyć wojennych na uczennice zakładów urszulańskich – w półroczu szkolnym 1945 i roku szkolnym 1945/46*; Grudziński 2013: 264).

Out of 221 female students surveyed, an overwhelming majority—193 (88%)—reported that they liked their school. They expressed a desire for their teachers to help restore their “carefree adolescent years” as a form of reparation for the hardships endured during the war. They also sought a “free and nurturing friendly atmosphere,” the opportunity to receive a quality education, and the chance to either study at university or gain professional qualifications. It was also important for the students to be educated within the framework of a Christian worldview. The teachers' efforts to create an appropriate and supportive educational environment are evidenced by the students' statements: “The school gives us everything—it educates us, nurtures us, and even provides pleasure and entertainment. I have never enjoyed any school as much as this one, and I've attended two others ... Also, nowhere have I encountered such kind and wonderful

teachers as here” (student, 14 years old); “The school is my whole world—it provides relief and helps me forget the difficult experiences of the war. The school gives me everything I need” (student, 16 years old); “The school probably offers us the greatest opportunities for self-improvement ... I would describe it as a bottomless well filled to the brim with chances to do good” (student, 16 years old); “The school teaches us how to live alongside others, shows us the right path, and connects us with faith” (student, 16 years old); “I love this school and look with admiration at the hard work of all the Sisters in our education. I never imagined that one could feel so attached to a school and love it so deeply” (student, 19 years old) (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/46. *Nasza młodzież powojenna. Wpływ przeżyć wojennych na uczennice zakładów urszulańskich – w półroczu szkolnym 1945 i roku szkolnym 1945/46*). The students overwhelmingly (90%) expressed appreciation for their teachers’ dedication, knowledge, and personalities. They emphasized their gratitude for the teachers’ courage in risking their lives while conducting secret classes, as well as their commitment, patience, perseverance, and religious education. However, there were also critical remarks. Some students mentioned instances of favoritism, unfair grading, lack of kindness and understanding, mood-dependent behavior during lessons, and derogatory remarks such as calling students “calves, donkeys, and dumplings.” One student provided an insightful summary of the teachers’ differing approaches, saying: “I would divide them into teacher-pedagogues who are profoundly good, who understand young people and engage with them, and another group of teachers who are cold clerks, rigidly and impersonally performing their duties without regard for what the child thinks or feels. Living with young people—that’s what makes an ideal teacher, in my opinion! It is easy to give someone a grade of 4, but it’s necessary to know whether that grade is fair. Classification shouldn’t just rely on dry assessments of knowledge; the teacher should also consider whether the student is dealing with difficulties that tire her out and hinder her learning” (APUUR, Sz. III/46. *Nasza młodzież powojenna. Wpływ przeżyć wojennych na uczennice zakładów urszulańskich – w półroczu szkolnym 1945 i roku szkolnym 1945/46*). This statement shows appreciation for teachers who do not focus solely on didactics and enforcing knowledge, who show empathy, take an interest in their students’ family circumstances, and try to understand

the causes of learning difficulties or misbehaviour. The pedagogical insights derived from the analysis of the survey pointed to the need for self-development among teachers, educators, and parents. Based on the principles of the Catholic faith, they were encouraged to work on shaping their own character to eliminate any discrepancy between the ideals they preached and their own behavior in order to influence students most effectively by example. Teachers were also expected to enhance their subject knowledge to become models of reliability and conscientiousness in fulfilling their duties. In their interactions with students, teachers were encouraged to:

1. Nourish a deep interest in and love for their students by paying attention to their inner experiences and environmental contexts.
2. Be calm, firm, yet gentle and patient in all educational interactions, without causing fear. e.g., by raising their voice or displaying irritability.
3. Build students' self-esteem, offer encouragement and hope, show them the positive aspects of difficult situations, demonstrate the value of making an effort, and help alleviate difficulties.
4. To be kind, to win the trust of young people through skill and tact, to defuse inner tensions, and to overcome reticence. To be the moral support that students often seek from their teachers, even if this need is not always outwardly expressed (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/46. *Nasza młodzież powojenna. Wpływ przeżyć wojennych na uczennice zakładów urszulańskich – w półroczu szkolnym 1945 i roku szkolnym 1945/46*).

In addition, teachers were expected to address, as far as possible, the material and health needs of children and young people while striving to ensure that curricula, textbooks, and the entire pedagogical system were grounded in the values of truth, goodness, love, and creative work. These were to be “based on the foundations and traditions of Polish culture and history,” with the Catholic religion serving as the central guarantor of these values. Consequently, religious upbringing constituted the most important, although not exclusive, component of the school's educational activities (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/46. *Nasza młodzież powojenna. Wpływ przeżyć wojennych na uczennice zakładów urszulańskich – w półroczu szkolnym 1945 i roku*

szkolnym 1945/46). This emphasis was also evident in the activities of the school's PCK (Polish Red Cross) Circle and the school's scout team.

Education within school organisations

The School PCK (Polish Red Cross) Circle was established shortly after the school's reactivation in March 1945. The organization was supervised by teacher Iza Pelc, with students divided into two groups, each led by female teachers from the local school. The younger group was overseen by Janina Oszastówna, while the older group was managed by Zofia Rymarówna. Maria Ornatowska was appointed as the circle's chairperson. The members organized themselves into two groups, sanitary and sightseeing, which met every week. They were mainly involved in social and charitable efforts, such as organizing winter aid, collecting clothes and food for repatriates, and distributing gifts from PCK parcels to students from economically disadvantaged families. Hygiene standards on the school premises were also a significant focus of their efforts (APUUR, sygn. Sz. Org. PCK 63. *Plany pracy, sprawozdania roczne i miesięczne, protokoły z zebrań 1949–1953, Sprawozdanie z działalności Koła za rok 1945/46*).

As part of their social work, students, under the guidance of their teachers, assisted impoverished families by providing food and clothing, visiting them, and spending time with their children. They also volunteered in school daycare centers, organized “Santa Claus” and Christmas parties for children in daycare facilities and for soldiers in hospitals, collected donations for repatriates, and maintained the graves of those killed during the war (Grudziński 2013: 226).

In the 1946/47 school year and subsequent years, the PCK (Polish Red Cross) Circle was supervised by Zofia Rymarówna, under whose guidance the group continued its social, charitable, and sanitary-hygiene activities (APUUR, sygn. Sz. Org. PCK 63. *Plany pracy, sprawozdania roczne i miesięczne, protokoły z zebrań 1949–1953, Sprawozdanie z działalności Koła za rok 1945/46*). The Circle's activities were guided by the motto, “Love your neighbor, serve God and Poland!” Practical implementation of this motto included helping the sick and former prisoners (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III. 18. *Sprawozdanie*

z pracy Koła PCK przy Gimnazjum i Liceum SS. Urszulanek w Krakowie za rok szkolny 1946/47).

In the following years, the Circle remained engaged in social and charitable efforts. With Rymarówna's approval, students carried out weekly service at St. Lazarus Hospital, during which they handed out care packages to patients and provided them with assistance. They also worked daily (except on Saturdays and holidays) from 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. at the Caritas Day Care Centre on Krakowska Street, helping children with homework and teaching them. The circle also supported a day center for children of former political prisoners on Kanonicza Street, visited old people's homes, and assisted soldiers in military hospitals (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III. 18. *Sprawozdanie z pracy Kółka Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża przy Gimnazjum i Liceum SS. Urszulanek w Krakowie w roku 1947/8*; sygn. Sz. III. 18. *Sprawozdanie z działalności młodzieżowego Koła PCK przy Liceum SS. Urszulanek w roku szkolnym 1948/49*; Grudziński 2013: 227).

Starting in 1947/48, political influence on PCK educational activities became increasingly apparent. Initially limited to peripheral initiatives, such as preparing a school exhibition as part of the "three-year plan," these efforts soon expanded. In subsequent years, students took part in collections for the Komsomol holiday—a communist Soviet youth organization—and organized a school day-care center on Kanonicza Street as part of pre-Congress activities (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III. 18. *Sprawozdanie z działalności młodzieżowego Koła PCK przy Liceum SS. Urszulanek w roku szkolnym 1948/49*).

The first scout team, 35 KDH "Czyn" [Deed], was established at the school in September 1945, followed by the 52 KDH "Wierchy" [Mountain Summits])—in December of the same year. Records from the Provincial Archives of the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union in Cracow also provide incomplete information about the activities of KDH 16. Initially, the scout teams were supervised by Wanda Malinowska, a junior high school teacher, and later by Sister Zygmunta Podgórska, a history teacher. During the school year, the Girl Scouts worked under the guidance of female teachers in their chosen areas of focus. The "Wierchy" team, as part of its "service to the child" initiative, cared for 61 KDH, a group composed of street children. Members of "Wierchy" provided food packages from the shelter on Radziwiłłowska Street, organized "Santa Claus" and

Christmas parties for these children, and assisted in day care centers (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III. 18. *Sprawozdanie z pracy 52 KDH „Wierchy” za rok 1946/47*; sygn. Sz. Org. H 61. Harcerstwo 1945/46; 1946/47; 1947/48. Plany pracy, sprawozdania, materiały dotyczące 35. Drużyny, *Plan pracy na rok 1946/47, 35 KDH „Czyn” im. Józefy Mikowej*; Grudziński 2013: 230–231).

The “Czyn” team, in turn, focused on developing qualities such as punctuality, reliability, discipline, responsibility, fraternity, and a scouting attitude. They also organized Christmas and Easter parties for orphans of political prisoners, conducted donation collections for flood victims, cared for abandoned graves, purchased trash bins for Wolski Forest, compiled reading lists, and wrote book reviews (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III. 18. *Sprawozdanie z pracy 52 KDH „Wierchy” za rok 1946/47*; sygn. Sz. Org. H 61. Harcerstwo 1945/46; 1946/47; 1947/48. Plany pracy, sprawozdania, materiały dotyczące 35. Drużyny, *Plan pracy, 52 ŻDKH „Wierchy” na rok 1947/48*; Grudziński 2013: 230–231).

Meanwhile, members of the 16th team volunteered at the Emergency Care Centre for Girls in Cracow, where they also organized recreational activities for children. Over time, the activities of the scout teams in the 1940s and 1950s became increasingly politicized by the educational authorities (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III. 18. *Sprawozdanie z pracy drużyn harcerskich przy Gimnazjum i Liceum SS. Urszulanek w Krakowie*; Grudziński 2013: 230).

The fulfilment of educational ideas according to the “Serviam” program

Throughout their years of activity in Poland, the Ursulines aimed to unify the educational work in the schools they operated, which became a reality in the early 1950s. The unified educational program developed at the Ursuline educational conventions was encapsulated in the Latin word *Serviam* meaning “I will serve.” In educational practice, *Serviam* symbolized serving God, the Church, the homeland, the family, and the local community. Service to God and the Church mainly involved fulfilling religious obligations; service to the homeland meant achieving good academic results, maintaining

discipline, and demonstrating dutifulness; and service to others encompassed selflessness and working on one's personal character (Klich 2017: 414–417).

In the 1950/51 school year, an Ursuline school in Poznań awarded the *Serviam* badge to female students who embodied these ideals in their lives, marking the first time such an honor was bestowed in Poland (Klich 2017: 417). This practice gradually spread to other Ursuline educational institutions, including the one in Cracow.

One example of the implementation of educational ideas at the Cracow school is the “attempted commentaries on the Gospels” written by high school students in Class X under the guidance of Sister Catherine Pol in March 1952. These commentaries were developed through discussions and largely referred to both individual experiences and broader human communities. In their reflections, the students pointed to the importance of living a life guided by Christ's teachings and proclaiming them with courage and conviction. They emphasized the value of maintaining evangelical optimism despite life's difficulties, coupled with the ability to endure setbacks. Other key themes included displaying an uncompromising attitude in matters of faith, showing love to parents, superiors, siblings, the poor, and even strangers encountered on a tram—whether friends or adversaries—practicing forgiveness, striving for harmony, adhering to steadfast moral principles despite shifting circumstances, and exercising silence to de-escalate conflicts. However, there was also a questionable glorification of suffering. As the authors of the commentaries stated, “Man should aim at the Lord, imitate Him, and since the Lord God loves all people and makes no difference between them, so we, imitating Him, must love our neighbors and make no difference between them” (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/39. Materiały wychowawcze powojenne, *Próba komentarzy do Ewangelii – kl. X-lic. pod kierunkiem m. Katarzyny Pol, Kraków – marzec 1952*).

The students and their teachers also stressed that a lack of love for others stems from a lack of knowledge of the Gospel and distance from God. In their view, this results in loneliness and inner sadness and generates hatred and discord in society, often culminating in civil wars. To counteract this, they proposed that Catholics dedicate 10 minutes daily to reading the Gospel, focus on self-improvement, and cultivate their character. They also believed it was important to

avoid criticism and practice greater forbearance. It is also noteworthy that the authors of the commentaries were aware of the difficulties in living out the commandment to love one's neighbor, particularly the injunction to repay evil with good. Interestingly, there was no consensus among the girls when responding to the question, "Which is more important: prayer or a deed arising from love of neighbor?" (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/39 Materiały wychowawcze powojenne, *Próba komentarzy do Ewangelii – kl. X-lic. pod kierunkiem m. Katarzyny Pol, Kraków – marzec 1952*).

In 1952, the students provided feedback in questionnaires on the Ursuline ideal of education implemented at the Cracow school, highlighting both its practical application and areas for improvement. They expressed the belief that the motto *Serviam*—calling for daily service to God, one's neighbor, and the homeland—should become a universal Catholic ideal. One respondent described the Ursuline ideal as a model of obedience. Another emphasized the need to "fight for the rights of God and truth," adopting an attitude of "tenacious struggle in defense of what is sacred to us and today is subject to blasphemy or mockery" (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/39, Materiały wychowawcze powojenne, *Zestawienie odpowiedzi na ankietę. 1952*). This statement reflects a suggestion to adapt the Ursuline ideal to claim a more prominent place for God in the socio-political reality.

Another girl emphasized the need to work on regularity, punctuality, obedience, individual and collective responsibility, and honesty. At the same time, she pointed out negative behaviors, including thoughtlessness, indifference to religious instruction, lack of willingness to work on self-improvement, scepticism and indifference to the truth. She attributed these shortcomings to a "frenetic pace of life," excessive activities, a lack of introspection, insufficient personal development, weak willpower, and susceptibility to negative influences. Another student mentioned deficiencies such as neglecting religious practices, a lack of courtesy, failure to adhere to rules of good behavior, and insufficient responsibility and dutifulness (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/39, Materiały wychowawcze powojenne, *Zestawienie odpowiedzi na ankietę. 1952*).

When asked how to remedy these shortcomings in cultivating the ideal, the students suggested introducing the Ursuline ideal in an accessible manner from the earliest grades, in order to spark interest

in children and gradually develop a habit of working toward its realization. They also recommended collective activities such as reading together, discussing books in small groups, and helping each other. Most notably, they emphasized the importance of influencing one's community through personal example, cheerfulness, naturalness, and a sense of dignity. Another valuable proposal was maintaining contact after high school graduation, even through correspondence, to share experiences and sustain a sense of community. The students stressed that pursuing the ideal did not demand extraordinary sacrifices but rather involved performing everyday, mundane tasks with the intention of serving God, others, and the homeland (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/39, Materiały wychowawcze powojenne, *Zestawienie odpowiedzi na ankietę*. 1952).

The students also highlighted the role of the headmistress and class teachers in making the girls aware of the importance of self-improvement and striving toward the Ursuline ideal. To enhance the educational environment, teachers used various educational methods. One such approach was the "mood barometer," which symbolically displayed "good weather" when students' behavior was deemed appropriate. Another method involved individual work on personal shortcomings. Each student selected a specific weakness (e.g., laziness, rudeness, unpunctuality) to work on and documented her daily progress. Peer evaluations were also incorporated into classroom activities, along with an "individual run for better results" initiative (APUUR, sygn. Sz. III/39, Materiały wychowawcze powojenne, *Zestawienie odpowiedzi na ankietę*. 1952).

Conclusion

From the moment of its reactivation, the Ursuline Sisters' Junior High and Secondary School in Cracow attached particular importance to fulfilling its educational mission. The overarching goal of education at the school was to serve God, the Church, the homeland, and others. Religious education, closely tied to moral and social upbringing, was a central focus. Assimilating principles of good manners was also regarded as a key component of education. This was reflected in the superintendent's reports on the work of teachers and in the preserved educational plans for classes and school

organizations. Religious education was carried out not only through religious practices and lessons, but also through informal discussions among students with active participation from teachers. These interactions often formed the basis for writing commentaries on the Gospels. On one hand, these writings conveyed a positive portrayal of faith and religiosity, depicting God as a loving Father and promoting evangelical optimism despite life's setbacks. On the other hand, they occasionally revealed an uncritical approach to religious issues or an excessive focus on the affirmation of suffering.

Moral education was closely linked to religious instruction and emphasized adherence to Christian moral principles. In practice, this consisted mainly of learning the principles of Christian morality and applying them to school life by being obedient, dutiful and achieving good academic results. A particularly important aspect of moral and social upbringing was the emphasis on the commandment to love one's neighbor. This principle was actualized through extensive efforts to support various individuals and social groups in the city. As part of their extracurricular activities, students and their teachers provided aid to impoverished families, children in daycare centers, orphans, street children, the sick, wounded soldiers, repatriates, former prisoners, residents of retirement homes, and flood victims.

The documents reviewed, particularly those relating to teacher expectations in light of students' wartime experiences, outline a vision of the ideal educator. This teacher was to embody qualities such as patience, fairness, kindness, empathy, the ability to nurture students' self-esteem, authenticity, dedication, and expertise in applying effective educational methods. This image of the teacher, shaped by the post-war context and the socio-political realities of the time despite some shortcomings and deficiencies, was largely realized by the teaching staff at the Ursuline secondary school in Cracow.

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Educational Goals for Creativity Formulated by Polish High School Teachers

ABSTRACT

Developing creativity is regarded as a crucial task for teachers and entire education systems. It is one of the goals of education defined in the curricula of many countries, including Poland. Therefore, the aim of the study discussed in this article was to analyze the goals of creativity education as formulated by high school teachers.

The study involved 219 mathematics and Polish language teachers from 32 high schools, who were asked to identify what they considered to be the five most important educational goals for preparing high school students for independent creative activity in adult life. An expert assessment of these goals revealed that only about one third (31.08%) related to broadly defined education for creativity. Despite having the opportunity to list up to five creativity-related educational goals, on average, teachers mentioned only one ($M = 1.20$; $SD = 1.19$). One third of the surveyed teachers did not list any goals that the experts deemed as contributing to creativity education (36.99%), one quarter listed only one such goal (26.48%), one in five listed two (21.46%), one in ten listed three (10.05%), and only one in twenty listed four such goals (5.02%).

KEYWORDS:

creativity, education
for creativity, creative
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goals

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Introduction

In the 21st century, creativity is seen as one of the key human qualities (Brundrett 2007; McLellan, Nicholl 2013; Wiśniewska 2021). It is also indicated as a fundamental ability that should be developed in the younger generation during schooling (Cachia, Ferrari 2010; Gralewski 2022). Developing students' creativity and preparing them for independent creative activity is treated as one of the important tasks facing teachers (Cachia, Ferrari 2010; Craft 1999) and is increasingly one of the goals of educational activities within the educational programs of many countries (Cachia et al. 2010; Heilmann, Korte 2010; Pang, Plucker 2013; Skiba et al. 2010). This is clearly emphasized in European countries (Cachia et al. 2010; Heilmann, Korte 2010), including Poland (Dz.U. 2019, item 1148; Dz.U. 2019, item 1481). This results, among other things, from the recommendations of the Council of the European Union (2008, C 319/08), which obliges the schools of the Member States to organize education in such a way as to enable pupils to adapt to life in an increasingly global and competitive environment in which creativity, the ability to generate innovation, initiative, and entrepreneurship, and a commitment to continue learning are as important as subject knowledge. Consequently, it is also increasingly being argued that teachers should play a key role in professionally stimulating students' creativity (Maksić, Pavlović 2011) and educating them to be creative (Craft 2003) and that this process should refer to all school subjects irrespective of the level of education (Cachia, Ferrari 2010; Heilmann, Korte 2010). Therefore, the aim of this article is to analyze the objectives of education for creativity as formulated by the teachers of Polish secondary schools.

Creativity and its role in being innovative

Creativity is understood as a person's innovative potential to generate something new and, in some sense, useful or valuable (Barbot et al. 2015; Runco, Jaeger 2012). Maciej Karwowski understands creativity as "the personality potential of most people to achieve significant—at least on a psychological scale—creative outcomes" (Karwowski 2009: 27). In this sense, creativity represents the lowest,

elementary level of creativity (Kaufman, Beghetto 2009; Nęcka 2001), related to the learning process (Barbot et al. 2015; Beghetto, Kaufman 2007; Runco 2003), solving problems of everyday life (Modrzejewska-Świgulska 2014), and creative expression or hobbies (Szmidt 2017a), which—properly supported—can develop into creativity for generating works of objective value (Kaufman, Beghetto 2009; Szmidt 2017a).

Creativity is otherwise known as the personal, personological dimension of innovativeness (Szmidt 2007, 2018). Creativity encompasses creative abilities (Guilford 1978) and personal traits relevant to creativity, such as curiosity, openness to experience, independence, or motivation for creative activities (Gralewski 2022; Karwowski 2009; Szmidt 2018). Creativity is distributed in the population like other human traits (Karwowski 2009; Nęcka 2001), which results in the fact that the vast majority of people have certain predispositions to become creators and have objective achievements in the future.

Purposes of education for creativity

According to Ronald Beghetto and James Kaufman (2014), the learning environment is one of the most important factors in determining whether or not the creativity of the younger generation will be developed. However, fostering students' creativity requires a number of conditions (Davies et al. 2013) which include, first and foremost, a deliberate effort by teachers to stimulate the creativity of children. Unfortunately, a somewhat paradoxical situation is observed in this respect, which boils down to the fact that, despite politically correct declarations by teachers related to the fact that students' creative potential can be successfully developed in the school setting (Aish 2014; Aljughaiman, Mowrer-Reynolds 2005; Gralewski 2016; Shaheen 2011), this area remains separate from the other educational goals being fulfilled at school (Beghetto et al. 2015; Beghetto, Plucker 2006), as a result of which they fail to connect with teaching particular subjects at school (Schacter et al. 2006).

Meanwhile, taxonomies of educational objectives indicate that creativity should be one of the key goals of education (Anderson et al. 2001; Niemierko 1999, 2005, 2016). These taxonomies pay attention to students' higher cognitive processes, which go beyond remembering

and reproducing knowledge or simply imitating activities presented by teachers, and at their highest level presuppose the generation of new information or the creative use of knowledge. Lorin Anderson and colleagues' (2001) revision of Benjamin Bloom's taxonomy of learning objectives indicates that creativity represents the highest rank of cognitive processes that should be developed during education. Indeed, the authors list, in terms of cognitive processes, remembering, understanding, applying, analyzing, evaluating, and creating (Anderson et al. 2001). Similar assumptions can be found in the taxonomy of educational goals by Bolesław Niemierko (1999, 2009, 2016), which distinguishes four categories of goals, in the cognitive domain: remembering messages, understanding messages, applying messages in typical situations, and applying messages in problematic situations. Although Niemierko (1999, 2009) does not explicitly call this last category creativity, in reality, the activities of a student at this level are reduced to creativity. This is because the author suggests that a student who has mastered the use of knowledge in problematic situations is capable of combining knowledge into new and original structures and creatively applying it, for example, in the process of problem-solving and generating solutions. A similar understanding of creation as a top-level cognitive process was adopted by Anderson and colleagues (2001), who claimed that it involves generating new knowledge by combining different information, often from disparate areas, into a new and coherent whole, but also applying knowledge to new contexts and situations. In this sense, creation involves generating specific ideas, solutions, or hypotheses, looking for alternative solutions to a problem, and identifying the effects of specific phenomena or situations—but also planning specific solutions, inventing new procedures, and constructing new products (Anderson et al. 2001).

The taxonomies of learning objectives cited here indicate that creativity is an integral part of any learning process. It should be emphasized that this view is shared by the vast majority of creativity researchers (Beghetto 2016; Gralewski 2021; Kaufman, Beghetto 2009; Runco 2003; Szmidt 2007). Furthermore, these taxonomies make it very clear that teachers should, in their interactions, aim for students to be able to perceive problems and solve them using their existing knowledge, thus generating solutions that are entirely new to them. The taxonomies also point out that, irrespective of legal

regulations or guidelines formulated in basic curricula, teachers at all levels of education and of all subjects—guided by their knowledge of elementary didactic principles—should endeavor to provide students with opportunities for creative thinking within their subjects and that young peoples’ creativity should be the “daily bread” of education (Niemierko 2016).

Education for creativity in light of educational law

In the Polish education system, the idea of education for creativity, understood as supporting the development of students’ innovativeness, is directly mentioned in the Education Law (Dz.U. 2019, poz. 1148). Article 1(18) of this act establishes that the education system shall shape in students an attitude of entrepreneurship and creativity and shall foster active participation in economic life, through the application of innovative curricular, organizational, or methodological solutions. In turn, Article 44(1–2) indicates that schools are obliged to take necessary measures to create optimal conditions for the implementation of didactic, educational, and caring activities and other statutory activities, as well as to ensure conditions for each student to develop, including the development of creativity. Developing students’ creativity, according to Article 109(6) of the Education Law, is linked to the basic forms of didactic and educational activities of the school within the framework of which institutions should organize activities that develop pupils’ interests and talents in order to stimulate their creativity.

These statutory provisions outline a general direction related to schools of various types pursuing the development of students’ creativity. Activities in this area are part of a broad current of activities supporting the development of gifted students (Limont 2010). In this understanding, creative abilities are treated as one of the types of abilities, while creativity is treated as a distinctive feature of a gifted pupil (Lewowicki 1986; Szumski 1995). According to this understanding, it is the duty of both the school and the teachers to provide gifted students, including creative students, with opportunities to develop their abilities and interests (Dz.U. 2019, poz. 1148, art. 1, ust. 3 i 20).

Assumptions concerning the aims of education related to creativity and the material to be taught can be found in the core curriculum for preschool education and general education for elementary school (Dz.U. 2017, poz. 356), as well as in the core curriculum for general education in general secondary schools and technical secondary schools (Dz.U. 2018, poz. 467). Among the learning objectives fulfilled at the elementary-school level, the core curriculum for general education includes the development of competencies such as creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship (Dz.U. 2017, poz. 356: 14). In the core curriculum for general and technical secondary schools (Dz.U. 2018, poz. 467: 2–3), the development of students' creative thinking, the ability to formulate questions and problems, solve problems in a creative manner, formulate independent judgments and justify them, and creative writing are among the eight key learning objectives. In addition, the qualities and attitudes of students indicated at this stage of education as being key to their further individual and social development include cognitive curiosity, creativity, and entrepreneurship (Dz.U. 2018, poz. 467: 4). The educational objectives and content related to education for creativity in general are formulated within the majority of subjects at this stage of education, ranging from artistic subjects, through social and humanistic subjects, to scientific subjects. These objectives usually concern the development of (1) the ability to formulate questions and hypotheses or to perceive problems, (2) the ability to solve problems related to specific areas of science and society, (3) students' own suggestions for action and solutions to problems within the framework of individual subjects, (4) the ability to create one's own statements (both oral and written) for presenting, justifying, or defending one's view on a given topic, and (5) creative expression— creating original works of a creative nature.

Method

Research objective

Bearing in mind the societal expectations of supporting and developing the creativity of the younger generation and reports by various authors indicating that teachers encounter numerous problems in

this field (Gralewski 2016; Rubenstein et al. 2018; Szmids 2017a), it was decided to determine what goals of education for creativity are formulated by general secondary-school teachers at the Polish secondary-school level. This was dictated, among other things, by the fact that research conducted in other countries (Beghetto et al. 2015; Beghetto, Plucker 2006; McLellan, Nicholl 2013; Schacter et al. 2006) and in Poland (Gralewski 2016) indicates that teachers treat education for creativity as a less important goal than other educational goals connected with acquiring knowledge and skills related to particular subjects.

Research participants

A total of 219 general secondary-school teachers took part in the survey, of whom 50.2% were mathematics teachers and 49.8% Polish language teachers. The vast majority of the respondents were women (88.9%). The teachers ranged in age from 26 to 68 years with a mean of 45.99 years ($SD = 8.50$) and their average length of service in the teaching profession was 20.44 years ($SD = 8.28$). The vast majority of the respondents were certified teachers (76.8%), followed by appointed teachers (15.9%), contract teachers (4.3%), and trainees (2.9%).

The selection of participants was random and multistage. The survey was conducted on a nationwide sample of 110 general secondary schools for young people, located in 32 cities throughout the country with populations of more than 100,000. The administrative areas of the selected cities were drawn first, then schools were drawn within these areas based on a list obtained from the IT Centre for Education of the Ministry of National Education. Within the schools, one class was drawn from among all second-year classes. Only two teachers of a given class could participate in the survey: a mathematics teacher and a Polish language teacher.

Research procedure

The findings presented here are part of a larger research project involving both students and teachers. For the purposes of the study described here, the selected teachers were asked to identify what they

considered to be the five most important learning objectives relevant to preparing secondary-school students for independent creative activity in adult life. Each of the learning goals was then assessed by two experts who have been involved in both creativity education and research in this field for more than a dozen years. The experts were asked to assess which of the goals could be used for creativity education. The evaluations made by the experts were characterized by a high level of internal consistency (Cohen's kappa = 0.79).

Research results

A total of 843 objectives formulated by the teachers were assessed, of which 262 (31.08%) were considered by the experts to be potentially related to education for creativity, generally speaking. Although the respondents were given the opportunity to indicate as many as five objectives that they thought were relevant to preparing secondary-school students for independent creative activity in adult life, on average, they indicated only one learning objective ($M = 1.20$; $SD = 1.19$), which the experts considered fitting in with the idea of education for creativity.

Overall (see Table 1), one in three of the surveyed teachers did not formulate a single learning goal that would be considered conducive to creativity education (36.99%); one in four formulated only one such goal (26.48%); one in five formulated two (21.46%); one in ten formulated three (10.05%); and one in twenty formulated four such goals (5.02%), while none formulated five. The mathematics teachers ($M = 1.28$; $SD = 1.20$) did not differ from the Polish language teachers ($M = 1.11$; $SD = 1.20$) in the number of objectives considered conducive to education for creativity ($F(1, 217) = 1.20$; $p > 0.05$; $d = 0.15$).

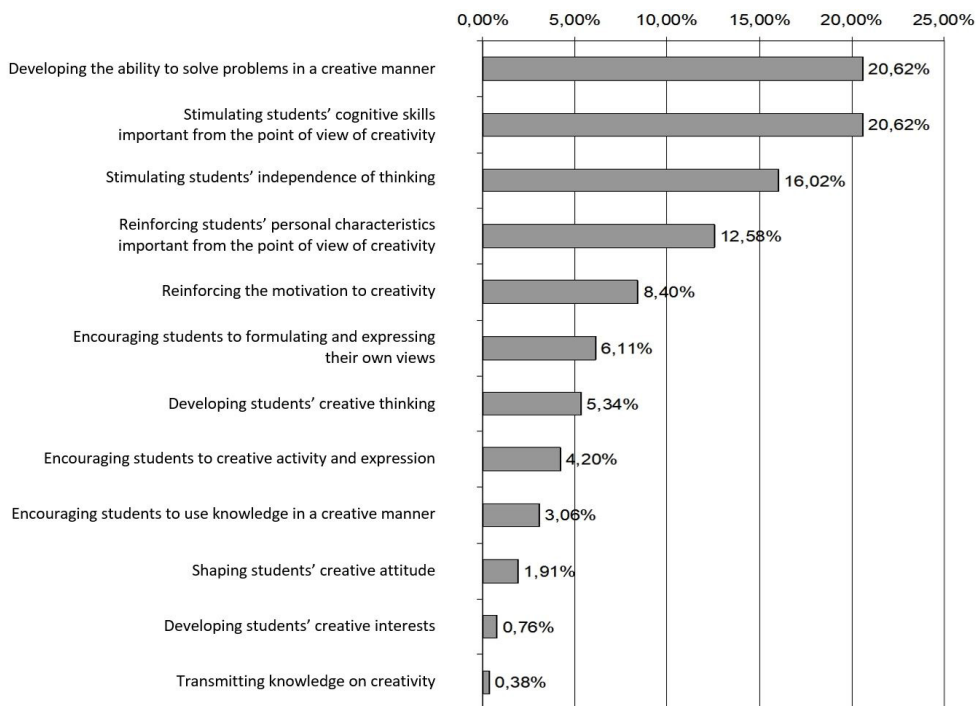
Table 1. Number of learning objectives identified by secondary-school teachers which experts evaluated as conducive to education for creativity

Number of educational goals	Teachers in total		Mathematics teachers		Polish teachers	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Zero	81	36,99	35	32,11	46	41,82
One	58	26,48	31	28,44	27	24,55
Two	47	21,46	25	22,93	22	20,00
Three	22	10,05	13	11,93	9	8,18
Four	11	5,02	5	4,59	6	5,45
Five	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0

Source: own research.

In the next step of the analysis, the learning objectives for creativity identified by the expert judges were categorized on the basis of their content. This analysis revealed the existence of 12 distinct categories (Fig. 1). The two most frequently identified categories of these objectives were developing creative problem-solving skills (20.62%) and stimulating students' cognitive abilities relevant to creativity (20.62%). The next categories were stimulating students' independent thinking (16.02%), enhancing their personal qualities relevant to creativity (12.58%), and strengthening their motivation for creativity (8.40%). The other categories of learning objectives for creativity mentioned by the teachers were rather sporadic and entailed encouraging students to formulate and express their own views (6.11%), developing students' creative thinking (5.34%), encouraging students to be active and express themselves creatively (4.20%), encouraging them to use knowledge creatively (3.06%), shaping a creative attitude in them (1.91%), developing their creative interests (0.76%), and transmitting knowledge about creativity (0.38%).

Figure 1. Categories of educational goals for creativity indicated by the secondary-school teachers



Source: own research.

Within the learning objectives that refer to the development of creative problem-solving skills (see Table 2), the teachers surveyed most frequently mentioned those related to the development of problem-solving skills, including solving problems in a creative manner (7.64%), and teaching students to develop strategies or different types of concepts or plans for solving problems (4.96%). In addition to this, they emphasized a number of specific skills that constitute the problem-solving process, such as perceiving and analyzing problems (3.82%), but also problem-solving skills in a group work setting (1.15%) or elaboration, understood here as developing or improving solutions and the results of individual or group work (0.38%). Some (2.67%) of the learning objectives concerned teaching methods and ways of creative problem-solving and coping with new and unusual situations.

Just as often, the teachers formulated learning objectives that related to stimulating students' cognitive abilities relevant to creativity. Within this category, in addition to developing students' creativity in general (4.20%), the surveyed teachers mentioned objectives referring to stimulating the many specific abilities that make up a person's creative potential (Barbot et al. 2015), concerning the development of imagination (3.43%) and independent thinking (3.05%), the ability to generate multiple solutions to a given problem (1.53%) or different and/or distinct solutions to a given problem (1.15%), developing original thought (2.67%) or the ability to associate facts, phenomena, and objects (1.15%), and to recognize and make analogies (0.38%). It should be emphasized that this category of objectives is very broad and includes the key human creative abilities (from the point of view of education for creativity). If we add to it the abilities that are responsible for the skills mentioned in the first category of perceiving and analyzing the essence of problems, it becomes apparent that the respondents referred to all the key creative abilities indicated in the literature as being responsible for the effects of human creative activity (Limont 1994).

One in six of the learning objectives mentioned in the study referred to stimulating students' independent thinking. Within this group, the teachers most frequently mentioned strengthening independent thinking, understood as the ability to independently evaluate facts and events (11.83%), as well as critical thinking (2.67%). The pursuit of such goals under certain conditions can foster creative activity in students. Although critical thinking is very frequently contrasted with creative thinking, it actually has important functions in the creative process, as it influences decisions to complete or continue it (Charzyńska, Wysocka 2015; Czaja-Chudyba 2018).

Another category of goals indicated by the teachers referred to fostering personal qualities relevant to creativity. The main core of this category is the teachers' orientation toward fostering students' curiosity (4.58%), openness (2.29%), and tolerance of different views and beliefs (0.76%). This category also included objectives referring to students forming a belief in their own abilities, including creative abilities (2.67%). It was characteristic in this category that educational goals referring to the strengthening of other personal qualities, important from the point of view of creativity, were sporadic and

concerned the shaping of non-conformism (0.76%), readiness to take risks (0.76%), self-confidence (0.38%), or a sense of humor (0.38%).

Objectives related to enhancing students' motivation to be creative were also mentioned in quite large numbers. Within this category, teachers most frequently referred to awakening students' motivation to undertake creative activity (3.82%), shaping their persistence in the implementation of creative activities (2.29%), and addressing fears or anxieties related to creative activity (1.53%); they less frequently referred to developing their intrinsic motivation (0.38%) or arousing their readiness to take on challenges (0.38%).

About one in twenty of the formulated learning objectives (6.11%) concerned encouraging students to formulate and express their own views and opinions. This group of objectives included encouraging pupils to express their own opinions or views on specific topics (4.20%) and developing the ability to discuss, argue, and defend their own views (1.91%). One in twenty of the objectives (5.34%) related to the general category of developing students' creative thinking. However, the respondents did not indicate which specific aspects of creative thinking they had in mind.

Slightly less frequently, respondents formulated objectives that related to encouraging students to act creatively, such as those directly related to encouraging students to make their own attempts at creative activity (1.91%), encouraging creative expression (0.76%), creating their own literary or artistic works (0.38%), and encouraging entrepreneurship (1.15%). These objectives were somewhat related to encouraging students to generate specific creations that have at least a subjective creative value.

Contrary to the above-mentioned taxonomies of educational objectives (Anderson et al. 2001; Niemierko 1999, 2009, 2016), the teachers rarely formulated objectives related to encouraging students to use knowledge creatively (3.06%), but also to shaping students' creative attitudes (1.91%), developing creative interests (0.76%), or transmitting knowledge about creativity (0.38%).

Table 2. Detailed characteristics of the learning objectives for creativity indicated by secondary-school teachers

General category	Detailed category	%
Developing the ability to solve problems in a creative manner	Developing the ability to solve problems creatively	7,64
	Teaching how to create strategies and solve problems	4,96
	Developing the ability to see and analyze the essence of problems	3,82
	Teaching methods/ways of creative problem-solving and coping with new and/or unusual situations	2,67
	Developing the creation of ideas and solutions to problems	0,38
	Teaching the ability to solve problems in groups	1,15
Stimulating cognitive skills in students that are important from the point of view of creativity	Developing creativity	4,20
	Developing imagination	3,43
	Stimulating independent thinking	3,05
	Developing the ability to think in a creative manner	1,91
	Developing the ability to generate many solutions to a given problem	1,53
	Developing the ability to show various and/or different solutions to a problem	1,15
	Developing original thinking	2,67
	Stimulating the ability to associate facts, phenomena, and objects	1,15
	Teaching to see and create analogies	0,38
	Teaching to overcome cognitive schemes	1,15
Stimulating students' independent thinking	Reinforcing the independence of thinking, developing the ability to evaluate facts and events on one's own	11,83
	Stimulating critical thinking	2,67
	Developing abstract thinking	0,76
	Stimulating thinking	0,76
Reinforcing personal characteristics of students that are important from the point of view of creativity	Stimulating curiosity	4,58
	Shaping openness	2,29
	Shaping the attitude of tolerance for different views and convictions	0,76
	Shaping the sense of faith in one's own abilities	2,67
	Shaping nonconformity	0,76
	Shaping the readiness to take risk	0,76
	Shaping self-confidence	0,38
	Shaping sense of humor	0,38

General category	Detailed category	%
Reinforcing the motivation to creativity	Stimulating motivation to take up creative action/developing initiative	3,82
	Shaping perseverance in solving complex or creative problems	2,29
	Reducing the fear(s) of creativity	1,53
	Developing natural motivation	0,38
	Stimulating the readiness to take up challenges	0,38
Encouraging students to formulate and express their own views	Encouraging students to formulate/express their own judgments and opinions on a specific topic	4,20
	Teaching to discuss, put forward arguments, and defend one's opinion	1,91
Developing students' creative thinking	Developing creative thinking	5,34
Encouraging students to engage in creative activity and expression	Encouraging taking up one's own attempts at creative activity	1,91
	Encouraging creative expression	0,76
	Encouraging creating one's own literary or artistic works	0,38
	Encouraging entrepreneurship	1,15
Encouraging students to use knowledge in a creative manner	Teaching the ability to combine knowledge from different (sometimes very distant) areas	1,91
	The ability to apply knowledge in new situations	1,15
Shaping students' creative attitude	Shaping creative attitude and/or creative approach to problem-solving	1,15
	Encouraging self-creation/one's concept of one's own life	0,76
Developing students' creative interest	Developing students' creative interests	0,76
Transmitting knowledge on creativity	Presenting the history of great discoveries	0,38

Source: own research.

Summary of the research results and discussion

Regardless of the way in which the teacher is thought of in various pedagogical concepts, they play the key role in shaping the educational environment in which the everyday teaching/learning processes of creativity take place. It is up to them which developmental impulses this environment is equipped with and how the student will experience them (Sajdak 2013). Krzysztof Szmidt (2007, 2018) writes that some of the main tasks of creativity teachers are

to formulate and subsequently implement the goals of education for creativity. In his opinion (Szmids 2018), these goals should describe a certain pattern of a developed creative personality. According to academic concepts, these goals should refer to the formation of abilities, qualities, attitudes, values, and skills that are relevant to the independent creative activity of students. Transmitting well-established knowledge of creativity is also important here (Beghetto 2016; Szmids, Majewska-Owczarek 2020). The effective implementation of such objectives can contribute to the development of creativity in children and adolescents and can prepare them for independent creative activity in adult life. Taking into account the aforementioned issues, it was decided to check what kind of goals for education for creativity are formulated by teachers of general secondary schools. The results indicate several important regularities.

Fewer than one in three of the learning objectives for creativity indicated by the teachers were recognized as such by the experts. The vast majority of these learning objectives, although they were supposed to be about preparing secondary-school students for independent creative activity in adult life, were not about creativity. This is an extremely dangerous situation because it means that the teachers surveyed are wrongly defining the goals related to education for creativity. This may be caused by insufficient knowledge or preparation to support students' creativity, as noted in earlier studies (Aish 2014; Bałachowicz 2013; Burnard, White 2008; Cachia, Ferrari 2010; Ekiert-Oldroyd 2003; Eckhoff 2011; Gralewski 2016; Hong, Kang 2010).

What is surprising is that almost 37% of the teachers surveyed did not indicate a single educational objective that would be considered by experts to be part of the idea of education for creativity in even the broadest sense. The average teacher participating in the study indicated only one objective that they believed was relevant to preparing secondary-school students for independent creative activity in adult life. This is decidedly little if one assumes that these objectives could apply to all subjects taught at this stage of education, which, after all, lasts several years. This therefore indicates that the teachers rather rarely take conscious, deliberate action to educate for creativity. Such a situation clearly contradicts societal expectations (Brun-drett 2007; McLellan, Nicholl 2013; Shaheen 2011) and didactic

concepts (Anderson et al. 2001; Niemierko 1999, 2009, 2016), as well as guidelines based on the Education Law (Dz.U. 2019, poz. 1148; Dz.U. 2019, poz. 1481; Dz.U. 2018, poz. 467). Unfortunately, this situation is neither new nor specific to Polish teachers. Researchers from around the world report that although teachers' attitudes toward student creativity are very positive, it happens that they do not always feel responsible for developing it (Aljughaiman, Mowrer-Reynolds 2005; Beghetto 2010; Kampylis 2010) or they point to numerous constraints that make it difficult or even impossible for them to do so (Rubenstein et al. 2018). This problem also affects Polish teachers (Gralewski 2016) and seems to intensify at the secondary-school level. Indeed, among the key factors hindering them from stimulating their students' creativity, Polish secondary-school teachers most often include the guidelines of their curricula, which are overloaded and insufficiently emphasize the goals of education for creativity (Gralewski 2016). Teachers believe that stimulating students' creativity is not one of the main goals of education; it is less important than achieving the didactic goal of the school, which is to cover the curriculum and prepare students for the secondary-school final exam (Gralewski 2016). Teachers feel compelled to cover as much material as possible with their students every day, while they treat the development of creativity as a luxury reserved primarily for gifted students who more quickly achieve the intended learning goals (Beghetto 2007; Gralewski 2016).

The objectives for education for creativity indicated by the teachers were dominated by those that refer to the development of creative abilities, creative thinking, independent thinking, and creative problem-solving skills, which together accounted for 62.6% of all creativity education objectives. Learning objectives relating to personal qualities relevant to creativity, including strengthening motivation to be creative, appeared much less frequently in the respondents' statements, accounting for 20.98%. Objectives concerning the shaping of a creative attitude (1.91%) or encouraging students to undertake creative activity (4.20%) were rare, while objectives concerning increasing students' knowledge of creativity (0.38%) or developing their creative interests (0.76%) were even absent.

The learning objectives formulated by teachers referring to the development of cognitive abilities relevant to creativity, the

development of students' creative thinking, the stimulation of students' independent thinking, and the development of creative problem-solving skills together constitute a comprehensive picture of cognitive predispositions to creativity (Guilford 1978; Nęcka 2001; Gralewski 2022), which, as is well known, are responsible for the quality of a person's creative output (Barbot et al. 2015; Jauk et al. 2014; Runco, Jaeger 2012). Moreover, these goals include creative thinking, independent thinking, critical thinking, and specific problem-solving skills, which make up a comprehensive picture of the creative process (Mumford, McIntosh 2017). However, it is important to note that this structure is the result of considering the indications of all the teachers surveyed, rather than each teacher individually.

In terms of personal qualities relevant to creativity, the respondents focused primarily on stimulating students' curiosity, openness, and self-confidence. On the other hand, they rarely formulate goals indicating a readiness to support other personal qualities of students, such as non-conformism, a willingness to take risks, or self-confidence, which may indicate that they are not ready to support these qualities. This confirms previous findings by Aleksandra Tokarz and Aleksandra Słabosz (2001), according to whom teachers value students' independent thinking, understood as the ability to independently assess various facts and events, but are not willing to support students' non-conformism, defined as the ability to defend one's own opinion or not to succumb to group or authority pressure. The personal pattern of a creative student shaped in this way may be incomplete, as independence is one of the key mechanisms of creativity (Nęcka 2001).

The teachers clearly emphasized objectives referring to the promotion of students' motivation for creativity. Almost one in twelve goals of education for creativity concerned this aspect of their students' functioning. The tendency noted in the described study is consistent with earlier research on the beliefs of Polish teachers concerning the personal characteristics of a creative student, in which the crucial features are motivation to act and persistence (cf. Gralewski 2019; Gralewski, Karwowski 2018; Pufal-Struzik 2006; Tokarz, Słabosz 2001).

In summary, the objectives for education for creativity as defined by the teachers interviewed were largely consistent with academic

concepts. This applies in particular to the fact that the objectives refer to key abilities and personal qualities that are relevant to creativity. The only thing that may cause some dissatisfaction in this respect is that the respondents focused excessively on the cognitive predisposition for creativity and less often on the personal qualities of their students, including fostering their non-conformism. A clear mistake is that, at the secondary-school stage, they rarely pay attention to encouraging their pupils to be creatively active and almost completely neglect learning objectives related to teaching about creativity, such as imparting knowledge about what creativity is, how it takes place, and on which conditions it depends (Beghetto 2016; Szmidt, Majewska-Owczarek 2020). Particularly dangerous, however, is the fact that the vast majority of the teachers surveyed list as goals of education for creativity those that have nothing to do with fostering students' creativity or preparing them for independent creative activity.

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Reviews

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Recenzje

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Ukrainian Microworlds of War, Refugees and Volunteers in Wrocław: Between Autoethnographic Accounts and Reportage

Paweł Rudnicki, *Kto, jak nie my? Wspólnota i działanie na Dworcu Głównym we Wrocławiu (marzec, kwiecień 2022), [If Not Us, Who? Community and Action at the Wrocław Main Train Station (March–April 2022)]*, Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej, Wrocław 2023, pp.192

It is now two years since the start of Russia's war against Ukraine—an event that has halted and moved the whole world. It has caused the hitherto international humanitarian standards to be severely compromised, and it has challenged humanity, especially the Polish people. The passage of time has meant that, to some extent, the war in Ukraine has been normalized, although it continues to bring injustice and brutality and remains a lifelong trauma for many. However, this passage of time also allows for reflection and an attempt to give meaning to the experiences of people living in these microworlds of war, such as the people who



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have chosen to respond to this injustice by taking action to help the Ukrainians arriving in Poland.

This is the subject of a book by Paweł Rudnicki titled *Kto, jak nie my? Wspólnota i działanie na Dworcu Głównym we Wrocławiu (marzec, kwiecień 2022)* [*If Not Us, Who? Community and Action at the Wrocław Main Train Station (March–April 2022)*] (Wrocław 2023). The monograph was published as a result of a competition carried out by the Council of the Robert Kwaśnica Scholarship Fund in the series “Poza Kulturową Oczywistością” [Beyond Cultural Obviousness], which takes up issues within the pedagogical sciences.

In fact, the book cover itself is already an illustration of a symbolic “gateway” to different microworlds: war, refugees, volunteers, observers, researchers, and so on. It can be interpreted as the letters “M” and “W,” associated with the city of Wrocław, where the research was carried out. Another association is “love,” which, according to Erich Fromm, denotes a certain attitude, a character trait, a person’s approach to the world in general, and not a single object of love (Fromm 2000). Another association is with the volunteers who display this attitude when providing their support to refugees arriving in Wrocław. Also visible in the background of these letters are train tracks, symbolizing travel, being on the way, and a gateway to “another” world. These are not the only illustrations in this publication that show the particular circumstances of the issue taken up by its author. The table of contents is preceded by two black-and-white photographs by Rudnicki, showing the main railway station in Wrocław and the research station in Café Dialog, which is part of Station Dialog run by the Aid to the Church in Need Association and located at Wrocław’s main train station. It is in this space that the author carried out his research and support activities. The important message of the publication is reflected in the quotation that opens the book:

May God bless and keep you always,
May your wishes all come true,
May you always do for others
And let others do for you.

(Bob Dylan)

Paweł Rudnicki's monograph is undoubtedly an important and valuable book not only for the world of science, but also for others who are interested in its topic. This was the assumption of its author: that the book should be understandable for the majority of its readers. Thus, it is not laden with theory and the accompanying scientific nomenclature, but it provides an open and transparent communication style that enables the individual parts, as well as the publication as a whole, to be understood. An important role in communicating with the reader is played by the introduction, in which the author presents both his motivations and inspirations for writing the monograph, describes the methodology of the research he carried out, and introduces the atmosphere of this research. Emphasis is also placed on introducing the reader to the characteristics of the subsequent chapters, which constitute three separate but complete parts of the book.

The monograph has a popularizing nature, which is, firstly, a response to the challenges of academic environments—whose task is to care for the current needs of society—and secondly, a reference to the needs of the people involved in the research and their communities, which support Ukrainian refugees. This is because it gives them the opportunity to “re-read” and understand their own actions, motivations, and emotions. Thus, they gain the opportunity to reflect more deeply on their volunteering and, moreover, to learn from this life experience (see Golonka-Legut 2019). The research project carried out by Paweł Rudnicki is undoubtedly a socially committed project in terms of the values in it (towards which the author turns), as well as in terms of the aid and voluntary activities for those in need. It also provided the author with an opportunity to learn in these different spaces on which the relationships were based. This reflection on the qualitative researcher's learning is an important dimension of the monograph and is the result of the reflective research practice that underpinned the research. Here is a quotation that illustrates these characteristics of the book:

I chatted constantly with other people in vests. On the run, we exchanged experiences, told refugee stories we had heard, and wondered how many more people would arrive, whether there would be anything to feed them, or where we would find accommodation for them. We were moved, we cried, we joked (without knowing if we should). We commented on the absence of the state and its institutions at the main station and on the late presence of the city authorities. We were

happy to see the solidarity of people from Wrocław and the surrounding area; we marveled at how many people wearing vests were at the station, how many different languages they spoke, and where they were from. In this experience of cooperation of vest-wearing volunteers, I saw the need to document motivation, work, commitment, informal/situational learning, and ways of dealing with emotions, stress, and fatigue. I decided to interview people volunteering at Café Dialog at the main train station in Wrocław. (Rudnicki 2023: 16)

This reflective commitment of the author is evident in all parts of the work. The first chapter, “I want to help people who need it’: Café Dialog—The Beginning,” deals with the origins, scope, and motives of volunteering activities at the Wrocław main train station and with the importance of using social media for this purpose. The author describes how volunteers started to appear at the station, how they organized themselves, and what motivated their actions. This chapter consists of two parts: in the first part, the author interprets the qualitative data collected at the station, and in the second part, he presents an interpretative analysis of the data from the study in relation to selected concepts from the social sciences (Rudnicki 2023: 33).

Chapter two is entitled “Everyone thinks they are doing the right thing’: Volunteer self-organization,” and it deals with the self-organization presented from the perspective of the volunteers, who (wearing yellow vests), like the author, provided assistance in their first contact with refugees. It also describes the enormity of the measures that had to be taken during the several days of the refugee crisis and the self-organization of the system, which involved volunteers taking responsibility for the state and the city (Rudnicki 2023: 82).

Chapter three, in turn, titled “Just like that, inner self-pride’: On learning (about oneself), emotions, and fatigue,” talks about the intangible costs of volunteer work related to emotions, stress, burn-out, awareness of regeneration, and the lack thereof (Rudnicki 2023: 27). Emotions accompany the reader from the beginning of the book, especially concerning the moments when the worlds of the refugees come into contact with the volunteers’ experience. When thinking about aid situations, we may focus on the people in need, but both the recipients and donors are important. For this reason, this chapter touches on a particularly important perspective in analyzing the phenomenon of volunteering issues. The diversity of this process is already apparent in the very titles of the following subsections: “There were

times when I just couldn't stand it and cried': Emotions and reclaiming agency," "I sleep better, although it is human tragedy': Ambivalence and helping," "Everyone comes here for something, because of something, and with something': Addictive helping," and "Because images stay in our minds, anyway': Stress and regeneration."

The conclusion of the work is as valuable and innovative as the previous parts, since the author includes an appendix—"Postscript: One year later (interviews)," which contains three interviews that he conducted with volunteers in May and June 2023. Moreover, the book is also accompanied by the broadcasts of the *Wrocław Helps! Mini-cycle of podcasts*, which present the research material in this fascinating form. The podcasts have been published as part of the project "Podcastownia DSW" (<https://www.dsw.edu.pl/podcastownia-dsw>) (Rudnicki 2023: 28). It is also a superb tool for popularizing the results of research among people with a keen interest in the topic, including those outside the world of academia.

The monograph by Paweł Rudnicki entitled *Kto, jak nie my? Wspólnota i działanie na Dworcu Głównym we Wrocławiu (marzec, kwiecień 2022)* is one of the most interesting publications available on the market written for a wide audience. Its uniqueness, apart from the qualities mentioned above, is also evidenced by the author's method of narration, which can be described as both an autoethnographic account and reportage. The author describes the microworlds of war, refugees, and volunteers in an extremely interesting and diverse way. What makes it seem not only convincing, but also authentic in its narrative is the social and emotional involvement of the author, who honestly and directly reports on his research and aid experiences. I will conclude my reflections with a quotation from this publication, which can be read as a kind of epiphany in the biographical learning of the author:

If I was to remember one event from that time, it would be when the youngest volunteer, a teenager in an orange vest, taught a group of adults in yellow vests how to act on the platforms. How to receive people escaping from the war, how to be careful, what to look out for, how to broadcast messages. He talked about his experience; he encouraged people to work closely together to build trust; he was extremely caring. And then he invited everyone onto the platforms: "Our friends are about to arrive, let's go!" And they did go. (Rudnicki 2023: 149–150)



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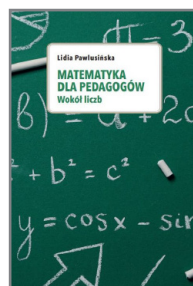
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Teachers' Struggle with Math, Or the Reconstruction of Mathematical Knowledge

Lidia Pawlusińska, *Matematyka dla pedagogów. Wokół liczb* [Maths for Pedagogues: Around Numbers],
Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego,
Szczecin 2023, pp. 186



Mathematics and mathematical education seem to be a hot topic currently. Year after year, exam results show worrying data on the decline in mathematical competence among children and adolescents, as Polish researchers have been arguing for years (Nowicka 2013; Klus-Stańska 2014). Moreover, students taking up pedagogy with a specialization in teaching, or even graduates of such studies, often complain about the lack of proper preparation for teaching math or choose degree programs in which they can avoid contact with math (Pawlusińska 2019: 38). Taking into account these problems, Lidia Pawlusińska¹ wrote a monograph that, in a simple

1 Dr. Lidia Pawlusińska is employed at the Department of Early Education at the Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Szczecin. She has a math degree. She wrote her doctoral dissertation, *Egzamin zewnętrzny w gimnazjum – edukacyjne możliwości i ograniczenia* [External Exam in Junior High

and understandable manner, familiarizes students, teachers, and pedagogues with issues concerning mathematical education and math in general (the monograph may also help them order the knowledge they acquired at university). The book *Matematyka dla pedagogów. Wokół liczb* [*Math for Pedagogues: On Numbers*] was published in 2023 by Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego [Szczecin University Press]. This publication discusses the didactics of teaching mathematics, especially at the initial stage of formal education, i.e. in kindergarten and especially in grades 1–3. The book is dedicated particularly to students of preschool and early school education, as well as teacher-practitioners.

The monograph is the first of three volumes the author intends to publish.² It consists of seven chapters. In the first one, the author introduces the readers to the elements of mathematical logic, pointing out the peculiar priority of logic and the need to deal with this branch of mathematics, the need to introduce the reader to the grammar of mathematical language, and the need for clear expression. The subsequent chapters of the book deal with sets and algebra (pp. 41–82), set assignment (pp. 83–120), natural numbers (pp. 121–150), non-decimal positional systems (pp. 151–157), numbers used in ancient civilizations (pp. 158–167), and Hilbert’s paradox (pp. 168–170). The first four chapters are treated as the main chapters, while the remaining three are supplementary. The author justifies the order of these contents with the possibility to cumulatively construct and apply knowledge of mathematical concepts or to discover relationships between the topics (p. 8). The book also contains an introduction, a bibliographic list, and a list of answers to some of the tasks suggested in the book.

In the monograph, the reader will find descriptions and explanations concerning many mathematical concepts, their application, and the history of their introduction. While reading the book, people may learn about interesting nuances connected with math,

School: Educational Opportunities and Threats], under the supervision of Prof. Henryka Kwiatkowska. She has worked as a math teacher for many years and served as a headmaster in a junior high school.

2 The second of the planned publications is to be entitled *Kształty* [*Shapes*], and the third *O matematyce i jej niektórych zastosowaniach* [*On Math and Some of Its Applications*] (Pawlusińska 2023: 8).

arguments related to concepts and their definition, and the necessary examples. The author uses a number of strategies, for example, suggesting that the numerous questions in the text be answered and arranging tasks to be solved with the use of drawings, tables, and diagrams. Pawlusińska encourages the use of what children understand, such as playing cards to introduce the issue of sets (p. 76), children's drawings to introduce issues of mathematical logic (p. 34), blocks and figures to code (pp. 20–21), as well as other teaching aids for mathematical education, such as Dienes blocks (pp. 71–72), mathematical trees (p. 128), Cuisenaire rods (p. 140), and the sieve of Eratosthenes for identifying prime numbers (pp. 131–132). Information in this monograph on introducing issues in mathematics lessons at a higher educational level is also valuable. For example, the author proposes making mathematical functions easier for younger children to understand not only by referring to graphs of functions, but also—in an accessible way—by using graphs, a number axis, or two number axes (pp. 108–109). An interesting theme taken up in the publication is the ways that ancient civilizations wrote numbers (e.g., Egypt, Rome, Sumer, or Babylon). Showing children the ancient ways of writing numbers and performing calculations certainly satisfies their curiosity and shows the conventionality of the notation we use in mathematics today (p. 158). The final chapter on Hilbert's paradox of the Grand Hotel allows readers to feel a kind of difficulty arising from grasping the concept of infinity, but it can also be an interesting logic task for pupils.

In her “non-handbook” of mathematics, the author refers to many other authors (of the past or more contemporary ones) who dealt with math education. Pawlusińska recommends their books to her readers (e.g., those by Semadeni, Kaczmarczyk, Nowecki, or Rasiowa). Also, references to math theoreticians are included (Ciesielski or Pogoda). Nevertheless, the book is mainly based on the author's mathematical knowledge.

Although the author herself points out that her publication is not a mathematics textbook, it also does not fit into the category of a methodological guide for teachers (it lacks specific lesson scenarios or methodological indications). The publication refers to “basic work,” or confronting the reader with whether and how they understand the mathematical issues in question. The author avoids

infantilization in the way information is presented.³ Reading the book carefully requires effort from the reader.

Lidia Pawlusińska's monograph proves that mathematical issues assigned for secondary and tertiary education should be supported even in early education through didactic situations of a propaedeutic nature. The mathematical language of the publication, while maintaining formal correctness, presents the issues in a manner that is accessible to the readers. What deserves to be emphasized is the multitude and variety of examples which, with slight modification, can be used in the mathematical education of a child. This work belongs to the canon of publications concerning mathematical education in kindergarten and elementary education classes and constitutes a valuable source of information and inspiration that can be used during lessons.

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³ The author indicates issues such as de Morgan's laws, Cartesian products, Peano axioms, π , etc.

Reports

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Sprawozdania

Report of the 2nd Congress of Historians of Education in Cracow, November 5–7, 2023

On November 5–7, 2023, the 2nd Congress of Historians of Education took place in Cracow. Its keynote address was called “Achievements of Polish Education in the Context of European Civilization Transformations.” The conference was inspired by the 250th anniversary of the establishment of the Commission of National Education, one of the greatest achievements of the Polish Enlightenment, appreciated not only nationally, but also worldwide. The reforms of the education system carried out by the Commission of National Education became a model for subsequent generations. The Congress was organized and hosted by the University of the Commission of National Education (UKEN) in Cracow, Ignatianum University in Cracow (UIK), and the Society of the History of Education (THE). The Congress was held under the patronage of the Rector of the UKEN, Prof. Piotr Borek, the Rector of UIK, Dr. hab. Tomasz Homa SJ, Prof. UIK, and the Mayor of the City of Cracow, Prof. Jacek Majchrowski.

The conference began on November 6, 2023, in the main auditorium of the Faculty of Pedagogy and Psychology of the UKEN at 4 R. Ingarden St. Due to the large number of speakers, on each day a plenary session and two thematic sections were planned.

The first plenary session was opened by the Chair of the Congress Organization Committee and the President of THE, Dr. hab. Katarzyna Dormus, Prof. UKEN. The official opening of the Second Congress of the Historians of Education was carried out by the Rector of the UKEN, Prof. Piotr Borek, and the Vice-Rector for Organization and Development of UIK, Dr. hab. Andrzej Paweł Bieś SJ, Prof. UIK. The speakers, wishing the participants fruitful deliberations, emphasized the importance of the conference's theme for understanding contemporary transformations in education and upbringing. They also expressed their satisfaction at the Congress being combined with the celebrations of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the university's patron, the Commission of National Education (KEN). At the end of the introductory part, the participants were shown films promoting Cracow as a center of science.

The first plenary session on the KEN was chaired by Prof. Andrzej Meissner. Three papers were presented during this session. The first speaker was Prof. Julian Dybiec, who spoke about "Scientific Anniversaries and Jubilees in the Polish Cultural Tradition." The main theme of the speech concerned the anniversaries of the KEN. The speaker also gave numerous examples of the custom of celebrating important Polish institutions, people of science, and scientific associations and societies. The celebration of Polish anniversaries was shown from a European perspective and embedded in its tradition. The second plenary paper, entitled "The State of Research on the Commission of National Education in the Context of Its Jubilees," was presented by Prof. Elwira Kryńska (University of Białystok). The speaker recalled previous anniversaries devoted to the achievements of the KEN, such as the 100th anniversary of its founding, which was organized by the Pedagogical Society in Lviv on July 17, 1873, the 150th anniversary of its founding, celebrated in 1923; and the 200th anniversary organized in 1973. Then she described monographs showing the status of the research on the KEN's achievements, presenting, *inter alia*, a 14-volume series of monographs resulting from a research grant supervised by Prof. Kalina Bartnicka. The plenary session concluded with a paper by Dr. hab. Joanna Schiller-Walicka (L. & A. Birkenmajer Institute for the History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences) on "The Commission of National Education and European Universities in the 19th Century: Assumptions,

Influences, and Inspirations.” The speaker, while discussing various trends in the development of leading European universities in the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly German and French universities, pointed to mutual influences and inspirations of the KEN and these institutions. She also emphasized that the KEN promoted a research-oriented profile in reformed universities, while at the same time allowing for their evolution in a utilitarian direction to meet society’s needs. After the speeches, there was time for a discussion, during which the participants had the opportunity to ask questions related to the presentations and to exchange views on them.

Further deliberations were moved to two parallel sections. The first section, entitled “The Work of the Commission of National Education in the Historical and Contemporary Perspective,” was chaired by Dr. hab. Joanna Falkowska, Prof. UMK, and Dr. hab. Beata Topij-Stempińska, Prof. UIK. Seven papers were presented during the session, all of which referred to various issues of the comprehensive reconstruction of the school system by the KEN, such as school administration and supervision, teachers, and the curriculum of education and upbringing. A great deal of attention was devoted to the teachers of the KEN, with papers on this subject given by Prof. Andrzej Meissner—“Nauczyciele świeccy Komisji Edukacji Narodowej po III rozbiórze Polski” [Lay Teachers of the Commission of National Education after the Third Partition of Poland], Prof. Ewa Kula (Jan Kochanowski University of Kielce) and Prof. Adam Masalski (Higher School of Professional Skills in Pińczów)—“Losy nauczycieli szkół średnich wydziału wołyńskiego i ukraińskiego po rozwiązaniu Komisji Edukacji Narodowej” [The Fate of Secondary School Teachers of the Volhynian and Ukrainian Departments after the Dissolution of the Commission of National Education], and Dr. hab. Ryszard Ślęczka, Prof. UKEN, who gave his lecture entitled “Nauczyciele szkoły nowodworskiej w Szkole Głównej Koronnej” [Teachers of the Nowodworski School in the Crown Main School]. In turn, Dr. hab. Mariusz Ausz, Prof. UMCS, in his lecture entitled “Szkół pijarskie w strukturach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej” [Piarist Schools in the Structures of the Commission of National Education], discussed reforms of Piarist education. The issues of the construction of modern school supervision on Polish soil, with reference to the European trends of the time, were presented by Dr. Mirosław Łapot

(Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa) in a paper entitled “Nadzór szkolny w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na tle międzynarodowych badań nad początkami państwowej administracji szkolnej” [School Supervision in the Times of the Commission of National Education against the Background of International Research on the Beginnings of State School Administration]. The influence of the idea of the KEN on further generations and the nation’s fate was discussed by Dr. hab. Witold Chmielewski in the lecture, “Idee Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w zachowaniu tożsamości polskiej i ustrzeżeniu przed wynaradawianiem młodego pokolenia uchodźców” [Ideas of the Commission of National Education in Preserving Polish Identity and Preventing the Young Generation of Refugees from Being Deprived of Nationality], and by Dr. Ewa Barnaś-Baran (University of Rzeszów) in a paper entitled “Upowszechnienie idei Komisji Edukacji Narodowej wśród uczniów gimnazjów galicyjskich” [Popularization of the Idea of the Commission of National Education Among Students of Galician Grammar Schools].

The second part of this section was conducted by Dr. hab. Mariusz Ausz, Prof. UMCS and Dr. hab. Agnieszka Wałęga, Prof. UMK. During this part, eight lectures were given, and their leit-motif was the influence of the KEN on educating teachers, their attitudes, curricula and upbringing programs, as well as models of ideas in further periods. These subjects were also discussed in the papers by Dr. Anna Haratyk (Wrocław University), who spoke about “Reforma Komisji Edukacji Narodowej jako czynnik kształtowania tożsamości narodowej dzieci i młodzieży w Galicji (XIX – początek XX w.)” [The Reform of the Commission of National Education as a Factor in Shaping National Identity of Children and Adolescents in Galicia (19th and Early 20th Centuries)], and in the lecture given by Dr. hab. Joanna Falkowska, whose speech was called “Idea wychowania obywatelskiego i patriotycznego na łamach polskich czasopism dla dzieci i młodzieży drugiej połowy XIX i początków XX wieku” [The Idea of Civil and Patriotic Education in Polish Magazines for Children and Adolescents in the Second Half of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries].

Three papers were devoted to the issues of teacher education and pedagogical work in this section: Dr. Dorota Grabowska-Pieńkosz (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)—“Na pamiątkę

100-letniej rocznicy powstania Komisji Edukacji Narodowej – obchody Towarzystwa Pedagogicznego” [In Commemoration of the 100-Year Anniversary of the Commission of National Education: A Celebration of the Pedagogical Society], Dr. Agnieszka Suplicka (University of Białystok)—“Seminaria nauczycielskie w województwie białostockim w Polsce między wojnami jako kontynuacja osiągnięć Komisji Edukacji Narodowej” [Teachers’ Seminaries in the Białystok Voivodship in Poland in the Interwar Period as a Continuation of the Achievements of the Commission of National Education], and Dr. Maria Radziszewska (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn)—“Nauczyciele Warmii i Mazur w okresie Polski Ludowej w kuratorskich księgach *Zasługi dla Oświaty i Wychowania* (zaprowadzonych z okazji 200. rocznicy KEN)” [Teachers of Warmia and Mazury in the Times of the Polish People’s Republic Mentioned in the Books of *Those of Merit to Education and Upbringing* Published by Educational Authorities (Introduced on the Occasion of the 200th Anniversary of the KEN)].

Dr. hab. Beata Szczepańska, Prof. UŁ, spoke about pedagogical practice, including that connected with school hygiene, in her lecture entitled “Dziedzictwo Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w higienie szkolnej drugiej Rzeczypospolitej” [The Heritage of the Commission of National Education in School Hygiene in the Second Republic of Poland]. She pointed to the rich experience and intensive development of the school hygiene movement in the Second Republic of Poland. Then, Dr. Monika Wiśniewska (L. & A. Birkenmajer Institute for the History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences) had a lecture entitled “Problemy higieny i medycyny szkolnej od czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej po współczesność” [Problems of School Hygiene and Medicine from the Times of the Commission of National Education to the Present]. The last paper, “Dzieło Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w świetle opinii współpracowników czasopisma *Szkola*” [The Work of the Commission on National Education in the Opinions of the Contributors to the Magazine *School*], was presented by Dr. hab. Agnieszka Wałęga, Prof. UMK, who pointed out that the magazine referred, among other things, to the work of the Commission of National Education, and in its pages texts about the Commission and its activists were presented.

In Section II, entitled “Dorobek polskiej myśli i praktyki pedeuto-logicznej” [The Achievements of Polish Pedagogical Thought and Practice], conducted by Prof. Władysław Szulakiewicz (UIK) and Dr. hab. Andrzej Paweł Bieś SJ, Prof. UIK, seven lectures were given. They matched the leitmotif of the Congress, showing achievements in the concepts of pedeutological research, projects of preparation for the teaching profession, and improving the teacher’s didactic and educational work.

The first paper, “W poszukiwaniu ‘dobrego nauczyciela.’ Koncepcje badań pedeutologicznych w Szkole Kazimierza Sośnickiego” [In Search of a “Good Teacher”: Concepts of Pedeutological Research at the School of Kazimierz Sośnicki], was presented by Prof. Władysław Szulakiewicz. The speaker discussed the research on teachers developed by Kazimierz Sośnicki’s students. Then, Dr. hab. Anna Królikowska, Prof. UIK, gave a lecture on “Ignacy Włodek’s (1723–1780) Reflections on the Qualities of a Good Teacher and Student” and Prof. Bogumiła Burda (University of Zielona Góra) presented the paper “Konceptcje kształcenia nauczycieli i kreowania modeli nauczyciela na ziemi lubuskiej od czasów J.I. Felbigera po czasy współczesne. Założenia a rozwiązania” [The Concepts of Teacher Education and the Creation of Teacher Models in the Lubuskie Region from the Time of J.I. Felbiger to the Present Day: Assumptions and Solutions]. Dr. hab. Jacek Kulbaka, Prof. APS (Maria Grzegorzewska University), presented the paper: “Nauczyciel-wychowawca według Marii Grzegorzewskiej. Między teorią a praktyką” [The Teacher-Pedagogue according to Maria Grzegorzewska: Between Theory and Practice]. In the same research area, the following papers were presented: Dr. hab. Wiesław Partyka, Prof. KUL—“Obraz nauczyciela w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym w świetle niepublikowanych badań Zygmunt Kukulskiego” [The Image of the Teacher in the Interwar Period in Zygmunt Kukulski’s Unpublished Research], Dr. Paweł Śpica (University of Gdańsk)—“Nauczyciele w świetle polskiej prasy Prus Zachodnich w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku” [Teachers in the Polish Press in West Prussia in the Second Half of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries], and a lecture by Dr. Andrzej Grudziński (Ignatianum University in Cracow)—“Działalność wychowawcza nauczycieli szkół ss. urszulanek w Krakowie w latach 1945–1954”

[The Educational Activities of Teachers at Ursuline Sisters' Schools in Cracow in the Years 1945–1954].

The second part of Section II, chaired by Dr hab. Barbara Kalinowska-Witek, Prof. UMCS, also featured seven papers that referred to the teaching profession, as in the first part. The first speaker was Dr. hab. Kalinowska-Witek, who spoke about “Kształcenie i doskonalenie zawodowe nauczycieli w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym” [Education and Training of Teachers in the Interwar Period]. This was followed by Dr. hab. Andrzej Paweł Bieś SJ, Prof. UIK—“Przygotowanie polskich jezuitów do pracy nauczycielskiej w okresie dwudziestolecia międzywojennego” [Preparation of Polish Jesuits for Teaching Work in the Interwar Period], Dr. Monika Hajkowska (Maria Curie Skłodowska University)—“Działalność biur pośrednictwa pracy dla nauczycieli Królestwa Polskiego od drugiej połowy XIX do początków XX wieku” [The Activities of the Employment Bureaus for Teachers in the Polish Kingdom from the Second Half of the 19th Century to the Early 20th Century], Dr. Alicja Urbanik-Kopeć (L. & A. Birkenmajer Institute for the History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences)—“Tożsamość i aspiracje guwernantek w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1904)” [Identity and Aspirations of Governesses in the Kingdom of Poland (1864–1904)], Dr. Małgorzata Krakowiak (University of Łódź): “Młodzież – edukacja – nowoczesność. Działalność społeczno-oświatowa Aleksandra Pasiaka (1887–1968) w świetle jego wspomnień” [Youth – Education – Modernity: Socio-educational Activities of Aleksander Pasiak (1887–1968) According to His Memoirs], Dr. Joanna Dąbrowska (University of Białystok)—“Dorobek pedagogiczno-historyczny Ryszarda Wroczyńskiego” [Pedagogical/Historical Achievements of Ryszard Wroczyński], and Dr. Alicja Zagrodzka (Maria Grzegorzewska University)—“Nowa Szkoła’ czyli ‘Nowe Wychowanie’ w Polsce XXI wieku” [“New School” or “New Education” in Poland in the 21st Century], who referred to contemporary educational initiatives inspired by the new educational trend. After the debates in both sections, a lively discussion took place.

In the evening after the debates, the participants were treated to a concert by the Symphonic Orchestra of the University of the Commission for National Education in Cracow under the direction of

Dr. hab. Małgorzata Tęczyńska-Kęska, which took place in the main auditorium of the university at 2 Podchorążych St.

The third day of the Congress took place on the premises of Ignatianum University at 26 M. Kopernika St. On behalf of the university authorities, the guests were welcomed by the Vice-Rector for Science, Dr. hab. Beata Topij-Stempińska, Prof. UIK. The meeting began with a plenary section chaired by Prof. Janina Kamińska (University of Warsaw).

The first lecture, “Czego jeszcze nie wiemy o Szkole Głównej Koronnej? Dotychczasowe osiągnięcia i perspektywy nowych badań” [What Else do We Not Know About the Crown Main School? Achievements and Prospects for New Research], was given by Dr. hab. Maciej Zdanek, Prof. UJ (Jagiellonian University Archive). The speaker outlined the state of research on the Commission of National Education as an institution, its social and intellectual history, and its property and finances. He also pointed to new research issues in this area.

The second paper, entitled “Wychowanie wojskowe w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej” [Military Education in the Era of the Commission of National Education], was presented by Dr. hab. Jan Ryś, Prof. UKEN, who referred to the development of the army in the Polish lands and to the tradition of military education of young people at knights’ academies. The next speaker was Dr. hab. Anna Boguszewska (Maria Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin), and her presentation referred to “Edukacyjna wartość szaty graficznej podręczników. Wybór przykładów z okresu międzywojennego” [Educational Value of the Graphic Design of Textbooks: A Selection of Examples From the Interwar Period]. The speaker discussed the achievements of the interwar period in this area, including the theory of schoolbooks. She also recalled the first illustrated textbooks by Jan Amos Komensky and, above all, analyzed the achievements of the Society for Elementary Books and the textbooks by Grzegorz Piramowicz and Onufry Kopczyński.

The last paper in the plenary section was given by Prof. Jerzy Kochanowicz (WSB University in Dąbrowa Górnicza), who presented the paper “Program i formy kształcenia w amerykańskim Minerva University – najbardziej innowacyjnej uczelni na świecie” [Program and Forms of Education at the American Minerva University—the

Most Innovative University in the World]. The speaker presented the origins, organization, and functioning of one of the most modern universities in the world. At the end of this part of the session, a lively discussion took place.

Further deliberations were held in two sections. Six papers were presented in section III, entitled “Osiągnięcia polskiej oświaty i edukacji” [Achievements of Polish Education and Upbringing], chaired by Dr. hab. Monika Nawrot-Borowska, Prof. UKW and Dr. hab. Krzysztof Ratajczak, Prof. UAM. They all thematically fit in with the main idea of the section and presented research into the history of education and upbringing. In this part of the session, the following speakers took the floor: Dr. hab. Krzysztof Ratajczak, Prof. UAM, who presented “Zagadnienie edukacji w zakonie krzyżackim” [Education in the Teutonic Order], Dr. hab. Monika Nawrot-Borowska, Prof. UKW, who presented a paper entitled “Edukacja domowa na terenie Królestwa Polskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku w świetle pamiętników rękopiśmiennych ze zbiorów biblioteki narodowej” [Homeschooling in the Polish Kingdom at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries According to Manuscript Diaries from the Collection of the National Library], and Dr. hab. Aneta Bołdyrew, Prof. UŁ, who discussed “Oświata, opieka i wychowanie dzieci i młodzieży w Królestwie Polskim i tzw. Kresach w latach 1905–1918 w perspektywie humanistyki afirmatywnej i pedagogiki pamięci” [Education, Care, and Upbringing of Children and Adolescents in the Kingdom of Poland and the Eastern Borderlands in 1905–1918 in the Perspective of Affirmative Humanities and the Pedagogy of Memory]. The next paper, presented by Dr. hab. Renata Bednarz-Grzybek (Maria Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin), was “Zalecenia lekarzy w zakresie edukacji zdrowotnej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku” [Doctors’ Recommendations for Health Education at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries] referring to the promotion of health education, health prevention, and a hygienic lifestyle among the society. Dr. Elżbieta Dolata’s (University of Rzeszów) speech on “Międzynarodowe kongresy i wystawy higieniczne na przełomie XIX i XX wieku jako formy wymiany poglądów jak dbać o zdrowie uczniów” [International Congresses and Hygiene Exhibitions at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries as a Form of Exchange of Views on How to Take Care of the Health of Schoolchildren] was

on a similar topic. This section was concluded by Dr. hab. Małgorzata Stawiak-Ososińska, Prof. UJK, with the paper entitled “Kształcenie sanitariuszek w Jaroszewcu w przededniu II wojny światowej” [Educating Nurses in Jaroszewiec on the Eve of the Second World War].

The second part of the session in section III was chaired by Dr. hab. Anna Królikowska, Prof. UIK, and Dr. hab. Aneta Bołdyrew, Prof. UŁ. Four papers were presented. The first paper was presented by Dr. Marzena Pękowska (Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce), who spoke about “Klasy eksperymentalne w szkołach powszechnych w Wilnie w okresie dwudziestolecia międzywojennego” [Experimental Classes in Vilnius Public Schools in the Interwar Period], followed by Dr. Michał Siermiński (L. & A. Birkenmajer Institute for the History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences) with a paper entitled “Wychowanie po stalinowsku. Idee i praktyka” [Education According to Stalin: Ideas and Practice]. Then, Dr. Anna Włoch (University of the Commission of National Education in Cracow) presented the specific features of “Polska pedagogika porównawcza w okresie PRL-u” [Polish Comparative Pedagogy in the Period of the Polish People’s Republic], showing the development of educational comparative studies as an academic discipline in the 1960s. The last paper in this section was presented by Dr. hab. Justyna Kuształ, Prof. UJ and Dr. hab. Beata Topij-Stempińska, Prof. UIK. In their paper entitled “Ewolucja/rozwój myśli i praktyki resocjalizacyjnej na tle przemian cywilizacyjno-kulturowych” [Evolution/Development of Rehabilitation Thought and Practice Against the Background of Civilization and Cultural Changes], they presented rehabilitation pedagogy as a pedagogical sub-discipline, along with its development and changes.

Section IV, entitled “Dorobek polskiej myśli pedagogicznej oraz subdyscyplin pedagogicznych” [The Output of Polish Pedagogical Thought and Sub-disciplines of Pedagogy], was chaired by Dr. hab. Urszula Wróblewska, Prof. UwB and Dr. Michał Nowicki (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań). Seven papers were presented during the session. Dr. Nowicki was the first to speak, on the topic of “Krzysztofa Hegendorfera ‘Racja studiowania’” [Krzysztof Hegendorfer’s “Reason for Studying”] as an example of the reception of the Renaissance pedagogical thought at the Lubrański Academy. The second paper, called “W walce o polskość rodzimej oświaty. Uczeń

lwowscy wobec sanacyjnej reformy oświaty na łamach lokalnych dzienników prawicowych” [The Struggle for the Polishness of Native Education: Lviv Professors and the “Sanacja” Educational Reform in the Pages of Local Right-Wing Dailies] was delivered by Dr. hab. Tomasz Pudłocki, Prof. UJ. This was followed by Dr. Łukasz Kalisz (University of Białystok), who spoke about “Recepcja idei pedagogicznych ks. Jana Bosko w praktyce edukacyjno-wychowawczej Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej” [The Reception of the Pedagogical Ideas of Don Bosco in the Educational Practice of the Second Polish Republic]. Issues related to the development of special pedagogy as theory and practice were discussed by Dr. hab. Iwona Czarnecka, Prof. APS, in the paper “Jakub Falkowski – nauczyciel dzieci niesłyszących i założyciel Warszawskiego Instytutu Dzieci Głuchoniemych i Ociemniałych jako pionier w obszarze edukacji dzieci głuchych i niedosłyszących” [Jakub Falkowski—Teacher of Deaf Children and Founder of the Warsaw Institute for Deaf-Mute and Blind Children as a Pioneer in the Field of Education of Deaf and Hearing-Impaired Children] and by Dr. Tomasz Fetzki (University of Zielona Góra) in the lecture called “Narodziny i rozwój polskiej pedagogiki osób z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną przed rokiem 1919 w kontekście sytuacji międzynarodowej” [The Birth and Development of Polish Pedagogy of People with Intellectual Disabilities before 1919 in the Context of the International Situation]. In turn, Dr. hab. Urszula Wróblewska, Prof. UwB, discussed “Opieka społeczna w Polsce i za granicą w okresie międzywojennym – przenikanie, inspiracje, korelacje” [Social Care in Poland and Abroad in the Interwar Period: Interpenetration, Inspiration, Correlations]. The speaker focused on the development of this form of assistance and on showing the European influence in each country in the creation of professional social care. The lecture “Popularyzacja koncepcji pedagogicznej Marii Montessori w polskim czasopiśmiennictwie okresu międzywojennego” [Popularization of Maria Montessori’s Pedagogical Concept in Polish Periodicals of the Interwar Period] by Dr. Joanna Sosnowska (University of Łódź) familiarized the participants with the Montessori method and its reflection in pedagogical magazines.

The discussions in the second part of Section IV were chaired by Dr. Edyta Bartkowiak (University of Zielona Góra) and Dr. hab. Justyna Wojniak, Prof. UKEN. Five papers were presented in this

section. The first speaker was Daniel Sunderland, MA (L. & A. Birkenmajer Institute for the History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences), with a paper entitled “*Życie codzienne Wielkiej Emigracji w świetle dokumentów Instytutu Panien Polskich w Paryżu*” [Everyday Life of the Great Emigration According to Documents of the Institute of Polish Ladies in Paris]. Next, lectures were given by Dr. Edyta Bartkowiak (University of Zielona Góra)—“*Wpływ aktywności pomocowej Kościoła na kształtowanie się podstaw polskiej pedagogiki opiekuńczej*” [The Influence of the Church’s Aid Activity on the Formation of the Foundations of Polish Welfare Pedagogy], Dr. Magdalena Malik—“*Norma w polskiej szkole, czyli wpływ gospodarki na kształcenie młodego pokolenia w czasie PRL*” [The Norm in Polish Schools, Or the Influence of the Economy on the Education of the Younger Generation during Communist Times], and Jadwiga Jaźwierska, MA (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin)—“*Profesor Edmund Bulanda i jego kolekcja fotografii czyli warsztat naukowca (analiza zespołu zasobów BU KUL)*” [Professor Edmund Bulanda and His Collection of Photographs, i.e. the Workshop of a Scientist (Analysis of the Resources of the University Library of KUL)]. The last paper was delivered by Dr. hab. Justyna Wojniak, Prof. UKEN, in which she presented the figures of two scholars from the field of comparative pedagogy: “*Sergiusz Hessen i Nicholas Hans: wspólnota życiowych doświadczeń i poglądów naukowych*” [Sergei Hessen and Nicholas Hans: A Community of Life Experiences and Scientific Views].

The Second Congress of Historians of Education was summarized by Dr. hab. Katarzyna Dormus, Prof. UKEN. She emphasized the importance of the topics raised during the debates, especially those related to the 250th Jubilee of the Commission of National Education. She also pointed out that a total of 58 papers were presented during the event, and that the speakers represented in large numbers the leading institutions in Poland. The research of Polish historians of upbringing presented in these papers, on both the first and the second day, indicates that the conference was an important scholarly event, an important instrument for the dissemination of historical educational knowledge, and a testimony to the collaboration of historians of education. Certainly, the publication of post-conference

materials in the form of a monograph will also be an important contribution to the Polish scholarly literature.

Representatives of the following academic institutions took part in the congress: Maria Grzegorzewska University, WSB Academy in Dąbrowa Górnicza, Ludwik and Aleksander Birkenmajer Institute for the History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, University of Białystok, University of Gdansk, Ignatianum University in Cracow, Jagiellonian University, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa, Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce, Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz, University of the Commission of National Education in Cracow, University of Łódź, Maria Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, University of Rzeszów, University of Zielona Góra, Warmia and Mazury University in Olsztyn, University of Wrocław, University of Warsaw, and Higher School of Professional Skills in Pińczów. Presentations were heard by students of pedagogy at the University of the National Education Commission and Ignatianum University.

The 2nd Congress of Historians of Education was organized by representatives of two academic centers, to whom a word of thanks is due: from UIK, Dr. hab. Andrzej Paweł Bieś SJ, Prof. UIK; Dr. hab. Anna Królikowska, Prof. UIK; Prof. Władysław Szulakiewicz, and Dr. hab. Beata Topij-Stempińska, Prof. UIK and from UKEN: Dr. hab. Katarzyna Dormus, Prof. UKEN; Dr. hab. Jan Ryś, Prof. UKEN; Dr. hab. Ryszard Ślęczka, Prof. UKEN; Dr. hab. Justyna Wojniak, Prof. UKEN, and Dr. Anna Włoch.

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