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It's embedded!? Modeling the Tenets of Critical Pedagogy for Future Teachers Working in Multilingual and Multicultural Learning Environments

ABSTRACT: Abstract: Learning means understanding the positionality of the producers of knowledge and their power since they are those who reproduce a certain world view. If teacher education programs do not reflect issues faced by underrepresented populations, this may leave certain groups of students marginalized and cause higher drop-out rates. Hence, this study aimed to determine whether chosen Education Preparation Programs (EPPs) in Poland and Spain embed principles of critical pedagogy in their curriculum while preparing pre-service teachers for working in diverse educational environments. This study's methodology was replicated from the analysis done by Courville-Mayers & Figueroa-Flores (2020). Content analysis was used to determine the presence of critical pedagogy tenets developed by Giroux (revised in 2020) in the EPPs required courses' syllabi. The findings show that the distribution of the CP principles is uneven, and some of the tenets found no representation in the syllabi.

KEYWORDS: critical pedagogy, pre-service teacher training, curriculum development, linguistic and cultural diversity

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INTRODUCTION

Can the constructs of curricula be seen as doxa? Something that we are used to and never question? Perhaps educational policies are made by those who have an interest in defending doxa and keeping the invisible invisible (Babino & Stewart, 2020). The epistemological principles underlying the preparation of teachers still seem to be what Osborn (2006) named as the main barrier to creating learning environments contributive to social justice.

Higher education plays a great part in tackling Europe's social and democratic challenges. Under the European Area strategic framework, a new Working Group on higher education has been established for the period from 2021 to 2025². The focus of the Working Group is to, as part of the mutual learning, share information about reforms of national education policies and to inspire positive change throughout the European Union. This means ensuring that higher education is inclusive and that its institutions are well connected to their communities. Furthermore, citizens from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds and those with migrant backgrounds remain far less likely to enter and complete higher education. Gender segregation by field of study also remains common. The question is, are future teachers receiving adequate training to become inclusive and equitable educators working with diverse populations? Findings from the United States show that there is a need for Education Preparation Programs (EPPs) to reinforce and model critical pedagogy aspects for pre-service teachers in order to move away from traditional philosophies and implement a curriculum that openly addresses social justice practices and confronts real problems that are impacting our society and schools (Courville-Myers & Figueroa-Flores, 2020, p. 10). The study outlined in this article is a replication study of Courville-Myers and Figueroa-Flores (2020). It was conducted in order to increase the impact of research and to test

¹ Bourdieu (1997: 110) saw doxa as the unanimity effect in social groups that share the similar habituses and trajectories. Doxa is the 'natural attitude' of the dominated groups.

² Working Groups of the EEA strategic framework | European Education Area (europa.eu)

the generalizability of the earlier findings to see whether they can be separated from their original context (Porte, 2012) and be applied in Europe. During our research, it was not our intention to change any variables (but the population), so we have used the same methodological protocol as the previous study. This study analyzed the EPPs required course syllabi at one university in Poland and one in Spain.

The original study sought to determine whether foundation, first, and second-year courses within EPPs at Hispanic Serving Institutes (HSIs) were devoting their curriculum to principles of critical pedagogy. The researchers are both faculty members at an HSI and teacher educators. The study utilized qualitative document analysis and was guided by a research question. "How do EPPs at our local Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) support principles of critical pedagogy?" The data used were from three universities in North Texas. The study furthered understanding of the scale on which students are supported in critical pedagogy practices. The replication study also aimed at advancing understanding of the issues presented above with the research question – How do foundation, first, and second-year courses within EPPs at chosen Teacher Training Institutions in Poland and Spain support principles of critical pedagogy?

The findings show that the EPPs in question largely maintain monolingual and monocultural curricula and need to place social justice at the center of their programmes and engaging in critical pedagogy to support inclusivity and equity. In today's complex world, we need pre-service teachers to receive training that would provide them with critical analysis tools and consider diverse cultural contexts as new spheres for education (Silberman-Keller et al., 2011).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This study, just like the original one, is rooted in critical pedagogy, which requires us to confront oppression and support an educational system that works towards emancipation (Freire, 1973). Freire (1970) urged us to support our students' emancipation from structural and institutional injustices by consciousness-raising (*conscientização*). However, Freire has never referred to his works as critical pedagogy. It was Giroux (2010) who used this term for educators. Critical pedagogy prompts us to recognize the social context that encompasses our students. It serves us as guidance to redesign our curricula while including the relationship between theory and practice, critical-dialectic rationale, contextualization, collaborative and deliberative action-research, and ethical purpose (Olmos de Montáñez, 2008).

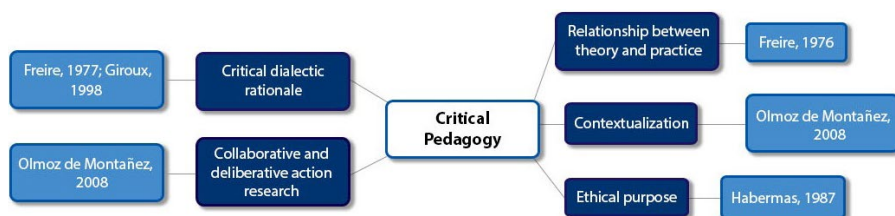


Figure 1. Critical Pedagogy Implications
(Courville-Myers & Figueroa-Flores, 2020, p. 4)

As Figure 1 shows, one of the indications of critical pedagogy is that it finds a direct dialectic relationship between theory and practice through critical reflection and with the aim to transform reality. According to Freire (1976), both reflection and action comprise a dialectic process. Contextualization refers to all elements of students' context: socio-historical, economic, cultural, geographical, and political. Students' knowledge production should be in close relationship with them and their community context (Olmos de Montañez, 2008). Ethical purpose, on the other hand, serves to develop good morale through action. As Habermas (1987) put it, practical science entails the relationship between reason and morale at the time of reflection and action-practice. The critical-dialectic rationale refers to the critical self-reflection of an autonomous teacher who tries to become free from bias and dogmas (Freire, 1997; Giroux, 1997). The last aspect of critical pedagogy in Figure 1 is collaborative and deliberative action-research. This process can be accomplished between teachers and learners, involving their daily pedagogical practices (Olmos de Montañez, 2008). The reason behind using this theoretical framework in this research is that critical pedagogy questions banking education (Freire, 1970) and empowers educators to take action and be responsible for their teaching (McLaren & Kinchloe, 2008).

CONTEXT

The two universities participating in this study were chosen purposefully. The aim was to select universities in two different contexts in Europe with a long tradition of educating pre-service teachers and having an impact on their local education context. For the purposes of this study, the identity of the universities is protected, and the two participating institutions were called as University 1 (from Spain) and University 2 (from Poland). Both of those institutions are teacher training universities providing undergraduate degrees for pre-service teachers, and the required five courses chosen from each of the institutions for this study are the obligatory foundation courses delivered in the first and second year of the B.A. degree in education.

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative, directed content analysis was used to analyze the chosen EPP's required courses syllabi in order to answer the research question: How do EPPs at chosen Teacher Training Institutions in Poland and Spain support principles of critical pedagogy? This type of analysis aims to analyze text data and provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). In this research, we have used preconceived categories (See Figure 2 for a detailed schematic) rather than allowing the categories emerge from the data (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). A deductive use of theory was executed and coded as a systematic procedure for reviewing documents. Such a process helped us to focus on answering the research question. The chosen syllabi were analyzed with the lens of critical pedagogy and Giroux's (reviewed in 2020) nine principles of critical pedagogy. According to Giroux's synthesis of critical pedagogy work, those should include the following aspects (Courville-Myers & Figueroa-Flores, 2020, p. 3):

- » Education produces political subjectivities
- » Ethics is central to education
- » Need to understand the difference in identity formation
- » Need to understand how different types of knowledge are given priority in schools
- » Should pursue new forms of culture and knowledge
- » Claims to objective knowledge should be challenged
- » Must include a vision of a better world
- » Teachers should be "transformative intellectuals"
- » Students need a critically conscious "voice"

The above tenets of critical pedagogy were given codes for data analysis, as shown in Figure 2.

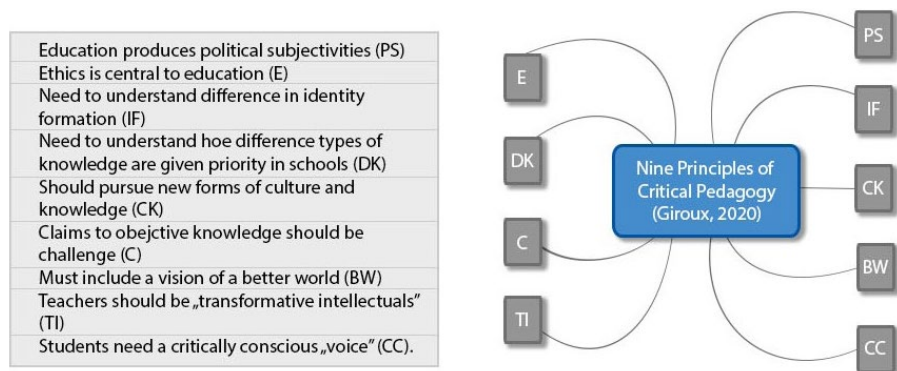


Figure 2. Nine Principles of Critical Pedagogy (Courville-Myers & Figueroa-Flores, 2020, p. 6)

The coding began immediately with the predetermined codes, as researchers felt that the initial coding would not bias the identification of relevant information (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). During the process of coding, the complete document was analyzed, the aims and objectives, the content, skills students were to gain on its completion, and the bibliography. If one of the above principles was found in one part of the syllabus, it was checked against all other parts of the document. We believe that content analysis should lead to conclusions as objectively as possible. Therefore, in order to increase research validity, both researchers involved in this study performed content analysis separately. The results were later cross-examined, and conclusions reached (Burnard, 1991).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis conducted in this study allowed us to gain a greater understanding of the required course content in the foundation, first, and second-year courses within EPPs of the two universities and of how critical pedagogy practices are being supported and reflected in each of the five selected courses. The findings are shown in Tables 1 and 2 for University 1 and 2, respectively. Similarly to the original study (Courville-Myers & Figueroa-Flores, 2020), the chosen universities have some of the tenets of critical pedagogy embedded in them. The distribution of the principles is uneven, as displayed in Figures 1 and 2. However, there are some principles that found no representation. In University 1, this would be TI. Whereas in University 2, the C, BW, and CC. Data show that there is practically no emphasis on CC in University 1, while including it in the EPPs course syllabi might support student understanding and provide strategies for disrupting injustices in education (Lewison, Leland & Harste, 2015). The principle that coded most in both of the courses is PS, which presents education as a means of production of political subjectiveness. This may suggest that the courses devote a substantial amount of time to political and historical education contexts. Giroux (2020) states that ethics is central to education and the foundation of critical pedagogy. Yet, the document analysis did not show a great representation of ethics in the syllabi. Also, none of the courses models all of the tenets of critical pedagogy throughout a given course. The lack of emphasis on DK and CK principles may indicate that pre-service teachers are not getting a strong foundation for culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris & Alim, 2017). None of the findings showed that the EPPs combine pedagogical content knowledge with students' lived experiences to support sociopolitical consciousness.

Table 1. University 1 Coded Principles

Courses	Coded Principles								
	PS	E	IF	DK	CK	C	BW	TI	CC
University 1									
C1	1								
C2	1		1			1			
C3	1			1			1		1
C4					1				
C5	1	1							

Table 2. University 2 Coded Principles

Courses	Coded Principles								
	PS	E	IF	DK	CK	C	BW	TI	CC
University 2									
C1	1			1				1	
C2	1	1						1	
C3	1			1					
C4	1		1		1				
C5	1	1							

Courville-Myers & Figueroa-Flores (2020) found vast variations of the EPP required courses while analyzing data. This study showed that the tenets of critical pedagogy are addressed differently in Spain and Poland, with Spain having a more even distribution of them than Poland. However, with rather little explicit attention to the critical pedagogy principles, thus to social justice issues, in the selected syllabi, it may be assumed that the programs do not reflect the issues often faced by under-represented populations, which may leave certain groups of students marginalized and cause higher drop-out rates because of the lack of belonging or relevancy for students with migrant backgrounds.

CONCLUSION

Curricula will not work unless students can connect the real world and content (Genova & Stewart, 2019). Seeing required and additional literature list in a syllabus can tell us a lot about the content of a given course but also about the positionality of the producer of knowledge, which in our instance is an academic teacher and their world view and knowledge reproduction. According to Giroux (2019), a learner must function as a border-crosser, as a person moving in and out of physical, cultural, and social borders. How are all different students to feel engaged in the process of learning if they cannot connect to the literature they read in class. Is this not an example of systemic discrimination? We need to revise our curricula and leave

space for being more flexible in our teaching. After all, diversity, inclusiveness, and gender equality in the higher education sector have become more important than ever (European Commission, 2022). Therefore, all teacher education courses should put social justice at the center of their EPP courses, as critical pedagogy contributes to the development of reflective educators who are devoted to supporting democratic values in our society (Nieto, 2000; Courville-Myers & Figueroa-Flores, 2020). With reflexivity, research, pedagogy, and policy purposefully employed, we can confront mono-mainstream thinking (Babino & Stewart 2020, p. 253). What we need is more coherence across theory, policy, and practice in curriculum design and assessment practices (Mickan, 2017, p. 31). Universities today must educate citizens who are critically literate, trust in scientific knowledge and believe in the public good (Olszewska et al., 2021). Research shows that pre-service teachers feel more valued and prepared to teach in schools with diverse populations when pedagogical content knowledge is integrated with their lived experiences, there's a focus on equity, demonstrating cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness (Nieto, 2017; Castillo-Montoya, 2019). We agree with Courville-Myers & Figueroa-Flores (2020), who conclude their article by saying that we must be ready to redesign our EPP curricula, move beyond superficial diversity initiatives in education and focus on equity, inclusion, and justice. One of the suggestions that these authors pose is that adding several courses that focus on theory and practice related to critical pedagogy would be a good starting point for education towards democracy, equity, and inclusiveness in society. However, Milner (2010) sees treating cultural diversity issues in isolation and not fully integrating them into the teacher education curriculum as a disadvantage. Being academic teachers, we acknowledge that sometimes, depending on a person who teaches a given group of students, critical pedagogy issues are implemented in the course of study, not necessarily the course on critical pedagogy. Therefore, we believe that it is important that pre-service teachers' curricula openly, not just coincidentally, address social justice practices in all of the required classes in order to confront problems that are impacting our society and schools today.

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**TO JEST ZINTEGROWANE!? MODELOWANIE ZAŁOŻEŃ PEDAGOGIKI
KRYTYCZNEJ DLA PRZYSZŁYCH NAUCZYCIELI. PRACA W WIELOJĘZYCZNYCH
I WIELOKULTUROWYCH ŚRODOWISKACH EDUKACYJNYCH**

ABSTRAKT: Uczenie się oznacza zrozumienie pozycji władzy oraz istoty reprodukcji wiedzy, gdyż są one odzwierciedleniem powielanych społecznie światopoglądów. Jeśli programy kształcenia nauczycieli nie odzwierciedlają problemów, z jakimi borykają się niedostatecznie reprezentowane populacje, może to prowadzić do marginalizacji pewnych grup studentów i powodować wyższy odsetek osób porzucających naukę. Dlatego też niniejsze badanie miało na celu ustalenie, czy wybrane programy przygotowawcze dla nauczycieli w Polsce i Hiszpanii uwzględniają zasady pedagogiki krytycznej w swoich programach kształcenia, przygotowując nauczycieli do pracy w zróżnicowanych środowiskach edukacyjnych. Metodologia tego badania została powielona z analizy przeprowadzonej przez Courville-Mayers & Figueroa-Flores (2020), jako że jest to badanie replikacyjne. Analiza treści została wykorzystana do określenia obecności założeń pedagogiki krytycznej opracowanych przez Giroux (zrewidowanych w 2020 r.) w sylabusach przedmiotów podstawowych. Wyniki badań pokazują, że rozmieszczenie zasad pedagogiki krytycznej w programach kształcenia nauczycieli jest nierównomierne, a niektóre zadania nie znalazły żadnego odzwierciedlenia w sylabusach.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: pedagogika krytyczna, kształcenie wstępne nauczycieli, opracowanie programów nauczania, różnorodność językowa i kulturowa

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Problem uprzedmiotowienia w przekazach medialnych w kontekście wybranych aspektów psychospołecznego funkcjonowania młodych kobiet

ABSTRAKT: Można zauważyć, że seksualizacja przekazów medialnych i związane z nią uprzedmiotowienie, głównie kobiet, przybiera na sile w ciągu ostatnich lat. Zjawiska te nie pozostają bez wpływu na funkcjonowanie kobiet, w tym m.in. na odbiór własnego ciała, ale też na podejmowane działania i aktywności. Wykorzystanie kobiet jako obiektów seksualnych szczególnie często stosowane jest w reklamach. Celem artykułu jest opis tego zjawiska oraz możliwych form wsparcia i edukacji, szczególnie młodych kobiet.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: samouprzedmiotowienie, edukacja medialna, mass media

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Media masowe stały się znaczącym elementem infosfery człowieka, tworząc środowisko informacyjne umożliwiające właściwe funkcjonowanie we współczesnym społeczeństwie. Media w swym założeniu miały pośredniczyć w poznawaniu rzeczywistości, jednak przy obecnej skali mediatyzacji i medializacji stały się narzędziem kreowania tejże rzeczywistości i swoistym stylem życia. Wiele osób żyjących w dynamicznie rozwijającej się przestrzeni medialnej nie nadąza z wytworzeniem mechanizmów adaptacyjnych. Dlatego w odpowiedzi na różne komunikaty medialne reaguje często nieadekwatnie, stereotypowo, w sposób który był odpowiedni i efektywny w sytuacjach komunikacji bezpośredniej (Nass i Reeves, 2010). Tofflerowski¹ „szok przyszłości” nie odnosi się wyłącznie do starszych pokoleń, lecz także tych, urodzonych w epoce nowych mediów i internetu, nazywanych kolejnymi określeniami, tj. pokolenie Y, pokolenie Z, pokolenie sieci, pokolenie Google, cyfrowi turyści itp. (zob. Prensky, 2001; Rowlands i in., 2008; Tapscot, 2010; Jain i Pant, 2016). Współczesne generacje, choć zrodzone w erze mediów masowych i nowych mediów, i poruszające się wyjątkowo sprawnie w cyberprzestrzeni, często nie są przygotowane do właściwego korzystania z mediów oraz radzenia sobie ze skutkami ich działania. Do zagrożeń takich jak manipulacja informacją, oszustwa, kradzieże danych i tożsamości, wirusy komputerowe, cyberprzemoc, niebezpieczne treści i kontakty (zob. Grabowska, 2010; Bednarek i Andrzejewska, 2014; Siemieniecka i in., 2020), należy doliczyć także kryzys wartości i migotanie znaczeń² sfragmentaryzowanych informacji prezentowanych w przestrzeni medialnej. Takie środowisko informacyjne stwarza szczególnie trudne i niebezpieczne warunki do rozwoju poczucia stabilności i bezpieczeństwa, ale także, w przypadku młodych osób, generuje trudności

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- 1 Alvin Toffler (2007) w książce pt. „Szok przyszłości” opisuje problem bariery psychofizycznej adaptacji człowieka do cywilizacji szybkich zmian oraz psychologicznych konsekwencji tych przeobrażeń.
 - 2 Autorki świadomie odwołują się do określenia użytego w książce Zbyszko Melosika i Tomasza Szkudlarka (1998) pt. „Kultura, tożsamość i edukacja: Migotanie znaczeń”, zawierającej rozważania dotyczące społecznej konstrukcji podmiotowości w kontekście problemów współczesności, generowanych także przez media i kulturę popularną.

w procesie konstruowania tożsamości. Z tożsamością człowieka nierozdzielnie związana jest jego cielesność, będąca zarazem najbardziej indywidualną i intymną, a jednocześnie społeczną częścią „ja”, przez którą jednostka wyraża lub gubi swoją podmiotowość. Poczucie adekwatności i nieadekwatności posiadanego ciała stanowi jedno z podstawowych źródeł własnej samooceny, a porównywanie własnego ciała z ciałami innych stanowi jeden z podstawowych kontekstów kształtowania tożsamości (por. Melosik i Szkuclarek, 1998; Wiśniewska, 2014). Jednak, jeśli tożsamość człowieka jest postrzegana przede wszystkim przez pryzmat ciała, to następuje jej redukcja, zatracenie podmiotowości, a w efekcie dochodzi do uprzedmiotowienia. Ma ono miejsce wtedy, gdy: „ciało danej osoby, części tego ciała lub seksualność, są odseparowane od niej samej i traktowane jako jej reprezentacja” (Goldenberg i in., 2011, s. 443). Taki sposób prezentacji ciała, połączony czy wręcz wynikający z nasilonej seksualizacji, często występuje w przekazach medialnych. W literaturze naukowej problem uprzedmiotowienia analizuje się głównie w odniesieniu do kobiet, co wynika m.in. z faktu, że teoria ta została zaprezentowana w perspektywie feministycznej jako próba wyjaśnienia, dlaczego niektóre zaburzenia (np. zaburzenia jedzenia czy zaburzenia depresyjne) występują częściej u kobiet niż u mężczyzn (Fredrickson i Roberts, 1997). Nie oznacza to, że problem nie dotyczy mężczyzn – ale nie jest jasne, czy mechanizmy działania są podobne, czy być może inne, oraz czy skala zjawiska jest porównywalna do problemów obserwowanych u kobiet (por. Choma i in., 2010; Jones i Griffiths, 2015). W ciągu ostatnich lat problem uprzedmiotowienia ciała męskiego zyskuje na sile, stąd można przypuszczać, że wiedza na ten temat będzie się zwiększać (por. Rollero i De Piccoli, 2017). Z uwagi na cel artykułu, skupimy się jedynie na kobietach. W artykule tym prowadzimy rozważania nad zjawiskiem seksualizacji i uprzedmiotowienia w mediach oraz jego skutkami, a także nad możliwymi formami wsparcia i edukacji.

ŹPRZEDMIOTOWIENIE JAKO EFEKT SEKSUALIZACJI KOBIEŃ W PRZEKAZACH MEDIALNYCH

Można stwierdzić, że współczesną kulturę medialną cechuje komunikacja masowa oparta na przekazach audiowizualnych, w recepcji których coraz większą rolę odgrywają emocje (Michalczyk, 2017). Znamienne jest to szczególnie dla komunikatów reklamowych nastawionych na wzbudzenie odpowiednich emocji u odbiorcy (Matwiejczyk, 2018). Globalizacja i rozwój technologii informacyjno-komunikacyjnych sprzyjają zwiększaniu zasięgu oraz przenikaniu różnorodnych treści, zacierając coraz częściej różnice kulturowe i czasowe. Z jednej strony perspektywa poznawcza człowieka ulega rozszerzeniu, wzbogaceniu o nowe informacje, wartości i wzory działania, z drugiej strony ta mnogość i wielość stanowić może zagrożenie, szczególnie dla młodych ludzi, których system wartości oraz własna tożsamość nie są w pełni ukształtowane. Zbyt duża ilość niepewnych informacji, różnorodność koncepcji „ja”, rozmycie wartości niosą ryzyko zagubienia, niepewności siebie i trudności w procesie kształtowania tożsamości. Stanowi to o tyle istotny problem, że okres dojrzewania

to czas aktywnego doświadczania rzeczywistości, sprawdzania się w nowych rolach, określania własnych granic oraz swojego miejsca w świecie. To czas kreacji siebie, realizacji motywów „ja” (Gasiul, 2016) na podstawie informacji płynących z otoczenia, w tym mediów.

Jednym z negatywnych zjawisk medialnych jest seksualizacja przekazów medialnych, której problem dostrzeżono już latach 90. XX wieku. Jak zwraca uwagę Monika Zielona-Jenek (2017) pojęcie to było jednak wykorzystywane już wcześniej, często w różnych znaczeniach i kontekstach. Ich elementem wspólnym było „rozumienie seksualizacji jako procesu nadawania seksualnego znaczenia czemuś, co miało wcześniej inny, pozaseksualny charakter” (Zielona-Jenek, 2017, s. 12). W wyniku tego procesu dochodzi do uruchomienia pobudzenia seksualnego. Wzrost zainteresowania tym zjawiskiem ma swoje korzenie m.in. w uznaniu i wprowadzeniu pojęcia zdrowia seksualnego, a także w prowadzonej dyskusji na temat różnych form przemocy seksualnej, szczególnie wobec kobiet i dostrzeżeniu niejednokrotnie subtelnych form jej występowania. Kolejnym źródłem jest próba ochrony dzieci i młodzieży przed wykorzystywaniem seksualnym, a także zauważenie zmian zachodzących w mediach. W tym kontekście pojawia się więc pytanie nie tylko o to, jak chronić dzieci, ale i jak edukować je wobec coraz częściej występujących treści seksualnych w ich życiu. W obliczu zachodzących zmian społeczno-kulturowych szczególnie istotny i ważny jest raport grupy zadaniowej Amerykańskiego Towarzystwa Psychologicznego (APA American Psychological Association, 2007) opisujący problem seksualizacji i jego konsekwencje. Zdefiniowano w nim, że seksualizacja³ zachodzi wtedy, gdy (APA, 2007, za: Zielona-Jenek, 2017, s. 14–15):

- » wartość osoby wynika tylko z jej atrakcyjności seksualnej lub zachowania, do tego stopnia, że wyklucza inne cechy;
- » osoba jest dopasowywana do normy, według której atrakcyjność fizyczna (wąsko zdefiniowana) oznacza bycie seksownym;
- » osoba jest uprzedmiotowiona pod względem seksualnym, czyli staje się dla innych raczej przedmiotem seksualnego wykorzystania niż osobą zdolną do podejmowania niezależnych działań i decyzji;
- » seksualność jest narzucona osobie w niewłaściwy sposób.

Zgodnie z tą definicją, każdy z wymienionych elementów jest przejawem seksualizacji, ale nie muszą one występować jednocześnie, aby móc stwierdzić jej występowanie. Seksualizacja traktowana jest również jako zjawisko niepożądane, stojące w opozycji do zdrowej seksualności.

Według APA seksualizacja dziewcząt zachodzi w trzech powiązanych ze sobą wymiarach: społecznym, interpersonalnym i intrapsychnym poprzez samoseksualizację. W pierwszym z nich – wymiarze społecznym, są to tzw. normy kulturowe, oczekiwania oraz wartości przekazywane różnymi sposobami, także poprzez media. W tym wypadku dotyczy to m.in. przepełnienia kultury zseksualizowanymi obraza-

3 Definicja ta i jej relacja do innych pojęć są szeroko dyskutowane, w tym poddawane krytyce w literaturze. Temat ten podejmuje m.in. Monika Zielona-Jenek (2017). Z uwagi na cel opracowania, nie będziemy się pochylać nad tym problemem.

mi (głównie kobiet i dziewcząt), co sugeruje, że seksualizacja jest zjawiskiem normatywnym i dobrym. W wymiarze interpersonalnym to rodzina, rówieśnicy oraz inne osoby mogą zachęcać dziewczęta do bycia obiektami seksualnymi i jako takie je traktować. Dzieje się to m.in. poprzez komentarze kierowane nie tylko pod adresem danej osoby, ale np. innych kobiet i ich aparycji. Natomiast, gdy dziewczęta poznają, że społeczeństwo i osoby, których opinia liczy się dla nich najbardziej (np. rówieśnicy, idole), uznają i nagradzają zseksualizowane zachowanie i wygląd, to prawdopodobnie te normy zinternalizują, co będzie przejawem ich samoseksualizacji (por. Stowarzyszenie Twoja Sprawa, 2013).

Jak zauważono wcześniej, seksualizacja w środkach masowego przekazu staje się zjawiskiem powszechnym, które wykorzystuje m.in. mechanizm przyciągania uwagi odbiorcy poprzez określony wygląd osoby i stawia znak równości między atrakcyjnością fizyczną i seksualną a wartością osoby, czy szansą na odniesienie przez nią sukcesu. Telewizja, film, teksty piosenek i teledyski, reklama, czasopisma, internet i serwisy społecznościowe czy gry komputerowe, promują kult ciała i nagości, upowszechniając tym samym koncepcję atrakcyjności kobiet w oparciu o jej atrakcyjność fizyczną i seksualną. Takie praktyki medialne prowadzą wielokrotnie do uprzedmiotowienia, tj. zredukowania osoby do ciała i traktowanie jej jako przedmiotu (zob. Bernard in., 2012; Gervais, Vescio i Allen, 2012; Gervais, Vescio, Förster i in., 2012). Według Marthy C. Nussbaum (1999) istnieje siedem możliwych sposobów traktowania człowieka jako przedmiotu (uprzedmiotowienia):

- » instrumentalność – traktowanie osoby jako narzędzia do realizacji swoich celów;
- » odmowa autonomii – negowanie niezależności i zdolności do samostanowienia;
- » bezwładność – traktowanie osoby jako pozbawionej sprawczości, a nawet aktywności;
- » wymiennność – uznanie możliwości zamiany osoby na inny obiekt;
- » naruszalność – uznanie osoby jako pozbawionej integralnych granic lub przypisując sobie prawo ich naruszenia;
- » własność – traktowanie osoby jako własności, czegoś, co może być kupione, sprzedane itp.;
- » odmowa podmiotowości – ignorowanie doświadczeń i odczuć osoby.

Uprzedmiotowienie w opinii Nussbaum polega na traktowaniu człowieka na jeden lub więcej z wymienionych sposobów.

Poprzez uprzedmiotowienie ciała zmienia się indywidualna koncepcja ciała jednostki z „bycia ciałem” na „posiadanie ciała”. Dzieje się tak w wyniku odbioru regularnych komunikatów, w których nikt nie pyta odbiorcy o to, jakich doświadcza pragnień, w tym cielesnych i co za pośrednictwem swego ciała przeżywa, lecz podpowiada mu się, czego ma chcieć i co ma przeżywać (por. Femiak i Rymarczyk, 2015). Znajduje to potwierdzenie w raporcie Amerykańskiego Towarzystwa Psychologicznego (APA, 2007) opracowanego na podstawie przeglądu wielu prac badających wpływ mediów: „wystawianie widzów na długotrwałe działanie tych samych bodźców prowadzi do przyjęcia przez nich określonego sposobu patrzenia na świat,

zbieżnego z oglądanymi obrazami” (Stowarzyszenie Twoja Sprawa, 2013, s. 3). Tym samym media wykorzystywane są do subtelnych kulturowych praktyk wpływania na proces kształtowania się tożsamości młodych ludzi (por. Melosik, 2010).

Postępującą seksualizację treści medialnych i uprzedmiotowienie ciała tłumaczy się akceptacją i rozwojem pewnych praktyk kulturowych określanych takimi pojęciami jak kultura obnażania (McNair, 2004), czy kultura konsumpcji i kultura upozorowania (Melosik, 1996, 2010). Kultura obnażania realizuje zasadę demokratyzacji pożądania, dzięki której każdy ma prawo do wyrażania swojej intymności i seksualności oraz oglądania takich prezentacji innych osób. Kultura konsumpcji odnosi się do czerpania przyjemności i budowania wartości człowieka wokół nabywania dóbr i ich posiadania oraz cechuje ją nieustanna potrzeba i konsumowanie przyjemności. O wartości człowieka decyduje stan posiadania, a potrzeby i pragnienia są proponowane, czy raczej narzucane, przez grupy interesu nastawione na określony zysk. Naczelną zasadą jest „mieć” zamiast „być”, a wymiarnikiem sukcesu człowieka jest to, co ma i jak wygląda, a nie to, jakie posiada cechy. Konsumenci wyznają także zasady: natychmiastowości gratyfikacji (łatwość i szybkość realizacji pragnień i posiadania) oraz obfitości (im więcej, tym lepiej) (Zawadzka, 2014). Potrzeby i pragnienia sprowadzone są do towarów, które można wybrać i nabyć. Tożsamość kreuje się w oparciu o marki znanych produktów. Ciało i seksualność także stanowią kategorię towaru na sprzedaż i narzędzie osiągnięcia hedonistycznej przyjemności (Femiak i Rymarczyk, 2015), która w przekazach medialnych urasta wręcz do rangi powinności (zob. Rymarczyk, 2014). Jest zarazem przedmiotem, jak i podmiotem konsumpcji. W kulturze upozorowania media masowe „manipulują stylem życia i poglądami ludzi przez nasycenie rynku wyobrażeniami, związanymi głównie z wariacjami na trzy tematy: seks, pieniądze, władza” (Melosik, 1996). Medialnie wyprodukowane wyobrażenia są bardziej atrakcyjne i ekscytujące, stając się bardziej realnymi od tych rzeczywistych. Błahe problemy urastają do rangi istotnych, z kolei rzeczywiste, poważne tematy są trywializowane poprzez ich fragmentaryzowanie, natychmiastowość i przedstawianie w formie sensacji lub rozrywki. Forma komunikatu panuje nad jego treścią. W rezultacie ludzie mogą przyjąć narzucone przez media znaczenia i wartości, jako własne i prawdziwe.

W tak funkcjonujących mediach i wspierającej je kulturze, nie powinno dziwić postępujące zjawisko seksualizacji. Wspomniany wcześniej raport APA, wywołał dyskusję nad tym zjawiskiem i jego skutkami także w Polsce. W 2013 roku podczas konferencji „Odebrana niewinność – seksualizacja kobiet i dziewcząt w mediach i reklamie – przyczyny, skutki, możliwe scenariusze”, Stowarzyszenie Twoja Sprawa zaprezentowało w Sejmie, w obecności m.in. Rzecznika Praw Obywatelskich, wyniki tego raportu. Analiza danych zawartych w nim, a pochodzących z wielu lat badań, pozwala stwierdzić, że seksualizacja i uprzedmiotowienie dziewcząt i kobiet w mediach staje się zjawiskiem powszechnym i postępującym. Ta konstatacja, choć wydaje się wręcz trywialna, to implikuje daleko idące konsekwencje. Niezależnie od medium wszechobecne są komentarze i uwagi o podtekście seksualnym, które niewspółmiernie częściej dotyczą kobiet. W telewizji postacie żeńskie znacznie częś-

ciej niż męskie bywają atrakcyjne i prowokacyjnie ubrane. Analiza treści teledysków wskazuje, że między 44% a 81% teledysków zawiera obrazy o treści seksualnej. W dużej części są to obrazy uprzedmiotawiające seksualnie kobiety. W mediach papierowych dziewczęta i młode kobiety są nieustannie zachęcane do tego, aby wyglądały i ubierały się w sposób, który uczyni je seksownymi w oczach mężczyzn. W grach komputerowych postacie kobiece są częściej niż męskie pokazywane częściowo nago, częściej też zachowują się w sposób wyzywający. Przekłada się to na to, jak młode dziewczyny i kobiety prezentują siebie: niektóre z nich w sieci przedstawiają siebie w zseksualizowany sposób, np. w prowokujących strojach czy pozach lub publikują informacje o swojej otwartości seksualnej. Ponadto, przyjmuje się, że uprzedmiotowienie jest tak powszechne, że wszystkie kobiety są poddane jego działaniu, które rozpoczyna się już w dzieciństwie (Jones i Griffiths, 2015).

Zjawisko seksualizacji i uprzedmiotowienia są nierozdzielnie ze sobą związane – można wręcz założyć, że jedno wynika z drugiego. We wspomnianym wcześniej raporcie APA (2007, por. Zielona-Jenek, 2017) uprzedmiotowienie i seksualizacja są traktowane praktycznie jako zjawiska tożsame. Podejście to jest szeroko dyskutowane wśród badaczy stawiających tezę, że seksualizacja nie musi prowadzić do uprzedmiotowienia, a uprzedmiotowienie nie zawsze wiąże się z seksualnymi treściami. Uznając zasadność takiego rozróżnienia, w artykule skupiamy się przede wszystkim na sytuacji uprzedmiotowienia w kontekście seksualizacji. Te dwa zjawiska implikują pojawienie się kolejnych: wspomnianej wcześniej samoseksualizacji i związanego z nią samoprzedmiotowienia. Jest to proces wynikający z internalizacji przekazów dotyczących uprzedmiotowienia i polegający na traktowaniu swojego ciała jako obiektu, który można podziwiać, oglądać i oceniać. Podczas tego procesu dochodzi do negowania swoich uczuć i umniejszania roli własnych kompetencji, a kobieta jest przekonana, że jej wartość określa tylko i wyłącznie jej wygląd (por. de Vries i Peter, 2013). W takiej sytuacji pozbawia się jej aktywnej roli czy mocy działania (Calogero, 2013). Wiele badań łączy samoprzedmiotowienie z szeregiem niebezpiecznych skutków psychospołecznych, które zostaną opisane w dalszej części.

Myśląc o zseksualizowanych treściach, ma się przed oczami przede wszystkim obrazy – filmy, teledyski, zdjęcia czy billboardy. Warto jednak zauważyć, że seksualizacja i uprzedmiotowienie może nie być związana jedynie z materiałami audio-wizualnymi. Bethany A. Jones i Kathleen M. Griffiths (2015) zwracają uwagę, że uprzedmiotowienie może mieć miejsce m.in. w relacji z drugą osobą (np. poprzez komentarze o podłożu seksualnym czy ocenę wyglądu), a w mediach – np. poprzez wypowiedzi prowadzących programy, dialogi aktorów występujących w serialach czy filmach. Jednak uznaje się, że zjawisko to szczególnie mocno zakorzenione jest w przekazach reklamowych, w tym wykorzystujących obraz.

UPRZEDMIOTOWIENIE KOBIET W REKLAMIE

Reklama w kulturze konsumpcji stała się naczelną formą kreowania potrzeb i wartości. Bazując na mechanizmie stereotypowego ukazywania wizerunków i ty-

pów kobiet utrwała się w umysłach odbiorców schemat myślenia, sprowadzający kobiety do roli przedmiotu lub obiektu seksualnego (por. Wasilewska, 1997; Bator, 1998; Twardowska i Olczyk, 2002; Dziewanowska, 2004; Madera, 2004; Kowalewska i Puppel, 2017; Widera, 2019). Reklama rozpowszechnia dwa style komunikatów: klasyczny – odwołujący się do tradycji i wykorzystujący związane z nią stereotypy oraz nowoczesny – posługujący się aktualnymi treściami i symbolami, wpisującymi się w obecny trend kulturowy. Promowany jest zatem wizerunek kobiety tradycyjnej lub nowoczesnej (Bator, 1998), obu jednak można przypisać traktowanie kobiety jako przedmiotu. Kobieta tradycyjna – to kobieta pełniąca rolę matki, żony, rzadziej pracownicy. Jej atrybutem nie jest uroda, lecz pewne cechy ugruntowane kulturowo, np. uczuciowość, troskliwość, poświęcenie. Rola kobiety tradycyjnej sprowadza się głównie do opieki nad dziećmi, dbania o męża, gotowania, sprzątanania i robienia zakupów. Przywołując opisane w tym artykule sposoby uprzedmiotowienia człowieka według Marthy C. Nussbaum, najczęściej odmawia się kobiecie tradycyjnej niezależności i zdolności samostanowienia, i traktuje się ją, jak pozbawioną sprawczości (lub też ogranicza się ona jedynie do wspomnianych czynności domowych). Z kolei wizerunek kobiety nowoczesnej, to rzadziej obraz kobiety niezależnej, posiadającej pewne kompetencje, a częściej portret kobiety atrakcyjnej, sprowadzanej do roli dodatku do przedmiotu lub posiadającej jedynie przymioty seksualne. Ukazywana jest często w uległych (mężczyźnie) lub wyzywających pozach. Przekazy reklamowe promują ściśle określony ideał kobiecej atrakcyjności seksualnej. Perfekcyjnie przedstawiane ciało kobiece niejednokrotnie nie funkcjonuje jako całość, lecz ogranicza się do wybranych obszarów (twarz, usta, piersi, nogi, pośladki lub krocze). Obecność kobiet w reklamie ma na celu realizację czyjegoś celu, ma przykuwać uwagę, przynosić zainteresowanie na reklamowany produkt lub wywoływać emocje przekładające się na zapamiętanie i sprzedaż produktu określonej marki. Powyższe spostrzeżenia pozwalają zidentyfikować różne sposoby uprzedmiotawiania kobiety wskazane przez Nussbaum (1999), tj. instrumentalność, odmowa autonomii, bezwładność, naruszalność, własność, odmowa podmiotowości.

Z powodu przedstawiania w reklamach kobiet w sposób zseksualizowany, tworzy się przestrzeń, w której bycie kobietą oznacza niemal to samo, co bycie obiektem seksualnym. Taki trend jest bardzo niepokojący, ponieważ niesie ryzyko wytworzenia się i utrwalenia podobnego konstruktów społecznego również poza środowiskiem medialnym (Stowarzyszenie Twoja Sprawa, 2013).

Z badań zgranicznych wynika (por. O'Donohue i in., 1997; Kilbourne, 1999; Cook i Kaiser, 2004; Merskin, 2004), że pojawia się także nowy trend w reklamie, przedstawiania dzieci, zwłaszcza dziewczynek, jako obiekty seksualne lub przypisywania im atrybutów dorosłości. W reklamach tych dziewczynki często pojawiają się razem z zseksualizowanymi kobietami, prezentowane są w odpowiednio dobranych ubraniach i kuszących pozach lub są wystylizowane na dorosłe osoby. Rozwija się także zjawisko odwrotne, tj. prezentuje się kobiety upodobnione do dziewczynek. Coraz częściej wykorzystuje się też dziecięce i młodzieżowe gwiazdy popkultury ukazując je w seksualnych pozach (por. Stowarzyszenie Twoja Sprawa, 2013). Sto-

sowanie takich technik reklamowych zwiększa ryzyko samoseksualizacji dziewcząt i młodych kobiet.

SKUTKI UPZEDMIOTOWIENIA KOBIEŃ W PRZEKAZACH MEDIALNYCH

Skutki uprzedmiotawiania kobiet w przekazach medialnych można wskazywać w trzech wymiarach (analogicznie, jak w przypadku realizacji seksualizacji): społecznym, interpersonalnym i intrapsychnym.

Wymiar społeczny i interpersonalny

Fabio Fasoli i współpracownicy (2018) na podstawie przeglądu licznych raportów badawczych oraz badań własnych sformułowali wniosek, że nagość jest czynnikiem wystarczającym do aktywowania pewnego stopnia uprzedmiotowienia kobiety, który nasila się, gdy w przedstawianym wizerunku obecne są cechy seksualizujące (np. odsłanianie ciała, przyjęcie zmysłowej i prowokacyjnej pozy i wyrazu twarzy, zabawę ciałem, ubraniem, nacisk na piersi i okolice miednicy itp.). Przedstawianie osób w sposób seksualny prowadzi obserwatorów do postrzegania ich jako mniej kompetentnych i inteligentnych. Prezentowanie przez kobiety swojego wizerunku w mediach społecznościowych w taki sposób także wpływa na ich ocenianie jako mniej atrakcyjnych społecznie i mniej kompetentnych.

Takie postrzeganie kobiet (uprzedmiotowienie seksualne, odmowa kompetencji i inteligencji) w wyniku określonego sposobu prezentowania treści w mediach uruchamia, a także utrwała niewłaściwe schematy myślowe na temat kobiet, ich zdolności, niezależności i sprawczości oraz roli społecznej. Przekłada się to na niedoceniającie głosu dziewcząt i kobiet oraz ich wkładu w społeczeństwo.

Częsty i regularny kontakt z mediami upowszechniającymi komunikaty obfitujące w zseksualizowane obrazy kobiet, zwiększają prawdopodobieństwo, że zarówno mężczyźni, jak i kobiety bardziej akceptują postawy seksualizujące i seksualnie uprzedmiotawiające kobiety (instrumentalność, odmowa autonomii, bezwładność, wymiennosc, naruszalność, odmowa podmiotowości), co prowadzić może do rozwoju niewłaściwych zachowań, pogłębiania problemów społecznych (tj. przemoc w stosunku do dziewcząt i kobiet, wykorzystywanie seksualne, różne formy pornografii i prostytucji (por. Stowarzyszenie Twoja Sprawa, 2013) oraz nieporozumień w relacjach damsko-męskich, przekładających się na trudności w nawiązywaniu i utrzymywaniu relacji intymnych i małżeńskich.

Wymiar intrapsychny

Skutki samouprzedmiotowienia dotyczą zakłóceń w sferze poznawczej, emocjonalnej i wolicjonalnej dziewcząt i kobiet. Największe ryzyko negatywnych skutków uprzedmiotowienia odnosi się do adolescentek, ponieważ są w przełomowym okresie formowania tożsamości i poczucia własnej wartości oraz aktywnie użytkują media, przez co są bardziej podatne na przekaz kulturowy, obiecujący im popularność i akceptację społeczną, którą mogą zyskać dzięki atrakcyjnemu wyglądowi. Regular-

ne postrzeganie medialnych ideałów atrakcyjności cielesnej, seksualnej związane jest z większym zainteresowaniem własnym wyglądem i niezadowoleniem z własnego ciała wśród dziewcząt i młodych kobiet, co implikuje kolejne skutki.

Wielu badaczy łączy samouprzedmiotowanie z szeregiem niebezpiecznych skutków psychospołecznych, takich jak podejmowanie ryzykownych zachowań zdrowotnych, wzrost niezadowolenia z ciała, ale także gorsze funkcjonowanie poznawcze (Goldenberg i in., 2011). Dziewczęta poświęcają mniej czasu i energii nauce i innym zajęciom, ale mają także problem z prawidłowym przebiegiem procesów myślowych w sytuacji uporczywego myślenia o ciele. Mogą także uczyć się uznawać pewne nagrody (męska uwaga) za ważniejsze od innych (osiągnięcia naukowe), ograniczając w ten sposób swe przyszłe możliwości naukowe i zawodowe (Gapinski i in., 2003; Davies i in., 2005). Zjawisko to związane jest również z występowaniem negatywnych stanów afektywnych – takich jak wstyd, lęk (por. Monro i Huon, 2005) czy objawów depresyjnych (por. Peat i Muehlenkamp, 2011; Jones i Griffiths, 2015). Co ciekawe, wstyd wynika nie tylko z samej oceny wyglądu, ale również z poczucia, że nie jest możliwe przewidzenie, kiedy i w jakich okolicznościach ta ocena nastąpi. Ta ciągła niepewność może dalej prowadzić do lęku i monitorowania swojego ciała. Dodatkowo, kobiety z wysokimi wynikami w wymiarze samouprzedmiotowania, mają trudności w pełnym zaangażowaniu się w wykonywane zadania, gdyż swoją uwagę kierują na to, jak wyglądają. Z tego samego powodu mają trudności w rozpoznawaniu swoich stanów wewnętrznych – takich jak głód, zmęczenie, ale też napięcie seksualne (Jones i Griffiths, 2015). Niektóre badania wskazują także na związek samouprzedmiotowania z niższą samooceną, obniżonym poczuciem własnej wartości i problemami z określeniem swojej tożsamości, a nawet dysfunkcjami seksualnymi, a także dążeniem do szczupłości czy bardziej pozytywnym podejściem do zabiegów chirurgii kosmetycznej (por. Choma i in., 2010; Rollero i De Piccoli, 2017). Badacze szukają także cech, które mają związek z poziomem samouprzedmiotowania, np. łączy się wyższy poziom samouprzedmiotowania, z wyznawaniem bardziej konserwatywnych poglądów, także dotyczących płciowości (por. Rollero i De Piccoli, 2017). Z kolei badania Rachel M. Calogero (2013) pokazują także, że samouprzedmiotowanie przekłada się na konkretne działania lub ich brak – jeśli w danej sytuacji aktywnie się odczuwanie samouprzedmiotowania, kobiety okazują więcej wsparcia dla *status quo* swojej płci, co w konsekwencji prowadzi do mniejszej chęci brania udziału w aktywnościach mających wyrównać nierówności związane z płcią. Wnioski płynące z tych badań łączące pasywność oraz brak aktywności z wyższym poziomem samouprzedmiotowania, są jednak szeroko dyskutowane w literaturze przedmiotu m.in. w kontekście kobiet, które wykorzystują swoje ciała dla nagłośnienia ważnych dla nich spraw (por. De Wilde, 2020). Ciekawe badanie przeprowadziła także Justyna Hurko (2017) w ramach pracy licencjackiej. Autorka prezentowała badanym (kobietę między 19 a 42 rokiem życia, N=74) reklamę amerykańskiej marki American Apparel. Firma ta słynie z kontrowersyjnych reklam, balansujących na granicy nie tylko dobrego smaku, ale i prawa. Prezentowana reklama została zakazana m.in. w Wielkiej

Brytanii⁴ (Edwards, 2013). Ze zdjęcia wykorzystanego w badaniach usunięto wszystkie elementy pozwalające na identyfikację firmy. Po obejrzeniu zdjęcia respondentki proszone były o ocenę kobiety biorącej udział w reklamie oraz ocenę reklamowanego produktu. Analiza uzyskanych danych pokazała, że badane raczej pozytywnie oceniały kobietę: nie zgadzały się, z tym, że jest ona mało inteligentna, nieodpowiedzialna czy rozwiązała seksualnie. Raczej zyskałaby zaufanie badanych. Natomiast badane niezbyt chętnie sięgnęłyby po produkt reklamowany w ten sposób. Nie chciałyby również, aby ich córka wystąpiła w takiej reklamie. Hurko badała również korelacje między takimi zmiennymi jak np. empatia, samoocena czy internalizacja przekazów dotyczących piękna a ocena kobiety i ocena reklamy. Jedynie dwie z nich okazały się istotne statystycznie: między negatywną oceną kobiety a negatywną oceną reklamy i między negatywną oceną kobiety a internalizacją przekazów dotyczących piękna (uruchomieniem stereotypu ładny – brzydki). Korelacja model-reklama wskazuje, że dobór treści reklamowych jest istotny – tzn. jeśli osoba prezentująca dany produkt zostanie źle odebrana, podobnie negatywny odbiór będzie – najprawdopodobniej – dotyczył reklamy. Druga z istotnych korelacji dotyczy negatywnej oceny kobiety i uruchomienia stereotypu ładny-brzydki. Wskazuje to związek między negatywną oceną modelki a stopniem internalizacji przekazów dotyczących piękna przez badane kobiety. Oznacza to, iż internalizacja przekazów medialnych związanych z obowiązującym kanonem piękna, wiąże się z negatywną oceną modelki. Wnioski te – podobnie jak doniesienia innych badaczy – wskazują na potrzebę edukacji medialnej.

Reasumując, zjawisko seksualizacji treści medialnych i powiązany z nim problem uprzedmiotowienia i samouprzedmiotowienia, nie pozostaje bez wpływu na funkcjonowanie młodych osób, szczególnie dziewcząt i młodych kobiet. Jednak pojawiają się głosy, że być może wpływ ten należy rozpatrywać inaczej niż tylko w kategoriach ryzyka i potencjalnie negatywnych oddziaływań. Zielona-Jenek (2017) zwraca uwagę na dwoistość rozumienia seksualizacji i jej wpływu. Z jednej strony jest to więc zjawisko wpływające na normalizowanie wykorzystywania kobiet czy dziewcząt, czy element społecznego dyskursu przyzwalającego na przemoc, w tym seksualną, z drugiej – element seksualnej emancypacji, rekonstruowania ról seksualnych, dający możliwość mówienia wprost o swojej seksualności. Obok „dziewcząt w sytuacji ryzyka” pojawiają się więc „dziewczeta, które mogą działać”. Dyskurs naukowy skupiony wokół raportu APA zdaje się pomijać tę drugą kwestię. Niemniej, należy uznać, że zjawisko to jest wielowymiarowym fenomenem, wymagającym współpracy badawczej przedstawicieli różnych dziedzin i stanowiących wyzwanie również dla praktyków – nauczycieli, pedagogów czy edukatorów.

4 Reklamę można znaleźć tutaj: American Apparel, za: Edwards, J. (2013, April 10). <https://i.insider.com/51657dfbeab8ea703000029>

KU SYNTEZIE – IMPLIKACJE EDUKACYJNE

Potrzeba edukacji oraz wsparcia w obszarze postępującej seksualizacji i uprzedmiotowienia wydaje się być bezdyskusyjna. Warto oprzeć ją o kilka wniosków płynących z literatury.

Pierwszy z nich dotyczy będzie aspektu rozwojowego – należy pamiętać nie tylko o tym, że dziecko jest istotą seksualną od dnia urodzin, ale także o tym, że różnie odbiera bodźce, które dla dorosłych mogą nieść treść seksualną. Zielona-Jenek (2017) podaje przykład 12-letniej dziewczynki, która pyta o czarne, obcisłe przebranie kota – czy w takim wieku będzie miało to wydźwięk seksualny, czy być może nadają go dorośli, czy może zależeć to będzie od czynnika indywidualnego. Wiele zachowań dzieci (od przytulania się do nagiej piersi matki w niemowlęctwie przez oglądanie swoich czy rówieśników narządów intymnych w wieku przedszkolnym) nie tylko odbieranych jest jako seksualnych, ale są one także wartościowane jako złe czy niemoralne. Seksualność staje się więc tematem tabu. W takich warunkach – bez wiedzy, wsparcia najbliższych – łatwiej ulegać przekazom prezentowanym w mediach, w tym w reklamach.

Kolejny wniosek dotyczy potencjalnych trudności w rozumieniu przekazu medialnego, wynikających ze skupiania się i zapamiętywania formy przekazu oraz pomijania lub zapominania zawartości przekazywanych treści. Powodem tych problemów mogą być emocje, które modyfikują przebieg procesów poznawczych (procesów przetwarzania informacji, tj. postrzeganie, rozpoznawanie, kategoryzacja, reprezentacje poznawcze rzeczywistości, pamięć, wyobrażenia, myślenie) (Cwalina, 2001), a ich skutki – okazują się korzystne bądź niekorzystne. Pojawiający się bodziec niesie zarówno informacje dotyczące jego cech, jak i informacje nacechowane afektem (zależnym indywidualnie, społecznie i kulturowo), które wyznaczają spostrzeganie tego bodźca i rodzaj reakcji (Osgood i in., 1957; Lewicka 1975). Według Osgooda i jego współpracowników, znaczenie (reprezentacja) ukształtowane w umyśle pod wpływem recepcji bodźca można określić jako postawę czy przekonanie (Osgood i in., 1957). Warto zatem zwrócić uwagę na osobisty kontekst oraz emocje wywołane w wyniku odbioru treści medialnej, które przekładają się na skuteczność zapamiętywania tych treści, jak również podejmowane działania. Prawdopodobnym jest, że dopóki problem uprzedmiotowienia ciała nie dotyczy osobiście danej osoby – jest on jedynie abstrakcyjnym konstruktem, a osoba często jest przyzwyczajona do tego, że ciało kobiet w reklamach może być prezentowane w określony sposób. Dlatego też tak istotne jest sięganie do doświadczeń indywidualnych (bez ich stygmatyzacji czy wtórnej wiktyimizacji) i przeniesienie akcentu działań czy odniesień na środowisko, w którym dana grupa żyje i funkcjonuje.

Niepożądanym automatyzmom mogłaby także przeciwdziałać świadoma analiza przekazu, która wymaga kształcenia umiejętności i wiedzy z zakresu edukacji medialnej. Warto te działania oprzeć np. o analizę języka wykorzystywanego m.in. w reklamie, czy jej mechanizmów, w tym naukę dekonstruowania komunikatu medialnego.

Takie działania pomogłyby identyfikować i rozumieć przyczyny odczuć wywołanych odbiorem danego komunikatu oraz wzmocnić osobiste zasoby poznawcze.

Kolejny obszar to działania edukacyjne w zakresie wzmocnienia poczucia wartości młodych kobiet (szczególnie w okresie dorastania) oraz poczucia własnej skuteczności i poczucia sprawstwa.

Reasumując, formą przeciwdziałania negatywnym skutkom uprzedmiotowienia w przekazach medialnych powinna być więc wzmocniona działalność edukacyjna w zakresie korzystania z mediów (edukacja medialna), mająca na celu wyrwanie ich użytkowników z niewoli schematycznego, stereotypowego myślenia w procesie odbioru mediów – ale z uwzględnieniem osobistego, społecznego kontekstu doświadczeń. Umiejętność i świadoma dekonstrukcja komunikatów medialnych umożliwiają krytyczną analizę treści medialnych i zmniejsza podatność odbiorców na zniekształcenia poznawcze oraz techniki manipulacyjne. Równolegle powinna być realizowana w szkołach, przy wsparciu rodziny, edukacja aksjologiczna, w wyniku której młodzi ludzie nabędą kompetencje w zakresie rozpoznawania, rozróżniania i wyboru wartości oraz będą mieli szansę celowego włączania ich w proces kształtowania własnej tożsamości.

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**THE PROBLEM OF SELF-OBJECTIFICATION IN MEDIA COVERAGE IN THE
CONTEXT OF SELECTED ASPECTS OF PSYCHOSOCIAL FUNCTIONING OF
YOUNG WOMEN**

ABSTRACT: It can be observed that the sexualization of media messages and the associated related objectification, mainly of women, has been gaining momentum in recent years. These phenomena influence the functioning of women, including, among other things, the perception of their bodies and the actions and activities they undertake. The exploitation of women as sexual objects is particularly often used in advertising. The article's purpose is to describe this phenomenon and possible forms of support and education, especially for young women.

KEYWORDS: self-objectification, media education, mass media

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Independence, Interdisciplinarity, Internationality: Toward “Higher Bildung” in Doctoral Education

ABSTRACT: In this article, we introduce the concept of “higher Bildung,” which we developed as a pedagogical approach to doctoral supervision and mentoring guided by principles of emancipation and individual freedom. The pedagogical framework builds on a combination of higher education and the educational concept of Bildung to foster an idea of higher education that highlights growth, cooperation, and sustainability. We discuss three fundamental pillars for this concept – independence, interdisciplinarity, and internationality – and explain how we applied this conceptual framework in an international seminar for early-stage researchers, which resulted in articles published in the special section of this peer-reviewed journal.

KEYWORDS: doctoral education, Bildung, higher education, paradoxical effect, neo-liberalism, Humboldt, Foucault

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INTRODUCTION

This special section of *Educational Forum* derives from a continuing collaboration of researchers from three European universities: the University of Lower Silesia in Poland, the University of Innsbruck in Austria and Maynooth University in Ireland. The main goals of this collaboration have been to support emerging researchers in their professional development by helping them develop their ideas in the field of educational research and to turn their research results into publications. The publication process is often framed as a purely technical or procedural matter tied to publishing in a particular journal or as content-specific supervision and advising. The individualized and competition-driven culture of academic publishing requires that experts know how to publish findings in their fields of interest. Early-career researchers are under particularly heavy pressure from the fast publication culture, which demands high quality, excellence and speed. Failures are not an accepted part of a scientific career. Immediate success, high scores, citations and third-party funding seem to be the only road to success. But science and scholarship are based on patient scientific thinking, theoretical modelling, circular reflection and a thorough, comprehensive knowledge of one’s area of research, which takes time and cannot be accelerated arbitrarily (Rosa, 2015, 2020).

In line with this rationale, we, as editors of this special section, have begun organizing an international seminar dedicated to supporting early-stage researchers in thinking through and writing up their research projects in a safe, collaborative environment. Underpinning our work is the premise that, rather than a short-term, economically driven strategy toward externally defined excellence, research and scholarly publication is a process of continuing growth, cooperation and sustainability. The project stems from the collaboration of individuals and institutions within the Horizon 2020 Initial Training Networks project – EDiTE (European Doctorate

in Teacher Education, 2015–2019). When the formal project concluded in 2020, researchers from two of the partner universities, the University of Lower Silesia and the University of Innsbruck, decided to continue their cooperation by establishing an annual international Ph.D. seminar, “Society, Policy and Education: Glocal Perspectives.” The seminar takes place either online or at one of the participating universities; it is free, with no external funding provided. Voluntary participants, both students and supervisors, are recruited from within the participating institutions. Each year we identify and invite motivated emerging researchers (doctoral students as well postdoctoral or advanced M.A. students) as well as our colleagues to this international, interdisciplinary research space guided by principles of collaboration and supportive supervision.

The seminar focuses on helping early-career researchers grasp the rules of scientific publishing through a well-defined opportunity of writing for a peer-reviewed journal, which channels their creativity by providing clear structure and framework. Learning the rules of developing and communicating ideas in this way, we believe, can lead to independence and scholarly freedom. An important aspect of such understood independence of scientific thought is that it grows by exposure to other fields of science. Therefore, our seminar encourages interdisciplinarity (Chettiparamb, 2007), which not only enriches methodological knowledge but also shows emerging researchers the limits of authorities in their very own field. Finally, since science should not be limited by national borders, the seminar brings together early-stage scientists from different institutions and countries.

The section of the Educational Forum that follows is the outcome of our latest seminar, in which advanced graduate students and postdoctoral researchers worked together to develop, present and discuss the results of their empirical and theoretical research. Through a structured process of peer feedback and supervision by senior scholars, most participants were able to prepare and submit their work in the form of journal articles, which you find here.

In this introduction, we discuss the conceptual framework of our pedagogical work, which we refer to as “higher *Bildung*,” and which brings together the educational concepts of “higher education” and “*Bildung*.” Through “higher *Bildung*” we want to emphasize the importance of freedom in the process of individualization as socially embedded scientific self-realization. In our approach, we build on our experience in exploring the potential of critical doctoral pedagogies to create the conditions of possibility for the construction of subjectivity and emergence of new knowledges under the conditions of neoliberal domination (Rasiński, Dopita, Cervinkova, 2021). Rather than focusing on the constraints imposed by economically driven trends in higher education (Al-Haija/Mahamid, 2021, Mintz, 2021, Olssen, 2005), we are thus inspired to use the critical pedagogical potential to exploit neoliberalism’s “paradoxical effect” (Foucault 2008) – the unintended consequences of neoliberal conditions – in higher education.

“HIGHER BILDUNG”

“Higher *Bildung*” is a neologism, which we introduce as the conceptual framing for this article and our work. Combining the concepts of higher education and *Bildung*, refers to a specific form of higher education based on the educational idea of *Bildung*.

Immanuel Kant (1803/1900) argued that education is situated between the opposing poles of constraint and freedom:

How am I to develop the sense of freedom in spite of the restraint? I am to accustom my pupil to endure a restraint of [...] [their] freedom, and at the same time I am to guide [...] [them] to use [...] [their] freedom aright. Without this all education is merely mechanical, and the child, when [...] [their] education is over, will never be able to make a proper use of [...] [their] freedom. (Kant, 1803/1900, p. 27)

Education, Kant wrote, constrains young people by aiming to integrate them into society and the working world; in this process, they learn to meet others' expectations, fulfill duties, uphold laws, and accept societal traditions, conventions, norms and values. On the other hand, education aims to individualize young people, freeing them to fulfill their unique potential. In this process, they learn to emancipate themselves from unquestioned social obligations and live autonomous lives, take responsibility for their actions, and justify their moral convictions, decisions and actions. According to Kant (1803/1990), the way out of this paradox is a heightened emphasis on reason from early ages onward; he argued that people should “accustom themselves early to yield to the commands of reason, for if a [hu]man be allowed to follow [...] [their] own will in [...] [their] youth, without opposition, a certain lawlessness will cling to [...] [them] throughout [...] life.” (p. 4)

Nevertheless, in the balancing act between constraint and freedom, the pendulum has historically swung toward a specific econometrically shaped constraint. The expansion of neoliberalism into education has introduced market-oriented modes of regulation and organization of educational policy and practice, generally constraining the emancipatory element of education (Nussbaum, 1998; Liessmann, 2006). Critical scholarship extensively describes the negative effects of neoliberal developments on the educational sector, where these trends introduced processes of privatization (Lipman, 2011), market competition (Hill & Kumar, 2009), vocationalization (Giroux, 2001), massification (Altbach, Becker, & Moretti 2012), standardization (Kempf, 2016), commercialization (Kleinman, Feinstein, & Downey, 2013), commodification (Miller, 2010), corporatization (Kivisto, 2016; Broucker, De Wit, & Verhoeven 2017), managerialization (Beckmann, Cooper, & Hill, 2009), and centralization and control (Torrance, 1997). Much existing research on neoliberalism and education focuses on policy analysis and the critique of neoliberal ideology (Apple, 2006a, 2006b; Hill & Kumar, 2009; Giroux, 2014). Taking these important critiques into account

and drawing on Michel Foucault’s concept of governmentality, we have proposed to focus on neoliberalism’s “paradoxical effect” (Foucault, 2008) – the unintended consequences of neoliberal logic and policies and their critical pedagogical potential (Rasinski, Dopita, Cervinkova, 2021). In our analysis of doctoral educational reforms in Central Europe, for example, we considered how exploitation of such paradoxical effects, through pedagogical approaches to doctoral education based on practical critique (Foucault 1984), can paradoxically produce critical subjectivities capable of discerning the neoliberal entanglement of practitioner-researchers’ professional work and their own role in the implementation of neoliberal policy (Rasinski, Dopita, Cervinkova, 2021).

The rationale behind the seminar “Society, Policy and Education: Global Perspectives” follows this logic and aims to explore the potential for building critical subjectivities created in the spaces of individual freedom generated by neoliberalism’s paradoxical effects. In the pedagogical framing of the seminar, we therefore place a heightened emphasis on the notion of education that focuses primarily on freedom – in the sense of autonomy, individualization and maturity – as opposed to constraint.

We work with the educational concept of *Bildung*, which builds on a foundation of freedom in the spirit of fulfilling individual potential. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, German philosophers (e.g., Fichte, 1800/1962; Humboldt, 1793/2000; Kant, 1803; Schleiermacher, 1820-21/2008) extensively discussed the concept of *Bildung* and redefined it as an inner formation of humans as individuals. One of the leading figures among them was Wilhelm von Humboldt, who made a substantial contribution to the theory and practice of *Bildung* through his holistic perspective as a philosopher, linguist, diplomat, functionary, educational reformer and one of the chief initiators of the creation of the University of Berlin (today Humboldt University of Berlin). Humboldt (1792/1854) elaborates on the conditions necessary for the implementation of *Bildung* and reflects on the imperilment of *Bildung* through the curtailment of freedom because of social, religious, political and economic constraints. He argues that only free individuals can realize their full potential because freedom is a necessary condition for humans to emancipate themselves from authoritarian structures, as well as to act critically, independently and responsibly. Freedom not only fosters individuals’ personal fulfillment but also eventually helps all humankind flourish because the self-realization of enough people in the long term transcends to humanity overall –among free humans “emulation naturally arises” (Humboldt, 1792/1854, p. 69).

In “Higher *Bildung*” we work with three pillars directly intertwined with the concept of *Bildung* itself: independence, interdisciplinarity and internationality. The figure below illustrates the relationship between these three pillars and “higher *Bildung*.”

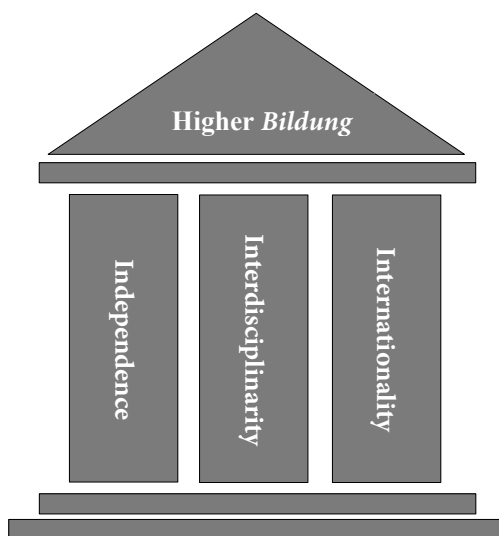


Figure 1. The three pillars of “higher Bildung”

In what follows, we first outline the project structure and then elaborate on the suggested three pillars of higher *Bildung*, explaining how we attempted to respond to them in our joint international seminar with illustrations from participants’ feedback.

PROJECT STRUCTURE

The project process involves several stages and varies from year to year, but it always involves many conceptual discussions among the core team of supervisors. The last edition was launched with a general online session in which participants introduced their research and publication ideas in concise, structured presentations. Rules of engagement during the project were discussed, including the prerogatives of ensuring safe space, openness to offering and receiving feedback, speaking out regardless of English-language proficiency level. At this stage, each participant was offered initial feedback from both peers and senior researchers and supervisors. After this initial session, we divided participants into working groups of three or four and also assigned researcher with two different supervisors who would give support throughout the process. Over the next four months, researchers met repeatedly in their working groups and were also in contact with their supervisors, working on multiple drafts of their publications. When the supervisors deemed the articles ready for publication, they were submitted to the journal and underwent a regular double-blind peer-review process. At the end of the process, the participants were asked for their feedback on the project.

PILLAR 1 – INDEPENDENCE

In the spirit of *Bildung*, formal education is a process towards maturity and independence. Humboldt (1809/2022) categorizes formal education into three levels – elementary, secondary and tertiary education – and justifies his classification by arguing that each stage fulfills a specific purpose. The major goal of elementary education is the acquisition and development of competences that are prerequisites for instructive learning. Secondary education focuses on learning in school settings and aims to help young people mature. Students are mature when they have learned enough that they can eventually emancipate themselves from their teachers and continue their lifelong learning autonomously and with intrinsic motivation. After the matriculation examination, the tertiary level of education – higher education – follows. In Humboldt’s words, “[t]he limits of education, where it has not reached its endpoint, [is] the university, with its emancipation from actual teaching (as the university instructor only guides independent learning from afar)” (Humboldt, 1809/2022). He argued that universities should focus on independent research by students, guided and supported by teachers. In his view, while teachers in the traditional sense are necessary in elementary and secondary education, they are superfluous in tertiary education. According to Humboldt, university teachers are no longer teachers but rather mentors who guide and support their students’ research. Vice versa, university students are no longer students; instead, they conduct research in collaboration with their mentors. In this context, universities enable students as researchers to understand the integrity of science and to make use of their creative forces. Therefore, strictly speaking, university education has no endpoint.

In our seminar, our main approach to fostering independence has been to create a positive, affirmative atmosphere in which the students/emerging researchers are encouraged to share their ideas without risk. Supervision sessions, both collective and individual, focus on discussing students’ work in the context of preparing a scholarly journal paper. Particular attention is paid to nurturing individual students’ capacity to articulate their ideas and research results. We are explicit in framing our seminar as a safe space in which initial and unfinished ideas are to be shared for critical but constructive, non-judgmental feedback. One student commented on how this open environment contributed to their intellectual development, enabling them to learn how to better articulate their thoughts: “Being able to formulate complete thoughts about complex issues is the most important skill I learned. I was glad and relieved to encounter this, and I credit the open environment of all the sessions. I am especially happy that the real focus was on learning something new and creating an atmosphere of intellectual achievement” (P1). Collective discussion or analysis in small peer groups followed the strict rule of resource orientation: One participant commented: “The coaching within the peer groups was very enriching. The exchange enabled new views and perspectives on one’s own research focus” (P2). Another said: “For me it was interesting to see how my colleagues work, what their topics and ideas are. Talking to them, getting their feedback on my project and also discussing our

problems (in the small group) were very useful for me.“ In the participants’ comments, the safe space governed by collegiality has proved critical to students’ emancipation by achieving scholarly independence through publishing.

PILLAR 2 – INTERDISCIPLINARITY

Another essential component of higher *Bildung* is interdisciplinarity. According to Humboldt (1792/1854), exposure to a variety of situations is a fundamental condition for *Bildung*. It can be divided into three subcategories: educational content, personal experience and social interaction. Humans broaden their horizons by gaining a wide range of theoretical and practical knowledge in combination with exchanging ideas, allowing them to grow and evolve. Diverse intellectual experiences, such as a broad general knowledge, travel and human relationships, enable us to develop a complex view of the world. In Humboldt’s own words (1792/1854): “[e]ven the most free and self-reliant [...] [individual] is thwarted and hindered in [...] development by uniformity of position” (p. 11). He further states that humans are by nature versatile and thus should avoid one-sidedness. Instead of focusing on one subject, they should broaden their minds holistically. Therefore, Humboldt (1809/2017) promoted a broad general education for everyone, regardless of social background or anticipated career. In his Königsberg and the Lithuanian School Plan (1809/2022) he states that “[g]eneral secondary education is devoted to the complete human being [...] in the principal functions of [...] [their] natural being.” He advocated that curricula be rich in variety so that individuals can find and fulfill their potential.

Supporting interdisciplinarity in our seminar came quite easily, as all of us work in different fields – our small supervisory group included educational researchers, philosophers and an anthropologist – and our students were equally diverse. We were connected by interest in education as a field of research and social practice. The importance of disciplinary diversity and respectful atmosphere was reflected in some of the participants’ comments, one wrote: “By bringing together representatives of various paradigms, the seminar offered a fruitful confrontation of different perspectives. I soon found that my opinion was not only welcomed but also respected by my peers and professors.” Working in small peer groups during the article-writing process, the participants not only saw but also immediately experienced different methodological traditions and approaches to research questions drawing on different disciplines.

PILLAR 3 – INTERNATIONALITY

Internationality constitutes another important pillar of “Higher *Bildung*.” In the spirit of *Bildung*, a cosmopolitical mindset is essential to broadening one’s horizons holistically. A lively intellectual exchange with people from different national backgrounds exposes individuals to a diverse set of ideas and helps them not only learn from one another but also reflect critically on their own status quo. Humboldt

(1792/1854) regarded diversity as an essential part of *Bildung*. In his own words: “[t]he grand, leading principle [...] is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity” (p. 65) and “[t]he diversity that emerges [...] induces a plurality and innovation of opinions and ideas; and the human spirit might never have achieved its most sublime findings without the rousing spectacle of a heavy and almost universal friction of human powers” (p. 8). International collaboration makes people aware that humans are citizens of the world and ideas can transcend national borders. According to Humboldt (1836), social interaction benefits both individuals and society alike, fostering personal development as well as political and social harmony. He pointed out that a necessary condition for international exchange is a certain proficiency in at least one common language. Speaking a variety of languages not only enables international communication but also helps individuals understand the richness of the world in its diversity.

In our seminar interdisciplinarity is one way to foster creativity and open-mindedness. The other fundamental accelerator is internationality. Students from different countries and different universities bring different traditions of study, research cultures and languages, creating an inspiring challenge. In this context, one pivotal aspect of our seminar is language awareness. We emphasize using English as a *lingua franca*, a working language, independently from one’s own proficiency. Some of our participants do not use English on a daily basis. In retrospect, however, they appreciated this particular challenge: “Further, writing an article in English is not the same as writing in German. ;-) An important exercise for me personally, which I would like to devote myself to in the future in order to further develop my skills.” (P4) The seminar explicitly encourages people to talk; the goal is to be understood. People expose themselves in a foreign language. Encouragement to speak, present and write in English is a key and integral part of building the seminar as safe space with an atmosphere of trust.

CONCLUSION

When I started working on my article for this publication I had a hard time. After the first review it was suggested to be rejected ...but after working hard on the article I had a major breakthrough in answering one of research questions for my PhD thesis. This also supported me in learning how to write an article and what the process looks like for future research. I am thankful for the role that this seminar played in my research progress. (P5)

In this paper, we outlined our approach to doctoral pedagogy guided by principles of emancipation and individual freedom. We described our conceptual framework, which we refer to as higher *Bildung*, building on a combination of higher education and the educational concept of *Bildung* to foster an idea of higher education that highlights growth, cooperation and sustainability. We suggested three fundamental pillars for this concept: independence, interdisciplinarity, internationality. We ex-

plained how we followed a conceptual framework in the international seminar for early-stage researchers, which resulted in articles published in this special section of *Educational Forum*. This is an unfinished and continuing project. Looking forward to its future editions and reiterations, we invite colleagues – both early-stage and experienced researchers – to join us.

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**NIEZALEŻNOŚĆ, INTERDYSCYPLINARNOŚĆ, MIĘDZYNARODOWOŚĆ:
IDEA „HIGHER BILDUNG” W KSZTAŁCENIU DOKTORSKIM**

ABSTRAKT: W niniejszym artykule wprowadzamy pojęcie „higher Bildung,” którym posłużyliśmy się w naszym podejściu pedagogicznym do opieki nad doktorantami, odwołując się do zasad emancypacji i indywidualnej wolności. Owa rama pedagogiczna opiera się na połączeniu szkolnictwa wyższego z pojęciem *Bildung*, a jej celem jest promowanie idei szkolnictwa wyższego, które kładzie szczególny nacisk na współpracę i zrównoważony rozwój. W artykule omawiamy główne filary tego podejścia – niezależność, współpracę oraz międzynarodowość – i wyjaśniamy, w jaki sposób zastosowaliśmy owe ramy koncepcyjne w międzynarodowym seminarium oferowanym dla młodych badaczy, którego efektem są artykuły opublikowane w specjalnej sekcji tego czasopisma.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: kształcenie doktorskie, Bildung, szkolnictwo wyższe, paradoksalny efekt, neoliberalizm, Humboldt, Foucault.

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Listening to Radio Silence in Virtual University Teaching and Learning

ABSTRACT: Drawing on my ethnographic research in Ireland, this paper shows how the Covid-19 pandemic changed the context for relational university teaching and learning. My empirical findings illustrate how virtual teaching environments transform classroom silence into “radio silence.” I introduce three case studies that give insight into how the online context provides a new context for communication, which impacts the success of relational pedagogical practices (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Schultz, 2003; Waghid, 2019). Applying Katherine Schultz’s (2003) concept of “listening to teach,” this paper discusses how the digital classroom can further alienate already marginalized student groups. I aim to illustrate the importance of recognizing the redistribution of power online that transgresses the imagination of traditional forms of education.

KEYWORDS: teaching and learning, relationality, democratic pedagogy, university, COVID-19, ethnography

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“SILENCE” VS. “RADIO SILENCE” – THE RISE OF TWO CONCEPTUAL DICHOTOMIES

SYBILLE

“I had an experience [in the online lecture hall] where I was like “is someone’s gonna ask me a question”? [And] it was just like radio silence (laughs), and you’d wait and respond and say something. But in real life, you know you might be able just, you know, if you look around the room, people will feel awkward, and you know when to talk. But when you [are] kind of just hidden behind the little circle with what your initials on the screen, you can’t really kind of [talk]” (Sybille, anthropology tutor, May 10, 2021).

This quote is derived from my semi-structured interview with Sybille, a tutor in the Department of Anthropology at Maynooth University (MU), Ireland, during the Covid-19 pandemic. Our conversation was part of my fieldwork which I conducted during the first year of the pandemic in 2020/2021 in Irish universities in three roles; student, educator, and project member of a nationwide project that focused on the digital attributed of university teachers and learners. This research employed traditional ethnographic methods; participant observation, 10 semi-structured interviews with seven students and eight lecturers, two focus groups with Irish and international postgrad students and with tutors with mixed levels of experience, and autoethnographic elements. Additionally, I used techniques associated with “Digital Ethnography” (Kavanaugh, 2019), techniques, such as attending webinars, online conferences, and social media research. I generally stayed involved in the academic and social discourse through digital media. For example, throughout the year, I received short, frequent audio recordings from one lecturer and one student (24 audio vlogs in total, 2–15 minutes long).

Like most fieldwork during that time, most of my conversations with informants took place online – even though Sybille and I only lived less than an hour-long bus ride apart. As well as the context for most research, the whole field of higher education was also violently uprooted by the forced move online, which had left students and teachers no choice but to continue attending university from their homes. Sybille’s words illustrate the difficulties of being an educator during the pandemic. She uses the term “radio silence” to describe the awkwardness and sense of alienation she experienced thrown into a relatively new, unfamiliar teaching environment: the on-

line classroom. An environment where previously acquired pedagogic practices became ineffective, and the usual ways of engaging students (i.e., by looking around the room until someone feels responsible for answering) did not work. This paper aims to illustrate some of the challenges that this rapid move into the digital sphere had on the relationships between students and educators. Most of the issues were rooted in a lack of connection, resulting in a communication breakdown due to technological or interpersonal disconnect. Even though teachers had been offered “hundreds of ‘tips and tricks’” (Rapanta et al., 2020, p. 924) to help ease the process, many of these tools fell short in practice.

Sybillie was not the only educator who was upset about the ways the “emergency pivot” (Casey, 2020) affected her work as an educator. Her experience of alienation and awkwardness in the classroom, especially during periods without oral expression, is crucial to understanding the lived experiences of many educators who, like her, had to adapt their teaching adequately to the online classroom. Sybillie struggled to attend or, in Schultz’s (2003) terms, “listen” to her students online. This made it hard for her to respond appropriately to the classroom’s needs and create a flow of conversation, which is one of the key features a listening teacher should exercise (Schultz, 2003, p. 9).

“Radio silence” refers to an alienating form of silence that replaced the familiar and potentially pedagogically generative type of classroom silence in the analogue classroom. Instead of enhancing conversation and allowing people to gather their thoughts simply during a period of non-speaking, silence online or “radio silence” seemed to achieve the contrary. Namely, it eliminated the opportunity for discussion rather than encouraging students to contribute. As a result, Sybillie struggled to teach and build relationships with students, working to overcome difficulties in creating a shared, inclusive atmosphere.

Katherine Schultz explores the important role of silence in teaching and learning in her book *Listening – A framework for teaching across difference* (2003). Schultz introduces the concept of “listening” to illustrate how educators can become attentive to the classroom, which should inform their pedagogical interventions. Listening, a skill that must be learned and practiced, finds resonance and application in a variety of schooling contexts, both for children and adult learners. For example, listening pedagogy is considered integral to language education (Baurain, 2011), as well as in teacher certification programs (Vinlove, 2012). Attempts to capture the essence of listening pedagogy are manifold; researchers in and outside education are interested in exploring this term in its different rhetorical and practical facets. For instance, listening is understood to be strongly linked to morality (Baurain, 2011) due to its fundamentally relational and context-responsive nature. The rich use of the term reflects its conceptual potential. There is now an international journal dedicated to the concept, *The International Journal of Listening*. This might not seem surprising to most educators, especially those who draw from principles of relational pedagogy. Indeed, according to Schultz (2003), listening and teaching go hand in hand. Ideally, they can be used interchangeably. However, listening “(...) implies becoming deeply engaged

in understanding what a person has to say through words, gesture, and action” (p. 9). Schultz argues that the face-to-face classroom produces the most favorable for listening and listening to silence (p. 8). Schultz explains how listening to silence is crucial for challenging teachers’ biases concerning individual students that can easily be assumed to be “intrinsically silent” (Schultz, 2013, p. 22), such as, for example, “timid girls and reticent Asian or Native American students” (p. 22). However, paying close attention to students creates the opportunity to experience them in different educational settings. This allows students or groups of students to be recognized as “shy” in one incidence, as “garrulous” in another, or also as “distracted and rebellious” (p. 22). Thus, understanding silence as only *one* response to teachers opens space to re-think misconceptions and stereotypical behavior towards individual students and student groups. Usually, teaching based on listening and mitigating the risk of excluding certain students or student groups go in hand. In that context, moments of silence bear the potential for noticing students’ needs, especially those in marginalized positions. Silence, in that sense, holds transformative potential for positive social change. Listening becomes harder in the online classroom, mainly due to the loss of non-verbal cues such as embodied gestures and actions. This paper illustrates how the limited opportunity for listening to students online can lead to further silencing of the needs of non-traditional students.

NEW FRAMEWORKS FOR LISTENING TO TEACH

I will now briefly explain some of the characteristics of the online teaching environment, of which VLEs (virtual learning environments) generally form a crucial part. Throughout my research, I became well acquainted with the mechanisms of MS Teams. MU, my university, exclusively subscribed to MS Teams, and almost all university operations occurred on this interface. During the first year of the pandemic, MS Teams became famous for having relatively many technical errors. Other VLEs became known for having different flaws. For incidence, there was a reason why MU did not allow their staff to use Zoom for any official university-related activities; Zoom was found unsafe regarding GDPR relating matters compared to MS Teams (Hofmann, 2020; Spadafora, 2021). The decision which VLE a university subscribed to was made on an institutional level, while those who needed to use these VLEs daily (university educators and students) carried the weight of that decision. Other examples of VLEs that are used in Irish education institutes are “Big Blue Button” and “Canvas” MU staff were not allowed to use a different VLE for their teaching than official university policies recommended. On a surface level, each VLE seemed to promote slightly different pedagogical practices. For example, Zoom was the only VLE that exclusively allowed for group work for a long time because of its breakout-room function. Nevertheless, all VLEs limit their users fundamentally: they display a limited set of data about their co-participants. This had an impact on the extent to which lecturers could attend and appropriately respond to students.

In Schultz's sense, the dialectic interplay between the "tone of the group" (p. 5), informing lecturer's responses to the classroom is crucial for relational and progressive pedagogical agendas that see physical proximity as crucial for emancipatory teaching and learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Schultz, 2003; Waghid, 2019). Moreover, interpreting students' responses mostly without any non-verbal cues creates challenges for discussion-based pedagogies, which are essential for university education's ethical and democratic project (Freire, 1998). Sybille's case illustrates this point, showing how silence and "radio silence" are qualitatively different, the latter providing less transformative potential. Silence in the traditional lecture hall holds potency for the organic continuation and development of the lecture flow (Schultz, 2003, p. 139). The feeling of shared responsibility – which Sybille describes as a kind of positive, conversation-encouraging "awkwardness" provoked through a momentary absence of talk – usually encourages discussion. This kind of silence helped steer lectures in the right direction. She explains: "*In real life*" (by which she refers to the physical lecture hall) and despite the absence of verbal communication, "(...) *you know you might be able just, you know, if you look around the room, people will feel awkward, and you know when to talk.*" Sybille's attempts to encourage discussion online mailly were met with a deadening kind of silence. "*The virtual thing*", as she refers to the online classroom, did not allow her to employ her previously acquired pedagogical practice. Instead, "(...) *you'd be lucky if you got a fair kind of group students to have their cameras on, uhm yeah that'd be lucky in some days I'll see none.*" This points towards a gap between the digital and the analogue lecture hall. Sybille's words sound almost like mourning the loss of non-verbal data or nuanced interpersonal communication in the digital context. This loss is further aggravated by students often choosing not to engage in the lecture at all. Instead, most were formally present but "*hidden behind the little circle with your [their] initials on the screen.*" The lack of engagement made it impossible for Sybille to teach the way she used to. Questions she posed to the empty void, which usually sparked discussion, often remained unanswered. Answers were replaced by radio silence, eliminating the opportunity for further discussion. Instead of silence manifesting as a momentary absence of talk, silence online signaled and further perpetuated a breaking down of the lecture flow through a complete absence of interpersonal communication. Her attempts to spark discussion remain undressed, unanswered, silenced, and sunken into the black void of inactive initials.

SILENCE INSTEAD OF CONTRIBUTION – THE UNAPOLOGETIC DIGITAL CLASSROOM

EVE

I will now introduce a second example representing a slightly different perspective on the same issue. Not only did lecturers find themselves in unusual conditions with limited insight into students' lives, but also vice versa. Students felt similarly awkward and alienated. Teachers in the digital classroom often seemed less ap-

proachable and more intimidating, almost de-humanized, especially for students who were already alienated from the typical or traditional Irish student body.

To illustrate this point, I will quote a piece from an interview with a student named Eve. Eve, a Spanish international student, was new to Ireland, new to MU, and new to MS Teams. She joined MU only late in the academic year, which already placed her in a disadvantaged position compared to her classmates, who at least had some chance to come to terms with the digital context. She recalled a particularly awkward incident, which still left her feeling terribly ashamed at the point of the interview (months later to the point of its occurrence). Eve felt guilty for misreading the speech context in one of her digital lectures, which seriously affected her confidence and self-understanding, compromising her subsequent behaviour as a learner negatively. Eve had posted a chat comment trying to contribute to the lecture. The comment was – without her permission, and to her surprise – singled out and read out loud by the teacher, expecting her to elaborate on it:

“Once I did, I wrote a remark on the chat about Strathern, I think you were all here. And after five minutes, she asked me to explain me and I was oh my god. It’s not in the, the flow of the discussion, I have to, to bring my argument, and I was omg omg omg. *hastly speaking* And I couldn’t talk anymore and I was it was really disturbing, because I just put this Yeah. Yeah. to, to leave to you and think about it. And that’s, that’s all, but I have to explain and, and it’s, it’s it’s freaked me out. So yeah. Sorry about that. I was so sorry. Because do I am I understandable? Are my arguments not relevant, and all these questions came to me. And yeah, it was really disturbing. And I was so sorry for you guys. And for the procedure. So yeah. The this thing of the delay and just digestion of the time, is, is quite difficult to handle with that. So yeah. Yeah. I don’t know how to do some time” (Eve, international student, March 12, 2021).

Eve’s experience shows how the digital framework can create an awkward, unstable context for student engagement and conversation. This meant that students who had already felt alienated or insecure (i.e., due to speaking a different language) were further excluded and alienated from the shared pedagogical encounter. Throughout our conversation, Eve explained that she had always been eager to participate and contribute to classes in the past. She had previously been a lively student and had usually felt a sense of safety in the classroom. However, her recent rather uncomfortable experience left her feeling “*disturbed*” and as if she did something wrong by “*interrupting*” the lecture flow. Eve’s understanding of herself as a passionate, valuable learner had been placed into question in front of everyone in a cold panopticon-looking digital classroom. Her eagerness to contribute was shattered, silenced, and replaced with anxiety about sharing her voice using the features provided by MS Teams, such as the chat box.

FROM INSTITUTIONAL SILENCING TO BIG CORPORATE SILENCING – THE
IRONY OF PROGRESS

BRADLEY

Schultz (2009) describes one aspect of silencing in close detail, which she calls “institutional silencing” (p. 109). While listening for acts of silencing broadly refers to listening for “divergent perspectives and moments when individuals have been shut out of the conversation” (p. 109) institutional silencing has a more systemic character. According to Schultz, listening to institutional silencing bears a transformative potential. To her, listening to excluded or marginalized voices is an act of appreciation of the ethical project of education, accessible in every successful pedagogical encounter. However, the move online, which changed the context for pedagogical encounters, the extent to which educators can listen to acts of silencing or exclusion has also become compromised. VLEs with cameras, microphones, chat boxes, technological interruptions, and such now reconfigure basic principles of presence, engagement, and conversation and followingly challenge the success of relational teaching and listening. Acts of silencing and exclusion, in some cases, became harder to attend to, and there was little time to reflect on its implications for agendas traditionally considered socially progressive, such as transgender rights. The emergency pivot erased opportunities to reflect on the shifting power balance away from institutionalized higher education to a more digitally corporate kind of education. Effects of such on already marginalized groups, such as members of the LGBTQI+ community, were hardly part of public discussions. Bradley, a student who had recently undergone gender transmission and had changed his name from a female to a male name, struggles with the limited ways in which MS Teams controlled his presence according to outdated heteronormative standards. Even though this problem is of a more profound structural nature, with research beyond the Irish context revealing the level of discrimination of LGBTQI+ students both in second and third-level education (Kosciw et al., 2020), the lack of physical interaction during the pandemic left Bradley feeling even more frustrated and isolated than before:

“Yeah, I mean, that’s the biggest thing is, with the move to all tech-based stuff. It’s kind of expected that the technology needs to be up to date with what’s going on and the fact that **it has been a whole semester, and I’ve sent emails and I’ve gotten phone calls from the school about changing my name in Microsoft Teams, it still hasn’t been done.** So when I go to lectures for the first time, or when I go to like big meetups, it has my dead name. So people call on me by a name that I no longer use. And I either have to out myself by saying, hey, actually, my name is Bradley, or I just have to deal with it. And then people know me as the wrong name” (Bradley, interview transcript, January 19, 2021, emphasis added after).

Bradley's case shows two main aspects left unconsidered during the move online and thus causing harm. Firstly, his example illustrates the necessity for listening closely to the needs of students whose voices become quieter or silenced with the move online. Listening to silence, had to move beyond institutional boundaries to attend to the redistribution of power properly. Secondly, trying to make his voice heard was a hopeless task. His numerous attempts to find someone to listen to and take responsibility were left unanswered. His struggles were unheard, and he was left alone with the painful experience of having to re-explain himself at the mercy of those who only see his dead name. Relying on others to care enough to remember to address him with a different name, Bradley found himself in an impossible dilemma; either to stay silent and carry the burden of being called by his dead name, or to speak up repeatedly in front of a black screen where everyone in the classroom could hear him. Privacy and personal conversations that often occurred before or after lectures in a physical theatre were eradicated. Instead, Bradley could only choose between two kinds of discomforts, met with silence in response to his cries for help. MU's dependency on MS Teams also affects the classroom in more immediate ways. The move online came in hand with heavily increased asymmetry in power, benefitting MS Teams and other digital players who designed and provided the online classroom. This forced students like Bradley to experience their heteronormative "abnormality" in new ways, causing further alienation and a sense of defeat.

In all case studies, educators and students are unified by their struggles with teaching and learning in a rapidly changing, new, digital educational context. Even though each of their stories reveals different aspects of the phenomenon of "radio silence," each of them highlights the importance of recognizing the changing field of university teaching and learning and the need to re-think relational pedagogies based on listening in that context.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The online environment, opening possibilities of "hybrid" (Nørgård, 2021) or "e-learning" (Rapanta, Botturi, et al., 2020), undeniably creates a "new" context for teaching and learning compared to the pre-pandemic lecture hall. Despite the loss of important and intuitive communication channels, informing teachers' responses to the classroom, education online gained new attraction during the pandemic. This was everything else than surprising. In 2010, long before the pandemic, an article in the *Sciences Journal of Innovative Education* already identified "the potential of hybrid e-learning as a tool to enhance education and training" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 314). However, the rapid move online sheds unique light on the silent and silenced struggles of both educators and students that come in hand with furthering the neoliberal trend. Already in 2010, the move online was understood to be an "efficient and effective learning tool," whereas "traditional methods" (meaning non-digital pedagogies) were understood to be practiced by "reluctant" educators, those resistant to the progress:

“(…) its [e-learning] value will not be realized if instructors, learners, and organizations do not **accept** it as an **efficient and effective** learning tool. Learners are sometimes **reluctant** to enroll in hybrid e-learning based courses or training programs **if they are not confident that they will benefit more than by traditional methods.**” (p. 314)

I do not want to diminish the potential for positive change that teaching technology offers for some teachers and learners. For example, other research highlights the value of having new and alternative ways for student engagement that the digital classroom creates. For example, the option to use the chat or the hands-up function may encourage to contribute the students who are less confident or less eager to speak up in a traditional classroom setting or to contribute positively to agendas of “life-long learning” (Nørgård, 2021, p. 9) for mature students and learners with various responsibilities. However, with the move into a “post-pandemic” (Anderson, Blewett & Carozza, 2021) world, it is important to listen to the struggles of those who seem to be excluded from the decision-making process but who are those who are left grappling with the burdens of such, often in silence. Rather than labelling certain teachers and learners as reluctant, inefficient, or ineffective, my aim is to draw attention to how the online context renders opportunities for relational and democratic pedagogues.

To illustrate that point, this paper presented two excerpts from interviews with students who were already in a marginalised position before the move online. These interviews highlighted some of how “acts of silencing” (Schultz, 2003) in the form of further exclusion of “non-traditional students” (Graham & Massyn, 2019, p. 192) are intensified in the digital classroom. On an obvious level, I aimed to show how pedagogical encounters in this environment occur within a non-democratic framework. This in itself poses challenges to the principles of democratic education. For example, due to increased surveillance (Zuboff, 2019) power ultimately shifts more towards profit-orientated software companies such as MS Teams, instead of local educational institutes.

In this light, it became clear how the move online often negatively impacted in-class participation and discussion, replacing silence with radio silence. At the same time, students’ voices were silenced on a much more fundamental, existential level. Such as students’ struggles due to pre-existing socially alienating factors, such as being a member of the LGBTQI+ community and not being in charge of one’s name (Bradley) or speaking a different language than English and finding it much harder to contribute (Eve).

On the one hand, this paper showed how educators who were used to face-to-face teachings, like Sybille, experienced the online context as alienating and deadening conversations. On the other hand, students, especially those who belonged to marginal members of the university community, struggled with the ways in which MS Teams streamlined their opportunities for participating in class. Moreover, their struggles often went unnoticed online, and their negative experiences were unheard.

In other words, with an altered framework for teaching or listening, the online context created new forms of exclusion or “silencing” (Schultz 2003, p. 17). The ethical project of education (as, for example, articulated by Freire 1998) was placed on hold, finding itself on liminal grounds. Relational teaching aims to create democratic and equal conditions for participation and progressive social change seems to become increasingly overshadowed by the rhetoric of efficiency and effectivity online. Again, I do not argue that teaching online is inherently wrong or necessarily harmful. Yet, my role as an anthropologist and educator is to amplify how this framework can work exclusionary to already marginalized members of the university community and potentially run contrary to the aims of relational pedagogy. This paper showed the value of listening to diverse experiences of educators and students to understand their individual needs and challenges. Further research, both on a microscopic and macroscopic level, is needed to address the diversity of new challenges in a rapidly changing “hybrid” (Nørgård, 2021), “post-pandemic” (Anderson, Blewett & Carozza, 2021) field of teaching and learning. Future research should compare pedagogic practices both in and outside universities to understand new trends and developments in education in this increasingly digital “New Normal” (Pacheco, 2021) by taking a more holistic approach to education. My findings highlight the importance of attending to new acts of silencing or excluding non-traditional students emphasizing the need to care for minority student groups within different cultural and institutional cultures. Fostering inclusivity both in research and pedagogy deserves the utmost attention, especially if we still consider the ethical project of education relevant and if we still believe in the value inherent in striving towards democratic conditions for (university) teaching and learning.

**REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPERMANENCE OF PEDAGOGIC DETERMINISM
– A CONCEPTUAL AND PRACTICAL MOVE TOWARDS TECHNOLOGICALLY
ENTANGLED PEDAGOGY**

It is the year 2022, and the immediate threat of Covid-19 has decreased significantly for most of us. Educators are slowly finding their feet in the present again. This present brings the potential to re-consider and re-visit our experience during the emergency pivot, especially with respect to a rejuvenated appreciation of human relationality. We learned that digital technology has already constituted an integral part of our professional and private lives for a long time. There is still much to understand before we, as members of increasingly diverse, overheated (Eriksen, 2016) and emotionally burnt-out local and global learning communities, can confidently say that we are even slightly aware of the silent ways technologies co-define the field of teaching and learning. The emergency pivot served as a cruel reminder of the impermanent and largely inappropriate nature of our traditional model of (university) education (Roy, 2020). Given the rapidly changing global context, our feet must remain firmly grounded in the present, allowing our gaze to rest on the fruitful task of finding ways to create new pedagogical encounters. Seizing the creative and

transformative potential of listening may help heal the collective wound that we are continuing to carry with us. Yet, we must also acknowledge that listening alone (at least as it was practiced before the pandemic) is not enough.

The concept of “entangled pedagogy” can provide useful ground to reflect further on the current state of higher education, allowing us to view education as a fundamentally political but also profoundly existentially transformative matter. During Covid-19, we learned that pedagogy must be able to respond to the needs of our time. “Post-pandemic pedagogy” (Anderson et al., 2021), pedagogy after Covid-19, must respond to the urgent and dangerous state of our shared planet, whose cries have become too loud to be silenced any longer (Andreotti et al., 2018). The concept of “entangled pedagogy” (Fawns, 2022) is useful for this agenda because it inherently recognizes pedagogy and technology’s entangled and inseparable nature. Instead of investing valuable time and energy in critiquing each other’s teaching styles, entangled pedagogues (at least those who consciously recognise themselves as such already) can work on aligning their personal and professional values, purposes, and contexts. Accepting this entanglement, *consciously* embodied pedagogues can practice new ways of modelling those to their students. Listening to others, as well as listening to *oneself*, seems crucial for the survival of relational education in the 21st century, especially amid the current educational landscape. Our learning during the pandemic is essential for the success of future pedagogy. Instead of fighting this reality again, we could realise that power and knowledge are distributed across stakeholders at different levels of the institutions (Dron, 2021) that reside in – and outside university borders. This view agrees with Fawns (2022) and other post-digital educators who argue that we must let go of determinist ideologies and delusional hopes for everything returning to “normal.” Instead, students and educators, together with other stakeholders, can find new ways of collaborating in the relational and deeply educational process to co-create hope and solidarity (Rothberg, 2019) in and outside the classroom. Again, this requires educators to find their feet amidst uncertainty. And this is most probably not an isolated or isolating task. Recognizing ourselves as educators *in learning* allows us to deeply connect and collaborate with other learners in an increasingly hybrid and technologically entangled educational landscape.

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SŁUCHANIE CISZY RADIOWEJ W UNIWERSYTECIE WIRTUALNYM

ABSTRAKT: Opierając się na moich badaniach etnograficznych w Irlandii, niniejszy artykuł pokazuje jak pandemia Covid-19 zmieniła kontekst relacyjnego nauczania uniwersyteckiego i uczenia się. Moje ustalenia empiryczne ilustrują, jak wirtualne środowiska nauczania przekształcają ciszę w klasie w "ciszę radiową". Przedstawiam trzy studia przypadków, które dają wgląd w to, jak kontekst internetowy zapewnia nowy sposób komunikowania się, co wpływa na sukces relacyjnych praktyk pedagogicznych (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Schultz, 2003; Waghid, 2019). Stosując koncepcję Katherine Schultz (2003) „słuchania, aby uczyć”, ten artykuł omawia, w jaki sposób klasa cyfrowa może dalej izolować już zmarginalizowane grupy studentów. Staram się zilustrować znaczenie rozpoznania redystrybucji władzy w sieci, która przekracza wyobrażenia o tradycyjnych formach edukacji.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: nauczanie i uczenie się, relacyjność, pedagogika demokratyczna, uniwersytet, COVID-19, etnografia

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Multi-Professional Cooperation in the Austrian School System and its Implications for Inclusive Education

ABSTRACT: The Austrian school system faces the challenge of breaking down barriers to learning for all students in view of the increasing heterogeneity of the students. With the adoption of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Austria faces the challenge of guaranteeing an inclusive education system. A brief overview of inclusive education in Austria is followed by the focus of this article: the multi-professional cooperation in the context of inclusive education in Austria. The cooperation on the part of the educators is discussed as a key condition for the implementation of inclusive educational systems. An ongoing research project about multi-professional cooperation in secondary school in Austria is presented below. The author identifies critical issues in this area based on selected research results.

KEYWORDS: inclusion, multi-professional cooperation, secondary school, Austria

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INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN AUSTRIA

Since the beginning of the 1990s, there has been a uniform federal law for schools in Austria that enables integrative schooling for children with and without disabilities. In 1993, parental rights to choose between an inclusive or special education setting were introduced. As a result, the integration rate initially rose for around 10 years but then stagnated again. There are currently also major regional differences between the individual federal states (cf. Biewer, 2021). In this respect, a parallel system of joint schooling and special schooling has been able to hold up over the years (see Feyerer, 2019, p. 64). In 2008 Austria ratified the “United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities” (UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, CRPD). Article 24 of the UN Disability Rights Convention recognizes the right of disabled people to education: “In order to realize this right without discrimination, the contracting states ensure an inclusive education system at all levels and lifelong learning (...)” (BMSGPK, 2016, p. 19). This results in far-reaching changes for the Austrian education system. As a result, the National Action Plan Disability 2012 – 2020 (NAP) was prepared with the aim to achieve full inclusion by 2020. One of the central measures was the anchoring of inclusive model regions (IMR). The plan was to gradually convert the special school system into an inclusive system by implementing model regions and thus increase the integration rate at all Austrian schools (cf. BMSGK, 2012, p. 65). The previously independent training for special needs teachers was replaced by new curricula from 2014. Teacher training was restructured (NEW pedagogical training), and “specialization including pedagogy” was introduced in training. Teachers should do justice to the heterogeneity of the students in terms of (subject) didactics and methods and, together with colleagues, design school and lessons in such a way that (learning) barriers can be broken down (cf. Feyerer, 2019, p. 72). But despite these changes, there are still 36.9% of pupils in special schools or taught in special education classes. Accordingly, the inclusion rate throughout Austria is 63.1%

(Statistik Austria, 2020). This rate has changed little in recent years. Moreover, the proportion of students in special schools rose again slightly between 2011 and 2019, although the number of students overall has decreased (Statistik Austria 2021, p. 25). In addition, both the Court of Auditors (Rechnungshof, 2019) and the evaluation

of the National Disability Action Plan (BMSGPK, 2020) point to significant shortcomings in the implementation of inclusive education and training in the Austrian education system. In summary, Austria is currently characterized by a very expensive parallel system (cf. Accounts Court, 2019). The so-called “multi-track system” (Feyerer, 2019, p. 64) refers to a well-developed system of different special schools with their own curricula on the one hand and the parallel pursuit of inclusive education in primary and secondary schools for pupils with special educational needs.

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION – WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE?

While integration “aims to support pupils with special learning needs in the existing system,” inclusion goes one step further and “starts not with the learners, but with the learning system itself” (BMBWF, 2021, p. 11). The ability of pedagogical institutions to meet the different learning requirements and needs of children and young people, as well as the reduction of institutional disadvantages in the education system, are regarded as the basis for the (further) development of school inclusion. The distinction between a narrow and a broad understanding of inclusive education also becomes clear here: “In the current discourse, there is a broad understanding of inclusion assumed that not only focuses on the different category disability, but also other educational risks such as migration and multilingualism, gender or social background and their interrelationships or intersectionality are taken into account.” (Hoffmann, 2020). According to Dyson, an inclusive school is characterized by the following characteristics, among others: a school culture based on recognition and appreciation, educational opportunities provided for all students at their individual developmental levels,

teachers and educators work closely together, show a high degree of flexibility with regard to the forms of teaching (Dyson, Hows & Roberts, 2004). Werning adds that inclusive schools are also characterized by reliable structures and a continuous process of reflection. Intensive cooperation in multi-professional teams is the central condition for the successful implementation of such a vision of inclusive schooling (Werning, 2018).

MULTI-PROFESSIONAL COOPERATION IN INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

Inclusive teaching requires a wide range of qualifications from professionals. Chief among them is the capacity to cooperate. Based on the organizational-psychological definition of Spieß, cooperation “ (...) is characterized by the reference to goals or tasks to be achieved jointly, it is intentional, communicative and requires trust. It presupposes a certain autonomy and is bound to the norm of reciprocity” (Spieß, 2004, p. 199). This flexible definition is suitable, according to Gräsel et al., especially for the field of school, because it “includes structural openness” (Gräsel et al., 2006, p. 207). It requires the three core conditions “that have been investigated in research – both in organizational psychology and in school research: common

goals and tasks, trust and autonomy” (Gräsel et al., 2006, p. 207). Multi-professional cooperation goes beyond teacher cooperation and can be defined as follows: “If more than two professional groups cooperate with each other, which have a certain degree of specialization, they coordinate their actions and exchange professional information, we speak of multi-professional cooperation (Kielblock et al., 2017, p. 142). The following occupational groups, among others, can be counted as part of multi-professional team for/in inclusive schools: general schoolteachers, special education teachers, school social workers, school assistants, school psychologists, therapists, counselors, and parents (Philipp, 2014, p. 10; Kricke & Reich, 2016, pp. 199–200; Stähling & Wenders, 2015). However, a variety of other professional groups can be included as well, depending on support services and specialists available and needed. Kullmann emphasizes that the forms and types of multi-professional cooperation in schools are as diverse as the schools themselves (Kullmann, 2018, p. 4). Among other things, the difference between the various professions involved in terms of training, access, and hierarchical positions are cited as complicating the implementation of cooperation. The lack of systemic anchoring of multi-professional teams in the German-speaking education systems also represents an obstacle to the implementation of inclusive schooling practices. But the cooperation of different professional groups in and outside the classroom is currently regarded as indispensable. In this context, Köpfer & Lemmer speak of cooperation in inclusive contexts being “negotiated as a sine qua non for successful teaching in inclusive schools” (Köpfer & Lemmer, 2020, p. 80). The European Agency for Development in Special Education Needs (2012) also stresses the relevance of cooperative and multi-professional cooperation at different levels in the context of inclusive school development processes and the professionalisation of teachers for inclusive teaching (European Agency for Development in Special Education Needs, 2012).

Werning emphasizes that inclusive teaching which requires a variety of pedagogical concepts, didactic and subject didactic, as well as diagnostic competences, which can only be brought in and made usable for teaching through cooperative forms of work by teachers with different competence profiles (Werning, 2018, p. 5). Löser points out that “at inclusive schools, cooperation processes with other specialist staff and / or with teachers with different qualifications represent an opportunity to respond professionally to the diversity of the students and to avoid overtaxing the regular school teacher” (Löser, 2013, p. 109). In short, the perceived diversity of the learning group requires diversity in the pedagogical team in order to reduce barriers to learning and stressful and overstraining experiences on the part of the teachers. Schools that work in an inclusive manner show a high degree of (multi-professional) cooperation winning schools of the Jakob Muth Prize for inclusive schools or the German School Award¹. The importance of multi-professional cooperation in inclusive learning is also evident in the internationally used Index for Inclusion to support inclusive school development processes, where regular and cooperative collabora-

1 For more information about the winning schools: <https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/unsere-projekte/abgeschlossene-projekte/jakob-muth-preis/preistraeger/> or <https://www.deutscher-schulpreis.de/>

tion, as well as shared responsibility of a team for a learning group, is emphasized (Booth & Ainscow, 2019, p. 193)

Research on multi-professional cooperation in inclusive education in the German-speaking countries has so far focused on the two occupational groups of special or inclusion educators and regular schoolteachers. In this way, a narrow understanding of inclusion and a dichotomous view of the students or teachers is strengthened (Lemmer, 2018). Other dimensions of diversity, such as those corresponding to a broad understanding of inclusion, are not addressed.

MULTI-PROFESSIONAL COOPERATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOL IN AUSTRIA

Much research and professional discourse on school inclusion and cooperation focus on cooperation between mainstream and special needs teachers within the framework of the so-called interdisciplinary cooperation. Initial studies were published as part of the first accompanying research on the first integrative school models in the 1980s. From the very beginning, they identified the cooperation of the different professions as a central aspect of integration both in Germany and later Austria (Kreis et al., 2016; Werning & Arndt, 2013; Lütje-Klose & Urban, 2014; Urban & Lütje-Klose, 2014). This approach, however, turns out to be fundamentally problematic, as it always shows a “normative inside and a special outside and assumes a corresponding fundamental assignability of pupils into “normal” and “special” – also at the level of teachers, as “general” and “special education”. (Köpfer & Lemmer, 2020, p. 82).

An ongoing research project of the author uses a mixed-methods design and collects various data on multi-professional cooperation. The main methods used include: by means of a quantitative online survey among principals of secondary schools (initially in the state of Tyrol, supplemented by an Austrian-wide survey in preparation), talks and interviews with interested principals and teachers, focus group interviews with multi-professional teams, and participant observation. My aim is to understand tutoring in class and participating in observations and group discussions with multi-professional team group-specific behaviors in the context of multi-professional cooperation, also with regard to teaching design of the teaching. Are there any particularities in professional theory in relation with regard to the division of roles? How are subject teachers and inclusion educators involved in teaching, and what influence do these patterns have on differentiated teaching? The quotations in the following are all taken from the short-sketched research project (period of the school year 2020/2021 and school year 2021/2022). It is important to point out that this is the first compilation; the further qualitative evaluations are currently being carried out. The data will be analyzed in the final report in more detail than is presented in this article below. In this respect, the quotations and notes can only provide clues to individual elements but cannot be presented as confirmed findings.

FIRST RESULTS: ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES FROM A SYSTEMIC PERSPECTIVE

The following interpretation of the quotations and notes is intended to show that the above-mentioned challenges of multi-professional cooperation have to be seen in the context of the multi-level system. Fend distinguishes between the macro-systemic level (education administration, framework conditions, membership of the college, legal requirements), the mesosystemic level (local environment and internal school relationships, roles and responsibilities, areas of work and activity dealt with jointly and separately), and the microsystemic level (direct interaction in the classroom and other funding situations, attitudes and readiness of the participants, satisfaction). Based on this multi-level model from Fend's (2008) school development, it quickly becomes apparent that the different levels cannot be viewed and discussed separately in this context. Rather – and this is how the author's research project is structured – the levels are conditioned to each other, and different approaches are required in order to bring together the clues before theoretical assumptions (Lütje-Klose & Miller, 2017).

Example 1: Macro-systemic level

Quotation from a principal in a tyrolean middle school:

„There are no predetermined structures on the part of the education administration that I could pass on as head of the school. Even counseling teachers must always be actively requested. The conditions are a total difficulty for joint cooperation.”

The quotation from the school administration points to a lack of established structures on the part of the education administration: The guidance teachers established in the system are not clearly assigned to the schools and must be requested on a case-by-case basis via seemingly unclear channels. This points to the fact that problematic situations within the school, which on the part of the students are usually accompanied by negative assignments and experiences of failure, only legitimize support (keyword labeling-resource dilemma). The quotation should also be interpreted as meaning that there is uncertainty about how supporting staff can get to the schools. Two central demands for inclusion education are addressed here: a systemic allocation of resources that goes beyond teaching staff and other professions, such as guidance teachers, should be flexibly available to the school system. Furthermore, a systemic resource allocation, which is generally available in the individual school, has the advantage of being able to work preventively in cooperation with teachers and other actors, and of having fewer negative experiences on the part of the students. Reference to the lack of systemic anchoring of supporting multi-professional resources as called for in the discourse on an inclusive school (and see Canada, for example, is also very successfully established, cf. Oskadottir & Köpfer, 2021, Löser, 2013).

Example 2: Mesosystemic level

Quotation from a principal in a tyrolean middle school:

“The responsibilities of the individual collaborating colleagues are unclear. (...) What do the individual professions actually do?”

What are the roles and responsibilities of the different occupational groups in the cooperation? In fact, this should also be clearly defined by the school board, or clear support structures for the college on the part of the school board should be specified. Co-operators in the early stages of cooperation should be given sufficient time to get to know and negotiate roles and tasks or to attend joint training courses to prepare for the joint task. The quotation points to an undefined working mode and a certain arbitrariness. But perhaps also due to the lack of communication processes between the acting teachers and the school management. This note from a conversation with a school principal also points to a certain ignorance on the part of the school administration:

Example 3: Microsystemic level

Note from an internship in class and a subsequent discussion with the teacher team (consisting of two specialist teachers and one integration teacher)

In this class all students (Note, all performance groups and all pupils with special educational needs) are taught together. In a short conversation after the class I am told that they are reluctant to do so and that they also like to teach the class separately according to their achievements and competences. It is also reported that Ms. T, the integration teacher, often “takes out” students with special educational needs and teaches them separately.

Since the 2019/20 school year, permanent group education in Germany, First Foreign Language and Mathematics has been possible in Austria's secondary middle schools. The teachers cited make use of this group formation and expand it to include a further group, the students with special educational needs. This classification contrasts with inclusive didactic principles, which assume that heterogeneous learning groups have a positive impact on individual learning and development processes. The results show that lower-performing students, in particular, benefit from comparatively large differences in performance in classes and that no performance disadvantages can be observed in higher-performing children and adolescents (Decristan & Jude 2017, p. 117). From an inclusion pedagogical perspective, group formation on the basis of performance levels appears questionable, as it suggests that it could reduce barriers to learning. Rather, in the tradition of the (alleged) advantages of homogeneous learning groups, merit selection is described as a means of differentiation (BMBWF, 2020, pp. 13–15). Against the backdrop of the debate on overall education

in the 1980s, Feuser has already pointed out that a division into performance courses does not make it possible to overcome the segregating school system. According to Feuser, this “orientation on the model of “external differentiation” only leads to the fact that the multifaceted reality of schools is placed inside the schools. (Feuser 1989, p. 10, cf. also Feyerer, 2019). And as mentioned before, the roles of the teachers are carried out according to the division of the pupils into those with and without special educational support needs: the so-called integration teacher feels responsible for the separate instruction of the pupils with special educational support needs and the two specialist teachers for the other performance groups.

So far, multi-professional cooperation appears to be uncoordinated or not structured. Colleagues know little about the work and cooperation relationships in other classes or teams, and there are many different team constellations. The cellular structures of the school system are strengthened and lead to a degree of insecurity in everyday school life. Initial unpublished findings from the research project point to the fact that schools make no systematic use of potentially available occupational groups. The multitude of cooperation occasions, types of teams, and constellations of actors acting are not even aware of the school management. There is a lack of strategies for action at the individual level and clear guidelines at the institutional level so that reality is handled very differently, i.e., the overarching objective of reducing barriers to learning on the student side is used and enabled in very different ways. Indications of the continuing dominance of lone fighters and a continuing exclusionary division and little-inclusive role models between regular and special pedagogues, as well as a persistence of segregating teaching settings.

CONCLUSION

Although multi-professional cooperation can be assumed to be a key condition for the success of inclusive schools and inclusive school development, everyday school life can be characterized by a wide gap between aspiration and reality in terms of actual teacher cooperation. On the other hand, establishing the new teacher education system, which no longer trains special-school teachers and therefore has a specialization in inclusive pedagogy, might be the way, at least in the long term, to defuse the issues raised at least at the practical level. As long as a close understanding of inclusion prevails at different levels, it will be difficult to overcome this hurdle within a multi-professional collaboration, and the interdisciplinary collaboration of regular and special teachers will continue to be the focus. In this context, it also seems questionable to overcome the two-group theory that goes with it. In principle, large-scale research projects and a clear educational administrative approach to multi-professional cooperation are needed. The current research project of the author can provide individual hints and further concretize wishes with the following publications.

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WSPÓŁPRACA INTERDYSCYPLINARNA W AUSTRIACKIM SYSTEMIE SZKOLNYM I JEJ IMPLIKACJE DLA EDUKACJI WŁĄCZAJĄCEJ

ABSTRAKT: Austriacki system szkolny stoi przed wyzwaniem przełamania barier w nauce dla wszystkich uczniów w związku z rosnącą heterogenicznością grup studentów/uczniów. Wraz z przyjęciem Konwencji ONZ o prawach osób niepełnosprawnych, Austria stanęła przed wyzwaniem zagwarantowania systemu edukacji włączającej. Po krótkim omówieniu status quo następuje prezentacja głównego punktu niniejszego artykułu – współpracy interdyscyplinarnej w kontekście edukacji włączającej. Współpraca ze strony edukatorów jest omawiana jako kluczowy warunek dla wdrożenia systemów edukacji włączającej. Poniżej przedstawiono trwający projekt badawczy dotyczący współpracy interdyscyplinarnej w szkole średniej w Austrii. Opierając się na wybranych wynikach badań, autorka identyfikuje krytyczne kwestie w tym obszarze.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: inkluzja, współpraca interdyscyplinarna, szkoła średnia, Austria

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An Analysis of Conditions that Promote Successful Practical Mentoring Processes in Teacher Education

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the importance of teacher mentoring in schools. It presents mentoring programs which are implemented in Austria in cooperation with universities and teacher training colleges. The study investigates three phenomena: learning in the internship with accompaniment, collaboration, and professionalism. It evaluates interviews with mentors and applies grounded theory as its research methodology, which shows the consequence in the form of six school practical mentoring functions in the mentoring process. Conditions with a positive impact on the mentoring process are derived from these mentoring functions. The article aims to contribute to the current discussion about mentoring in teacher education. The discussed research project is a qualitative-based survey on interviews with mentors (n=12) and mentees (n=12) and an evaluation with Grounded Theory.

KEYWORDS: mentoring, teacher education, best practice; mentoring curriculum, mentoring research

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School mentoring is a pivotal aspect of teacher training, the school, and the formal education system. It takes place in school settings between a student teacher and a teacher. In Austria school, practical mentoring is structurally anchored in so-called pedagogical-practical studies in the curricula of teacher education and later in the induction phase. The article deals with the mentoring schools offer mentees for gaining practical teaching experience in the classroom and as an opportunity to complete the curricular parts of the school in the social environment of schools. Committed and specifically trained teachers act as mentors who accompany and support the professionalization process of mentees. In doing so, two individuals with different life and educational experiences meet and work together. The mentors generally have several years of professional teaching experience. Thus, they have a repertoire of pedagogical action patterns, have had various learning opportunities (Richter, 2011; Cramer, 2012, p. 34), and are able to answer pedagogical questions based on professional knowledge and experience. The mentor has gained experience and skills in teaching over the course of his professional career. The mentee has even less experience – but maybe ideas for implementation. Viewed critically, the mentor should always remain a student. With regard to school mentoring, the mentee (student teacher or protégé) usually has previous educational experience. This leads to the formation of ideas, expectations, and attitudes (Kraler, 2009) and entails a positive influence on the mentoring process. Reflecting these previous experiences is necessary to promote professional development (Haas, 2021, p. 82).

Historiographic perspectives show a teacher-expert model in the mentoring process. This is based on the master's own apprenticeship. The mentor provides support to the mentee based on their professional expertise. The aim of the mentor and mentee is to walk a common path and acquire skills and experience (Figure 1; Garvey, 2000, p. 9).

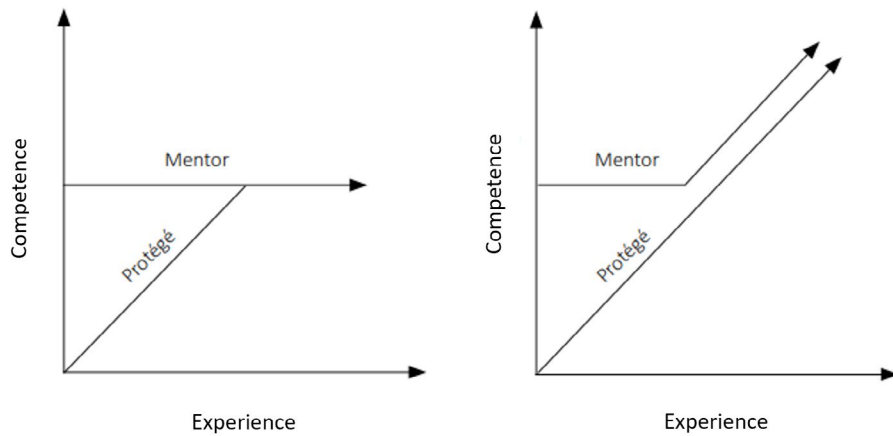


Figure 1. Competence-Experience Model in the mentoring process (Garvey, 2000, p. 9)

Garvey (2000) shows in his figure that the currently prevalent concept of the mentoring process is a gradual approach of the mentee to the mentor in which professional interaction results in the parallel development and an increase in teaching competence. This perspective leads to various definitions of mentoring, one of which is the following:

School practical mentoring processes ideally go hand in hand with a learning and development culture that is not geared towards master craftsman apprenticeships and workshop learning (historiographical and systematic access), but towards a personified, value-based, strengths and resource-oriented support process for those mentees who think, act and sentient and for profession-oriented mentors (personalized access). The focus is on working together in the internships within the framework of the school system and teacher training (systemic access), the ringing in and implementation of topic-related changes based on reflexive experience and taking a positive prospective look. (cf. Haas, 2021, p. 138)

This definition sees mentoring as a win-win situation for mentees and mentors. They enter a co-evolutionary relationship of professional learning. Oettler (2009) speaks of a win-win-win situation because the systems involved also profit from it: the school, the colleges of education, the universities, and formal education (Oettler, 2009, p. 82).

MENTORING PROGRAMS FOR SCHOOL INTERNSHIP IN AUSTRIA

Experienced and specially trained teachers accompany mentees during their education. The accompaniment mode has changed in recent years – depending on the teacher training. The reorganization and redesign of teacher training also require a reorganization and redesign of additional education for teachers who want to work as mentors in the form of mentoring programs (Haas, 2021; Kraler et al., 2021). In Austria, mentors complete a shorter program to the extent of 30 ECTS credits or an intensive program of 90 ECTS credits (Masters' degree) at the colleges of education for two or six semesters, respectively. Each college of education has developed its own curriculum. There are currently no defined quality standards in the mentoring programs in Austria. The education of the mentors aims to provide support during practical school mentoring and during the induction phase.

The program presented here relates to a teacher education program designed by experts from the University of Innsbruck and Kirchliche Pädagogische Hochschule Edith Stein (KPH Edith Stein). The mentoring curriculum, amounting to 30 ECTS credits, is divided into two phases (15 + 15 ECTS credits). In the first phase, mentors deal with their own learning biography and develop a personal opinion about student-friendly and development-oriented aspects. The focus is on raising awareness of personal action strategies, concepts, subjective theories, and values. Research findings on mentoring underline the content of the program (Roßnagl, 2017). One important task profile, in terms of professionalization, consists of the acquisition of knowledge on the research-based training of new teacher training, the instruction on research-based learning, and dealing with reflexive action. In the second phase, the focus is on deepening theory and practice in terms of coaching, counselling, supervision, mentoring, and mediation, as well as counselling on didactic issues (planning, implementation, reflection, and evaluation of situations in teaching and education). Aims include an expansion of the professional self-image and the conscious use of a resource-oriented, development-promoting, personalized, value-free, and meaning-free room of experience.

The second example is a program resulting in a Master's degree from a college of education from eastern part of Austria. It is mentioned here because it shows differences in content to the minimized program and documents the variety of programs. This intense program, spanning six semesters with 90 ECTS credits, appeals to teachers in an employment relationship who have at least five years of professional experience. The content is focused on the following subject areas: professional understanding (10 ECTS credits), accompanying and advising (20 ECTS credits), communication and interaction (10 ECTS credits), teaching and learning (10 ECTS credits), organizational and personnel development (5 ECTS credits), research methods and research practice (10 ECTS credits), and a Master's module (25 ECTS credits). According to Marzano (2011), the concept is thus based on the domains of the knowledge and skill (Curriculum Mentoring 90 ECTS 2016, p. 5). The aim is to increase

the mentor's professional skills needed for the support process within the mentoring framework. The first programs will be subjected to an evaluation process and revised.

According to research findings (Hobson et al., 2009; Rogers, 2009; Nolle, 2012; Dreer, 2018; Hofmann, 2019), Haas (2021) proposed the following conditions or quality criteria in the sense of a framework curriculum for the formation of mentoring qualification programs: "Developing a curriculum with a reflective, proactive, research and transformation-led, systemic-integrative, intra- and interpersonal, profession-specific approach." (p. 237). In the further development of mentoring programs, standards could be developed based on this approach.

In the following, research findings on school practical mentoring are examined and discussed.

RESEARCH ON SCHOOL PRACTICAL MENTORING

Research results show that it is primarily not the duration of internships that is crucial, but the quality of the learning processes (Gröschner et al., 2015) and the learning outcomes (Dieck et al., 2010; Müller, 2010). The success and benefits of internships are strongly linked to the questions of how the theory-based part of reflection is prepared or what is required of mentees in the accompanying courses (Hascher, 2012; Arnold et al., 2014). Thus, the accompaniment in the internships and the professional preparation and follow-up in the school and university sections are of particular value (Dehne et al., 2018, p. 109). The quality of mentoring is of great importance (Abel et al., 2008; Hascher et al., 2012; Wilson, 2011). What are the research insights into school practical mentoring? The theoretical foundations of mentoring concepts are mainly used in methods of personal development, psychology, and educational research. Research on practical mentoring in schools currently relates to five subject areas: (1) mode of action in internships (König et al., 2018; Hobson et al., 2009), (2) process accompanying formats between mentors and mentees (Reintjes et al., 2018; Schüssler et al., 2017), (3) generating success in mentoring (Hobson et al., 2009), (4) motivations of mentors (Weyland et al., 2011), and (5) attitudes of mentors (Haas, 2021, p. 72). Based on research results on the effectiveness of mentoring (1), the strengthening of self-confidence (Hobson et al., 2009), the development of self-concept (König et al., 2018, p. 44), and socialization in the school field (Crisp, 2010) are emphasized as being positive for mentees, while mentors receive a re-energization (Hobson et al., 2007) for their professionalism. The research on effectiveness is mostly individual case descriptions from the mentees' point of view, with conclusions on a generalization. The empirical verifiability of the effectiveness of mentors during the school internships constitutes a research desideratum (Haas, 2021, p. 65). If the research results of mentoring processes (2) are analysed, then they will be in connection with relationships and the course of conversations (Cherian, 2007; Schubarth et al., 2012). For Hobson et al. (2009), the following four factors foster conditions that generate success (3): contextual support in mentoring, mentor selection and matching process, mentoring strategies, and training in mentoring (p.

211f.). Research on the motivations of mentors (4) and attitudes of mentors (5) (Haas, 2021, p. 72) reilluminates the mentor's perspective on the process.

In summary, there are two main lines of research for school practical mentoring: effectiveness based on case descriptions and improvement of the mentoring process. Both are expandable. International researchers, like the ECER (European Conference on Educational Research) team, set the goal of researching mentoring.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The present research is a qualitative-based survey on interviews with mentors (n=12) and mentees (n=12) and an evaluation with Grounded Theory. The aim was to empirically identify and reconstruct the central achievement conditions of school practical mentoring processes in teacher education. Based on studies, the following three research questions are dealt with by means of a qualitative study based on existing findings (Abel et al., 2008; Hascher et al., 2010; Wilson, 2011): (1) Which conditions of success can be reconstructed or identified in the mentoring process? (2) Which conditions for success can be reconstructed or identified from the mentor's point of view? (3) Which conditions for success can be reconstructed or identified from the perspective of the mentees? Teachers who act as mentors and mentees who have gained significant experience in the support process during the internship are called in as experts. The statements from the interviews were transcribed and coded with the aid of a computer. Grounded Theory was chosen as the research approach, and different coding methods (open coding, axial coding, selective coding) and operational options were used in the process (Strauss et al., 1996).

In the following, the research results are presented and discussed. The description focuses on the phenomena and consequences of the schools' practical mentoring process.

Phenomena as the result of the study

In the heuristic analysis model (Heiser, 2018, p. 231) of the Grounded Theory, the phenomenon is at the centre of the coding or core paradigm. The codes, concepts, sub-categories, and/or categories refer to the event or state that is expressed with the phenomenon. Consequences can also be derived from the data. For Strauss et al. (1996), the consequences are actions that are established on the basis of the phenomenon or the setting of measures that later become a condition (Strauss et al., 1996, p. 85).

There are two phenomena after the coding process in the core paradigms. According to the student interviews, the phenomenon is "*learning in the internships with accompaniment*." According to the teacher interviews, the phenomenon is "*collaboration*." The findings of the interview study (n = 24) show that mentors want to collaborate with the mentees while accompanying the school internships. For mentees, the focus is on the possibility of experiential learning with accompaniment.

If one analyses these two phenomena further and brings them into connection, then the phenomenon of professional development arises on the meta-core paradigm. For a successful school practical mentoring process, contextual, internship- and person-specific, as well as relationship-oriented conditions must be taken into account.

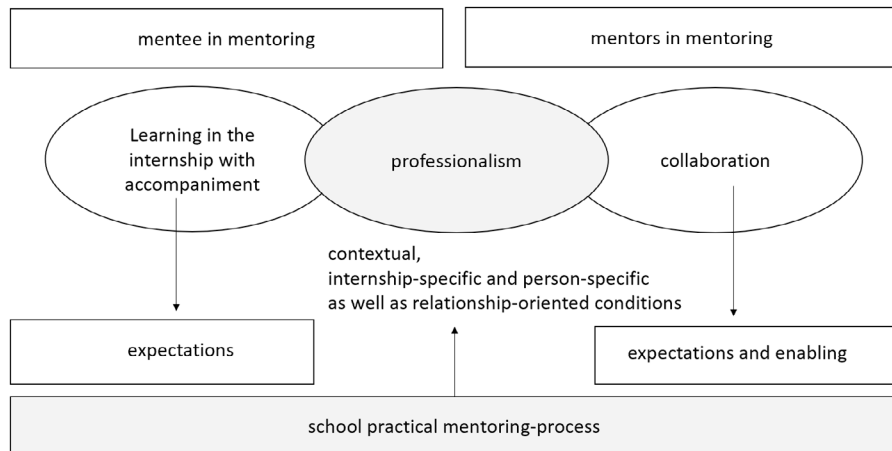


Figure 2. Phenomena in the school practical mentoring process (Haas, 2021, p. 234)

During the time of supervision, mentees enter into a phase of expectation. Mentees expect a trusting relationship, appreciative cooperation, and professional behaviour from the mentors and demand constructive feedback. During the internship, mentees want to be able to act independently and authentically, to be able to implement new perspectives so that developments are accelerated. Mentees want to be able to address theoretical concepts and models. Mentors have expectations and an attitude of enabling when exercising their function in the mentoring process. Different motives form the basis. Priority is given to the need to get to know new challenges, to discover mentoring as a new field of activity, to improve oneself in the profession, to accompany mentees in their training, to know about the new teacher education, to represent the field of school and to reflect on student behaviour. The central result of the study is that those involved in the dyadic relationship want to build up or enter into a profession-specific learning and development process with the aim of furthering their own professionalism. School practical mentoring supports and promotes this intention.

School practical mentoring functions as a result of the study

As consequences (actions, conditions) of a successful process, six school practical mentoring functions could be categorically reconstructed in the present study: professional competence functions via the availability of a role model, psychosocial and

personal-emotional aspects, requirements on the mentoring role, profession-specific functions, mentoring-specific functions, role functions.

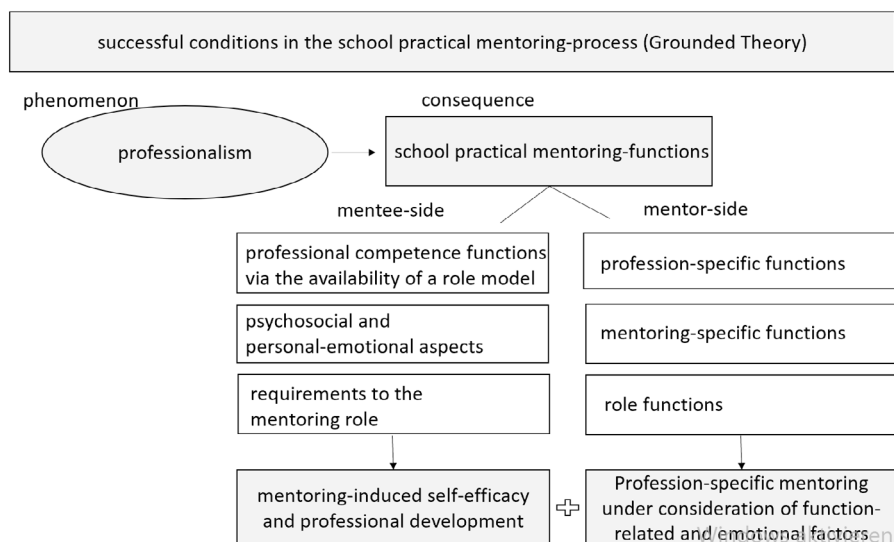


Figure 3. Six school practical mentoring functions as a consequence in Grounded Theory (Haas, 2021, p. 218)

The school practical mentoring functions of the student side (professional competence functions via the availability of a role model, psychosocial and personal-emotional aspects, requirements on the mentoring role) address conditions for success such as internship as a professional learning field, profession-specific self-efficacy, communication and interaction, mentoring mission, mentoring understanding and mentoring organization, mentoring professionalism, individual psychosocial experiences and competence development during the internship. The categories again indicate expectations within the mentoring process. The mentees show that tasks in mentoring must be worked on for the benefit of the mentees, that the affective-emotional aspects are taken into account, and that the professional field of school is made available as a learning and development space. For mentees, the school practical mentoring functions aim for mentoring-induced self-efficacy and professional development.

The school practical mentoring functions of the mentor side (profession-specific functions, mentoring-specific functions, role functions) describe categories such as professional cooperation and integration, understanding of the identification process leading to the teaching profession, subject-related exchange, mentoring mission, mentoring identity, mentor self-concept, psychosocial moment(s) and psychosocial exchange as successful conditions. Mentors use the mentoring process to develop their own profession as a teacher, work together with institutions and mentees, and thus work in a new field of activity. It is also important for the mentors that they

consider the emotional state of the mentees. Mentors understand their activity as professional-specific mentoring under consideration of function-related and emotional factors.

The challenge of practical school mentoring processes is that common, mentor-side and mentee-side desires and aspects are discussed. Expectations should be formulated and communicated right at the beginning of the process.

CONCLUSION

The data of the present qualitative-reconstructive study on the conditions for the success of school practical mentoring processes are based on a survey of mentors and mentees with well-founded experience in the field of mentoring in teacher education. The study specifically dealt with the question of which conditions of success can be reconstructed or identified in the mentoring process. Statements from mentors and mentees indicate that mentoring process is all about professional development for those involved. Mentors want to professionalize further and are looking for cooperation with mentees and the education institution (university, college of teacher education). They open their field of action and impact to mentees, give them freedom in the design of school settings, and contribute to promoting learning and development. Mentees want to learn during their internship and need support on the way to professionalization. The meeting of mentor and mentee and the school practical mentoring process are shaped by expectations on both sides. Expectations must be clarified and discussed at the beginning of the process and during the process. Ultimately, mentoring is a win-win situation and, in the words of Socrates, shows: "Mentoring is about sharing wisdom – a two-way street that benefits both."

The results of the study outline topics for the modelling of mentoring programs. In this way, they underline the importance of expectations. In the discussion and debate, references will also be made to topics such as basic attitudes, values, and management style. Above all, the mentoring functions at school show that mentors have to deal with the task, requirements, and, in particular, the functions: profession-specific functions, mentoring-specific functions, and role functions. Mentoring programs should also deal with this, and mentors should be given instruments for assessing moods and dealing with challenges. However, the mentee's demand primarily relates to the opportunity to develop and learn. The following questions are, therefore, the focus of mentoring programs: How can mentors support someone who wants to learn? What is learning? Which competences are important for a mentee? How can a mentee develop? What experiences should a mentee have during the internship so that they can learn? What do I have to consider as a mentor? How can a mentor take the emotional aspects into account and respond to expectations? Essentially, it is about dealing with self-reflective analytical and development-related aspects. On the mentee's part, consideration of psychosocial and emotional aspects in the mentoring process is requested. The mentee is also assigned a role in the mentoring process that they must become aware of. It is important to clarify them at the beginning of

the process and highlight the expectations. As a mentee, what do I expect from the internship? What do I expect from my mentor? What can contribute to a successful process? These self-critical questions can help the mentee to get started in the process. Ultimately, both parties are responsible for the success of the mentoring process.

In the near future, research on school-based mentoring could deal with specificities such as a person, domain, or school type specificity. Questions about this form a desideratum. It remains to be seen how concepts for school-based mentoring will develop further.

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**ANALIZA WARUNKÓW SPRZYJAJĄCYCH POWODZENIU PRAKTYCZNYCH
PROCESÓW MENTORINGOWYCH W EDUKACJI NAUCZYCIELI**

ABSTRAKT: W artykule omówiono znaczenie mentoringu nauczycieli w szkołach oraz przedstawiono programy mentorskie, które są realizowane w Austrii we współpracy z uniwersytetami i kolegami nauczycielskimi. Przedmiotem badania są trzy zjawiska: uczenie się w ramach stażu z asystą, współpraca i profesjonalizm. W artykule przeanalizowano wywiady z mentorami oraz zastosowaną teorię ugruntowaną jako metodologię badawczą. W konsekwencji, uzyskano rezultaty w postaci sześciu praktycznych funkcji mentorskich w procesie mentoringu a warunki mające pozytywny wpływ na proces mentoringu są wyprowadzane właśnie z tych funkcji. Artykuł ma na celu wniesienie wkładu do aktualnej dyskusji na temat mentoringu w kształceniu nauczycieli. Omawiany projekt badawczy jest badaniem jakościowym opartym na wywiadach z mentorami (n=12) i podopiecznymi (n=12) oraz ewaluacji z wykorzystaniem teorii ugruntowanej.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: mentoring, kształcenie nauczycieli, najlepsze praktyki, program mentoringu, badania nad mentoringiem

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Habitus and Cultural Fit in Higher Education. Explaining the Genesis and Reproduction of Educational Inequalities Through Bourdieu's Conflict Theory

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the phenomenon of educational inequality, which it attempts to explain through the application of the conflict theoretical perspective. First, I will discuss the rational choice approach which is often used in quantitative educational research on educational inequality. In contrast, I will then outline how educational inequality can be explained from the perspective of Bourdieu's concepts. I will focus on the phenomenon of cultural fit and share insights from my empirical research study, *"The fine differences in school careers."* In conclusion, I will argue for an inequality-reflective school development perspective, which places at its centre the awareness that phenomena of educational inequality cannot be explained exclusively by rational choices.

KEYWORDS: educational inequality, school development, Bourdieu, habitus, rational choice

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INTRODUCTION & OUTLINE OF THE PROBLEM

This article discusses the issue of the reproduction of educational inequalities within the framework of a sociological approach with a special focus on school biographical transitions in Austria's school system. Research on transition is particularly focused on early selection in multi-level school systems and the associated disadvantage of individual groups, such as pupils from deprived backgrounds (Helsper et al., 2009; Liegmann, Mammes & Racherbäumer, 2014; Kramer, 2017). Large-scale studies (PISA; TIMSS; PIRLS) show the importance of transition as a mechanism for the reproduction of educational inequalities (Liegmann, Mammes & Racherbäumer, 2014). These studies point out the persistent phenomenon of a strong correlation between students' family background and their access to higher education (Bacher & Moosbrugger, 2019) as well as their academic performance (Wimmer & Oberwimmer, 2021). This is particularly evident in the Austrian school system with its multi-level structure of lower and upper secondary schools. Austrian pupils have to transit to a new type of school twice – once at the age of 10 (to lower secondary school) and then at the age of 14 (to upper secondary school). The admission to both subdivisions is based on the pupils' previous performance. In addition, it is crucial that the structure of the lower secondary level is further divided into two different academic standards (regular middle school versus lower secondary school for higher education). The upper secondary level is mainly subdivided into school types that end with the high school diploma, and these upper secondary schools have a more academically oriented school environment (Schreiner & Breit, 2014). Data show that once students find themselves in the less academically oriented track (regular middle school), they are more likely to remain there and less likely to obtain a high school diploma (Wimmer & Oberwimmer, 2021). It is also remarkable that regular middle schools are disproportionately attended by students from less privileged families (Wimmer & Oberwimmer, 2021). In this context, it can be argued that the normative and legally central principle that children's socio-economic background should not block access to education is almost diametrically contradictory, according to the results of large-scale research (Rieser, 2011). Therefore, this article will address explanations of educational inequality in the quantitative research discourse of German-speaking countries. For this purpose, the often-used rational choice model

will be discussed first to follow up with how profoundly this approach can explain educational inequality. This is followed by a discussion of an alternative explanatory concept that focuses on the implicit and hidden mechanisms of the emergence and reproduction of educational inequality based on the conflict theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Its relevance will be illustrated through a short outline of the research project, *The fine differences in school careers*. This approach, I argue, allows us to explain the mechanisms of inequality at school from a different heuristic perspective, which does not place the exclusive responsibility for school failure on students and their families.

RATIONAL CHOICE APPROACHES IN GERMAN-SPEAKING RESEARCH ON EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITY

In the research discourse of German-speaking countries, educational inequality is often explained by referring to the different starting conditions related to pupils' socio-economic backgrounds (Gomolla, 2010). In quantitative empirical educational research, there is a particularly strong focus on the family educational aspiration to explain the unequal representation of students in higher education (Kramer, 2017). In the Austrian context, Bacher and Moosbrugger (2019) argue that early educational pathway decisions trigger a particularly strong effect of origin. This effect refers to the situation whereby families from higher social classes are more likely to choose a lower secondary school for higher education (academically oriented) for their children, despite the fact that their kids do not necessarily show the required academic performance in the past (Bacher and Moosbrugger, 2019). At the same time, children from the working class or immigrant backgrounds are more likely to end up at a regular middle school (less academically oriented) (Bacher and Moosbrugger, 2019). Wulf Hopf (2014) points out that such quantitative empirical research perspectives are based on a rational-choice approach. At the center of such approaches is the assumption that students' family background has a primary effect on school performance and, in the sense of a secondary effect of origin, on the family's educational aspirations (Boudon, 1974). Educational path decisions are thus explained by cost-benefit models, status preservation motives, and personal educational motivation (Helsper et al., 2010). These research approaches explain educational choices based on the concept that human action is fundamentally rational and conscious (Helsper et al., 2010). Underlying this approach is the assumption that family aspirations for education can trigger a process of self-selection, implying in fact that it is families themselves who are finally responsible for unequal opportunities of their children's access to and participation in higher education. Based on these explanations, it could be concluded that the aforementioned effects of origin can be used as an empirical model to answer questions about the emergence and reproduction of educational inequalities (Kramer, 2013). However, it must be objected here that an analysis of data on educational participation based on a rational choice approach does not illuminate the mechanisms which are responsible for the emergence and re-

production of social inequalities in the school system (Dietrich, Heinrich & Thieme, 2013). According to Kramer, it can be argued that there is an inherent problem in science in order to explain educational inequality (Kramer, 2013). At the centre is the question of why, despite ongoing discussions and educational policy reforms, there is an enduring and transnational entrenchment of the phenomenon of socioeconomic and sociocultural inequality in school participation (Kramer, 2013).

Another approach to explaining educational inequality draws on the work of Pierre Bourdieu. He suggests that there are unconscious and implicit preconceptions of students, which are linked to different educational attitudes and strategies, which can thus lead to unequal opportunities for participation in the school system (Helsper et al., 2010). From the perspective of Bourdieu's sociology, the previously mentioned self-selection is explicitly not contradicted. It is the primary effects of origins that need to be at the centre of the analysis, pointing to a discrepancy between the habitus of lower social classes and the habitus demanded by the educational system itself (Hopf, 2014). From this point of view, school path decisions are not explained by cost-benefit calculations, but rather these decisions are embedded in a certain educational habitus, which has been generated in long and deep-rooted socialization processes (Hopf, 2014). Drawing from this, it is considered that prior to any conscious decision, unequal preconditions for participation or success in schooling already exist at the level of a certain habitus (Helsper et al., 2010). This argument aims to raise questions about the school system's role in generating and reproducing inequality. Such a critical educational approach can be used to ask what role mechanisms of discrimination and exclusion play in the context of social class (Kramer, 2011). At the centre of this statement is the observation that there are specific social logics of adaptation and interaction between the educational system and the system of social classes (Kramer, 2017). The question can be raised about which interaction and fitting processes can be identified between structure (school) and subject (student) (Hopf, 2014).

HABITUS AND THE CULTURAL FIT IN THE FIELD OF SCHOOLING

Bourdieu conceptualises the habitus as a connecting link between subject and structure (Bourdieu, 1987). In this relational perspective, habitus is the product of culture- and history-specific social situations and conditions of existence on the one hand and the basis of production for human actions, practices, and cultural products of all kinds on the other (Kramer, 2019). For the purposes of this article, habitus is conceptualised as a partial habitus that specifically manifests itself in relation to its (partial) social field of the school (Kramer, 2019). This is why the term "student habitus" is used here. Bourdieu's framework seems to be particularly useful in pointing out the relationship between the congruence of behavioural, thoughts, and perception patterns of class-specific student habitus and the demanded structures and expectations of the school as an institution. This perspective refers to the primarily implicit and atheoretical knowledge of the students, which is linked to different attitudes and

strategies in the sense of a student habitus and thus leads to unequal opportunities for participation in the education system (Kramer, 2011). This phenomenon is based on available cultural and social capital and thus on a habitus that is more likely to be found in the upper social classes (Möller et al., 2020). In the context of educational participation, this perspective asks about the logic of demands and expectations exhibited in the course of everyday school life and how these interact with the habitus of different students (Kramer, 2011). To frame this phenomenon conceptually, we can speak of the term “*cultural fit*” (Budde, 2012). Kramer (2013) describes this as the clash of a primary student habitus (which emerges in the child’s immediate family) with a secondary habitus (which is formed in and demanded by the schools). If we look at the previous points from the perspective of educational inequality, cultural fit can be understood as a mechanism of valuation or devaluation between middle- and upper-class-oriented school requirement logic and class-specific habitus and attitudes of different social actors (Lipkina, 2019). In this context, it can be assumed that a homologous cultural fit leads to the confirmation and consolidation of a primary habitus (Kramer, 2011). In the case of an antagonistic cultural fit, it can be assumed that the primary student habitus is under pressure to transform, which could manifest itself in forms of resistance and deviation from the expectations of the educational institution (Kramer, 2011). And this, in turn, could lead to exclusion from education (drop-out). This mechanism could be discussed in terms of self-elimination, except that the question of responsibility cannot easily be passed on to the social actors. Rather, according to the approach that draws on Bourdieu that is explained here, we need to shift our attention to institutional discrimination based on middle- and upper-class-oriented expectations and norms.

INSIGHTS FROM THE PROJECT: “THE FINE DIFFERENCES IN SCHOOL CAREERS”

Based on the previous explanations and the theoretical framework of Bourdieu’s conflict theory, the following section will give an insight into the research project: “*The fine differences in school careers.*” As a starting point for this research project, it is assumed that middle and high schools’ school cultures differ significantly in their academic orientation (Ditton & Aulinger, 2011). Students who transition from middle school to upper secondary school (academically oriented schools that lead to the high school diploma) face a particular academic educational challenge. In this context, it can be assumed that these teenagers may be at a double disadvantage. On the one hand, family socialisation may have a limiting effect on the primary student habitus, and on the other hand, former middle school students may be at a disadvantage because the logic of requirements at their original school does not match up with those of the new school to which they are transitioning (higher upper school). In this project, 10 former middle school students were interviewed 12 weeks after their transition to such upper secondary school. All students were 14 years old at the time of the interviews. The interviews were designed as narrative and problem-centred inter-

views and took place between November and December 2019. On average, the conversations lasted 25 – 30 minutes. Structured questions were used in the interviews, which addressed the following topics: 1. *What were their experiences and expectations before as well as during the first weeks of school?*; 2. *How did the transition to the new school make them feel?*; 3. *What differences in learning workload and other challenges did the students feel, compared to the old school (middle school)*. These interview questions aim at answering the following research questions: a) What kinds of student habitus show themselves during such specific transitions between different types of schools (from a less academic-oriented middle school to a more academic-oriented upper secondary school)?; b) How can the results of this research contribute to what is referred to as an inequality-reflective school development?

In methodological terms, the concept of habitus needs to be understood as an implicit and atheoretical concept. This premise puts the habitus concept in frontal opposition to rational and conscious human action assumptions. Furthermore, it can be assumed that habitus has a practice-generating power (*modus operandi*), and therefore it leaves so-called social traces in all its actions (*opus operatum*) (Lange-Vester & Teiwes-Kügler, 2013). For the reconstruction of student habitus, these traces are the essential objects of interest. The main central premise is that the interview transcripts can be considered as an *opus operatum*. This is based on the fact that the interview questions aimed at getting young people to position themselves through their answers to the (new) field of upper secondary school (Kramer, 2019). In order to analyse habitus and its practice-generating power, the sequence analytical habitus reconstruction, according to Kramer (2018), was used. The essence of this method is a sequence-analytic procedure that focuses on the formation of testable hypotheses about the specific student habitus in the interview transcript. For this purpose, an interview is broken down into individual thematic passages, and these are then further subdivided into individual sequences (Kramer, 2018). Along with these individual sequences, the attempt is made to interpret the material through hypothetical theses (Kramer, 2018). This procedure is to confirm or deny the respective habitus hypothesis in the sequence structure of the empirical material (Kowalski, 2020). The crucial point is that where a hypothesis is not able to explain the continuation in the sequence structure, it must be excluded and rejected. With this proceeding, a hypothesis emerges sequence by sequence, one that can most closely explain the practice-generating power of habitus. After a habitus hypothesis is verified, a summary formulation for the respective case is described as a case portrait at the end of sequence analysis (Kramer, 2018). This specific method was applied to three cases out of the 10 interviews, and thus three individual cases could be reconstructed. Afterwards, these individual case portraits were compared with each other in a contrasting case comparison along with maximum and minimum contrasts. Methodologically, this step aims at highlighting higher aggregated conclusions from the individual cases so that the results of the individual cases can be condensed into more general types (Kramer, 2018). Within the procedure, the following three types of school transition could be identified:

- a) *conformist and sovereign transition*
- b) *tense and aspiring transition*
- c) *risky and overwhelming transition.*

Conformist and sovereign transition type: This type is characterised by young people's strong orientation towards conformity and norms. At the same time, they are able to cope with the challenges of the change of school form through certain sovereignty, which is limited by an attitude of frugality. Their academic and educational aspirations are oriented towards the middle of the range, and therefore these students are not expected to perform at an educationally excellent or distinctive level. These young people also see themselves in charge of their school performance.

Tense and aspiring transition type: This type is characterised young people's increased educational aspiration. A high level of personal responsibility ensures their specific school performance. Because of the challenges they face when making the transition, they also experience increased pressure to adapt and therefore do not succeed in achieving above-average academic performance. This is why these students also show moments of excessive pressure and heavy exposure.

Risky and overwhelming transition type: This type is characterised by having the lowest cultural fit. These young people experience a risky transition to school and are most at risk of school exclusion due to their low connectivity. They lack not only the academic achievements that the new school expects but also have too little sense of the rules in the new social field of the upper secondary school. These young students are also ones who see themselves as the least responsible when it comes to their success at school.

In the three types, it is apparent that all students experienced a more or less tense transition to their new school. Depending on the particular cultural fit of the reconstructed students' primary habitus, this tension could be resolved or reduced. In all three cases, the increased academic standards at the new school were a central anchor. In other words, it can be shown that school transfer largely depends on how capable and willing students are to perform after they transfer schools. On the implicit level of a habitus, this means that it is of high importance for a successful school transition that the new students bring along a strong sense of personal responsibility. In other words, the schools expect that students should have incorporated the meritocratic principle of performance. All interviews showed that the new school gives the students the responsibility for their academic success. Therefore, the three types can be unfolded along an axis of the meritocratic principle of performance. But this mechanism, with its associated obligation to individuals, is, of course, highly questionable.

SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

The aim of this article is to contribute to our understanding of the reproduction of educational inequality through a conflict theoretical perspective and its concrete application in an empirical study in the Austrian context. The results of this study

show that educational pathway decisions as a single mechanism for the emergence of inequality in the school system do not offer satisfactory explanatory capacity. The primarily rational-choice approaches can only provide a limited explanation for the emergence and reproduction of educational inequality. Shifting the focus onto school culture and cultural fit of the primary and secondary habitus has proven to be particularly valuable (Helsper & Kramer, 2010). Based on the study, *The fine differences in school careers* (Pham-Xuan, 2022), it was shown that rational and conscious decisions could not simply explain a successful transition to an upper secondary school for higher education. Rather, focusing on habitus allowed to identify that particularly high connectivity to the standards and expectations of the new school was necessary for a successful transition. This article has attempted to show that the theoretical architecture of rational choice approaches is limited in the sense that the primary and secondary effects of social origin are both located on the second level of observation. This means that abilities, school performance, perceptions, and interpretations of the (Austrian) school system are the products and documentations of a habitus that has to be understood as the first level of observation (Kramer, 2013).

In conclusion, reference can be made once again to the issue of the meritocratic principle. Schools cannot expect such an assumption of responsibility from their students; rather, their task is to support the development of skills and competences in such ways that allow young people to assume a sense of responsibility for their own success at school (Stojanov, 2011). If schools have an interest in ensuring that their (new) students have a successful school biography, school development processes must be inequality-reflective. This means that schools can think about how they design the transition and their demands and expectations for new students. These considerations, in turn, must take place in consideration of the fact that all students are unequal in their habitual disposition and also in their capacity for adaptation.

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**HABITUS I DOPASOWANIE KULTUROWE W SZKOLNICTWIE WYŻSZYM.
WYJAŚNIENIE GENEZY I REPRODUKЦИИ NIERÓWNOŚCI EDUKACYJNYCH
ZA POMOCĄ TEORII KONFLIKTU BOURDIEU**

ABSTRAKT: Niniejszy artykuł dotyczy zjawiska nierówności edukacyjnych, które próbuję wyjaśnić poprzez zastosowanie perspektywy teoretycznej konfliktu. Najpierw omówię podejście racjonalnego wyboru, które jest często stosowane w ilościowych badaniach edukacyjnych dotyczących nierówności edukacyjnych. Następnie nakreślę, w jaki sposób nierówności edukacyjne mogą być objaśniane z perspektywy koncepcji Bourdieu. Skoncentruję się na zjawisku dopasowania kulturowego i podzielę się spostrzeżeniami z mojego badania empirycznego „Drobne różnice w kulturze”. W podsumowaniu będę opowiadać się za perspektywą rozwoju szkoły odzwierciedlającą nierówności, która w swoim centrum stawia świadomość, że zjawisk nierówności edukacyjnych nie da się wyjaśnić wyłącznie za pomocą racjonalnych wyborów.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: nierówności edukacyjne, rozwój szkoły, Bourdieu, habitus, racjonalny wybór

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Theory and Practice of *Visual Thinking Strategies* in Upper Secondary Education

ABSTRACT: Visual representations are omnipresent in modern media and cultural life. In our globalized world, they represent important sources of information and, at the same time, powerful tools for manipulation. Images shape our perception, our views and our insights. *Visual Thinking Strategies (VTS)* is a didactic-methodological concept that promotes the visual, cognitive and social competencies of learners by viewing age-appropriate pieces of art together. The aim of the present study is to investigate the possible effects of *VTS* on 16-year-old students (Upper secondary education in Austria) with specific regard to the development of critical thinking, participatory dynamics and interaction processes. Data from the written pre- and post-tests and videography were quantified and analyzed based on the deductive categorization of *Critical Thinking Skills* and on inductive categorization via open coding. A key finding of this project is that *VTS* has an impact on the critical-argumentative thinking skills of students in Upper secondary education. Moreover, the peer group's discussion, which is led by a *VTS* facilitator, has a positive effect on the participation of "low-performing" and "high-performing" students.

KEYWORDS: *Visual Thinking Strategies*, Abigail Housen, Visual Thinking, *Critical Thinking Skills*, participation, Upper secondary education in Austria

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INTRODUCTION

Visual Thinking Strategies is a visual education concept developed in the 1980s by the psychologist Abigail Housen and Philip Yenawine, Director of Education at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (Yenawine, 2013). The aim of the method is to train the visual-aesthetic awareness of beginners in art reception.

The scientific basis of *Visual Thinking Strategies* (VTS) is Housen's stage theory of aesthetic development (Housen, 1983). Her theory draws on cognitive developmental psychology, constructivism and research on aesthetic development and visual perception. Housen's theory of aesthetic development shows the connection between perception, cognition and aesthetics. In the development of VTS, Housen was influenced by the work of James M. Baldwin, Jean Piaget, Lev Vygotskij and Rudolf Arnheim. Baldwin elaborated a three-stage model of cognitive development in children, which he related to aesthetic development. He maintained that accountive viewers respond naively and immediately to aesthetic objects and he considered this immediacy an aspect of aesthetic feedback resonance (Housen, 1983, pp. 170–172). Piaget described the principles of „assimilation“, „accommodation“, „equilibration“ and „disequilibrium“ that run through all stages of life. According to Piaget, „disequilibrium“ is an imbalance between what is understood and what is encountered. Learning depends on this process. When „equilibrium“ is upset, we have the opportunity to develop (Hoppe-Graff 2014, pp. 168–169). By means of *Visual Thinking Strategies* practice students are brought into „disequilibrium“ and thus open to learning processes (DeSantis & Housen, 1996/2000, pp. 3–7). Lev Vygotskij's work illuminates the inseparable relationship between thinking and language. The development of language must be fostered in children so that they learn to think and to understand complex relationships. Targeted instruction in pedagogical contexts should be oriented towards the „zone of the next development“ (Flammer, 2008, p. 235). Vygotsky and Piaget noted that a child cannot learn cognitive concepts of a later stage until the previous stage is integrated. Both emphasize the importance of interaction with the environment for intellectual growth for learners. Rudolf Arnheim's relevance to Housen's work lies in his view that visual perception is an act of thinking and thinking can be trained with the help of art objects (Arnheim, 2000, p. 6). A significant finding of Housen's research is that all visually untrained and non-artistic persons, regardless of age and levels of education,

are at the first stage of her „Theory of Aesthetic Development“ (Housen, 1983, pp. 140–161). In terms of museum and school educational practice, Housen concluded that the existing approaches to art education do not address the developmental needs of beginner viewers and therefore they do not have a sustainable impact on learners' visual literacy (Housen, 1999, pp. 16–20).

Since the 1970s, the importance of „visual education“ for people has been discussed beyond the boundaries of a single discipline. As a result of digitalization, the social significance of images is increasing in both the private and public spheres. Visual representations are an everyday part of the communication and information process. Learners need „image competence“ to be able to read images (Doelker, 1997, p. 15). Therefore, educational institutions need adequate didactic settings in which students learn to engage with images in a critical and reflective way (Reißmann, 2015, pp. 6–7; Elkins, 2008, pp. 1–5).

In the Austrian formal education system, visual education is predominantly attributed to art lessons, but it is not anchored as a cross-curricular principle (Köffler, 2020, p. 252). In the pedagogical context, the various school subjects apply different concepts and methods of how images can be used in the classroom to enable learners to deal with pictures in a critical and reflective way (Kanter, 2020, pp. 272–274). The *VTS* method starts from the assumption that „reading pictures“ is an elementary cultural technique that needs to be learned – just like reading, arithmetic and writing (Jung & Kraler, 2020, S. 249).

One methodological approach can be seen in *Visual Thinking Strategies*. *VTS* enables students' learning through an intuitive-emotional work with images instead of an intellectual-theoretical approach. *VTS* uses images and developmentally appropriate questions as a starting point to stimulate visual, cognitive and social learning processes in students.

The practical implementation in the classroom follows a clearly structured procedure. The teacher in the role of a facilitator presents an art image to which they ask the three unchangeable *VTS* questions: What's going on in this picture? What do you see that makes you say that? What more can you find? The facilitator paraphrases each answer, while at the same time they point at the respective aspects in the picture („pointing“). They also link the similar or different points of view („linking“) and place basic ideas in a broader thematic framework („framing“). Due to the fact that each contribution is paraphrased in an unbiased manner, students are encouraged to participate actively, they learn to justify their opinion and they find out that images can be interpreted in various ways (Jung & Kraler, 2020, pp. 224–249).

AIM OF THIS STUDY, SAMPLING AND METHODOLOGY

This study explores the potential of *VTS* in the field of formal education. The aim of the work was to identify various manifestations of the method *VTS* in a classroom. The research interest focuses on three related aspects: The first aspect examines the question if *VTS* has an impact on the development of *Critical Thinking Skills (CTS)*

of students. The reference framework for this aspect of study were four American key studies, the Byron-Study (1993–1998), the San-Antonio-Study (2000–2002), the Gardner-Study (2003–2006) and the Artful-Citizenship-Project (2002–2005). The second aspect was to investigate the possible effects of *VTS* on participatory dynamics, while the third aspect focused on interaction processes.

The participants of this study were students in Upper secondary education in an Austrian private school with public status. Two parallel classes were selected as experimental and control group. All participating students, aged 15 to 16, were from urban middle-class or rural-farming backgrounds. Their socio-economic status was heterogeneous. The students in the experimental and control group had a comparable level of academic achievement, based on the mean school grades. The number of female participants was higher in both the experimental and the control group. The chosen methods of data collection were written tests and videographies (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Method and number of participants in experimental and control group

Method	Experimental group - Participants		Control group - Participants	
Written Pre- and Post-Test	18 female (75%)	6 male (25%)	19 female (79,16%)	5 male (20,83%)
Videography	19 female (67,85%)	9 male (32,14%)	no	no

The written pre-post-test-design with experimental and control group was used to demonstrate a possible relationship between the application of *VTS* and the development of *CTS*. The transcripts of the video-based *VTS* units formed the basis for the investigation of the interaction processes that became visible through the systematic use of *VTS* in the classroom. The *VTS* interventions were spread over one school year. In each of the ten 50-minute- sessions, two pictures were worked with, using the *VTS* method. The data material was evaluated by two persons in teamwork using a coding manual. Data from the written pre- and post-tests and the transcripted videographies were quantified and analyzed descriptively-statistically with SPSS and MAXQDA.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND FINDINGS

In line with the objective of the study, the following four main questions and goals are discussed.

- » Question 1: To what extent does working with *Visual Thinking Strategies (VTS)* in a classroom setting impact the development of *Critical Thinking Skills (CTS)*?
- » Question 2: Which participatory dynamics are revealed by the application of *Visual Thinking Strategies* in a classroom setting?

- » Question 3: Which changes in the use of *Critical Thinking Skills (CTS)* are revealed by the application of *Visual Thinking Strategies* in a classroom setting?
- » Question 4: Which phenomena can be identified with the help of a qualitative-reconstructive approach to the data material?

The individual questions are discussed below.

Question 1: To what extent does working with *Visual Thinking Strategies (VTS)* in a classroom setting impact the development of *Critical Thinking Skills (CTS)*?

To answer the first research question written pre-tests and post-tests were administered in the experimental (EX) and control (KO) groups at the beginning and the end of school year 2017/2018. While the students in the experimental group participated in *VTS*, the students in the control group did not.

The three specific *VTS* questions allowed the students to express individual views and to select content in a self-determined way in the written pre- and post-test (Housen, 1983, pp. 48–51). The visual art objects¹ (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3) of the written tests were selected according to the age of the participants².



Figure 2. Picture „pre-test“³

- 1 I decided to use two different pictures to keep the interest of the students.
- 2 The theme of the artwork should be chosen for students so that they can discover both familiar and new things.
- 3 Cathal McNaughton (2013). *A farmer in County Antrim, Northern Ireland, searched for his sheep after a heavy snowfall over the weekend*. Retrieved February 22, 2019, from: <https://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/04/08/whats-going-on-in-this-picture-april-8-2013>



Figure 3. Picture „post-test“⁴

Data from the written tests were analysed through qualitative content analysis (Kuckartz, 2016, p. 120) using deductive category application of CTS. The data were coded according to four categories of CTS: „Observation“ (BEOB), „Speculation“ (VERM), „Supported Observation“ (BEGR) and „Multiple Possibilities“ (ALTS).

Figure 4 compares the post-test results of the experimental and control group in terms of the categories of CTS. In the category „Observation“ (POST_BEOB) there is no significant difference between the mean scores of the control group ($M=16.83$, $SD=10.51$, $n=24$) and the experimental group ($M=16.40$, $SD=13.77$, $n=25$). Neither has the experimental group in the category „Multiple Possibilities“ (POST_ALTS) ($M=0.92$, $SD=1.32$, $n=25$) significantly higher mean scores than the control group ($M=0.5$, $SD=0.72$, $n=24$). Differences exist in the categories „Supported Observation“ (POST_BEGR). The experimental group shows a significantly higher mean value ($M=3.32$, $SD=2.036$, $n=25$) in the category „Supported Observation“ (POST_BEGR) than the control group ($M=0.71$, $SD=1.268$, $n=24$). Another difference between the control group and the experimental group becomes obvious in the category „Speculation“ (POST_VERM). The experimental group shows higher mean scores ($M=7.16$, $SD=2.925$, $n=25$) than the control group ($M=4.42$, $SD=3.335$, $n=24$).

4 Niels Ackermann (2016). *Coming of Age in the Shadow of Chernobyl*. Retrieved September, 2018, from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/26/learning/whats-going-on-in-this-picture-sept-26-2016>

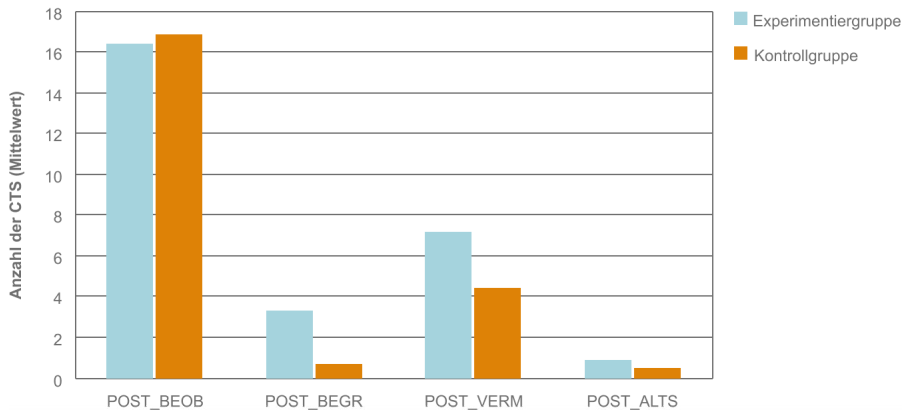


Figure 4. Number of CTS in the four categories of KO and EX in the post-test

In the next step the category „Supported Observation“ was investigated more deeply. The goal was to consider the quality of the evidence in the students’ opinions. A distinction was made between whether the evidence is based on observation in the image (strong evidence = BEGR_STARK) or whether the statement is based on speculation (weak evidence = BEGR_SCHWACH).

The pre-tests (Fig. 5) show that the experimental group starts from a higher level in both categories. The number of weak evidences (BEGR_SCHWACH) in the pre-tests in the experimental group is 14, in the control group 2. The number of strong evidences (BEGR_STARK) in the experimental group is 28, in the control group 14.

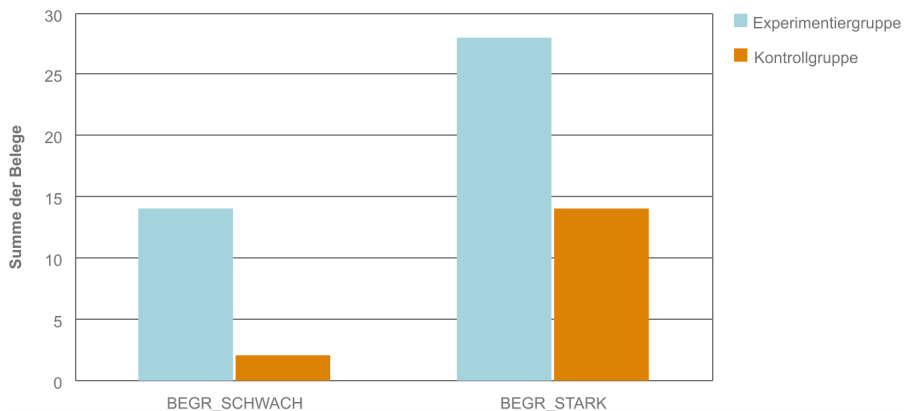


Figure 5. Comparison of the sums of BEGR_WEAK and BEGR_STARK in the KO and EX in the pre-test

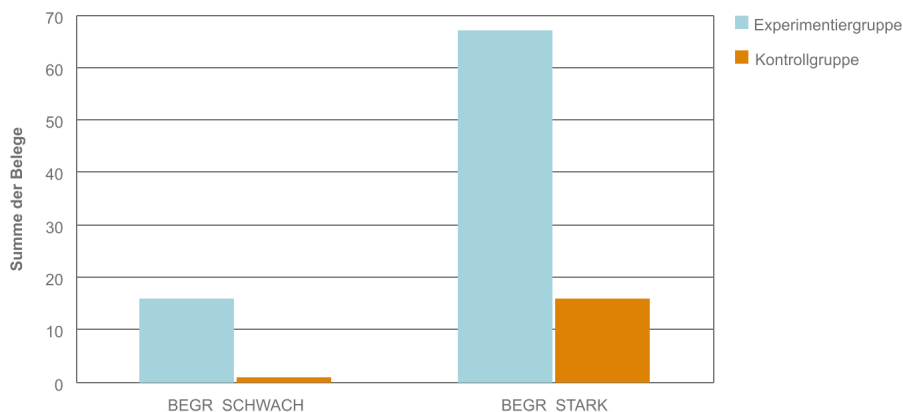


Figure 6. Comparison of the sums of BEGR_WEAK and BEGR_STARK in the KO and EX in the post-test

In the post-tests (Fig. 6) the number of weak evidences (POST_BEGR_SCHWACH) in the experimental group is 16 whereas in the control group it is 1. The number of strong evidences (POST_BEGR_STARK) in the experimental group is 67, in the control group 16. The difference in development between the two groups may indicate the effectiveness of VTS in the intervention group.

Question 2: Which participatory dynamics are revealed by the application of *Visual Thinking Strategies (VTS)* in a classroom setting?

The question of participatory dynamics emerged from field reports by US teachers providing insightful evidence on the impact of VTS on individual and group change processes (Yenawine, 2013, pp. 33–38).

Figure 7 shows the number of actively participating students over the course of the ten VTS units. 12 to 18 of the 28 students actively participated in each lesson. This corresponds to an average participation of 54.6%.

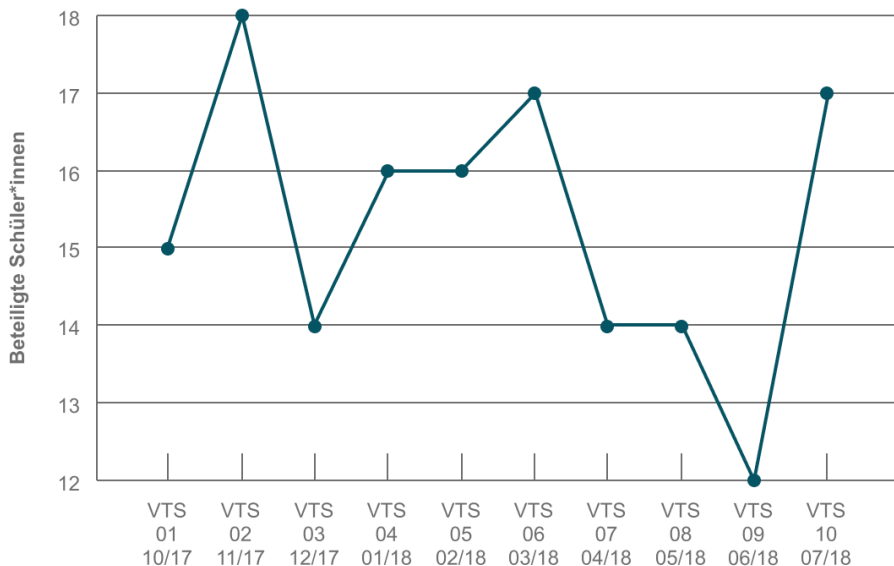


Figure 7. Participating students per VTS unit

This study specifically examines whether high-performing students participate significantly more often in the *VTS* setting than low-performing students. In order to examine participation, the students were divided according to their academic performance into a „high performance“ group with a grade point average of 1 to 1.50 (six students) and a „low performance“ group with a grade point average of 2.51 to 3.50 (seven students). The development of participation in the „high performance“ and „low performance“ groups was examined across all ten *VTS* units. For this purpose *VTS* units 1 to 3, 4 to 7, and 8 to 10 were combined.

Figure 8 shows the participation of these students over the *VTS* intervention period. In both groups participation tends to increase over time, but in different ways. The „high performance“ group enters at a higher level than the „low performance“ group. It is not until the fourth *VTS* unit that this group’s participation increases steadily. The increase in participation in the „low performance“ group manifests itself clearly between the first and fourth unit and then remains at approximately the same level.

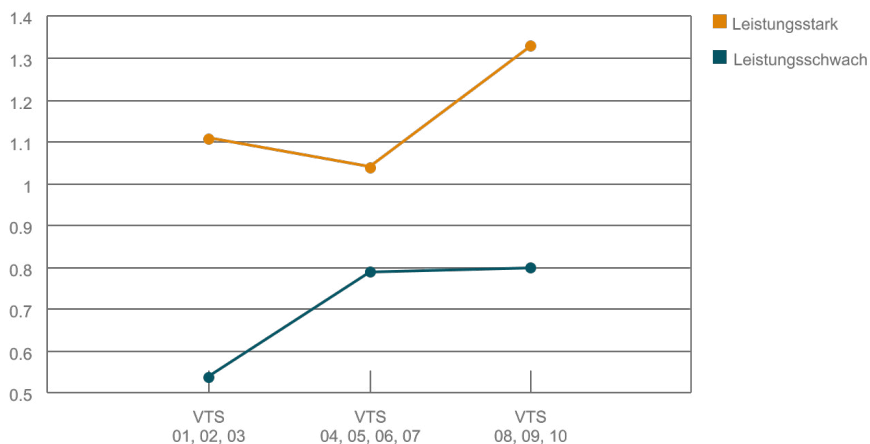


Figure 8. Mean scores of the participation of the „high performance“ and „low performance“ group over the VTS period.

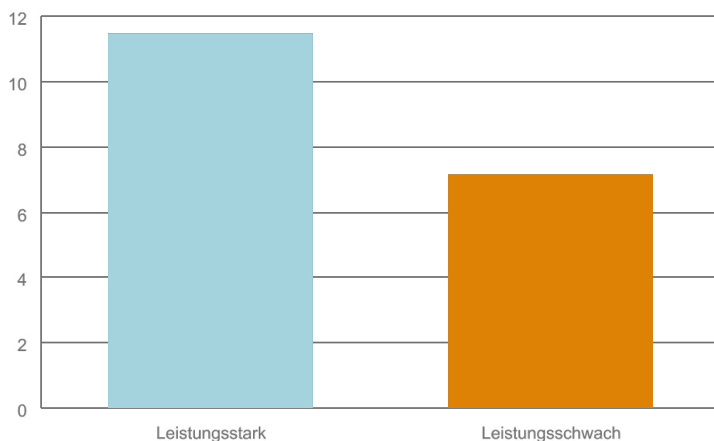


Figure 9. Mean scores of the participation of the „high performance“ and „low performance“ group and „low performance“ group

Figure 9 shows a trend that was already apparent in terms of participation over the course of the VTS units: The „high performance“ group consistently participated more frequently in the VTS discussions than the „low performance“ group. But the difference is not as significant as originally assumed.

Question 3: Which changes in the use of *Critical Thinking Skills (CTS)* are revealed by the application of *Visual Thinking Strategies (VTS)* in a classroom setting?

The data from the transcribed videographies of the first, fifth, and tenth *VTS* units formed the basis for answering this question. The videographies were analyzed using Kuckartz's (2016, p. 120) qualitative content analysis to examine the following deductive application of *CTS* categories: „Speculation“ (VERM), „Observation“ (BEOB), „Supported Observation Strong“ (BEGR_STARK), „Supported Observation Weak“ (BEGR_SCHWACH) and „Multiple Possibilities“ (ALTS). Data were analyzed with MAXQDA (Rädiker & Kuckartz, 2019). The results were translated into numbers. Figure 10 shows the categories of *CTS* in the assigned colour codes according to frequency of occurrence.

Figure 10. Categories of Critical Thinking Skills with number of codes

<i>Critical Thinking Skills</i>	Number of Codes
„Speculation“ (VERM)	376
„Observation“ (BEOB)	215
„Supported Observation Strong“ (BEGR_STARK)	49
„Supported Observation Weak“ (BEGR_SCHWACH)	40
„Multiple Possibilities“ (ALTS).	18

MAXQDA is a software for qualitative and mixed methods data analysis. It offers the possibility to visualize the sequence of the different coding categories and the number of coded segments in the documents and to display them in the form of „document portraits“ by sorting the five categories of *CTS* by colour codes and placing them next to each other in column form. In MAXQDA the size of the columns is calculated in not only according to the number of codes in each category, but also according to their length in the document. The result is implemented graphically in form of dots in the document portraits (Rädiker & Kuckartz, 2019, pp. 174–176).

A comparison of the document portraits from the first, fifth and tenth *VTS* units shows that in the tenth *VTS* unit in particular the number of circles increased in the categories „Supported observation_Strong“ (colour code red), „Supported observation_Weak“ (colour code pink) and „Multiple Possibilities“ (colour code green) (Fig. 11).

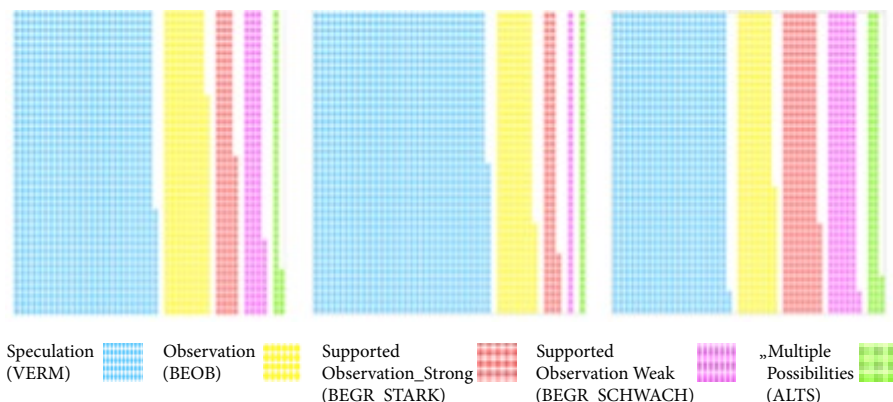


Figure 11. Document portraits from the first images of VTS-unit 1-5-10

It is striking that the number of codings in the first image of the tenth VTS unit is significantly higher in the category „Observation“ (color code yellow) with 37 than in the categories „Supported observation_Strong“ with 18 and „Supported observation_Weak“ with 9 (Fig. 12). In the document portraits, however, the numbers of dots in these categories do not show this obvious difference. The reason is that MAXQDA counts both the number of codings and the number of words used in each coding. This evidence indicates that students increasingly learn to verify their thoughts argumentatively because of VTS and thus train their oral expression skills.

Figure 12. Number of codings and number of dots in the portraits of the 1st, 5th and 10 VTS units

		Speculation		Observation		Supported Observation_STRONG		Supported Observation_WEAK		Multiple Possibilities	
		number	dots	number	dots	number	dots	number	dots	number	dots
unit 1	picture 1	86	970	66	309	11	141	13	134	4	46
	picture 2	67	1211	19	193	3	52	5	121	2	23
unit 5	picture 1	71	1180	36	252	6	88	2	40	4	40
	picture 2	50	1076	25	214	7	211	2	50	2	49
unit 10	picture 1	67	803	37	257	18	252	9	203	5	85
	picture 2	29	794	33	363	4	127	9	290	4	26

If the number of codings in the categories „Supported observation_Strong“ and „Supported observation_Weak“ is not differentiated, but summed up under the category“ Supported observation“ (BEGR), the 27 codings correspond to 455 circles. This

would rank this category ahead of the category „Observation“ in the document portrait. This finding could be another indication of the effectiveness of the *VTS*- method in terms of helping to increase students ability to give argumentative reasons for their opinions. These findings support Yenawine’s (2013, p. 107) assumption that *VTS* promotes the development of language in students. This is in line with Vygotskij claim that language is a pre-requisite for the development of cognitive abilities, because speaking and thinking are inseparable (Flammer, 2008, pp. 234–245).

Question 4: Which phenomena can be identified with the help of a qualitative-reconstructive approach to the data material?

The data from the transcribed videographies of the first, fifth, and tenth units are the basis for using open coding to identify new phenomena that provide clues to personal and group dynamic processes in *VTS*. The analysis of the written transcripts and their systematization was done with MAXQDA (Rädiker & Kuckartz, 2019). SPSS, the statistical software for the social sciences, was used for the analysis of the quantified data. Figure 13 shows the identified inductively formed categories. It turned out that the category „Verbalizing ways of thinking“ was reconstructed most frequently with 43 characteristic expressions. The category „Linking“ with its two sub-categories was coded a total of 24 times. The category „Insights“ with three sub-categories was counted less frequently with 20 codings. The categories „Discourse on method“ and „Correction of teacher’s paraphrase“ were coded 10 and 8 times, respectively.

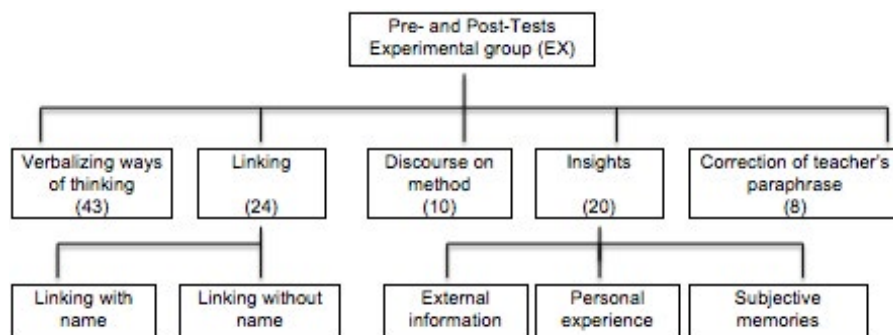


Figure 13. Overview of inductively formed categories

Out of the five categories identified, I would like to highlight two: „Verbalizing ways of thinking“ and „Linking“. Students used the category „Verbalizing ways of thinking“ most frequently, mainly from the fifth *VTS* unit onwards. This category contains codings that allow insight into the speaker’s world of thoughts. These are, for example, loudly formulated reflections, conclusions, uncertainties, self-reflections or judgements. Figure 14 shows the change over time in the form of a progres-

sion diagram: The number of codings increases from 6 in the first *VTS* unit to 19 in the fifth *VTS* unit and decreases to 18 codes in the tenth *VTS* unit.

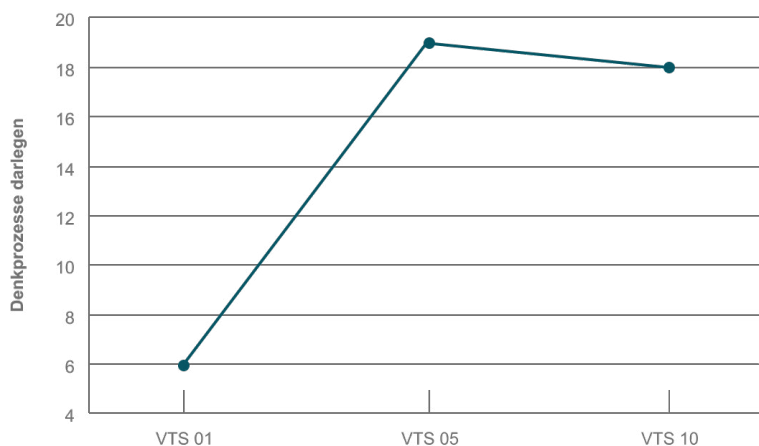


Figure 14. Progress diagram „Verbalizing ways of thinking“

In order to reveal personal insight, students need an atmosphere that is free of fear and conducive to growth. The finding of the study may be an indication that students develop self-confidence, open up, and provide personal insight over the course of subsequent *VTS* units. This category also provides indication that in the *VTS* setting the confrontation with artworks triggers irritations in students. Individual cognitive change requires developmentally appropriate stimuli that bring students into the imbalance of „disequilibrium“ and thus make them open to learning processes, according to Housen. In the *VTS* units new views were discussed in the social community of the peer group. Housen states that this is the starting point for changed ways of looking at thinking and eliminating the „disequilibrium“ (DeSantis & Housen, 1996/2000, pp. 3–7).

The category „Linking“ with the two sub-categories „Linking with name“ and „Linking without name“ is characterized by students relating their own thoughts to those of their peers during *VTS* discussions. The students refer to similar, same or contrasting ideas voiced by their colleagues, with or without mentioning the specific names.

Signs of change are evident in the students' language behaviour. The progress diagrams of „Linking with name“ (Fig. 15) and „Linking without name“ (Fig. 16) show an increase in coding over the course of the *VTS* units.

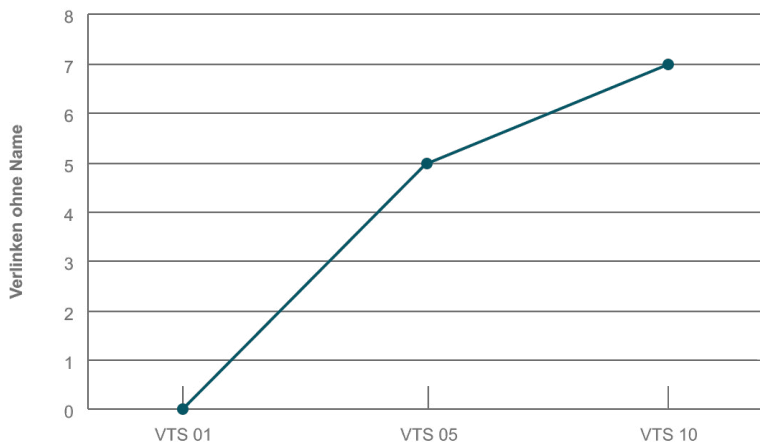


Figure 15. Progress diagram „Linking without name“

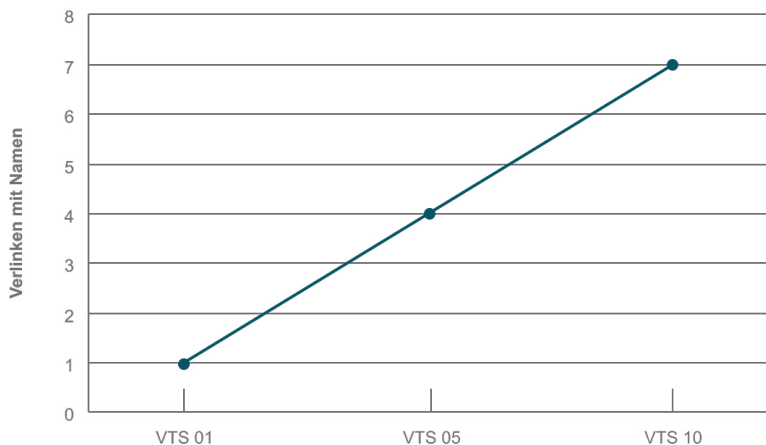


Figure 16. Progress diagram „Linking with name“

In the sub-category „Linking with name“, the number of codes increases from 1 to 4 and 7 codes from the first to the fifth and tenth VTS units, respectively, and from 0 to 5 and 7 in the „Linking without name“ sub-category. From the fifth VTS unit onwards, students begin to link their thoughts to the thoughts of fellow students. By using the technique of „Linking“ they demonstrate that they are also attentive listeners. Listening is an important component of successful communication, and this finding provides evidence that VTS trains this aspect of social competence.

CONCLUSION

The present study shows that VTS is a **didactically complex concept** (Fig. 17).

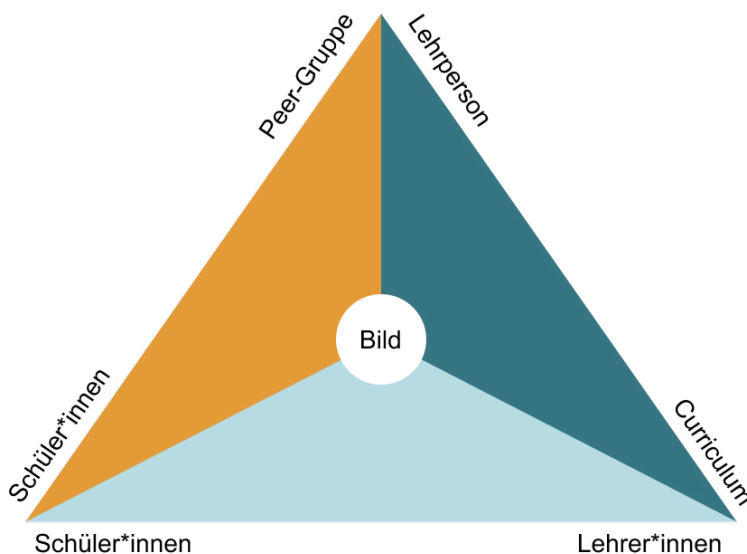


Figure 17. Didactic concept of VTS

The first didactic triangle, shaded in light blue, represents the interaction processes between the students, the teacher and the learning object „image“. Pictures are selected by the teacher according to age and developmental aspects and are the starting point for the development of visual competencies. The second didactic triangle, shaded in orange, shows the group-specific interaction processes of VTS. In the social setting of the peer group, the exchange of subjective visual experiences promotes communicative processes and cooperative-discovery learning among the students. The learning object „image“ is particularly suitable for triggering irritating visual stimuli in students. The third didactic triangle shaded in dark blue, places VTS in the context of formal education.

One finding of this study is that that **changes in critical-argumentative thinking** could be identified among students in Upper secondary education (Sekundarstufe II) after ten VTS units. For Paul & Elder (2003, p. 1) the characteristics of trained critical thinking are, in addition to actively asking questions and collecting information, interpreting and drawing conclusions, being open to alternative points of view, and the ability to communicate. An effect of VTS can be identified in the finding that students of the experimental group show a significantly more frequent use of the CTS categories „Supported Observation“ and „Speculation“ in the written post-tests than

the control group. It can be assumed that after one year of VTS intervention students already learned to reason comprehensibly and that they have applied what they have learned in the individual setting of the written post-tests. However, further empirical research is needed to generalize the relationship between the development of CTS and the factors „time of the intervention“ and „age of the students“.

Another finding is that an average of 54.60% students showed **active participation** in the VTS units. It can be assumed that the VTS setting motivates learners to actively participate in the lessons. The discussion in the peer group, in which the teacher moderates the discussion of images neutrally, supports a constructive approach to different content positions. This promotes social skills such as the ability to listen, to observe rules of conversation, and to deal with the opinions and arguments of others without prejudice. These skills are important for successful communication. Reflective interaction and sharing of knowledge and observations are indicators of every VTS process. The active participation of more than 50% of the students in the VTS units suggests that the discourse-oriented VTS setting can be seen as a component for the democratic participation of the students in the classroom (Lange & Himmelman, 2007, p. 22; Edelstein & Frank, 2009, pp. 10–11).

This study also provides evidence that VTS has the **potential to support participation of low-performance students**. In the post-test, the low-performance students of the experimental group showed significantly higher scores in the categories „Supported Observation“ and „Speculation“ compared to their pre-tests. The didactic setting of VTS, in which looking at art together and sharing experiences in the peer group are essential, may have had a positive effect on the low-performance students. Regarding participation in the VTS units, it was found that „high-performance“ students spoke more frequently in all VTS units from the beginning, but there was no significant difference between the participation of high-performance and low-performance students. Therefore VTS can be considered an instrument that motivates even low-performance students in Upper secondary school to participate. But VTS cannot compensate for the fallings in performance that have arisen in the course of schooling.

Another finding of the present study suggests that the **teacher's language behaviour has an impact on the students' language behaviour**. It was found that a technique of facilitation, namely „linking“, increasingly appeared in the students' contributions. From the fifth VTS unit onwards, they begin to link their thoughts to the thoughts of fellow students. For the verbal interaction between teacher and students in VTS, the teacher's quality of paraphrasing the comments of students is of central importance and represents a special challenge in the work with high school students. To „translate“ what is heard and to put it into a larger context requires a high level of attention and language competence on the part of the facilitator. In the VTS units, active listening is thus trained on both the teaching and learning sides. Referring to the communication model of person-centered conversation by Carl Rogers, the three behavioral characteristics for counseling and therapy, namely empathy, emotional

appreciation and congruence also apply to the social setting of VTS. Person-centered relationships enable sustainable development processes (Rogers, 1985, pp. 36–38).

The method *Visual Thinking Strategies* enables students to be creative and critical by offering spaces to think and speak freely. Visual-aesthetic education is of increasing relevance in our modern digitalized world.

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TEORIA I PRAKTYKA STRATEGII MYŚLENIA WIZUALNEGO W SZKOLNICTWIE PONADGIMNAZJALNYM

ABSTRAKT: Reprezentacje wizualne są wszechobecne we współczesnych mediach i życiu kulturalnym. W naszym zglobalizowanym świecie stanowią one ważne źródło informacji, a zarazem potężne narzędzie manipulacji. Obrazy kształtują naszą percepcję, nasze poglądy i spostrzeżenia. Strategie myślenia wizualnego (*Visual Thinking Strategies*, VTS) to koncepcja dydaktyczno-metodyczna, która promuje wizualne, poznawcze i społeczne kompetencje uczniów poprzez wspólne oglądanie dzieł sztuki dostosowanych do wieku. Celem badań własnych jest określenie możliwych skutków stosowania VTS w pracy edukacyjnej z 16-letnimi uczniami szkoły ponadgimnazjalnej (szkoła ponadgimnazjalna w Austrii) ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem odniesienia do rozwoju krytycznego myślenia, dynamiki uczestnictwa i procesów interakcji. Dane z pisemnych testów wstępnych i końcowych oraz nagrań wideo zostały przeanalizowane ilościowo w oparciu o kategoryzację dedukcyjną umiejętności krytycznego myślenia oraz kategoryzację indukcyjną z zastosowaniem kodowania otwartego. Kluczowym wnioskiem z tego projektu jest to, że VTS ma wpływ na umiejętności krytycznego myślenia uczniów szkół ponadgimnazjalnych. Co więcej, dyskusja w grupie rówieśniczej, która jest prowadzona przez facylitatora VTS, ma pozytywny wpływ na biorących w niej udział uczniów o „słabych” i „wysokich” wynikach.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: strategie myślenia wizualnego, Abigail Housen, myślenie wizualne, umiejętność krytycznego myślenia, uczestnictwo, szkolnictwo ponadgimnazjalne w Austrii

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Narrating ESOL Teachers' Experience: Critical Reflections on the Global English Language Industry

ABSTRACT: In the context of English as a global language, access to teaching and learning it has become an important issue in the industry that powers communication around the world. My research, based on the experiences of ESOL teachers, explores how they navigate the ethics of the changing global landscape of English language teaching and the inequalities involved in the global English language teaching industry. I am interested in how teachers negotiate the divergent positioning of the English language as a means of personal and local empowerment and global hegemony. The study is based on biographical interviews with ESOL teachers and their critical reflections on their practice.

KEYWORDS: TESOL, language instruction, English language, globalization

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INTRODUCTION

In this article, I focus on the experiences of English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) teachers, native speakers of English who, through their pedagogical practices, engage in intercultural communication and negotiate the divergent positioning of the English language as a means of personal and local empowerment and global hegemony. I aim to show the consequences of their ambivalent feelings toward the position of English as a global language and understand how this ambivalence influences ESOL teaching performance in a global context.

My biographical study draws on interviews with ESOL teachers whose teaching careers were specifically built and shaped by the fact that they were native English speakers. I explore how this fact challenged them in effectively helping their students, whose first language is not English and whose first culture is not the culture of English-speaking countries, in becoming international communicators. The interviews were reflective descriptions of the teachers' experiences, which included their struggles with reconciling ethical dilemmas tied to teaching English which is a global and hegemonic language. I explore how, because of the English language dominance, the global industry becomes a gateway for building teaching and learning opportunities. At the same time, I show how it simultaneously generates inequalities and contributions to the marginalization and disappearance of other languages.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE DOMINANCE

Important to my work is the larger context in which English language teaching practices emerge. In today's competitive world, the importance of English cannot be ignored. English has become the language of global commerce, international diplomacy, education, and science (Crystal, 2003; Guo & Beckett, 2007; Swaan, 2001). English is the language of the internet and social media. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization highlights that 90% of the internet's web pages are published in just 10 languages (English, Russian, Spanish, Turkish, Persian, French, German, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Mandarin) and that more than half of them (60,5 %) are in English (Ibrahimova, 2021). Because of its use as a second or for-

eign language, the total English language users account for 1.268 billion (Ibrahimova, 2021; What Are the Top 200 Most Spoken Languages? 2020).

While some languages have an advantage as a medium for communication for a majority of the world's population, others are marginalized and even disappear. An estimated 6,000 to 7,000 languages are spoken in the world today (Crystal, 2003, 2015; Fleming, 2020; Maurais & Morris, 2003). David Crystal contends that "because of major dialects, this number runs as high as 10,000" (Crystal, 2015, p. 107). Jacques Maurais explains: "The expansion and retraction of languages is a social phenomenon, which reflects a position of power. The disappearance of a language always has nonlinguistic causes, which are the result of a balance of forces." He argues that while most people are aware of the threat of environmental destruction and animal and plant species extinction, they are not aware that 90% of all languages may vanish or nearly vanish in the twenty-first century (Maurais, 2003, p. 28). The growth of some languages goes hand in hand with the extinction of others and has implications for the loss of heritage languages (Mustapha, 2014).

English is the most desired foreign language to learn (Global Industry Analysts, 2021), and it is considered a powerful international language that can allow people to be part of the globalized world. The hegemony of English is a consequence of a historical process resulting from the slave trade, colonization, and its aftermath, as well as continuing globalization that enables the language to spread and assume its hegemonic position. As Peter Ives puts it, "anyone who wishes to have control over their own conditions of life must speak English and acquiesce to these power structures" (Ives, 2010, pp. 95–96). For those who know it, English opens doors to prestige and positions of wealth. It is the medium through which the unequal distribution of wealth, resources, and know-how operate (Pennycook, 1995, p. 55). Robert Phillipson acknowledges that this dominance is "asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47).

As a global language, English has become a currency that can be traded for access to better employment, financial security, and social status in various parts of the world. According to the latest (2021) reports, in 2020, the worldwide market for English language learning was worth \$9.6 billion and is projected to reach \$27 billion by 2027 (growing at a compound annual growth rate of 15.8% over the period 2020–2027). It has become a booming growth industry valued \$2.8 billion in the U.S. alone. It is forecasted that the market in China, the world's second largest economy, will reach \$5.4 billion by the year 2027. Among two other important geographic markets are Japan and Canada, each projected to grow at 11.5% and 14.1%, respectively, over the 2020–2027 period. Within Europe, Germany is forecast to grow at approximately 12.6% CAGR. The reports also indicate that "after an early analysis of the business implications of the pandemic and its induced economic crisis, growth in the segment is readjusted to a revised 12.9% CAGR for the next 7-year period" (Global Industry Analysts, 2021).

It is in this complex socio-economic and global context that I consider the work of ESOL teachers, native speakers of English. In the following sections, I first outline my methodology. I then explore the experiences and narratives of the teachers, focusing on their critical reflection regarding inequalities embedded in their profession.

METHODOLOGY

My methodological approach is inspired by the tradition of biographical research, which draws attention to and studies a single person (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 1011). Biographical research highlights social and personal meanings and is conducive to my goal of understanding the experiences of ESOL teachers through their narratives and considering how the global context promotes their efforts to reshape their careers.

The material for this article comes from my doctoral research¹ in which I focus on how the ambivalent position of English as a global language impacts the experiences and biographies of ESOL teachers. This research, in turn, grows out of my long-term work experience in administrating teaching practicums for TESOL candidates organized jointly (2007–2018) by the International Institute for the Study of Culture and Education at the University of Lower Silesia in Wrocław, Poland, and the English Language Studies Department at the New School in New York. The interviews were collected between February 2020 and April 2021, and a total of 12 teachers participated in the study.

The main conceptual components of my study draw on three thematic areas: globalization, language, and hegemony. Framing my research in the debate on the cultural dimensions of globalization, I focus on the ways culture travels through global scapes (Appadurai, 1996) and language functions as a cultural tool of both increasing global interconnection and deepening inequalities. I ground my project in research on the cultural aspects of teaching and learning languages, in particular how social and cultural processes are negotiated in significant part by language and how language education can empower marginalized communities.

Through the interviews, I try to understand how teachers navigate teaching English, which can be perceived as a means of strengthening Western dominance but also as a means of empowering communities through foreign-language skills and knowledge. For the purposes of this article, I selected two individuals with whom I conducted in-depth interviews on their extensive teaching practice in Armenia, China, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, and Russia. These two interviews were conducted online in April 2021, and each lasted approximately two hours. The interviews were transcribed, and content was analyzed for major themes outlined below.

¹ The doctoral research was supported by the University of Lower Silesia as a part of a project that has received funding from the National Center for Research and Development under Integrated University Programs grant agreement no. POWR.03.05.00-00-Z215/17

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING AND INEQUALITY

At the time of the interview, Sean was looking for a teaching position, applying to public universities across Ireland and the United Kingdom. A year before, he had returned to Ireland from Armenia, where he established and ran a private English language school. Since returning, he had been trying to find a job in an area of expertise outside the ESOL field. He was hoping for a position as an assistant director of studies in an educational center, working with students from disadvantaged areas.

Sean started teaching English as a volunteer in Nepal in 2008. He finished high school in Ireland and wanted to take a “gap year” before moving ahead with his education. In Nepal, he helped teach English in a local school that did not have an English language teacher at all.² Three years later, Sean graduated in sociology, and in his last year of university, he decided to obtain a certificate in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL). After graduation, he went straight to work teaching English in a government program in the Republic of Georgia; his university degree and the certificate were the only requirements for getting the post. There, he taught basic English to children and teenagers at a public school. When he arrived in Supsa, a village on the Black Sea, no one in the village was speaking English. He said: “Even the English teachers did not speak very much English. The students were all beginners.”³

The next step in Sean's teaching career was a position in a local private language school in Korea. There, for a year and a half, he taught English classes to young learners. It was in Korea that Sean started to feel he was adding to the global English language industry and began to have doubts about further engagement in the practice: “In Korea, it was harvesting money from young education. My job was much more about what their work and progress appeared to their parents than what their work and progress actually was.”

There, he noticed that teaching English was actually much more than the instruction itself. He found there was a commercial push to learn English. This experience resonated with him for a long time, and by the end of his stay in Korea, he decided he did not want to be a teacher anymore; he wanted to immerse himself in a local community. At his next stop, in Kyrgyzstan, he started to learn Russian. This was a life-changing time for him: “I look back and say there was a change, absolutely change in my life, primarily due to learning Russian, the friends there and as well meeting my partner. (...) Definitely, Kyrgyzstan changed that for me because I liked my job, and I liked my students, and I learned to teach really. I learned teaching in Kyrgyzstan.”

From Kyrgyzstan, Sean moved to Kazakhstan when he wanted to combine teaching English and continuing to learn Russian. He found a job in a private company

2 He later reflected on his teaching experience in Nepal in a short memo published at *Where are they now?* Sean McGann tells us how his life has changed since his time in Nepal – Oyster (oysterworldwide.com)

3 This quotation, along with those to follow comes from an interview with Sean on April 19, 2021.

where he had a chance to teach without any pressure to pass exams. There, Sean started to like teaching again and decided to raise his teaching qualification and do the Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (DELTA).⁴ After receiving the certificate from the University of Cambridge, Sean moved to Algeria, where he set up a school that prepared Algerian students to apply for admission to British universities.

From 2018 to 2021, apart from being an academic director of the study center, he taught English for Academic Purposes, Society and Politics, and Research Methods. This experience was, again, transformative. After three years working in Algeria, Sean decided he did not want to teach the English language anymore: "I think I did damage. I was setting up a system that is not good for Algerian society. (...) There is an analogy between what I do and what the old British colonialist did when they went to India or West Africa. When I go and teach English in Central Asia or Algeria, I almost embody Western values that Western countries demonstrate to the world. The only way to not do that is to not go abroad and teach."

He comments on the university program of which he was a part: "The U.K. universities charge really high prices, so centers in Algeria, Nigeria or Vietnam have to charge high prices, which means that only the richest in the country can study. The U.K. is exporting that model of education and class-creating system that simultaneously only allows the elite to study but also gives the impression of English as a necessary step toward success. However, that necessary step is very expensive. And it is a never-ending treadmill of money harvesting."

Sean's comments revealed that he was aware of the various inequalities and the tensions he felt while teaching English abroad. He makes a direct link between contemporary ESOL teaching and the history of colonialism. He also shows awareness of how the economic structures – monopolized certificate exams, access to textbooks – that have been built up around English language learning and teaching "are an enormous contributor to inequality." As a result, Sean is changing his career. Deciding not to teach English anymore, Sean is fleeing the global economic structures that he feels create inequalities among learners and teachers.

Similarly, Kate was feeling disenchanted with her ESOL teaching experience. In particular, she found it difficult to justify her future teaching career in the English language industry. Holding a B.A. in English language and literature from the University of Brighton and an M.A. in language documentation and description from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, Kate found it difficult to sustain engaging with English language teaching. She said it was just getting harder and harder to justify her work: "I was well aware of the kind of inequalities in the industry.

4 DELTA, the Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, is an advanced qualification. It can only be taken by qualified English teachers with a few years of teaching experience who are looking to advance their qualifications. This qualification is provided by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES). (Retrieved June 7, 2021, from <https://www.tefl.org/blog/tefl-tesol-or-celta>).

Between teachers and also between students. I was just getting less and less happy with that idea.”⁵

Kate completed her Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (CELTA)⁶ between her undergraduate work and her master's program. The certificate came in handy when she finished her studies and had no job opportunities in England: “I remembered that I had this CELTA and I decided to go away for six months. (...) I found my job at *tefl.com*. There was a job in Kyrgyzstan. I liked this one because it was kind of a bit unusual.”

In Kyrgyzstan, she taught general English classes in a private language school. That teaching experience led her to search and apply for a job in new places. She moved to Yakutsk in Siberia, where she taught general English to children and teenagers. She also led a conversation class for university staff members. From Yakutsk, Kate moved to Shanghai. At that point, she had been teaching for about three years, and she started to specialize in a university-age group, teaching academic English. In 2018, Kate moved to teach in Algeria, where she was working with local and international management teams to set up and run one of the British Study Centers. The process involved preparing and implementing a multi-disciplinary curriculum that would enable students to meet the entrance requirements for undergraduate and postgraduate university study in the United Kingdom. She was teaching Algerian students who wanted to go to a university in the United Kingdom. This quote from Kate illustrates the struggle she experienced as an ESOL teacher there. She was experienced enough to be aware of the necessity for people all over the world to learn English, but it also became apparent to her that there were inequalities entangled in the process: “I became very aware of not just the value of English, but the perceived value of a degree from an English university. I have always been very conscious of language endangerment, which obviously goes hand in hand with colonialism. I have always been aware that the job is somewhat at odds with what I have studied. It is quite an interesting contrast, but then at the same time, I am also aware that in some cases, you are giving people opportunities as well.” In her comments, Kate shows her awareness of the double-sidedness involved in ESOL teaching. On the one hand, by teaching English, she contributes to her students' empowerment, while on the other hand, she promotes the further spread of the dominant language strengthening its hegemonic position. Ultimately, she felt these tensions could not be reconciled.

After leaving Algeria, Kate decided she did not want to teach anymore and needed to retrain. From 2020 to 2021, she was a student teaching assistant at an Irish university. Currently, she is a Ph.D. candidate in linguistics. “I came to enjoy teaching much more towards the end of my time doing it (...). It is nice to find that I do actually enjoy teaching. It might just be the subject teaching that I need to change.”

5 This quotation, along with those to follow comes from an interview with Kate on April 21, 2021.

6 CELTA stands for Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, a qualification provided by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES). (Retrieved June 7, 2021, from <https://www.tefl.org/blog/tefl-tesol-or-celta>).

Both Sean and Kate have decided to stop teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages because they saw themselves as instruments in furthering hegemony and deepening global inequalities embedded in the ESOL industry and profession. Sean believes his status as a native English speaker has opened more doors on his path to becoming an ESOL teacher: “If you go to Asian countries, you can have a Black American or a Black English person, and they are not considered as native teachers. (...) The fact of being a native teacher has, without doubt, opened a thousand more doors than it has for a Polish person who is a hundred times more qualified and more capable than me. I will get a job before that person in many, many cases.” His reflection shows an awareness of the prejudicial and, in fact, racist system of ESOL teaching – native English-language speakers are more valued not because they would be necessarily better teachers but because of where they were born and where they came from.

Kate’s confidence as an experienced and competent professional was also challenged by the inequities and injustices embedded in the institutional approach to employing ESOL teachers. She comments on inequalities in treatment and pay between native and non-native speakers that have provided her with some confrontational experiences that influenced her view on the ESOL teaching profession. In Yakutsk, she was working in a very small school with only one other teacher, a native Russian who spoke English very well and who was also a well-trained primary school teacher. Kate was aware that her Russian colleague was a much better teacher, but it was her who was being paid three or four times more: “The difference in the way that foreign teachers and native teachers would be treated in that school was really bad. (...) it was awful, especially because I am not good at teaching kids; I have got no training and experience at teaching kids. But the biggest earner for the school was parents wanting to send their kids to be taught by native speakers. So that was what I ended up doing because that was just the most they could get to have me.”

Kate’s story shows how in ESOL teaching, local teachers are often considered inferior to native speakers – illuminating the entrenched injustice of the global TESOL industry. She adds: “I have always found it quite a backwards logic, preferencing just someone who just speaks English natively. Certainly, a native English speaker who has been trained in linguistics or in teaching would be a very good teacher, but the same thing goes for a non-native English speaker who has had that training as well. I definitely do not think there would be any particular natural advantage for native speakers.” Her view on the profession has been challenged by “the ideal native speaker” TESOL industry promotes. Teachers coming from non-English speaking countries always aspire to be like native speakers but are considered to never be as good as them (Waddington, 2022).

Being aware of all the inequalities in the industry, both Sean and Kate were finding it increasingly hard to justify teaching EFL: “We were just getting less and less happy with that idea.” The growing discomfort in promulgating English – and a certain type of English – was a reason they decided to shift their careers. They were aware of the unspoken benefits of accepting jobs they were offered merely because

of the type of passport they had, but they could not ignore the problem that they remained more central and important than their students. At the beginning of their careers, the main inspiration and deciding factor to teach was the opportunity to travel the world. The travel component is very important for many novice ESOL teachers (Jakubiak, 2020). Unskilled teachers work in exotic places without any awareness of social and economic inequalities, without critical reflection about their own culture and resources in relation to the local communities they teach. Sean and Kate evolved from teachers coasting in Nepal or Kyrgyzstan with no real interest in the geopolitical and economic issues surrounding them to teachers with a critical eye on teaching ESOL. Findings from their interviews complicate the common view on the innocence of ESOL teachers' work and show the inequalities involved with the global language spread.

Teachers who have spent time preparing for the ESOL profession acknowledge that knowing the language is, of course, important but not enough. A teacher needs to know how people learn and how language is shaped in society because an English language teacher especially does not teach just grammar or vocabulary but also the semiotic life system that people use to relate to one another.

CONCLUSION

The market value of English is associated with the symbolic power of language. English has grown and expanded so much in the last few decades, and its range of action has become so wide that the incentive to study other languages has decreased (Crystal, 2003). My interviews with Sean and Kate provide evidence that experiences in ESOL teaching both enhanced and frustrated their attitudes toward the English language-teaching industry and influenced their future career choices. Their biographies show that they were not blind to the fact they were teaching the global and hegemonic language. Data showed that they drew on a range of experiences gained from different jobs in eight countries. This teaching experience contributed to their critical view of learning and teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. The teaching practice (six consecutive years for Kate and five for Sean) challenged many of their existing beliefs. Both of them revealed that they were disappointed in many aspects of teaching, particularly struggles with injustice and the issue of economic access to learning English which reveals and perpetuates global inequalities.

The findings from these interviews highlight important factors that contribute to thinking critically about English language learning and teaching. The data show that Sean and Kate's difficulties with the industry are an essential part of their identity as language educators. Both had to reconcile the rewards and challenges. By drawing on their personal experiences, they recognized that teaching English as a global language has its benefits but also disadvantages. They recognized that they helped their students gain valuable and relevant skills and competences, but at the same time, they found it difficult to face growing disparities between those who have the opportunity to learn the language and those who do not.

Languages have a decisive impact on issues of equality, diversity, and sustainability in local and global contexts. Language is a key factor when it comes to access to education and socio-economic mobility in multilingual societies. Not all languages have equal value and importance. English is capital that has been invested much more than other languages whose status is marginalized. The economy of English affects income and trade, as well as the costs and benefits of language planning options and the preservation of minority languages (Maurais, 2003; Pennycook, 1995).

English is an important passport to success. The demand for English as a commodity in the international market of foreign languages, the size of the industry that supplies it, and the shares of gross national product that are spent on the global level to acquire it, prove not only its economic but also its societal value (Swaan, 2001). In the context of rising expectations, the acquisition of English is perceived as a *sine qua non* for participation in economic growth. The ESOL teachers I have interviewed in my research show their awareness of the benefits and contributions they make to their students' success while at the same time demonstrate critical self-reflection regarding inequalities embedded in the profession.

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**DOŚWIADCZENIA NAUCZYCIELI JĘZYKA ANGIELSKIEGO JAKO OBCEGO:
KRYTYCZNE REFLEKSJE NA TEMAT GLOBALNEGO RYNKU JĘZYKA
ANGIELSKIEGO**

ABSTRAKT: W kontekście języka angielskiego jako języka globalnego, dostęp do jego nauczania i uczenia się stał się ważną kwestią na rynku napędzającym komunikację całego świata. Moje badania, oparte na doświadczeniach nauczycieli języka angielskiego dla osób mówiących innymi językami (English for Speakers of Other Languages, ESOL), pokazują, jak poruszają się oni po kwestiach etycznych związanych ze zmieniającym się globalnym środowiskiem nauczania języka angielskiego oraz nierównościami związanymi z globalnym rynkiem nauczania języka angielskiego. Interesuje mnie, jak nauczyciele negocjują rozbieżne pozycjonowanie języka angielskiego będącego, z jednej strony, środkiem osobistego i lokalnego upelnocnienia, a z drugiej globalnej hegemonii krajów anglojęzycznych. Badanie opiera się na wywiadach biograficznych z nauczycielami języka angielskiego jako obcego i krytycznych refleksjach na temat ich praktyki.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: TESOL, instrukcja językowa, język angielski, globalizacja

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Piano Practice in Music Teacher Education: A Cyclical Stage Learning Model

ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to present and to discuss a specific model of self-similar cyclical practical piano learning in music teacher education. For this purpose, a spiral, hierarchical development model based on Bruner (1960/1977) and Kraler & Schratz (2012), didactically specified in Blum (2019), is implemented in the field of piano pedagogy. The findings will be used to infer measures for the teaching of practical piano in the context of initial music teacher education. From this, innovative longer-term perspectives are derived for the specific role and function of the “practical piano” within the framework of the further development and professionalisation of music teacher training.

KEYWORDS: piano pedagogy, practical piano, professionalisation, music teachers training

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INTRODUCTION

The process of learning to play the piano is quite well understood, from traditional pianistic to current instrumental pedagogical aspects (Varró, 1958; Martienssen, 1987; Ernst, 2012; Mahlert, 2011). Nowadays, music teachers need specific skills deviating from what is usually learned in the context of traditional (and foremost classic-oriented) piano curricula. They have to accompany pupils in singing, with popular songs usually substituting chords, rhythm, solos, and patterns, for example. As confirmed by multiple feedback from schools, these specific educational objectives cannot be achieved sufficiently within the existing music teacher education programme. The reason is that the students are not able to acquire sufficient theoretical, auditive, and pianistic/technical skills by combining the respective individual courses on their own. Consequently, graduates often lack corresponding performance skills, which causes dissatisfaction and lower performance in their job as music teachers. A successful education, focusing on school-related stylistic or artistic performative aspects, has to guarantee a holistic methodical-didactical integration of all skills required. New approaches to overcome the historically grown mindset in content-related separate subjects are desperately needed.

This article shows and discusses the methodological and conceptual bases of a learning model (Blum, 2019) for sustainable professionalisation in piano practice. Here, the core is formed systematically by profession-specific learning and development processes in the area of practical piano playing in schools, arranged in a learning-side teaching concept (Schratz et al., 2018) for action-oriented varying attention. In addition to a detailed characterisation of the relevant fields of learning, the specific learning processes within it will be systematically described, based on the most current concepts of learning, with special consideration of educational science and subject didactic aspects.

The raw data of an ongoing study but also student feedback already confirm essential aspects or assumptions of the model. Thus, it becomes apparent that the focus on self-accompanied singing (on the piano) is initially perceived as a great challenge but soon is a fairly easily manageable and motivating measure oriented towards the professional field. The continuous reflection and networking of auditory, music theory, and pianistic aspects also result in significant improvements within a few months, both in the quick development and the performative realisation on the piano. The

focus on the model-specific practice and learning processes is usually perceived as unfamiliar or even irritating at first, but soon leads to a change of perspective and subsequently to an increase in the students' self-confidence in relation to the professional field.

TRADITIONAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF PLAYING THE PIANO

Central aspects of current instrumental education programmes are based on the concept of virtuosity that emerged at the beginning of the 19th century, whereby the resulting methodological-didactic and formal-institutional developments and changes were and are viewed critically in some quarters (Gellrich, 1993; Kruse-Weber, 2005; Vom Stein, 2019). As an effect of growing artistic and instrumental requirements and the resulting teaching necessities, differentiation in terms of content and form or specialisation in instrumental training towards new subdisciplines took place in the 19th century, e.g., music theory, ear training, composition, later early music, new music (Blum, 2019). Instead of all-encompassing music lessons by a teacher, formal or institutional training gradually emerged with learning structures based on the division of labour, carried out by differently qualified specialists. In this context, the development and establishment of piano practice must be seen as a subject field that is independent in terms of content and form. Until then, it was assumed that the acquisition of professionally relevant artistic and practical skills could be sufficiently achieved through the acquisition of certain knowledge in piano, organ, or singing.

The prevalence of jazz and popular music, just as the increasing demand for people-oriented music to be taken into account in music lessons, gradually drifted apart of professional field requirements and training goals from the 1960s onwards. In the 1970s, this favoured the emergence and establishment of new, specific teaching forms, such as piano practice or practical piano (Bialek, 2012, p. 12). Initially characterised by traditional content, such as cadence playing, figured bass playing, sight-reading, or transposing, a new orientation towards jazz-pop took shape so that piano practice (at school) is now predominantly taught by teachers with an artistic jazz-pop background.

Even if there is an improvement in terms of content to be stated, the basic methodical access continues to persist in traditional collaborative approaches. Accordingly, traditional piano lessons are formally regarded as self-contained training sections, just like music theory or ear training. At the same time, it is expected that practical aspects of piano playing, such as sight-reading, transposition, or song accompaniment, now focusing on popular music, can be learned easily and quickly in specially created course forms.

METHODICAL AND DIDACTIC BASIC MODEL IN PIANO PRACTICE

The starting point for the considerations made here is the observation among students and frequent feedback from school practice that teachers do not have suffi-

cient skills in accompanying school music, especially popular music. Deficits in this area often lead to reduced self-confidence and a certain professional dissatisfaction. A closer look shows that a sustainable professionalisation of this core competence can only be achieved through the profound acquisition of the prerequisite (partial) skills. Therefore, as a central artistic-practical competence and a prerequisite for self-confident musical action in the classroom, singing accompanied by the piano was placed at the centre of teaching. The introduction to arranging the song material independently, using relevant software, and a public concert at the end of each semester have proven to be further model-defining teaching measures. In this way, the students can already gain experience in the first semester, with a view to their future part as the artistic-pedagogically authentic role models in the practical field of schools.

The special features resulting from this lesson design are brought together below in a multi-level methodological-didactic model. In addition to imparting adequate practical piano skills, the aim is a holistic artistic and pedagogical personality development of the students. The methodological and conceptual structure of the model under discussion, in particular the learning processes operating in it, is largely based on “cyclical learning approaches” (Whitehead, 1929/1967), “passive vs. fundamental ideas” (Bruner, 1960/1977), and “The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two” (Miller, 1956).

Structural and content reference framework

The implementation of the model presented here takes place at the Department of Music Education of the Mozarteum University in Innsbruck as part of the “practical piano” course (one-to-one artistic lesson, one hour in the first and second semester), embedded into the compulsory module “artistic-practical piano” of the bachelor’s degree in music education (Mitteilungsblatt Nr. 48/2021). Different requirements in the major piano, compulsory piano, or major jazz-pop piano as well as heterogeneous musical and technical prior knowledge and dispositions of the students (Steiner, 2012, pp. 181–182) are the decisive teaching-condition factors.

The following central fields of action and learning objectives are derived from this:

Self-accompanied singing as a core area in terms of content and method

In order to sensitise and deepen the auditory and theoretical skills, songs are usually worked on without notes. Right from the start, pianistic and artistic-performing aspects are brought together in terms of learning methods with a view to the training goals.

The appropriation of popular music as a model-establishing factor

Popular music proves to be particularly suitable in terms of content and method for practical implementation. Clear musical structures (stanzas, memorable melo-

dies, mostly simple harmonics), chord symbols, and improvisational components create an ideal learning environment for conveying auditory and structural comprehension and implementation, as well as phrasing and touch or playing technique.

Note-based appropriation of traditional piano literature as a model-complementing factor

Also in the service of holistic music learning is music reading – based on traditional piano literature.

In summary, the methodological fields of action are basically touching on the following areas:

- » structure and development of an adequate playing technique (especially with “Piano Minor”)
- » increase and deepening of auditory skills
- » conveying a note-based understanding of theory in an auditory setting

In this context, piano practice stands for a curricular and content-related deepening and networking within the music teacher education in several ways:

- » piano practice as a content-methodical platform for piano-related courses
- » piano practice as a content-methodical application and consolidation field of music-theory-related courses
- » piano practice as an introduction to or field of application for dealing with technical and electronic aids
- » piano practice as a basis for developing a music-pedagogical personality

Areas of learning for piano practice

Before the central learning processes in piano practice are described in detail, it is necessary to examine what is actually to be learned. This requires precise knowledge of the relevant learning material or the teaching content, particularly from the learner’s point of view. A more accurate description of the learning object has so far been achieved by identifying and defining the corresponding learning fields (Fig. 1):

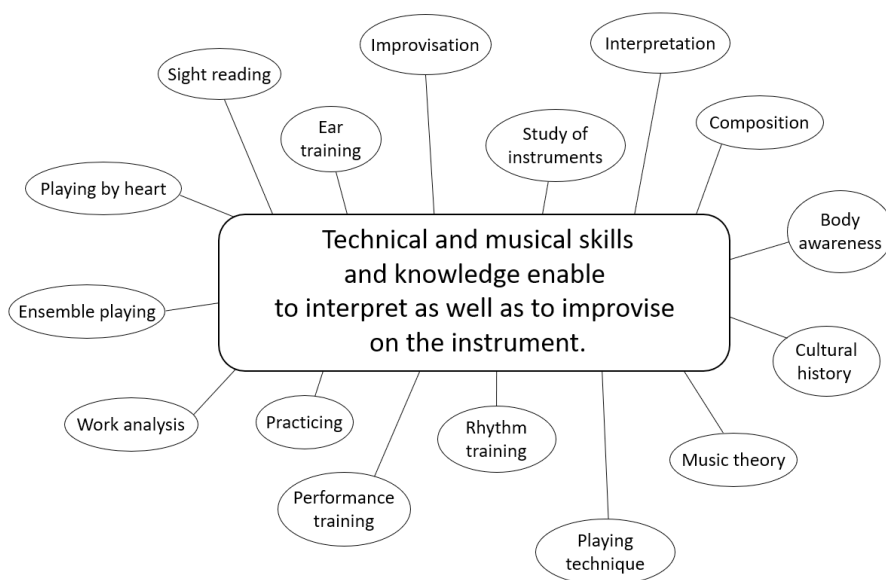


Figure 1. Instrumental playing as a central learning domain and associated learning areas (Busch & Metzger, 2016, p. 233)

The aim of this presentation is to show all the musical skills and knowledge that are necessary to make music successfully. But there is no indication of how the multitude of learning fields can or should interact in terms of learning methods. It is also evident that necessary content additions to curricula usually occur in new, specially designed course formats, accompanied by a further specialisation of the respective teachers. Accordingly, there are some, also historically grown, titular congruences between course formats and learning fields presented (e.g., music theory, ear training, improvisation). However, this has led to an increase in content and complexity in music pedagogical teacher training, which students often perceive as hardly manageable.

In a first step, therefore, a reduction of complexity is undertaken by condensing all learning fields relevant to the learning object into three fundamental learning field areas. Unlike the traditional learning fields, which tend to describe teaching/learning content, the learning field areas are also defined by a fundamental methodological-didactic function:

Hearing (auditory competence building)

Learning to play a musical instrument (singing) is closely linked to acquiring the necessary auditory skills. In addition to the formalised mediation (in special courses,

such as ear training), a practical deepening and expansion of auditory skills on the piano (or instrument, singing) are necessary and desirable.

Therefore, *hearing* (development of listening skills) as a cross-cutting subject is consistent with all teaching measures. The decisive factor here is the consistent reflection of analytical and structure-related aspects of listening based on the main teaching fields of action (exercises, songs, piano pieces). By this means, the process of immediate, aesthetic-musical listening is given a structural embedding and deepening. In addition, auditory control and steering mechanisms involved in musical playing and learning processes are identified and expanded as further qualitative components of listening. Consequently, the purely auditory appropriation of songs has a central methodological-conceptual implementation function.

Movement (physiological foundation)

Profound practical piano playing requires a proper pianistic foundation. Traditionally, certain previous knowledge must be proven in an artistic entrance examination to be deepened during the course (piano minor). Based on that, the practical piano lessons are intended to impart more or less exclusively school-specific skills.

Good piano technique is generally equated with fast scales or powerful chord progressions. At the same time, the performance of slow movements is seen as a greater musical challenge, despite supposedly or actually lower technical requirements. In addition, timbre, touch, or the musically successful execution of slow passages are generally regarded as artistic attributes of pianistic excellence.

On the other hand, successful practical piano playing in music lessons is also measured against artistic-performative criteria, which contain different stylistic content but are fundamentally based on the same pianistic principles.

Therefore, the successful teaching of practical piano playing is basically to be equated with the goal of a comprehensive pianistic-technical foundation. The technical requirements of the school-relevant content, which are simple compared to the traditional repertoire, also favour a comprehensive focus of the teaching/learning processes on the fundamental teaching of the basic pianistic aspects. For this purpose, the smallest musical units are systematically identified, prepared on the learning side, and conveyed with the perspective of developing a comprehensive pianistic understanding on the part of the students. In addition to technical and physical aspects, this includes in particular musical and performative-related objectives of (practical) piano playing. Thus, in the broadest sense, *movement* also stands for successful, self-assured artistic-pedagogical performance in music lessons.

Understanding (structural foundation)

To recognise and comprehend musical structures based on their inherent laws is a basic prerequisite for successful performing, not only in the field of piano practice.

Today, the acquisition of music-theoretical skills takes place in specially designed courses (music theory). The idea is to make music theory knowledge available to be called upon or used elsewhere, especially in practical piano lessons. However, it has

been shown that the students' theoretical knowledge required is often insufficient or at least cannot be adequately applied in the specific learning situation. But it is precisely musical learning or playing processes such as sight-reading, memorisation, auditory perception, or improvisation that require deeper knowledge of music theory.

Furthermore, *understanding* does mean not only the acquisition of a comprehensive understanding of theory but also the constant reflection on one's own actions or the examination of the various aspects of musical learning on the part of teachers and learners. For this purpose, the methodological-didactic implications of the particular learning matter are identified or reflected in the specific musical contents (exercises, songs, piano pieces) so that all facets of musical learning can be deepened on the learning side.

This also includes the reflection of the three focused learning field areas, i.e., *hearing*, *understanding*, and *movement*, in their content-related and methodological network so that *understanding* also has a connecting or coordinating function within the focused learning field areas – on the meta-level.

Below, the traditional learning fields are conceptually embedded with regard to the goals of piano practice education (Fig. 2):

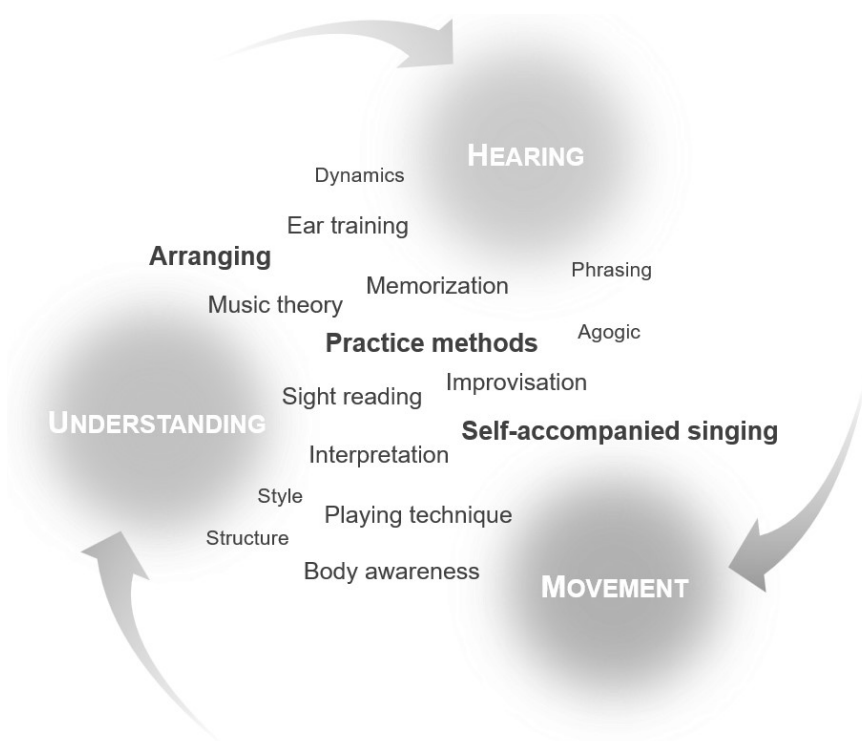


Figure 2. Focused learning field areas (Blum, 2019)

Instead of a purely content-based or taxonomic arrangement of the relevant content (Fig. 1), all musical learning fields basically enter into a methodical-didactic relationship with each other. The aim is the basic assignment of all learning content to the main learning field areas. At the same time, the learning field areas that emerge from this are continuously consolidated and expanded, in a holistic manner, following Bruner's concept of fundamental ideas (1960/1977).

In the following, based on the methodological-didactic understanding of the learning object characterised here, the learning/teaching processes taking place in it are described in more detail.

CYCLICALLY VARIABLE LEARNING PROCESSES IN PIANO PRACTICE

On the basis of the triad *exercises*, *songs*, and *piano pieces*, the acquisition of the occupation-specific competences in the area of practical school piano playing takes place by means of self-similar, cyclically variable learning processes (Fig. 3).

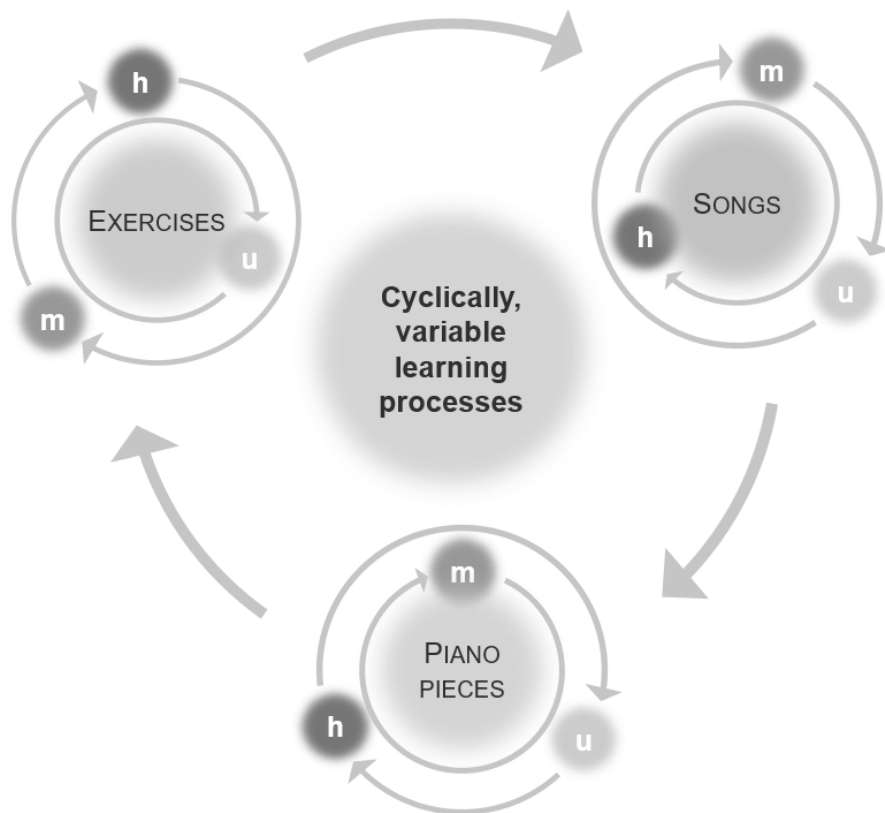


Figure 3. Cyclical variation model for the learning process in the practical piano (Blum, 2019)

With special attention to the three focused learning field areas of *listening* (h), *movement* (m), and *understanding* (u), musical or pianistic skills are defined, expanded, and developed holistically according to artistic, aesthetic, and technical criteria in the context of auditory and theoretical competences. Considering the heterogeneous musical prerequisites and dispositions of the students, the practical implementation takes place through special exercises and practice-relevant song material. The focus of the lessons is on the individually oriented, continuous networking of all practice and learning fields, whereby all playing and practice processes are carried out without sheet music. In addition, selected piano pieces are worked out according to sheet music, whereby the focus is on the learning-methodical networking with the auditory and theoretical aspects in the sense of the focused learning field areas.

The awareness and deepening of the basic auditory, music-theoretical and technical skills in their methodical interrelationship are based on three specially developed core exercises (cadence exercise, chord exercise, and blues exercise). Here, the music theory reflection, but also phrasing or musical design, take on a high priority right from the start.

With special consideration of stylistic aspects, the auditory development is primarily initiated and methodologically founded through the acquisition of songs selected by the students. The introduction to self-accompanied singing or mastering the necessary coordinative requirements determines the methodical action. The focus of the acquisition of the songs, which mostly come from the area of popular music, is the establishment of analytically and music-theoretically reflected listening strategies. Special attention is also paid to touch, phrasing, as well as mental aspects, and body awareness. The development of selected piano pieces on the basis of structural and pianistic reflection, including aspects of memorising, rounds off the content-related methodical spectrum.

Students are motivated to use digital technologies (arranging software). Based on the competence to perform confidently, they prepare individually to perform at a public semester concert ("voice & piano"). Thus, they get early self-reflective feedback on their school-practical skills. The contextual frame of reference for piano practice in an advanced learning stage is presented below (Fig. 4):

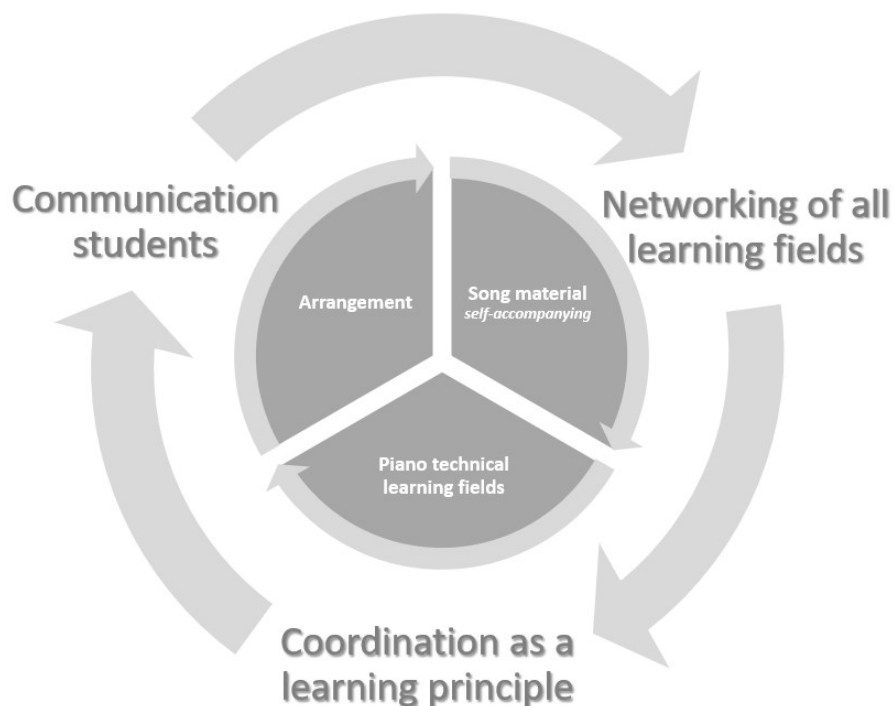


Figure 4. Content-related frame of reference – advanced level (Blum, 2019)

All learning processes are integrated, continuously adapted, and, if necessary, corrected with regard to the comprehensive requirements of school piano playing. Quality and process are determined by individual learning factors, which are recognised, internalised, and further developed through continuously pointing out cross-connections or multiple transfers between the learning areas (exercises, songs, piano pieces).

Successful piano playing is largely based on corresponding coordinative processes on the mental level, which is particularly evident in polyphonic music. In addition, chamber music, self-accompanied singing, as well as practicing or learning in general also require coordinative skills or constant preparation and organisation, starting with the individual learning step through to musical performance. Coordination thus not only stands for a partial aspect within the focused learning field areas but also takes on an action-guiding function within the model.

Practice and learning principles taught in this way establish a musical-didactic self-understanding that goes far beyond practical piano playing in school. The joint music-making of the students, exclusively on the basis of self-created arrangements, also has potential with a view to class music-making, but also in terms of peer review.

The implementation of the learning model outlined here depends directly on the shape and quality of the individual learning steps (Fig. 5).

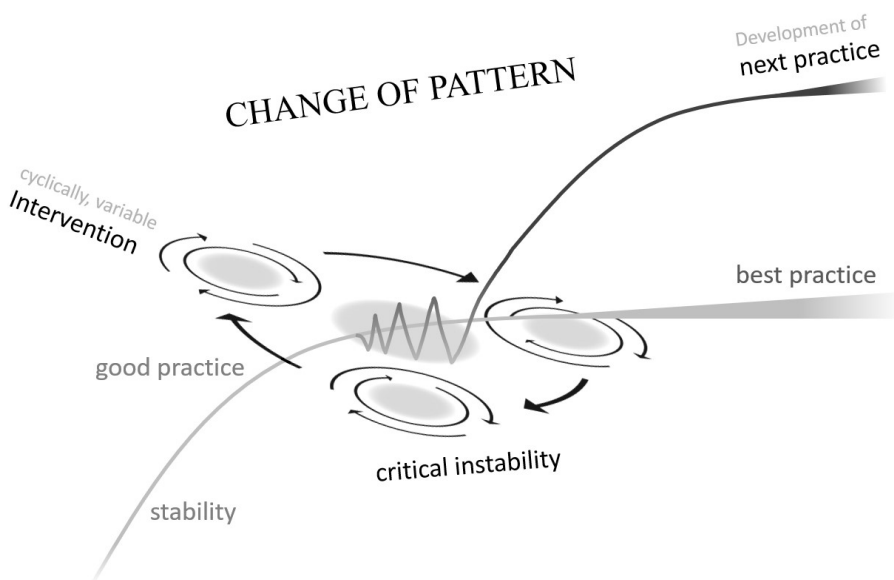


Figure 5. Change of pattern (Kraler & Schratz, 2012)

Based on the reduction of complexity outlined above, the individual learning steps and their methodical design move into the focus of teaching. The main concern here is to find suitable starting points for teaching measures. This is often accompanied by irritation or critical instability on the part of the students. Therefore, it is crucial to continue or deepen teaching-side interventions in a cyclical and variable way to subsequently enable a change of pattern on the students' side. For this purpose, musical-technical problems must be identified, analysed, and methodically-didactically classified according to the focused learning field areas. Further deepening is primarily done by means of variation and transfer. Here, the goal of a complete acquisition of the respective songs recedes into the background. The latter is primarily left to the students' own responsibility, in the sense of establishing and deepening an adequate self-concept in preparation for the later professional field.

CONCLUSION

Based on the model presented here, an empirical investigation will be conducted. All the first-year music teacher students (approx. 15) enrolled in the practical piano course will take part in the study. Data collection will take place over a one-year/two-semester period at the Department for Music Education in Innsbruck/Mozartium University. The study is based on a mixed methods research strategy. The idea

is to collect data from three perspectives, the students' and the teachers' points of view as well as an "objective" perspective using videography. Every student starts the lesson with a *five-minute freewriting session* on the progress and challenges within the last week of practicing. The lesson ends with a *five-minute standardised interview* reflecting on the lesson, specific learning outcomes, and challenges. The lessons of five students will be *video recorded* over the whole period. Furthermore, the students write topic-focused diaries, reflecting on their skill development during the year, and complete a *semester questionnaire* at the end of each semester.

The lecturer (Reinhard Blum) writes *standardised postscripts* after every lecture, describing the progress from the teachers' point of view. The freewriting format, five-minute interview, videography, diary format, and semester questionnaire have been developed and piloted during the winter term of 2019/2020 in cooperation with Prof. Mag. Dr. Christian Kraler from the Department of Teacher Education and School Research at the University of Innsbruck.

All written data and interviews will be transferred to Word. Data analysis will take place using MaxQDA to process text and videos. Using a mixed method strategy, the texts will be analysed in a qualitative way based upon Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 2010). Pre-/post-scripts are based on Likert scales reflecting the model described above and can thus be processed statistically. The videos will be analysed using a mixed approach based on criteria (learning biography, musical socialization, practice time spent, specific musical content exercises, songs, piano pieces, arrangements, with associated competence levels and progress status) and the cyclical dimensions of the stage model.

Thus, a triple picture of the specific learning progress emerges:

- 1) The individual progress of 15 students based on their own and the teachers' reflections.
- 2) Five case studies adding in-depth video analysis of the students' progress.

These two approaches then serve as a basis for identifying general learning and competence development patterns on an interpersonal level within the described setting.

The aim is to identify and reconstruct the micro-dynamic learning sequences that contribute to unfolding the specific learning processes in detail with regard to the professionalisation processes in the field of piano practice. Specifically, it is to be investigated to what extent it makes sense to include music-theoretical and auditory contents in practical piano lessons as well as artistic or traditional pianistic aspects.

This could afford a new understanding of the role or cooperation of practical, artistic, and theoretic subjects within the curriculum – in a context of limited resources. The results will then be operationalised, elaborated, and conceptualised in the context of the music teacher training curriculum.

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PRAKTYKA FORTEPIANOWA W KSZTAŁCENIU NAUCZYCIELI MUZYKI: MODEL CYKLICZNEGO ETAPOWEGO UCZENIA SIĘ

ABSTRAKT: Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie i omówienie specyficznego modelu samopodobieństwa cyklicznej praktycznej nauki gry na fortepianie w kształceniu nauczycieli muzyki. W tym celu do pedagogiki fortepianu wdrożono spiralny, hierarchiczny model rozwoju oparty na ujęciu Brunera (1960/1977) i Kraler & Schratz (2012) a dydaktycznie sprecyzowanego przez Bluma (2019). Wyniki badań

zostaną wykorzystane do opracowania środków dla nauczania praktycznego fortepianu w kontekście wstępnego kształcenia nauczycieli muzyki. Z tego wynikają innowacyjne, długoterminowe perspektywy dla specyficznej roli i funkcji „praktycznego fortepianu” w ramach dalszego rozwoju i profesjonalizacji kształcenia nauczycieli muzyki.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: pedagogika fortepianu, praktyka fortepianowa, profesjonalizacja, kształcenie nauczycieli muzyki

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Quality Education in the Context of the Sustainable Development Goals: An Interpretation Model

ABSTRACT: This theoretical paper explores the concept of quality education in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) since the operationalization of this concept remains challenging. A clarification of related concepts was explored through literature analysis, and the concept of quality education was found to be elusive. Consequently, I suggest two interpretations of quality education. Firstly, as a highly desirable aim, i.e., the fourth SDG in Agenda 2030, and, secondly, as formal education (structured education system) of high quality as a means to promote sustainability. In addition, I proposed an interpretation model by identifying pillars, or attributes, of quality education for sustainability. However, further investigation is required into how these two interlaced interpretations and the proposed model could support stakeholders in a global context to better understand quality education in terms of a sustainable future.

KEYWORDS: equity, inclusivity, indicator, lifelong learning, quality education, quality, sustainability, target

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1. INTRODUCTION

“The evidence is unequivocal: education saves lives and transforms lives; it is the bedrock of sustainability” (Bokova, as cited by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2021a). This statement by Irina Bokova, the former Director-General of UNESCO, emphasizes the significance of education for a sustainable future. UNESCO fosters the realization of the United Nations’ (UN’s) fourth Sustainable Development Goal (SDG4), namely “quality education.” The UN advocates the prioritization of SDG4, among 17 other SDGs, by member governments worldwide (UN, 2018).

Both the UN and UNESCO described quality education in the context of the SDGs. According to the former, SDG4 aims to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (UN, 2015, p. 19). UNESCO (2015) asserted that quality education promotes learning that is deliberate, intentional, purposeful, and organized in the defining resource.

While both these organizations are committed to quality education, the operationalization thereof remains a challenge in the global agenda to reach the SDGs by 2030 (i.e., Agenda 2030) (Sayed & Moriarty, 2020). This can be due to the vagueness of the quality education concept because of the global and diverse nature of the SDGs. It is, therefore, open to interpretation according to specific settings (Unterhalter, 2019), and this uncertainty in cross-cultural understandings may lead to challenges in implementing, developing, or enhancing quality education worldwide (Kaur, 2017). In light of this, I discuss different interpretations of quality education and related concepts in the context of the SDGs. I also analyze the meaning of quality education through an SDG lens, focusing on sustainability. Subsequently, I propose an overall interpretation model (not definition per se) suitable for a global context.

Quality, referred to as something excellent or exceptional, formal education (or structured education systems) of high quality, and SDG4 labeled as “quality education” were integrated with my analysis. First, I discuss the importance of quality education for sustainability. Second, I suggest two interpretations of quality education resulting from an in-depth literature analysis. Finally, I propose a comprehensive interpretation model to represent the pillars of quality education. The three main pillars represent the three attributes of quality education as an SDG in the model.

The sub-pillars represent the attributes of the second interpretation of formal quality education to promote sustainability.

2. SUSTAINABILITY AND QUALITY EDUCATION

Limits on Earth's capacity to absorb the exponential growth of human consumption have been recognized since the early 1970s (Brundtland, 1987; Meadows et al., 1972; UN, 2015). Development needs to occur sustainably to prevent these limits from being exceeded for humanity's present and future good (Lazăr et al., 2022). The UN (2015) states that sustainability includes "quality" aspects, such as ending poverty in all its forms everywhere (SDG1), sustainable economic growth, and work opportunities. Additionally, sustainability involves building resilient infrastructure and innovation, promoting peaceful and just societies, building influential institutes at all levels, strengthening the means of implementation, and revitalizing the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development (UN, 2015).

Normative principles and life quality play a role in this context. Agyeman et al. (2003) emphasized the need to ensure a better quality of life for all, presently and in the future. This author furthered that it should be provided justly and equitably within the limits of the ecosystem. Normative principles (needs, equity, and ecological limits) appearing in Agenda 2030 that cannot be explicitly defined serve as the foundation of sustainability. Agenda 2030 is an attempt to reach the SDGs by improving life quality globally (Block & Paredis, 2019; UN, 2015).

Quality education is crucial to sustainability and is an exigent issue: "education can create individuals who are more aware, responsible, and can bring about the meaningful and required change in the society" (Kumar, 2020, p. 745). A global initiative, namely the Education Commission, encourages more significant progress on SDG4. This commission mentions that the above outcomes or expectations of quality education "go well beyond learning outcomes as defined by standardized tests and include student well-being and an expanding list of knowledge and skills" (Education Commission, 2019, p. 31). Accordingly, I propose two interlaced interpretations of quality education in the SDG context.

3. TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF QUALITY EDUCATION

The literature analysis clarified what quality education means in the context of the SDGs. There is a variety of literature on the meaning of formal quality education. Since SDG4 is labeled as "quality education," formal quality education could not be ignored because formal education supports learning for a sustainable future (Karuzis, 2020). Three key data/measuring priorities identify quality education in this context: (1) areas that are on the "margins" of the formal education system, which are critically significant to achieving the SDGs; (2) quality education, referring to the results of learning at all stages in a formal educational setting, including other informal learning opportunities; and (3) equitable opportunities for all (Thaung, 2018). The first

priority can be linked to Dewey and Small (1897), who viewed education as a process of living since it refers to everyday life experiences bordering formal education. This fits well into the context of the SDGs since quality education refers to more than the formal education norms according to which we measure quality education. The third priority is linked to SDG4 in particular, which attempts to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (UN, 2015, p. 19). Therefore, our first interpretation of quality education as a highly desirable aim is linked with the fourth goal of Agenda 2030 and can be related to the quantitative aspects of education for sustainability (UNSDSN, 2015).

Aside from quality education being interpreted as a goal (SDG4), I also interpreted formal education as essential to sustainability. This can be linked to Thuang’s (2018) first and second priority, mentioning that quality education results from learning at all stages, both in formal educational settings and other informal learning opportunities to support the SDGs. Therefore, formal quality education plays a role in promoting sustainability. In this second interpretation, quality education is education in a formal setting and consists of various quality aspects, including character, resources, and inputs (Williams, 2001), the application of resources, content (knowledge, attitudes, and skills), outputs, and of value for improvement selection criteria (Adams, 1993). Importantly, quality education involves the application of appropriate strategies by teachers (Deacon, 2012; Pant, 2020). It also involves teachers with professional and content knowledge (in this context – including sustainability) as well as skills to positively affect learning, skills development, and self-exploration in light of their students’ needs, problems, and goals (Hightower et al., 2011; Knowles, 1975; Shulman, 1987).

Furthermore, supportive system management from an organizational level plays a role in quality education (Budiharso & Tarman, 2020; Education Commission, 2019; OECD, 2013). The teacher and educational effectiveness models used by management in education systems support quality education (Kyriakides & Charalambous, 2021). Analysis of the interpretations of formal quality education highlighted the following significant themes: (1) teachers as leading means for quality education; (2) system management and support; (3) access to and practical application of resources; (4) appreciation of students’ backgrounds and individuality; and (5) effective strategies for more complex and profound topics, such as sustainability.

The two abovementioned interpretations are not independent of one another in this context, they need to be integrated for a sustainable future. The three essential pillars, or attributes, of quality education as a goal (SDG4) are expanded in the next section.

4. THREE PILLARS OF QUALITY EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

According to the literature analysis, I first interpret quality education as an SDG based on Agenda 2030, focusing on three main pillars: quality, inclusivity and equity, and lifelong learning (UN, 2015).

4.1 Quality

Quality is difficult to define and depends on the context and the viewer's perspective (Brooks, 2021; Elshaer, 2012; Seawright & Young, 1996). This paper presents some essential interpretations because of the interconnectedness and diverse nature of quality. This concept has been interpreted as the conformance to requirements (Crosby, 1979), specifications (Gilmore, 1974; Levitt, 1972; Shewhart, 1931), and standards of customers' needs and expectations (Crosby, 1979; Feigenbaum, 1951; Grönroos, 1984). Additionally, it is viewed as a relational characteristic of something judged by human verdict (Smith, 1993). Therefore, it is both an abstract characteristic and a relational attribute and can be determined via comparisons with something similar (Smith, 1993).

Furthermore, under situational conditions, quality can be elaborated as a value (Abbott, 1955; Buzzell & Gale, 1972; Crosby, 1979; Feigenbaum, 1951; Hoyle, 2009). It can refer to desirable attributes of a product or process (Leffler, 1982), fitness for use (Harvey & Green, 1993; Juran, 1974), and excellence (Pirsig, 1999). Quality pertains to excellence and can be viewed as something exceptional: "Quality is the goodness or excellence of something. It is assessed against accepted standards of merit for such things and the needs/interests of users and other stakeholders" (Smith, 1993, p. 237). Budiharso and Tarman (2020) summarized Harvey and Green's (1993) interpretation of quality as something exceptional or extraordinary, perfection, or consistency with a set standard, meeting a high standard and assuring stakeholders of receiving high value for their investment.

Seawright and Young (1996) organized quality interpretations into seven major categories: transcendent, manufacturing-based, product-based, user-based, value-based, multifaceted, and strategic. These categories aid the interpretation and measurement of quality in a specific context. The multifaceted and strategic categories are most applicable to quality education since they consist of multiple interpretations involving planning, considering stakeholders, containing the attributes mentioned below, and being deliberate.

UNESCO (2021b) provided a quality framework for stakeholders that comprises five dimensions of quality education, namely (1) student characteristics; (2) economic, social, cultural, and national context; (3) input enabling intent; (4) containment of different pedagogical dimensions; and (5) outcome.

Since Agenda 2030 aims to enhance life quality, sustainability can form part of quality education in terms of life quality globally. For the proposed interpretation model, quality in its broader sense is regarded in the multifaceted and strategic cat-

egories mentioned above. It is further evaluated in terms of good value and refers to something excellent or exceptional by integrating inclusivity, equity, and lifelong learning, as stated in SDG4. The following section explores the second pillar, i.e., inclusivity and equity.

4.2 Inclusivity and equity

Agenda 2030 is committed to providing:

Inclusive and equitable quality education at all levels – early childhood, primary, secondary, tertiary, technical, and vocational training. All people, irrespective of sex, age, race, or ethnicity, and persons with disabilities, migrants, indigenous peoples, children, and youth (especially those in vulnerable situations), should have access to lifelong learning opportunities that help them to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to exploit opportunities and to participate fully in society (UN, 2015, p. 11).

This statement is self-evident while Agenda 2030 also strives to provide a nurturing environment for young people to fully realize “their rights and capabilities, helping our countries to reap the demographic dividend, including through safe schools and cohesive communities and families” (UN, 2015, p. 11). Dewey interprets “equitable opportunity for all members of society to engage with a large variety of shared undertakings and experiences” as a fundamental human right (Dewey, quoted by Leo, 2020, p. 403). In this regard, “all members of society” include all cultures, ages, races, genders, and ethnicities, regardless of social or economic status, background, or disabilities (UN, 2015).

I accept the principle of potentially marginalized people not being excluded and link equity to inclusivity by ignoring the exclusion of any persons. Generally, everyone should be given the same opportunities, and those excluded or marginalized should be supported and included. Furthermore, ensuring quality education for all promotes lifelong learning and in the next section, we consider the final pillar of quality education as a goal.

4.3 Lifelong learning

Lifelong learning opportunities, literacy, and numeracy are vital to quality education. Priyadarshini (2020, p. 299) stated that “literacy, adult learning, and education lie at the core of all the SDGs.” This author mentions the positive impact of literacy on social and economic aspects, emphasizing its role in the development of communities and nations. Furthermore, the lack of literacy can significantly interfere with the development of lifelong learning (Priyadarshini, 2020).

Lifelong learning requires literacy and numeracy and involves shifting from learning solely in formal education settings to learning in everyday life. Illiteracy and innumeracy cause learning deficits, excluding and marginalizing certain social groups (Priyadarshini, 2020). This marginalization leads to inequity for people with learning deficits. Therefore, foundational literacy and numeracy should be prioritized, as it is crucial to meaningful progress in the broader SDG4 context (Beeharry, 2021). Lifelong learning requires that new levels of learning be reached, including

changes in and applications of the latest knowledge and skills. This involves applying new knowledge to diverse personal, social, and physical contexts (Mazmanian et al., 2021). Generally, lifelong learning is a learning continuum, assisted by adequate literacy and numeracy, that will support individuals in gaining and applying knowledge and skills in different situations throughout life.

For the proposed interpretation model, I use the three main pillars of quality education as a goal, as mentioned above, and various sub-pillars, representing the attributes of formal quality education promoting sustainability

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I showed that the interpretation of quality education depends on the context and the viewer’s perspective. Brooks (2021), Elshear (2012), and Seawright and Young (1996), who analyzed the meaning of quality in different contexts, support this notion. These authors indicate that the situation predicts the sense of quality.

I illustrate the two interpretations of quality education with two sets of pillars, each defining an attribute of quality education. The first interpretation proposes quality education as a highly desirable goal in Agenda 2030 and is represented by three main pillars or attributes: quality, inclusivity and equity, and lifelong learning (black pillars in Fig. 1). Secondly, quality education is interpreted as formal education to promote sustainability, with the sub-pillars (gray pillars in Fig. 1) reinforcing the main pillars.

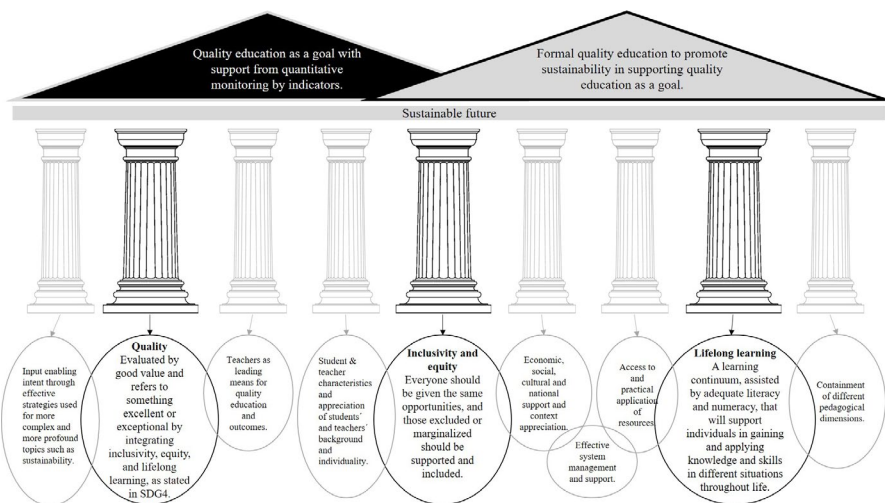


Figure 1. An interpretation model representing the main pillars (black) and sub-pillars (gray), or attributes, of quality education in the context of sustainability

These secondary attributes are integrated with the three main attributes as follows: (1) quality is supported by attributes such as careful consideration of the input enabling intent, expected outcome, and teachers as leading means; (2) inclusivity and equity are supported by attributes such as student characteristics, consideration of the economic, social, cultural and national context, and the appreciation of students' and teachers' background and individuality; and (3) lifelong learning is supported by attributes such as access to and practical application of resources, containment of different pedagogical dimensions, and effective system management and support (also supporting inclusivity and equity). These pillars were interpreted in the most general way possible.

The UN developed targets for each SDG, with an indicator for each target to track target achievement and remaining requirements. This highlights the quantitative aspect of quality education as a goal (SDG4). UNESCO provides continuous updates on the progress of SDG4 on the UNESCO Institute for Statistics website by monitoring member countries via these indicators (UNESCO, 2022). Indicators can aid the implementation of the SDGs since they clarify political views, increase accountability, facilitate new understandings of complex systems, engage citizens in debates, and increase awareness of the SDGs (Mair et al., 2018). Even though the SDG targets have been criticized for being too challenging and non-legally binding, the SDGs should still be pursued as reviewed by Easterly in 2015 (the year Agenda 2030 came to light). These indicators serve as tools to support stakeholders in reaching the SDGs.

With this paper, I aimed to interpret the concept of quality education in the SDG context to support decision-making processes concerning targets and indicators of SDG4 to support the quality thereof. Based on the literature analysis, I conclude that quality education remains an elusive concept. The ambiguity of quality education results from the globality of the SDGs and the diverse contexts of stakeholders. This can lead to challenges in implementing, developing, or enhancing quality education. Nonetheless, the model can be used to better understand quality education in a global context, and the identified pillars can provide a guideline for the worldwide implementation of quality education.

Future studies could focus on implementing these pillars for improved quality in education and determine how the interpretation model can indicate quality education for a sustainable future in a global context to explore the implications of these results. Moreover, specific SDGs (like SDG1) require more attention in developing countries, where providing all children with access to inclusive and equitable quality primary education remains a significant challenge (Pant, 2020).

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JAKOŚĆ EDUKACJI W KONTEKŚCIE CELÓW ZRÓWNOWAŻONEGO ROZWOJU. MODEL INTERPRETACYJNY

ABSTRAKT: Niniejszy artykuł zawiera wyniki teoretycznej analizy koncepcji jakości edukacji w kontekście celów zrównoważonego rozwoju (Sustainable Development Goals, SDGs), ponieważ operacjonalizacja tego pojęcia w podjętych badaniach własnych była dużym wyzwaniem. Wyjaśnienie powiązanych koncepcji zostało zbadane poprzez analizę literatury i stwierdzono, że pojęcie jakości edukacji jest nieuchwytnie. W związku z tym proponuję dwie interpretacje jakości edukacji. Po pierwsze, jako wysoce pożądaný cel, tj. czwarty SDG w Agendzie 2030, a po drugie, jako edukacja formalna (ustrukturyzowany system edukacji) o wysokiej jakości jest środkiem promowania zrównoważonego rozwoju. Ponadto zaproponowałam model interpretacyjny poprzez wskazanie filarów, lub atrybutów, wysokiej jakości edukacji dla zrównoważonego rozwoju. Dalsze badania jak te dwie przeplatające się interpretacje i proponowany model mogą wspierać interesariuszy w kontekście globalnym by lepiej zrozumieć jakość edukacji w kontekście zrównoważonej przyszłości.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: równość, inkluzywność, wskaźnik, uczenie się przez całe życie, jakość edukacji, zrównoważony rozwój, cel