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Stephan Sting and
Christoph Wulf (Eds.)

Education in a Period of Social Upheaval

Educational Theories and Concepts in Central East Europe

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Education in a Period of Social Upheaval - Educational Theories and Concepts in Central East Europe

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Christoph Wulf (Ed.)

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Education in a Period of Social Upheaval

Educational Theories and Concepts in Central East Europe

Ed. by Stephan Sting
and Christoph Wulf

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The political, economic, and social developments in the European Union pose new challenges to education in Europe, where each country has its own system. Under these circumstances, the relation between national, regional, and local traditions on the one hand and supraregional, transnational aspirations on the other must be conceived. The field of education is seeing the rise of new issues, responsibilities, and research requiring scholars from different European cultures to work together.

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The present volume was written in the framwork of the Network Educational Science Amsterdam (NESA), in which more than 30 European and a few non-European faculties and research institutes cooperate in the area of education.

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Christoph Wulf

CONTENTS

PREFACE

I. REVIEWS AND NEW APPROACHES

II. PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

III. CONCEPTS AND PARADIGMS

Stephan Sting/Christoph Wulf

Education in a Period of Social Upheaval

Educational Concepts and Theories in Central-East-Europe

Since the fall of Communism, from 1989 and 1990 the societies in Central-East-Europe have been going through a radical state of upheaval, in which no obvious results or clear contours for the future development of the region have yet evolved. The changes have embraced all levels of social life and are much more profound and at the same time more difficult and prolonged than previously expected. Moreover, numerous malfunctions and crises have appeared which are continually blocking new initiatives. At the same time, there are neither models for the transition from a socialist society to the market-economic-democratic society of the West European type nor anything like a "transformation theory". (Anweiler 1992, p. 252)

The problems of the transition can be summarized in three main groups: - 1. The economic restructuring has been confronted with a comprehensive *economic crisis* and a situation of general privation, which the breaking up of the state apparatus often makes it appear to be the "decentralization of poverty". (Karsten/Majoor 1994, p. 164) Economic deregulation is confronted with communities in which forms of non-state solidarity have strongly weakened. Karsten and Majoor describe how already during the period of socialism, through the prohibition of any opposition and the blocking of any non-state controlled public life, the civil society outside of official structures was suppressed. This led to the loss of a desire for participation in state activity as well as to a loss of cohesion in the population. (Karsten/Majoor 1994, p. 17ff) At present in the course of privatization of the state monopoly, social inequality is rapidly increasing. This development does not contribute to the building up of a new unified community, but is combined with a lack of commitment which can lead to a dangerous social explosion. - 2. The second problematic area arises from the reorganization process of political and social institutions. On the one hand, there is a stirring of resistance against the reform process by those whose political and social influence is diminishing. On the other hand, the contact with new, unusual structures and the change of leaders have led to a generally perceptible *management-crisis* and to the dissatisfaction of the population with the hesitant changeover with unexpected and grave side effects. (Cf. Paun/Neacsu in this volume) The process of democratization will run into trouble through the conflict of different interest groups, whose mutual claims to power will result in a continual change of responsibilities and a shift in the decision-making structures. At the same time no "state" has arisen which is capable of laying down procedures that are binding and of taking over control functions through its organs.

The rejection of state regulation often goes along with a repudiation of all forms of control - including any professional control. Accordingly the state and the informal society are only restricted in their ability to steer and make the reform process secure. - 3. Finally the reforms are accompanied by a restructuring of collective and individual orientation, which leads to a *moral crisis.* (Anweiler 1992, p. 252) To this one can add the uncertainty of values, of attitudes, of the entire social Habitus, to which a new individualism corresponds, which on the basis of apparently free images is directed against the state and social commitments of various types. A further effect of this are the tendencies toward national separation, tensions, and conflicts. Over and above that, these sets of problems also embrace questions of the establishment and orientation of social innovations, questions about the scientific foundations and paradigmatic conditions for the introduction of new social institutions, outlets, and possibilities for action.

The transformation process with its side effects has an impact on the entire society in all its dimensions; at the same, it is reflected concentrated in education and in questions of upbringing. A pedagogic reform process has begun which has as its aim not only the redesigning of the cirricula, but also the institutions, the laws, the qualifications and educational horizons as well as educational science. The social function, which is attached to education, wavers between an "economic fundamentalism" (c.f. Grauberg in this volume), which makes education a production of adequate qualifications and production of human capital as its task, and the exaggerated expectations of an education which must become the catalyst of the entire reform process and the supplier of values and social orientation, which are no more to be found elsewhere in the society. In practice, educational reforms are still very far from making any progress toward fulfilling particular pedagogic requirements. They are rather stamped by changing political priorities and an unstable public opinion which makes it difficult to distinguish between short-term success and sound, professional activity. How difficult it is to change pedagogic processes profoundly is shown by the example of East Germany: here within a short time the West German educational systems and school models have been taken over, and new materials and examples of functioning pedagogical practice have been set forth as models. (Cf. Wulf/Sting 1992) And the East German pedagogues, in spite of individual problems with restructuring, appear to have adapted to the new relationships relatively quickly. (Cf. Döbert in this volume) However, the changes led only to a superficial adaptation without a real rethinking or free, independent action - a development which was multiplied through the rash proposals of West German experts and educational scientists. In the end, Hofmann sees East German educational development, in spite of similar school models, not beginning where the West German educational development exists today, but "perhaps at first in the position of the late 50s and early 60s". (Hofmann 1991, p. 35)

In order to receive a clear picture of the real changes taking place in individual countries of Central-East-Europe, it is absolutely essential to have an inner perspective and allow those affected and those involved in the transformation process themselves to express what they think. Also Kasten and Majoor emphasize in their

study of the educational reforms in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, that "objective" observations from outside are very useful, "but they must be supplemented with views from the inside by those who have themselves experienced the Communist regime". (Karsten/Majoor 1994, p. 9) In the present volume it is even more the case that it is less a matter of changes in externally visible structures, institutions and laws, and more a matter of the transformations of internal orientation, paradigmatic and conceptual conditions, of pedagogic thinking and action. We would like to look at pedagogical knowledge and thinking beyond the practical pedagogic reform processes, which characterizes, on the one hand, the position of education in these states, and on the other offers a start toward reconstruction of the educational science as a scientific and theoretical discipline. It becomes thus immediately clear that in the countries of Central-East-Europe it is not a question of a homogenous region, but that the various countries manifest serious differences regarding pedagogic tradition, social evalution of education, and the developmental prerequisites of pedagogic practice and theory. Correspondingly, in the analysis of different educational scientific starting points, let us introduce the following hypotheses: there exists a pluralistic pedagogical knowledge in Central-East-Europe, this side and the other side of the old socialist ideology of uniformity. This is apparent behind the attempt toward the de-ideologization of educational science and must, in spite of the partly negligible professional quality of current research, represent independent bases and constitutive developmental conditions for the starting point of all practical and theoretical renovation in the field of pedagogy. Every input from outside and every transfer of a foreign model remains fruitless as long as it is not treated according to internal demands, categories, and orientation, and in this way are integated into the respective local context.

One prevelant tendency as a result will observe the transformation of Central-East-Europe as a "System Change" which is replacing socialist totalitarianism and state fundamentalism through democracy and a market economy. In accordance to this we can observe the system-stabilizing role which pedagogy played in many former socialist countries (cf. Syzmanski in this volume) just as the now notable turn of many Eastern Europeans to Western life styles and to the achievements of the consumer society. At the same time, in spite of all differences, general "system features" in the "individual and collective socialization- and behavior processes" remain recognizable, and educational science cannot abstract from the dependence of the education process on complex systemic relations. (Anweiler 1992, p. 258; Blízkovský in this volume) However, a danger underlies this view: it remains captivated by the old "block" thinking, which regards the "East Block" as a monolithic, uniform, and inert block in contrast to the pluralistic and dynamic West, and, thereby, itself perpetuates the destroyed state- and party ideology, in which it confused totalitarian self-claims with reality. Cloer points to the example of East Germany, that this perspective misses numerous differences: it suppresses the actual existing plurality of pedagogical concepts; it neglects the thawing period and resistance against state attempts at monopolization, and it overlooks the

heterogeneity of pedagogic knowledge, which was created in different official organizations. (Cloer 1994, p. 20-23; Kučerová and Golnhofer in this volume) In the case of the former DDR, the working out of old differences still only can serve to let justice be done to the historical participants. Through the takeover by West German educational science, the earlier concepts of East Germany have no relevance anymore for current developments. In the case of East- and Central-European countries, it represents, however, important connecting points for new pedagogical approaches.

Karsten and Majoor have pointed to the fact that in Central-East-Europe not only has Communism died, "but also the possiblity of an alternative model of society". (Karsten/Majoor 1994, p. 13) A democracy which no longer stands in opposition to other forms of government, but instead is forced to accept it as a model without an alternative, changes its face and finds itself under the pressure of legitimation. In looking back, the years of the Cold War appear as a period of stability and security which has presently passed over into a new uncertainty which also questions the role of sociology and pedagogical thinking. In this situation "basic research" is more necessary than ever, because: The discussion on the concepts and paradigms cannot remain limited only to East- and Central-European problematics; they have also included Western society for a long time. The problems of the process of democratization in the East confront the problematization of the comprehension of democray in the West. (Cf. Kreitzberg in this volume) The search for a solution to educational questions through educational science leads to the problematization of all scientifically based solutions and to the basic questioning of the relation between theory and practice. (Cf. Benner/Lenzen 1991, p. 8) Therefore, the collapse in the East is integrated into an international, comprehensive process of change, which is also shaking the foundations of Western societies and was evident even before the collapse of socialism.

In sociology, the changes in the present society have been described by a simultaneous process of globalization and individualization, which on the one hand has been characterized by the expansion of international interconnections, e.g., in the field of economy, ecology, and media information, and on the other hand by increased claims for the individual in the sense of self-determination, self-planning and self-management independent of collective orientation. (Cf., e.g., Giddens 1990, p. 4, p. 52; Beck 1993) In educational science, this shift of horizon at first led to stressing the common ground in the development of different nations and systems. Ramirez and Boli, for example, show that the establishment of a state "system of mass schooling" represents a development found everywhere in the last 150 years, which has its source in Europe, but meanwhile has become a global phenomenon. Educational systems are integrated in every instance in the context of a national state, and they aimed at the integration of the citizen into national projects and a uniform national culture. In spite of the national orientation and imprinting of local characteristics, this process on the whole is universal; it is being carried out everywhere in more or less the same way. (Ramirez/Boli 1987) The similiarity of the development of national education cultures makes possible in the course of the

integration process of West European countries the mutual recognition of educational achievements and qualifications and challenges the attempts to transform the national state education into the forming of a "European consciousness" - e.g., through the emphasis of the "European dimension" in pedagogy or through the development of a "European curriculum". (Cf. Schleicher 1993, p. 2ff; Michel 1993, p. 294ff; McLean 1993, p. 262f) The orientation towards global perspectives and all-European tendencies, however, neglects an important aspect: common problems and homogenous structures have different effects on social context, which depend on the situation of the community and historical tradition. Therefore, we consider the concentration on specific features and the different nature of the East- and Central-European countries as important. Instead of insisting on the globalization of problems and tasks, educational science must develop solutions according to the situation, which include pedagogic protagonists on all levels in the process of self-planning and self-regulation.

The individuality of those involved in the educational processes, the special nature of a particular situation, and the perspectivity and subjectivity of all scientific statements in the field of pedagogy influence the attempts at renovation of educational science as a whole. (Cf. Sting in this volume) The former socialist pedagogy appears as standard state pedagogy: education must be made available for extra-pedagogic aims and interests. It had to convey socialist ideology and was characterized by an orientation toward profession and great selectivity without real possibilities of choice. The means for carrying this out were central planning and control, a uniform curriculum, and a strong standardization of the pedagogical institutions and processes. (Benner/Lenzen 1991, p. 7) The fact this norm does not correspond to reality has already been demonstrated. Its conversion led in the best case to a "lasting schizophrenia", which was described in letters to Christa Wolf. The self-conciousness and position of one's own "I" were really oppressed in terms of pedagogic determination from outside, but the feeling of not-self-being and the superficiality of one's own forms of thinking and acting continued to exist. (Cf. Gruner 1990, e.g. p. 9-16, p. 25, p. 44)

A great danger in the reform of educational science lies in the substitution of the former standardization simply by new normative orientations. In the place of socialist positivism, of education functioning for state aims, in many cases a positivism of Anglo-Saxon stamp has appeared, which will make available education for the demands of the market and the new political rulers. Behind both perspectives is concealed an instrumental, socio-technological comprehension of pedagogy, which excludes reflection and a critical hermeneutics of pedagogic and social processes. (Cf. Lenzen 1991, p. 113) The positivistic, instrumental way of seeing is reflected through the manifold "tasks" and "demands" which education must take over within the framework of the social reform process. (Cf. Bandoly in this volume) An educational science without independent reflection of its goals, effects, and social functions can, however, neither withstand the changing attempts at re-ideologization, e.g., the functionalization through national movements, nor does it really do

justice to the developmental position of pedagogical theory formation - even when with former means it works out current problems like an "education for Europe". (Michel 1993, p. 258f) Educational science must proceed from the enormous range of human possibilities of development and turn away from the idea of an intentional influencing of man through pedagogical techniques. (Benner 1991, p. 17f) As education offers only stimuli and chances for self-activity and for development of the individual in specific social contexts through reflection on new experiences and horizons of knowledge, so educational science can be comprehended as non-normative foundational research, which carries out an analysis of the educational processes and the social environment of education and in specific societies subjects current pedagogical knowledge to a critical, self-reflexive process.

A non-normative pedagogy and educational science must proceed from the idea that there are different answers and ways of solving specific problems. It accepts a scientific pluralism with variable possibilites of decision making and paradigms existing side by side, which take into consideration the ambiguity and complexity of pedagogical situations. (Cf. Wulf in this volume) In this sense educational science participates in the scientific theoretical debate on the border of enlightenment and rationality, while pedagogues increasingly emphasize the great variety of possiblities of interpretation, the independence of the person and his capabilities for reflection, instead of understanding themselves as the appliers of ready-made solutions.

In the course of criticism of modernity, the orientation towards justice against inequality yields to an orientation towards pluralism against uniformity. (Cloer 1994, p. 17) A conception of pluralism, which understands pluralism as free choice of the knowledge to be acquired and of individual attitudes, certainly makes it look too simple: it favors a unified model of pluralism, understood as free choice under market conditions, and in the end is elevated as an overriding "pluralistic position" over all specific possibilities of choice. In this way Schleicher attempts to connect a standardized "European consciousness" with cultural "variety". And McLean pleads for a European-wide economic curriculum, which is to be supplemented through pluralism of a non-economic dimension. At the same time, he puts the existence of national curricula and cultures of knowledge into question in general. (Schleicher 1993, p. 2ff; McLean 1993, p. 262-273) Actually, the Europeanizing process gradually and imperceptibly reduces the meaning of local culture and the political possibilities of influence on a limited social context. This process is carried out, however, only within the framework of a *single* specific culture, in which the preeminence of the economy and of the legally controlled freedom of the market demands from the involved individual a high degree of discipline and cultivation. Anweiler makes it clear that the conditions for a cultural pluralism - a functioning system of rights with human- and civic rights being respected in every way - in many Central- and East-European countries has definitely not been carried out, and that there, for that reason, it is not pluralism in the Western European understanding that prevails, but a kind of "spiritual anarchy" as a result of the decline of the former

ideology. (Anweiler 1992, p. 255ff; cf. also Nagy in this volume) In this connection, the problem of freedom is stated in another way: In the West, as a rule freedom means free choice, positive *freedom for* this or that decision, while in the East freedom is understood in the present as something above all negative, as *freedom from* restriction and social obligation. This conception of freedom goes along with the collapse of social commitment and orientation and makes the building of new social institutions difficult.

In this context the question again arises of national tradition as the starting point of social reconstruction. National culture is not necessarily in conflict with cultural pluralism, but it appears in a new form as one position within the framework of a plurality of different possible positions. Against static and naturalistic observations, the respective national educational tradition must undergo a process of self-reflection, which brings its dynamics and historical variability to light. In the social upheaval in Central-East-Europe the reference to the nation contains a dangerous ambivalence: on the one hand, in terms of social collapse it satisfies the wish for commmunity and secure, quasi-natural orientations. It tends towards nationalistic positions which give priority to ethnocultural interests over all other social interests. The more endangered the social community and the stronger the foreign influence, the sharper, therefore, must the demarcation from others be made clear. Shadrikov describes this process in the example of Russia as an "ethnic paradox": "The stronger, on the one hand, a development towards a global culture and the necessity of international cooperation emerge, the more, on the other hand, does a national self-consciousness increase everywhere". (Shadrikov 1993, p. 284) On the other hand, the reference to one's own nation is not only an expression of chauvinism and isolation. In the post-Communist states it aims first of all at the attainment of national sovereignty after the liberation from the supranational claim of the Soviet Union. (Cf. Anweiler, 1992, p. 251; cf. also Jucevičienė in this volume) Next to its political function, it contributes at the same time to the reconstruction of "society" in the sense of the reclamation of a civil, public life. To this end, it provides social schemata and standardization which contribute to the renewal and extension of a specific tradition (Cf. Butorina in this volume). Tradition is at the same time not to be understood as rigid, but dynamic. It is fragile, but it can also become newly founded. Giesen describes the "nation" as a social construction which is dependent on the historic situation and specific group of carriers, and which is able to compensate the increasing of social complexity through processes of confidence building and forming of communities. (Cf. Giesen 1991, p. 11ff; Giesen/Junge 1991, p. 255ff)

Pedagogy and educational science are involved in different ways in the discussion of national traditions. Education contributes essentially to the constitution and transmission of national horizons of knowledge and is integrated into the social reconstruction- and standardization processes, which in the name of a nation is to promote the building of East- and Central-European societies. At the same time a self-reflective educational science must question the formation of borders, since they set subjectivity and regional narrowmindedness against particular efforts to-

ward their comprehensive pluralistic context. The present volume takes this into consideration, in that the individual contributions take on national perspectives and make statements about specific national developments and the history of specific educational traditions, while the interrelationship of the contributions leads to mutually related observations, which point to a high level of agreement and common interest.

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The present volume contains contributions from nine different Central- and East-European countries: from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Russia. All participating regions have been taken into account, so that a total impression of the upheaval in the field of educational science in Central-East-Europe has been attained, which, of course, is not free from the subjectivity, particular perspective and situation specificity of the author involved. Instead of a classification according to countries and regions, a classification according to thematic focuses of priority is given, in order to emphasize more strongly the common interest and differences within a total region. The East- and Central-European perspectives have been supplemented in order to include two contibutions from the area of (West-) German educational science, which should offer examples for possibilities of comparison and contrast with the Western European, or rather international position in the discussion.

The contributions in the volume comprise three different focuses. The first group is occupied with a review of history and the position of educational science in specific countries, in order in this way to gain prerequisites and perspectives for new pedagogical points of departure. Stanislava Kučerová makes it clear in the example of the Czech Republic that the fifty years since the end of the Second World War does not represent a single unified period in which it is possible to discover clear characteristics. Instead, this period is distinguished by an enormous variety of scientific social controversies, which led first in the 70s to increased ideologization and subsequently to a loss of meaning for pedagogic science. After the liberation of pedagogy from ideological dogmatization, she does not reject questions of the personality, of the value and objectives of education, but pleads for an "undogmatic pedagogy," which includes anthropological and axiological inquiry.

Miroslaw Szymanski points out that Polish pedagogy before the fall of Communism practised a politically conformist and stabilizing function in society and so far has been able to contribute little to the attempts at social reform. As a scientific discipline, it represents, as no other, the compromised old system, while the scientist involved attempted to deal with this historical burden in different ways. Meanwhile, a process of self-reflection and paradigmatic restructuring was set into motion, which made possible a discussion concerning Western theories and led to an acceptance of different, equally valid directions of "pedagogia".

Palmira Jucevičienė emphasizes the influence of the West European science in

Lithuania, especially during the period of independence between both world wars. Under the predominance of Moscow, there was an isolation and stagnation of Lithuanian scholarship. The further development of an independent pedagogy could not be completely obstructed; it had, however, to be transferred to the less controlled area of adult education. Since 1990 Lithuanian pedagogy has been confronted with the variety and differenciation of West-European educational science, which a lack of conceptual knowledge and systematic organization of educational science and practical pedagogical reforms make evident. With the aid of the concept "edukologia" it is presently being attempted to develop a unique synthesis and integration of Lithuanian educational science.

Erzsébet Golnhofer describes how already before the fall of Communism a gradual transformation process took place in Hungarian educational science, which led to the transition from political control to scientific self-control. This transition was accompanied by a change from a philosophical-deductive to an empirical inductive paradigm, which was connected with an underestimation of the role of theory. In terms of the broad institutional extension and development position of pedagogic research in Hungary before the fall of Communism, the political upheaval resulted in disillusionment and appearance of crises, and along with socialist theory, the scientific knowledge of experts was also devalued, and educational science is threatened by an increasing narrowing towards an official and loyal accompanying institution of political educational reform. On the contrary, the author does her utmost for a clarification of the relationship of educational scientists, experts, and politicians involved in education, in order to create the prerequisites for the development of a real pluralism and an independent Hungarian educational science.

The second group of contributors are concerned with the problematic of the pedagogical and scientific reform process. József Nagy reconstructs the decentralization- and democratization processes, which, since the 70s and fortified since 1985, can be found in Hungarian education. Parallel to the decentralization of pedagogic institutions, a splitting and differenciation of educational science has occurred in Western countries, which also influenced Hungary, and cause the former pedagogical and curriculum concepts to no longer be adequate. In order to prevent the disintegration of the educational process in terms of content and institutions, there has been an attempt to push through a system of a contextual framework in the form of a national core curriculum. Since the collapse of Communism, these attempts have been confronted by unexpected problems; however, only its continuation can remedy the results of an incomplete democratization and chaotic decentralization.

Emil Paun and Ioan Neacsu have pointed to the fact that an erosion of ethical values followed the ideologization of education in East European countries, which led to a moral crisis and axiological vacuum. The coming to terms of the pedagogic demands resulting from this was made difficult in Romania by the fact that since 1977 all institutions in the field of educational science, of pedagogic research and education, have been dissolved. Therefore, the current reform process represents an almost complete new beginning, which must deal with the relegitimation of the

theoretical and methodological status of educational science. Along with a lack of competence and lack of money; at the same time obstacles include a lacking social sensiblity for pedagogical problems and a liability of political decisions. Compared with this, through the qualification of human resources and the introduction of the "human dimension" into the social integration process of youth, educational science could become a catalyst of reform and pluralistic, open perspectives.

In order to ensure the quality of scientific achievement, international integration is necessary for survival for Romanian as well as for Bulgarian educational science. Werner Bandoly sees the creation of an independent, efficient educational science in Bulgaria obstructed by the enormous amount of tasks and through state attempts at functionalization. The old contradiction between the exaggerated demands of the administration and the capability and possibilities of pedagogic research has presently led first to a search for the actual functions of educational science. Compared with this public with its expectation of a modern functioning pedagogy, it is not interested in the inner self-discovery of education science, whose ineffectiveness and incompetence has been reproached. Meanwhile, the necessity for scientific support of the pedagogic reform process has become obvious, and, in spite of enormous financial difficulties, innovation processes have been begun.

In East Germany no independent reform of pedagogic institutions and educational science has taken place. Corresponding to German state federalism, almost overnight the different Westen German models and educational scientific concepts were taken over, which sealed the end of the old DDR-pedagogy. Werner Döbert presents the results of an empirical analysis about how the East German teacher is coping with these radical changeovers. He comes to the conclusion that the majority of teachers have coped with the change according to their own judgment, and that the historically unprecedented transfer of education of a larger territory to another with a justifiable measure of damage for the involved pupil generation could be coped with. However, the self-estimation of teachers says little about their acceptance by pupils and parents and their ability to comprehend changing pedagogical problems in the context of a worldwide development.

The third group of contributers study the relevance of different educational scientific concepts and paradigms. Peeter Kreitzberg analyzes the problematic of *democracy* in education arising out of the difficulties of the democratization process in Estonia. He sees parallels between the instrumentalization of pedagogic processes through Marxism and through Western positivism: both transfer the constitution of meaning and knowlege to decision making by experts, who make claims to the educational process from outside without democratic possibilities of participation and negotiation. One such legitimation of education through external truths and ordering set up in advance create conflicts with the democratization of education. Therefore, in the constitution of instititutional and paradigmatic framework, the claim of democracy must be redeemed, which assumes a change of the "root metaphors" for the entire pedagogical way of thinking.

Stephan Sting is concerned with the treatment of current German theories of

"Bildung", with the problem of the *subject* in pedagogical concepts. A socially relevant educational theory must pose the question of general criteria and orientation: at the same time it is characterized by subjectivity, particular perspective, and connection to the historical situation. In view of this realization, the education process is shifted to the subject. It leads to self-education, which accepts the differences in meaning and knowledge, and is produced in provisional, revisable designs of constructions of reality and knowledge, which attempt to go beyond the perspective of the subject.

Using the example of the Pomor region in North Russia, Tatiana S. Butorina develops a curriculum concept of *regional and national components* as an important element of pedagogical renovation. She shows how in the history of the thinly populated, multinational region, a specific type of culture and personality was formed, which is based on the family as the core of social life and upbringing. Destruction of the environment and the weakening of cultural traditions have led to an erosion of collective self-consciousness and to a moral and social collapse. In this situation, she pleads for a return to the educational power of tradition without a false idealization of the past. Reference to the particular national system of the adults must become the starting point of a reintegration into the international, European and global culture.

Bohumir Blízkovský analyzes the meaning of the *systemic-concept* for educational science. On the basis of general systems theory, he draws a comprehenive model of the pedagogic process which takes into consideration different levels and various interactions of pedagogic factors. In the center of this method stands "modeling", which forms a bridge between science and practice. When we look at the complexity of pedagogic system-connections, there are above all incomplete, different one-sided models in educational science until now which do not provide a comprehensive picture of education. The system-related observation attempts, on the contrary, to understand the functional relationships of man and the world and to make the world in continuation of the attempts of Comenius up to the Club of Rome to a "workshop of humanity".

Ene Grauberg proceeds from the conflict running through history between Homo faber and Homo pictor, between a progressive, future-related and regressive, past-related orientation. Both tendencies occur within a subject as well as within a society, and the alternating *cultural paradigms* differ through their particular focus. The present transition from the Modern to the Postmodern is based on a new rationality, which besides the Homo faber which was favored in the modern, Homo pictor and along with it, the idea of continuity, culture and tradition can be observed. The look back opens a pluralism of equally valid truths in which no steps forwards can be taken without a consideration of other persons, cultures and societies. It is on this background that the solution to the paradigmatic crises and ideological vacuum in Estonia is being sought. The design of an independent developmental path must be based on a glance which is founded on a global perspective from the distance, which on the one hand takes into account the process of change of the entire civilized world, and, on the other hand, searches not only in Europe but, for

example, also in Japan and Korea, for models for the current reform process.

Christoph Wulf describes the origin of educational science as a developed, institutionally formed discipline in Germany which is taking place over the mutual supplementation and limitation of three different scientific theoretical orientations: humanities, empirical-analytic research, and critical theory represent the constitutive *paradigms of educational science*, which contain specific achievements and shortcomings. The paradigmatic controversies have, meanwhile, made clear that no closed total theory of educational science can be asserted and that each paradigm can have a claim only within itself. This insight leads to a relativation of scientific values and to a radical scientific pluralism, which instead of proceeding from a paradigmatic fixation leads to "pedagogic knowledge", which comprises divergent forms of knowledge in the field of pedagogy. After the loss of more secure frames of reference, anthropological inquiries contain a new meaning for pedagogy insofar as they are capable of integrating plurality and a divergence of pedagogic forms of knowledge.

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I. REVIEWS AND NEW APPROACHES

Stanislava Kučerová

Pedagogical Anthropology and Axiology

- Again Relevant

The period after the Second World War, which lasted almost fifty years, does not represent a uniform period in the development of our field of education. This period does not exhibit any characteristics lasting over the entire period and which would be clear and unambiguous. The changes in the general fundamentals and orientation, the methodological approaches as well as the results of concrete research await their historical analysis.

In the years 1945-1948 some philosophical pedadogical pre-war concepts were revived. There was a revival of Czech Positivism (or rather, so-called Critical Realism), which, just as the recognized initiator of this trend - Thomas Masaryk - did not hesitate to overstep the scientific taboo of factual data and to ask questions about meaning, the moral good, and other ideals and objectives. (J. Jahn, J. Král, E. Svoboda, I.A. Bláha). There was also a revival of a moderate Idealism with a culturally related orientation (J.B. Kozák, J. Hendrich, J. Popelová). Existentalism (L. Rieger) and phenomonology (J. Patočka) prevailed again. There was an attempt for a renewal of the successful pre-war reform movement (V. Příhoda, S. Vrána). And it was here that one already feels the strong influence of the Marxist orientation. A high soaring wave of irrational storm and stress (every great social turning point is accompanied evidently by a wave of the irrational, as we also experienced after the year 1989) makes all ideas doubtful which seem not to be "progressive" enough, i.e., which do not manifest a positive reaction to our "liberator in the East."

Everything non-Marxist appears to be not current, as not topical, unscientific - and soon thereafter even reactionary and hostile.

The month of February 1948 brought with it the rule of a single party, a single ideology. These were maintained through force and through the enthusiasm of the influential, who were in competition with each other over Orthodoxy. The "Marxism" that had become obligatory at this time certainly does not represent a method of critical analysis, but a degenerate doctrine, a motley collection of stereotypes and dogmas binding for everyone.

It culminated in the personality cult of Stalin. The sciences and scientists of all fields displayed an unbelievable amount of servility toward the "science of all sciences and the teaching of all teachings". The leaders and opponents of scientific writings, as well as the editors of professional journals and editions of book did not conduct any independent research or pursue their own ideas, but turned to "citations out of doctrines of the classic authors" and references to Soviet literature. It is a time

where instead of psychology, the physiology of higher nervous activity was studied, and where sociology was branded as a backward bourgeois science. It is a time when all leading philologists in a public university meeting openly supported the teachings of the Soviet Academician Marr, because they "embody Marxism in linguistics." A half year later the same philologists in a similar public meeting again openly condemned the Academician Marr - because Marr had been personally criticized by Stalin in the "Article on Linguistics."

The "fantastically successful" Soviet Mitschurin supporters acknowledge no "bourgeois" bequeathal (Mendel, Morgan,Weismann). Academician Lysenko condemns genetics and the science of genes as "declusion and mysticism." Professor Lepeshchinskaya "constructs" a living cell under laboratory conditions.

The significant Bolshevik party- and state functionary, A.A. Schdanov, explains that the history of thought is nothing but the history of the struggles between materalism and idealism, and begins an amazingly militant and unreconcilable criticism against all idealistic, or rather, philosophy considered not sufficiently materialistic, beginning with antiquity and going up to the present. Schdanov also claimed that one must condemn poets, writers, and any other artists because of a lack of "Socialist Realism": an unjust, bombastic, malicious condemnation which succeeded in being totally destructive.

And so it comes to the point that the scientists, artists, teachers - intellectuals from all fields - complete their training and retraining in order to be able to know what is to be believed and what is forbidden to be believed. And everyone fears the "critic," that is, is afraid that he will be found not to have enough "class- and party consciousness." For there can be nothing worse for an intellectual than when he is branded as an "objectivist". An "objectivist" is an enemy. There can be no other type of objectivism than the "bourgeois" kind.

Objectivism, a basic component of any rational system, is thus on the Index. It is undesirable, is condemned and reproached. In science it is not rationality that reigns but dogmatic arbitrariness. Obedience is demanded, not, however, to reason, but to the Communist establishment.

And so it turns out that educational science has also not preserved an objective, apparently scientific paradigm, and does not, however, serve the discovery of truth and reality. It "uncovers" and condemns "non-Marxist concepts", particular philosophic-pedagogical and reform traditions as well as foreign trends of thought as "class enemy." It is obligated, from what has been said above, to aim at what is ideologically given and ideologically claimed. The field of education establishes and justifies thoughtless measures of school politics. The estrangement of the theory of practice has continually signalled that the field of education has mostly lost interest in real life, and real life has lost interest in the field of education.

The field of education has also not succeeded in reacting to the changing needs and interests of the dominant group, which are alleged as the "needs of society." That is why one speaks with a certain disrespect of the field of education as an "outdated" science.

Ironically, rational objectivism is again being criticized today, this time, how-

ever, from the position of the concept of so-called "post-modernism" directed against enlightenment.

It was enough for the dogmatists of the fifties when they could proceed from totally unsubstantiated *a priori* theses on the nature of the socialist and communist epochs in order to be able to construct an arbitrary, exlusive anthropological project which was founded on the speculation over the nature of a classless society and *eo ipso* the new relationship arising among human beings; one must mull over which features, therefore, a "new man" mast have which will then be described as the objective of educational efforts.

It was offically believed that the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism, with their one-sided seemingly objectively understood tenets, had solved once and for all any arising problems. In the more liberal atmosphere of the sixties, in all the social sciences, including pedagogy, the conviction became stronger that a new philosophical integration of knowledge that existed until now is necessary as a starting point for solving new problems that had earlier been unknown and neglected, for which the motley collection of dogmas and stereotypical theses of the "scientific world view" certainly knew no answer.

In the sixties one sought a realization of the slogan "scientification" of pedagogy and other social sciences of that time on the one hand through an abandonment of dogmatic ideologization, and on the other hand, in a turn to exact observation, research, experiments, that is, in the direction of scientific models in the natural sciences.

Moreover, the anthropological tendency had begun to infiltrate into a number of disciplines (psychology, sociology, the theory of literature, historiography). Many authors referred in their articles to the thinking of the "young Marx" in his early writings. Here man (not yet a proletariat) suffers from his many-sided alienation (not yet from an exclusively economic exploitation) and strives for a general human emancipation (not yet revolution and the building of communism).

This "new wave" in philosophy declined, however, with the restoration of dogmatism and the massive "normalization" of "armored-socialism."

However, before this happened, we experienced the sixties as a time of rebirth and a beginning of improvement, as a liberation from the fetters of the ideological *a priori*, as an opening in regard to new incentives in practical experience coming from foreign literature and our own history of national education and schooling that had been unjustly condemned to being forgotten.

We have with great interest been made to trust different directions in the pedagogy of the 20th century. It was a fascinating experience to follow the entire spectrum of different concepts of education and to become aware of their inner relationships and connections. The many-sided polemics of these directions, whose partial discoveries and weaknesses testify that so far one has been unable rationally to comprehend the complexity of human existence, the different levels of the existence of human beings in their totality and unity, and to insert them into a self-enclosed classification system. The relevant concepts arise gradually, in polemics. Since all important levels of research do not appear immediately in the pedagogic consciousness (and could not), each direction has emphasized a certain aspect and

has concentrated its attention on this, and as a result other aspects are neglected and forced into the background. The researchers who represent the new directions have set certain neglected factors into the foreground, while, however, again being one-sided and neglecting others. Thus, in the course of a short period of time, different accents, preferences and dogmatism changed.

Naturalistic and mechanistic directions of thinking (reform-, deep-, psycho-dymanimic, humanistic, behavioristic, cybernetic pedagogy, as well a nihilistic "anti-pedagogy") are oriented toward human nature.

Sociological as well as essentialist pedagogy (value- and culturally oriented pedagogy) are based on the coupling of the individual with society, its structure or culture.

The central theme of the **personalistic** direction is the personality (existential as well as religious pedagogy). Positivistic and pragmatic pedagogy is based on facts and data without seeking any deeper interrelationships.

According to the basic methodological starting point, in the different lines of thought education is comprehended either as a duty for the self-development of the child, and the meaning of the experiences of aculturation is emphasized, or uniqueness; the satisfaction of the need for love or meaning; behavior is understood as a reaction to a stimulus; the maxim is preached: "let him grow up freely, do not interfere." On the other hand, education is understood as the purposeful formation, guidance and direction of development, or a cultivation of the child, as a human existential encounter full of meaning on the path of life, understood as related to human development and summarized as a process of socialization, aculturation, and individuation (personalization).

It was exciting to establish that it is clear that the pedagogical directions of the twentieth century are different in their understanding of people, of their foundation and purpose, and develop different anthropologically supported concepts and motives.

Out of the conflicts and one-sidedness of the dogmatization of points of view there naturally arises a demand for a pluralistic point of view and a postitive synthesis. The knowledge that particular opinions do not exclude each other, but have their concretely determined validity for place, time and circumstances, is relevant here.

And thus there arises an effort to integrate the partial sciences of man - biology, psychology, sociology - the nature and evolution of man - with the culture and philosophy of man and life, and with the results of human subjectivity and existence. The quest for a methodological approach has begun.

The scientific study of the educational process, which aims for an exact understanding of the external aspect of observed phenomena with a maximum depersonalization, an analysis of reality, quantification, mechanization, typization, standardization, will therefore not be questioned. Also these methods have been mentioned where it is a question of a knowledge of quantifiable-, average-, statistical phenomena, which identify the general and regular. These methods, however, are not satisfying when it is a question of a comprehensive concept, a uniqueness of persona-

lity, or experience, for an understanding and interpretation of objectives, of history, of culture. These methods are insufficient in the sphere of the inner experience of education, as well as of morals, law, politics and art. This is where philosophical-historical, hermeneutic methods are valid.

In former years of liberating research, I became acquainted with the publications of A. Glitner (*Ways to Pedagogic Anthopology*, 1962) and by H. Roth (*Pedagogic Anthropology*, 1966).

Pedagogic anthropology, supplemented by axiology, became the desired starting point for my concept of an "undogmatic" pedagogy.

However, there was a rejection of the dogmas of man as a "sum of social relationships" which determine class-and party affilitation as unacceptable, and the consideration of the problems of individual existence of man and the evaluation of the general worth of man was mercilessly combatted. And thus during the twenty years of "normalization," the incentives of anthropological pedagogy remained unexploited. Only after 1989 did we make efforts to fall back on these motives and revive them.

Let us present some thoughts which can be designated as our anthropological starting points, as they were formulated in the sixties.

A person who is conscious of his pedagogic responsiblity at the moment finds it increasingly clear that pedagogy cannot be merely a guide imprinting practical usable knowledge, skill and habits. Its mission in the life of man is more important; its engagement lies deeper. Pedagogy rarely has anything to do namely with the condition of human existence itself. It is, however, not equal to what man has learned to believe, which aims he devotes his strength and energy. From the standpoint of the fate of the individual and the entire people, there is, however, hardly anything more important.

And thus the pedagogic responsibility to mankind leads to the following question: Which objectives of education are really to be sought as worthwhile? And which can be measured? For which aims should we vouch with all our conviction and the entire weight of our personality? Under which conditions are these aims to be fulfilled? On what does the achievement of these aims depend?

A pedagogue who poses such questions is really asking about the existence and nature of man, of his needs, his possibilities, his perspectives, and his ideas. The fundamental questions of the pedagogue are therefore really anthropological, human-related questions.

Naturally it was also the same in the past. For ages pedagogic theory has been accompanied by anthropological considerations, whether these were derived from philosophy, religion or politics.

What is **education**? The reply to the question is not obvious. One cannot say what education is and at the same time not say what it should be. One can give no definition of the pedagogic effect without also recording an educational programme. As a whole it can be said that education in the past either was understood as a specific form of help, a guidance of men, so that he became what he was from nature (it was based on the premise that man is good from nature), or, however, as a

specific formation, as an artificial, more or less forced reformation and compulsory exercise, whereby man would become something other than what he was from nature. (It was on the supposition that the natural inclinations of man stand in opposition to recognized ideals.) The aim of the pedagogic effect was sometimes to have been man as individual, his life and happiness, another time the society, the social whole, its prosperity and order, sometimes human culture, suprapersonal spiritual values, another time the personality of a person and its development, sometimes even also a divine personality and the way to divine perfection.

As a component of nature, man is certainly mercilessly determined and dependent on certain conditions under which he satisfies his essential vital needs, digestion is carried out and he can be reproduced as an individuum as well as species. The natural dimension of man is an unchanging basis on which the cultural development of man stands. For a person - and that is the very reason he is one - through his work activity, through his formation of an artificial world, goes beyond the state of nature. In man, the biological ur-reactions are combined with behavior that transfers vital needs to the level of cultural- and social living in common. This has, however, no solution, but the transformation of nature in the person is the result.

It is all the same whether the lack of man's instinctive and physical equipment is the cause or the result of his cultural development; man remains, nevertheless, a living organism, but has yet been formed very differently from other creatures: another growth rhythm, a long, and at times helpless youth, a longer maturing old age, a sense of time, of history, no specialization, the multi-sided applicability of his organs and the extraordinary plasticity of his behavior, an adaptation of the circumstances to his needs, an openness to the world, a sense of the whole, the ability to abstract from his own self, the discovery of his own subjectivity, of his own inner self, conscience, comprehension of his being as a duty, dependence on the cultural legacy and on cultural models.

For the behavior of a living being, simple intention, the relation to the surrounding world, direct satisfaction of the needs of biological reproduction is typical. On the contrary, for man, the going beyond what is given by nature, a change in the given way of satisfying one's needs, is typical. Human intention is transcendent.* The effect of transcendence, i.e., the control of direct reactions and the application of mediated intentional activity are far reaching. Through transcendence, man has forever overstepped the bounds of the unproblematic world, the instinctively sure and animal-like carefree mode of being. Man has said a fateful farewell to nature: the loss of instinctive behavior has been replaced by the advantage of the power of human forces of being, and, thereby, also the constant anxiety; the clear possiblity

* *Transcendence* (from the Latin *trans* and *scendere* = to overstep, climb over, go over - a term for designating something which - in relation to any type of thing - finds itself outside of itself. The opposite is *Immanenz* (from the Latin *menere* = insert, last, remain) means that something of a particular thing is one's own, survives in it, flows together with it).

In Kant: Transcendent is what the bounds of our experience oversteps, thus the unknowable "world into itself." Anthropological philosophy comprehends man as a being that continually overcomes the world and himself. Transcendence means a necessary and regular overstepping of reality in the sense of the formation of a new reality.

for achieving new changes in his surrounding world and himself are attained, because the humanization of the world and of man in this world is an endless process.

The paradise of the unconscious has been lost forever and therein also lies the source of metaphysical anxiety, of guilt feelings and feelings of sin as well as the need to have to overcome these. Man seeks various possibilities in order to overcome these essential feelings of anxiety and uncertainty. And the really authentic way of overcoming has been found by him in the free, creative activity of work.

Thus the world seen by man as having positive worth, as secure, offering fullness and satisfaction, a world formed by man, is paradoxically not free of negativity. The social system concretizes man, alienates him from himself, manipulates him, forces man to serve his own creations as a slave, whereby these are out of his control, and the means, which originally should have served life have become an end in itself, a bearer of threat and destruction.

In regard to the fact that the situation of man in his environment is ambivalent, not only nature and "second nature" (i.e., culture) but also with the unnatural world of culture in the broadest sense of the word, the predominantly material culture (civilization) and the predominantly spiritual culture (culture in the narrow sense) are differentiated.

When the civilized dimension, the production and organization of society, the technology and economy liberate man from direct dependence on nature, and free man from his material needs through application of increasingly perfect technological methods, then it is possible to understand the cultural dimension with its striving to understand the meaning, to find truth, order, harmony, beauty and fullness of life, self-consciousness and self-expression, to integrate prerequisites for man in order to integrate in himself nature and civilization, society and individuality, and to overcome alienation and concretization, which threaten man in his social system. There are only a few possibilities of salvation for man and these are: not to conform to the given, but to transcend the given, and in case the given hinders the further development of human activity and freedom, it must be negated; man must be engaged in the struggle for positive change.

Life was, is and will never be carefree leisure, where all unsatisfied sorrowful longings cease. The liberation from a need leads to new needs. The creed of an authentic person can neither be apathy for life nor the ideal of consumption and consumer satisfaction. Humanity means a creative tension in the struggle of the human being for his own self-determination, as a free being, of a person who sets his goals in the sphere of the nonconcrete and not concretized reality, the sphere of ideal values.

The fate of the man who aims for reflective freedom and duties without a final solution is not an idyll but resembles a drama. To accept life means a chance for man to accept what is biologically (sickness, accident, death) as well as socially (the unsatisfactory adaptation into the society, pressures, shock, and unfortunate coincidences of all kinds) threatening from all sides. It is a chance to establish oneself creatively as an authentic personality, as a personality which finds only the meaning and fullness of existence, and at the same time achieves a cultural contrib-

ution for society.

For man there is no higher world than the one of the transcendence of a free, creative activity of the responsible, comprehensive, mature personality. In it and through it man will become more than he is. In that he overcomes nature, he also overcomes at the same time the given social circumstances and himself. The human personality can be transplaned in the culture; the culture manifests itself through the personality. Creative cultural work is the area of the genuine human kingdom.

Education as it is understood from anthropologic pedagogy has set itself the task to help the human individual to human development, so that the individuum will become a person in the real sense of the word. We know: without this help, the individuum would not become a person. Education requires a many-sided knowledge about the one to be educated, not to be able somehow to form and control this person according to an alleged model extremely well, but to join in a meaningful dialogue with him, so that the one to be educated can find his own path of life, his own way of finding a balance with reality and his own solution to human self-realization.

The pedagogue is unthinkable without **evaluation**, without a clarification of what is better or worse, what is human or inhuman, what is progress and what is decline. In short, he cannot avoid the axiological problematic, the problem of value: man does not limit himself only to knowing; he wills something, longs for, strives, rejects, struggles all at the same time. The anthropological starting point also offers a key to the real axiology of human action, because the value system results from human historical experience understood in the universal sense.

Education can be understood as a specific striving for the objectives of man, as a specific social phenomenon, as a practical task. All three mentioned aspects are equally meaningful and not to be neglected. The fact of education arose historically, and it will be posed always anew for each generation as a problem to be solved in order to be carried out responsibly.

Today as well, indeed, even today one can concentrate only on the educational practice of the present and think over effective techniques for "processing" man. It is not possible to investigate the phenomenon of education purely descriptively without posing the question of the meaning and content of our existence, our life, our efforts. Again and again in the past, and even more in the present the pedagogue has thought about posing fundamental questions of his field: what, why, how? The answers which he receives to these questions are as culturally-historically determined as the particular time of the person, his existence, his purpose, and his mission. Today the answers are sought in cooperation with integral anthropology and with axiology, since these views consider very broadly and thoroughly the problematic of human life and the integration of man into the world of nature and of culture, into the world of the present and of human history.

The **anthropological concept** confirms that pedagogy is not a science of manipulation and indoctrination of man, but a science of man, of the individual in a constitutive situation, where the individual will become a human being, namely in an educational situation. (Man as *ens educandum et educabile*) Pedagogy concerns

itself with man who has been transposed into an educational situation. Without the understanding of the deeds and episodes of education, the existence of man cannot be understood, just as an understanding of education depends on the understanding of human existence, the purpose of man and the meaning of life. In the educational situation the entire man exists with all his relations to reality.

It is also a question of a maximally complex object of research, an object which in many ways is polarized and which demands an interdisciplinary cooperation of all sciences that study man. The study of the anthropological basis of a human object, as well as the education, makes possible a special science, and, thereby, also pedagogy, to orient itself; it offers them the correlative categorical structure as a general theory.

The philosophical-anthropological interaction of knowledge about man demonstrates the biosocial existence of man, his natural- and culturally given boundaries, his complexly determined commitment as well as his freedom.

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From "Socialist" Practical Educational Science to "Pedagogia" Polish Pedagogy under Radical Social Change

Radical Social Change

In the year 1989, as a result of the "round table" and the first "semi-free" elections, Communists actually gave up power without a fight and voluntarily stepped back from the stage of history. In Poland, and similarly in all of Central-East-Europe, political, economic and radical social change has been taking place. It has lasted until the present.

The main goals which the Polish society on the threshold of the new post-Communist epoch have in mind can be designated through two key slogans: *Introduction of Democracy* and *Construction of the Market Economy.* Both these goals should have played an equal role in determining the direction of social change, since both equally relate to the main principles on which the organization of social life is supported in prosperous and relatively stable democracies in the West. The point is that after forty-five years of Sovietization, Poland can turn back to an integrated and open Europe. The introduction of democracy is considered a basic condition for the abolition of state control of all areas of public and private life and at the same time as a possibility for the citizen to have an influence on the control of the politics of the state. The building of a market economy is regarded, on the contrary, as the basic condition for the satisfaction of human needs and the guarantee of prosperity for the entire society.

Radical social change has not only embraced politics and the economy. It had to (and must from now on) bring with it basic changes in the world of education and instruction. There has been an attempt at democratization and removal of state control of the educational system, the introduction of a differentiated school and an extra-school model of education and training, a tolerance of world view, ideology and culture. The five-year endeavour for establishing a new world of education and training have been marked, however, by numerous paradoxes, contradictions and peregrinations. After a short period of pluralism and de-ideologization, attempts at new ideologization and politization have appeared - this time in the area of the teaching of the (Catholic) church. After the phase of decentralization and removal of state control, there followed a period of a renewed centralization, and there was an attempt to make the school system again dependent on a central state administration. The formation of a new world of education and training is proceeding far more slowly, with more difficulty and complications than had originally been assumed.

One of the main causes for this is without doubt certain far-reaching crises in Polish pedagogy (educational science) and pedagogues (educational scholars).

Radical Social Change and Pedagogy

Radical social change and sociology are connected in Poland, and, therefore, there is an interaction between them. It is meaningful, therefore, to consider carefully to what extent sociology has contributed its share to the development of the new social consciousness, without which the fall of the Communist system would have been impossible. One can also think over carefully to what extent the fall of the Communist system has contributed to the changes of sociology. Although pedagogy belongs to the social sciences, the first statement can unfortunately not be valid for it. The relationship between pedagogy and radical social change has a single, one-sided character. Pedagogy can claim no credit for the fall of totalitarian Communism. In contrast to sociology, economics, history and psychology, it has hardly influenced the systemic changes in Poland and society.

After the rise of the Solidarity movement in August 1980, the great majority of pedagogues remained true to the Communist party. During the negotiations between the Communist power and the democratic opposition, the professors presented pedagogy on the side of the government and the party. Sociologists, historians and philosophers should have taken on their roles in the defense of the interests and justified claims of the pupils, teachers and parents. It was no difference during the state of war. The fact that even a pedagogue, and unequivocally the most noteworthy Polish pedagogue of the post-war period, Bogdan Suchodolski, stood at the head of the national culture council appointed by General Jaruselski, almost became a symbol. Perhaps as a pupil of Eduard Spranger, he believed in the relative autonomy of culture, and in the period of political confusion wanted to protect cultural values? Pedagogues were as a rule not active in the underground opposition. Until the very end of the epoch of the "real-existing socialism," most of them appeared to believe in the possibility of the reform of the Communist system. A good - perhaps again symbolic - testimony of this is the fact that they were deeply engaged in the works of the special committees on national education. As a result of its activity, the committee adopted a comprehensive final report under the title "Education as a National Priority". It is a noteworthy paradox of history and an irony of fate that of all times, the report was published in the year 1989. Under the new political conditions it evoked no response. Not because what its author did was not correct - in the end its diagnoses of the state of the Polish educational system was authoritative, honest and correct, what the following years were to prove completely, but because in the eyes of the politicians and in the social consciousness it represented a completely compromised, i.e., socialistic pedagogy.

A long shadow of the sins of the past lie on Polish pedagogy and will oppress it. Furthermore, pedagogy as a whole - as perhaps the only scholarly discipline - is incriminated with a guilty feeling that for years it prevented attempts by society to-

ward liberation from totalitarian power. There was the accusation that it had played an obsequious, or even servile rolle toward the *ancien regime*. It was said that it was responsible for the indoctrination of the young generations and for a deep crisis in education and training. Therefore it is hardly astonishing that no one - with the Education Ministry at the head - demands and expects any kind of support in the reformation of education and instruction from pedagogy and the pedagogues. Polish pedagogy, having been treated with aversion by politicians and state officials, isolated from the educational system, is, therefore, concerned in the first place with itself, is attempting to overcome its infamous past, to solve its own problems, to discover a new identity.

In such a situation one can only consider carefully which changes took place and are taking place as a result of the radical social change in Polish pedagogy. The concept "pedagogy" can, moreover, be understood in two ways; both are not typical of the scholarly theoretical but scholarly sociological approach. Pedagogy - is first of all the pedagogues themselves, people carrying on this science, the scientific community; pedagogy - is, moreover, the results of the professional nature of the pedagogues, therefore, results of research, hypotheses, remarks, theories and ideologies. As a result, correspondingly, it must be a question: first of all, of the reaction of the academic pedagogues to radical social change, and secondly, of the changes in the identity of the pedagogues as a result of the radical social change.

The Reactions of the Pedagogues

The collapse of the Communist system surprised the greater majority of the Polish pedagogues. They were suddenly confronted with a change for which they - just as, moreover, the entire population - were not prepared. In essence, it is still difficult for them until now to find their way in view of the radical systemic changes, to cope with the new situation when the tough fight for a model of social life and the school is in full swing. It is possible to get the impression that some pedagogues are not capable or have no intention of changing their "old way of thinking," of accepting the challenges of the time and coping with the essential problems of today.

On the basis of publications, discussions and research projects, one can roughly distinguish five types of reactions by the Polish pedagogues to the radical social change: the lack of reaction, formal adaptation, flight, conversion and the development of research and theories which might be adequate to the new social conditions.

Lack of reaction appears mostly in provincial academic centers and/or is represented by the older generation of pedagogues. The lack of reaction is reflected in the fact that research and teaching is carried on exactly as it had before; as if nothing had happened in Poland. The reason for this lies not in the difficulty of getting rid of "the old way of thinking." It also can be traced back to the fact that the newest publications, above all those in a foreign language, are not easily accessible, and new academic handbooks have not yet been written. The lack of reaction has fatal

consequences, because in the public a contemptuous disregard toward the pedagogues as scientists produces and supports, as well as causes a situation in which future teachers and instructors are educated for a world that no longer exists.

Formal adaptation consists in research and teaching being carried out similar to the way it was before, but under other banners - mainly under the banner of the "personalistic pedagogy" or "alternative pedagogy." People who in the past let themselves be known as orthodox Marxists or simply Marxist propagandists, today have exchanged the attributes of their profession for others; for example "according to Marxism" against "according to the teaching of the (Catholic) church," "socialist" against "Christian." Thereby, however, they actually do not reject the paradigm of pedagogy (in the broadest sense of the concept) at all. Their pedagogic thinking and behavior is, furthermore, monistic, authoritarian, instrumental, and has been characterized by an understanding of the world of education and instruction in categories of aim-means, through a lack of tolerance for differing opinion.

In terms of *flight*, there are many different forms. Mostly one flees backwards. After the opening of the archives and the abolition of censorship, historical research was carried out with great enthusiasm. There were no longer any taboo themes. Now one strove to remove the "white spots" in the history of education and instruction. The period of 1919-1945 aroused the greatest interest. For example, such research was undertaken as: the work and life of the most famous Polish pedagogues of the inter-war period, who because of their "bourgois" and "reactionary" theories had been condemned by so-called socialist pedagogy to oblivion; on the professional education under the Nazi occupation; on the fate of Polish children who had been deported beyond the Urals by the Soviets during the Second World War. One flees toward futuristic visions of education and instruction in the United Europe of the 21st century. One flees, finally, outside, since one attempts to thematicize and analyse German anti-pedagogy, British critical educational sociology, American pedagogy of the Post-Modern or the Waldorf pedagogy that has become international, without, however, relating it to Polish traditions and relationships. All these types of flight are often based on the problems with a confrontation with the impenetrable situation in Poland. Research of the past, the future and what one can find abroad - although very necessary and desirable - is surely more successful, easier and more pleasant than the search for a way out of the dramatic crisis in education and instruction which has been inherited after the epoch of "real-existing socialism."

"Conversion" is a religious concept which originally designated the conversion from one confession to another. National and ideological conversions are fairly well known to sociologists. The latter take place mainly in periods of radical systemic change and consist in the actual changing of the consicousness of the individual. Some Polish pedagogues experienced such conversions as a consequence of the radical social change. Their orientation until now turned exactly 180 degreees. It is, thereby, not because of conformity that this occurred, but much more on the basis of inner conviction that they finally have now found the "one true belief." In distinction to a formal, external adapation, conversions presuppose the exchange or

transformation of a paradigm of pedagogy. And, thus, pedagogical thinking and behavior in Poland until now, for example, was characterized by authoritarianism and control by the layman. Today one can often observe that all those pedagogical conceptions have been rejected entirely in which the authority of a teacher, a scholarly orientation, order, and planning has been stressed. In contrast, those concepts are uncritically valued in which free activity, orientation to everyday life, self-development, and creativity play a central role. Almost generally the layman principle of the school has been called into question and the Catholic religion has been set forth as the obligatory expert in instruction.

Work on the development of research and theories which might be adequate to the new social conditions have only just begun. Young pedagogues above all have devoted themselves to the search for a solution to present problems. In Polish pedagogy a generational change has evidently taken place. It is difficult to prophecy what it will bring.

One can only hope that soon Polish pedagogy will actually become a complex, differentiated and heterogenous scholarly discipline.

The Change in the Identity of Pedagogy

After 1989 Polish pedagogues lived for almost four years in an atmosphere of total lack of orientation, isolation, spiritual chaos, moral hangover, guilt feeling, mutual reproaches and accusations. Finally, the board of the Polish Pedagogical Society decided to make an end of it. In February 1993 in Warsaw-Rembertow a large pedagogical congress took place. Almost 200 pedagogues from all academic centers took part in it. Over eighty papers were given at the plenary session and in seven work groups. The discussions appeared under the meaningful theme "The Evolution of the Identity of Pedagogy." The concept "evolution" as well as the concept "identity" presupposed at the same time continuity and change, duration and development. In contrast to the first post-Communist government of Mazowiecki, no "heavy line" was made under the past; one attempted much more to draw conclusions for the present and future out of the past.

In the center of the focus of the discussion at the Congress were four main questions: how had Polish pedagogy "behaved" toward the radical social change?; how far behind are they in regard to pedagogic research, theories and ideology in the developed Western democracies?; whether and in which direction will "paradigmatic" reorganization take place in Polish pedagogy?

How Polish pedagogy "has behaved" toward the radical social change will be shown best by the reactions of Polish pedagogues. And it is now a question of going into this in detail.

For a long time, systemic change in Poland was not promoted by pedagogy. For the above mentioned reasons, the competent and identified pedagogues practically avoided the possibility of having an influence on the world of education and instruction. It was rather amateurs and dilettantes who were concerned with its reform.

This has caused more disadvantages than advantages.

The backwardness of Polish pedagogy in relation to West European and American pedagogic thinking and behavior is relatively great. One can venture the thesis, however, that in spite of everything it is less than in other Central-East-European countries. Thus, since the beginning of the 70s Poland without doubt has been the country most open to the West and the most "liberal" Communist country. Not seldom our Czech, Slovak, or even Hungarian colleagues learned about the new Western pedagogic ideas through Polish professional journals. This does not, however, change the fact that many famous pedagogical works of the last decades are inaccessible until now in Polish. The greatest gaps have arisen in the area of pedagogic anthropology, general pedagogy, the philosophy of education and the methodology of the field of education. It will not be easy to conclude. The "paradigmatic" reorganization has become very clear, meanwhile, in Polish pedagogy. In pedagogical thinking and behavior an apparent change has been introduced. Where has the change come from and where is it going?

A high official of the Education Ministry has recently stated publicly on television that the entire Polish pedagogy of the last decades can be considered as "the distant echo of Marxism and Neo-behaviorism." This harsh judgment is certainly tendentious and unjustified. No wonder, therefore, that he aroused great indignation in several pedagogues. However, a kernal of truth lies at the basis of this judgment. Why?

In the last twenty years Polish pedagogy - as Habermas would say - was governed by a "technical interest in knowledge" which was totally available and exerted effective control over the world of education and instruction. The main task of pedagogy was to supply the ways and means of successful educational behavior, to secure control over practice. In pedagogic thinking, a scientific model from the area of science played the central role; the natural sciences with their "hard" research methods and strict logical procedures were valid as an unachievable model. Pedagogy was comprehended first of all as a practical science - as *the practical science of education*.

As a general observation, one can say that in pedagogy -in spite of its entire internal differentiation into individual special disciplines - two components must be clearly distinguished: the theory of education and the teleology of education. Through empirical research, the best being naturally experimental, quantitative research, the connection between educational phenomena and events must be recognized. The knowledge about the connections between different variables forms the bases for the development of a theory (theories) of education. Theories must serve for clarification, prognosis and, above all, for the development of technology. The addressees of technology were teachers, educators, parents, and educational politicians. Manipulating with independent variables, they, therefore, had to strive to reach certain goals and, thereby, to form individual persons, social groups, and entire institutions. The aims of the educational profession formed a reflex area of the teleology of education, which was founded, as is well known, through Marxist ideology and axiology. All these goals must fit together to gain an achievable ideal: "a

many-sided developed socialist personality in a developed socialist society."

Such a projection of pedagogy brought with it many advantages. New research methods were established; new important information about relations were gained: an effort began for the definition, explication and operationalization of pedagogic concepts: the methodological consciousness of pedagogues was deepened. It is, however, indisputable that pedagogy as a practical educational science can be only a tool; and this stands in the service of the Communist system. This is the cause of the considerable disproportion between the research and development of the theory of education on the one hand and the teleology or rather ideology of education on the other. In libraries and in social memory, what has been mainly left behind is a huge stack of worthless books on the characteristics of "a many-sided developed socialist personality".

In the course of and on the background of furious and sharp criticism and discussion with the pedagogy that has existed until now, intense discussions on paradigms are taking place right now in Poland. In relation to the West, they remain about twenty years behind. They are moving, however, in accelerated tempo in the same direction: to a recognition of a radical scientific pluralism or even to the acceptance not only of a scientific but also practical knowledge as well as awareness of the literature. This epistemological pluralism finds its results actually in the concept "*pedagogia*", which, meanwhile, has been used very often, which embraces very heterogenous methods of observation and at the same time differentiated types of educational- and instructional praxis. "Pedagogia" is possible only in the plural; different directions of pedagogical thinking and action are equally valid, and none of them can demand an absolute validity. This is what the newest motto of many Polish pedagogues sounds like.

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Palmira Jucevičienė

Educational Science in Lithuania:

From Yesterday to Tomorrow

This report is devoted to contemporary problems in the field of educational science in Lithuania. It will examine the problems in dynamics, asking: where are we coming from and where are we going? What scientific experience and potential do we have? What must we obtain to feel ourselves in the European scientific community? It is described by an analysis of the following:

1. The development of pedagogy in contemporary educational science in terms of expanding the boundaries of its subjects.
2. The situation in educational science in Lithuania today: the state, problems and methods of their solution.

The science of education as a forerunner of social development has its own history, full of changes and determined by different causes. Technology and economics caused the appearance of post-industrial society in Western countries that had an impact on the development of educational science, its traditions deriving from Medieval times. How did the development of Western European scientific thought effect the Middle and Eastern European countries, isolated for many years by the "iron curtain"? Evidently no strict generalization is possible when speaking about the post-socialist countries in this respect. In spite of the politics pursued by the "strong center", every country had its own special features. How did educational science develop in Lithuania, a country that had striven to retain the European cultural tradition, but for fifty years had been part of the Soviet Union, a huge and closed social-political macrosystem?

Lithuania as well as other European countries has deep rooted traditions of pedagogy as the science of education. The term came into use in the 18th century. Scholars think the term is derived from the Greek "paidagogike", meaning the art of educating. Some other scholars pointed out a nominal, more pragmatic and not so noble early definition: "pais, paidos" meaning "child, children", and "agein" meaning "to lead". Ancient Greeks called the slave taking a child to school "paidagogos". There is good reason for having two meanings. In some sense they denote the boundaries of the science: the outlook descending from "paidagogos" lays stress on pedagogy, focusing on the education of youth; "paidagogike" can be more broadly interpreted, as it does not denote any age limit. It should be stated, however, that the perception of the science was gradually transformed in accordance with its

expanding boundaries.

However, in Lithuania, as well as in other countries under the strict supervision of Moscow, science and research had rigid boundaries limiting the research field to the investigation of the educational process. It is true that a certain amount of discussion within these boundaries was possible. The discussions were stimulated even by the small amount of information from the West that managed to reach Lithuanian scholars through informal contacts and through international organizations. The information concerning UNESCO's (1965) statement was very important. It claimed that the level and speed of modern science, technology and technique development required lifelong education. Therefore the need for permanent education finally and distinctly broadened the boundaries of the field by means of continuing education. There was increasing reference to adult education, primarily focusing on further training. Estonian scientists (during the conference "Methods of further training", 1986) were the first to officially discuss the notion of andragogy. They particularly stressed the importance of adult education in the science and practice of education. Andragogy, assumed to be a branch of pedagogy, forced scholars to think about a broader understanding of educational science, which most probably was reaching "the critical point". The necessity of the term to include a new broader notion became clear. It was also important that adult education denied the authoritarian approach in education and required nontraditional means and forms of instruction. The need to consider methods of interactive teaching and educational technologies emerged.

The year 1990 is marked in Lithuania's history as the year of the re-establishment of Independence. This year brought to Lithuania significant transformations in educational theory. The object of educational science reached its "critical point" and that served as a precondition for a new term to appear. The main reason for its appearance was the increased interest in Lithuanian society and among scholars in the administration of the educational system. Lithuania now possessed what had previously belonged to the "central authorities". It is important to mention that the Lithuanian people did not wait for an official occasion, they began controlling the situation before the independence of the state was re-established. In 1989 M. Luksiene and her group announced the National School Conception.

Lithuanian education faced several problems. In different spheres of educational reform - from theory to practice, the lack of competence became evident. There were attempts to prove, that pedagogy researchers of the Soviet period were no longer competent. But the problem turned out to have much deeper roots. As mentioned above, the science of pedagogy had been limited to the investigation of the pedagogical process alone. Like an explosion, the boundaries of educational science expanded to educational system research, integrating various aspects - those of philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology, management, economics and others. It would not be correct to assume, that the discipline underwent only quantitative changes (right up to the level of educational systems). **It was a great qualitative change that can be described as the integration of pedagogy and other sciences.**

L. Jovaiša (1993) suggested the term "edukologija" to define the new quality of the object of research. He formed the term from Latin "educare" meaning "lead to another place, lead higher"; "educatio" meaning "education, training" and Greek "logos" meaning "science, idea, word". The Lithuanian term "edukologija" corresponds to the English "educational science". How is the term to be perceived? Already in 1979 the International Dictionary of Education broadly described education as "the total processes developing human ability and behavior" (p.112).We hold to the concept of educational science (or "edukologija" - the synonymic Lithuanian term) as the science of educating and self-education of a person and groups of individuals, as well as the organizing of educational systems.

Naturally, it is an integrated science, embracing such a vast branch as pedagogy dealing with pedagogical process research in different aspects and including subbranches: general pedagogy, didactics, pre-school pedagogy, school pedagogy, special pedagogy, social pedagogy, etc.

But in addition to pedagogy as a science of educating youth and self-education, andragogy, educational technologies, educational management, comparative education and other educational sciences are also very important.

Exploring the position and significance of educational science as related to society and science in general, it is of great importance to ascertain the relationship of the theoretical and applied aspects in the science. This ascertainment refers to two main paradigms of educational research reviewed by T. Husen (1988). The one deriving from the humanities stresses qualitative information and strives to establish an aggregative interpretative outlook. The paradigm arising from the natural science.

Under the Soviet regime, pedagogics was required to explain and justify the government's decisions concerning education. Except for the applied area of educational science, investigating the direct learner-teacher relationship was out of the question. In theoretical analysis, scholars had to keep to the "position of dialectical materialism". However, the extensive experimental research that was done is worth mentioning. Pedagogical experimentation was usually required in dissertational investigations. But the functioning of total "social order" affected the very educational aims as well as the development of the science of pedagogy. Therefore, the works of Lithuanian research under the Soviet regime were devoted to questions relating to the educational process, like those of developing the students' knowledge (J.Vaitkevi*j*ius), professional training (L. Jovaita), educational technologies (P.Jucevičienė), etc.

There were certain brave pedagogical historical works, an example of which is M.Karčiauskienė's study of covert primary schools in 19th-century Lithuania, the period of forbidden Lithuanian script.

It is possible to present a long list of versatile works by Lithuanian pedagogical investigators. It could comprise valuable investigations as well as insignificant, dull studies and even works aimed at research on "educating the citizens of the Communist society". However, scholars in Lithuania were more inclined to work in the sphere of teaching process investigations than in the field of "fostering commu-

nism".

Many Lithuanian scholars attempted to escape authoritarian pedagogy. They had even found a picturesque metaphor to describe authoritarian pedagogy based on the single-sided effect of the teacher on the pupil in the subject-object relationship. It was called "the stuffing of a fish". No matter how much you stuff the fish, it will drown; no matter to what extent a student is "stuffed" with knowledge, she/he will be lost in real life because of the impossibility or inability to use the acquired knowledge.

In emphasizing applied pedagogical research, we should mention, that Lithuanian scholars and practicianers had the possibility of learning about classical and modern pedagogical theories, though deprived of the right to evaluate any of them. As usual, the history of pedagogy started in the ancient Greek (Pythagoras, Aristotle, Plato, Socrates) and Roman (Quintilian) periods, touching upon the Middle Ages (Thomas Aquinas), the Renaissance (Erasmus Rotherdamus, Francois Rabelais, M. de Montaigne, Thomas Moore, Juan Vives), emhpasizing works by Descartes, Locke, Bacon, and laying special stress on the first didactics system created by Jan Amos Komensky in the 17th century ("Magna Didactica"). Real significance was ascribed to the 18th-century enlightenment ideas of Rousseau, Kant and Pestalozzi. Of the 19th-century scholars the German educators J. F. Herbart, A. Diesterweg and the Russian educators K.Ushinskij and L.Tolstoj were discussed.

Neo-Thomistic pedagogy, with the Catholic Church doctrine at its basis, was broached in the 20th century. It greatly influenced the scholarly works of S. Šalkauskis (1886-1941), the classic of pedagogy in independent Lithuania. Interest was also reflected in neo-positivism, pragmatic pedagogy (J. Dewey), and social pedagogy (E. Durkheim, P. Bergeman, P. Barth). The above mentioned philosophies of pedagogy had considerable impact on the pedagogical thought of researchers in independent Lithuania: J. Vabalas-Gudaitis (1881-1955), A. Gučas (1907-1987). Cultural pedagogy (Spranger, Litt, Kerschensteiner, Hessen), biopsychic pedagogy (H. Spencer, G. Hall), the "new school" ideas (S. Reddie, H. Lictz, A. Ferriere, M. Montessori) were also referred to. During the period of independent Lithuania, M. Montessori's ideas were especially popular - interest in them increased again after the re-establishment of the state's independence in 1990. We could also speak about a definite interest in the "school of work" theory (G. Kerschensteiner, E. Freinet), "pedagogy of action" (V. Lay), experimental pedagogy (W. Wundt, E. Thorndike, G. Hall, E. Meumann, followed by J. Vabalas-Gudaitis in Lithuania), pedagogy of personality (W. Stern), humanistic pedagogy (A. Maslow, C. Rogers), psychoanalytic pedagogy (descending from S. Freud's ideas, represented by D. Johnson, H. Berge). Regretfully, most of the data for analysis could be derived from secondary sources only, and it is not possible to speak of a genuine analytic objectivity.

Only four years have passed since the re-establishment of an independent State. Historically it is a very short period. But changes in the society's political life, and especially the broadened relationship with the West, helped Lithuanian scholars to

perceive the expanded boundaries of the subject of educational science as well as the integrated character of educational research. Educational science is expected to induce the society's development (directed toward democratization) and the more successfully the theoretical and applied are reconsiled in the science, the more effective will this process be.

The theoretical aspect of science is especially significant for the strategy of society's development, while the applied is of utmost importance for its tactics. Insofar as the question of theory is problematic in the educational science in Lithuania, it needs broader analysis. Clearly, Lithuanian scholars must above all engage in the analysis of educational philosophies, theories and concepts through studies of original scholarly works.

The first step in this direction was made in 1993 by L. Jovaiša, the patriarch of Lithuanian educational science. His monograph, "Introduction to Educational Science", published in 1993 at Kaunas University of Technology might inspire a more profound analysis of original sources.

In his monograph, Jovaiša defines the goal of education as "helping a person to find the means of real and ideal values for his/her self-expression in order to develop the totality of possibilities possessed by nature, enabling a person to be wise, creative and moral" (p. 171).

A similar goal description is given in the Lithuanian Education Conception. The goal manifests the position of humanistic education, radically different from the Marxist goal of "universal personality development" that was actually directed towards authoritarian pedagogy. Nevertheless, extensive scholarly discussion on the general aims and partial educational objectives is necessary.

In Lithuania the consideration of educational aims was carried out in a medium lacking professionalism in education. And, moreover - it is possible to state that a split between the Lithuanian investigators of education and the reformers of the educational system occured. The fact that most of the researchers are not employed in reforming the educational system points to a great problem in Lithuania. In spite of the reform's emphasis on the democratization and humanization of the educational system, there is lack of attention paid to sound knowledge even at the conceptual level. Lack of systematic organization is especially evident the design of the educational system, and many problems have arisen in applying the democratic principle in reform.

Theoretical educational research acquires special significance in this situation. It would make possible the verification of the strategies of educational reform and the substantiation of its tactics.

Applied educational research could definitely aid the practical steps of reform. Investigations of educational problems through a historical perspective could enrich the fundamental and the applied aspects of educational science.

It should be kept in mind that the development of other sciences and the humanities itself, will pose new questions for educational science, and applied research may be insufficient to answer them. Thus, for instance, educational philosophy should be ready to answer questions initiated by the appearance of new, more per-

fect multimedia systems. A concrete example is that of Virtual Space educational possibilities (M. Kr. Soby, 1993), Pushing to the foreground of the cognitive process emotions and feelings but not a person's thinking processes. They accentuate the conveyance of information mostly through prospect ("virtual space") but not through symbols. Is educational science ready to accept and evaluate this information? Similar and different questions will inevitably arise in the future. It is important that the science will be prepared to answer them.

What is the Current Situation in the Field of Educational Investigations and Scientific Potential in Lithuania?

Lithuania has fourteen higher educational institutions, seven of which have been legitimized by the Science Council of Lithuania to organize doctoral studies in education.

I believe the above stated fact makes it possible to claim that the scientific potential of these universities and other higher institutions is on an advanced level on the Lithuanian scale.

Therefore, it might be expedient to present certain data regarding these seven higher educational institutions and the Pedagogical Institute, the research institution affiliated with the Ministry of Culture and Education. The function of an educational reform generator is ascribed to the latter institution.

The first unit comprises Vilnius University, Vilnius Pedagogical University, and the Šiauliai Pedagogical Institute, legitimized to offer joint doctoral studies in educational science.

- Vilnius University - the classical type of university, one of the oldest in Eastern and Middle Europe (established in 1579). Regretfully, its effort in educational science is not considerable at present. The main department engaged in educational research is that of Educational Science. It has two habilitated doctors and four doctors of Education* They carry out investigations in the fields of personality development (theoretical and applied educational problems) and educational administration.
- Vilnius Pedagogical University is a teacher training and research institution. Eight habilitated doctors and twenty doctors of education investigate the content and process of education at secondary and higher schools. Education and pedagogical thought development in Lithuania and in other countries, content and methods of integrated primary teaching, fostering of musical and language skills in early childhood, health development through physical training exercises and sports - all these questions come under the auspices of research at Vilnius Pedagogical University.

* The new scientific degree system in Lithuania has two level positions - the doctor's degree (corresponding approximately to the P.D.) and the higher level - the habilitated doctor's degree.

- Šiauliai Pedagogical Institute trains pre-school, primary school and specialized educational teachers. Two habilitated doctors and sixty-eight doctors investigate the teaching of certain subjects at pre-school institutions and primary school.

The second unit, having joint doctoral studies in educational science, is composed of Kaunas University of Technology, Vytautas Magnus University, Klaipëda University and the Physical Education Institute of Lithuania.

- Kaunas University of Technology is one of the greatest higher educational institutions in Lithuania. In spite of focusing on technical sciences ,the university provides doctoral studies in four social sciences: educational science, sociology, economics and management. Three habilitated doctors and seventeen doctors of education investigate educational theories, management of education, higher education, professional training, adult education and educational technology.
- Vytautas Magnus University, which functioned in the period of Independent Lithuania and which was re-established in 1990, has only two doctors of education pursuing reseach on problems of adult education and children development.
- Klaipëda University , the newest Lithuanian university, has three habilitated doctors and thirty-seven doctors of education. They analyse theories and methods of pre-school and primary school education, the development of Lithuanian school and pedagogical ideas, the J. Komensky scientific heritage, higher education, adult education, and Christian school pedagogy.
- the Physical Education Institute of Lithuania employs two habilitated doctors and twenty-four doctors of education analysing the problems of physical training.

The Pedagogical Institute employs one habilitated doctor and sixteen doctors of education, engaged in the following research: curriculum reform, state standards of education, developing adult education in Lithuania, reform of professional training, learning motivation in pupils, differentiation and integration of the content of education, educational sociology, family pedagogy. The Institute, to which the role of educational reform flagman has been ascribed by educational administrators in Lithuania, confines itself mostly to applied research.

The above data demonstrates that pedagogical topics (those of educational process and content) prevail in research carried out by Lithuanian scientists. Kaunas University of Technology pursues the educational investigation of a broader object, Klaipëda University follows the same pattern. Few but rather fundamental investigations are being carried out at Vilnius University.

Higher education reform begun in Lithuania in 1990 had great impact on the development of educational science as a modern science. The reorganization of Soviet post-graduate studies into doctoral studies - the highest level studies at universities - was especially important. Doctoral students are taught by Lithuanian and visiting scientists from European countries and the USA.

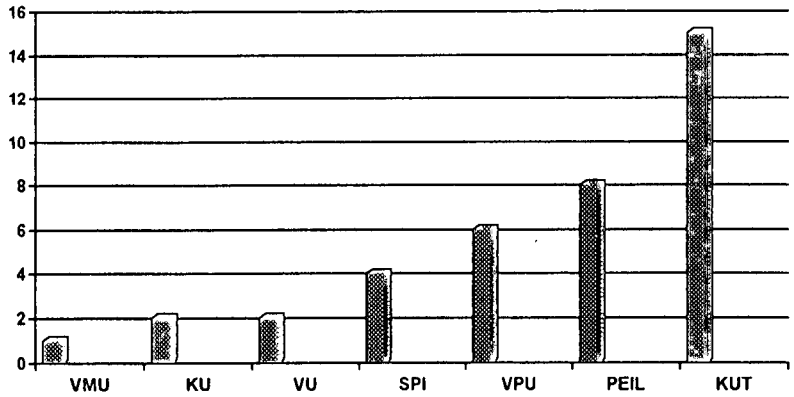
Thus, Lithuanian professors willing to lecture at the level of doctoral studies or

to be scientific advisors of doctoral dissertations, must master the results of contemporary educational science and pursue sound independent research. Therefore, it seems natural that even the legitimized higher institutions should not be too quick in exercising their right to organizing doctoral studies in educational science (see scheme 1).

The development of educational science is burdened by general economical difficulties in Lithuania, and the financial state of higher education emerging from them. Recently, problems of basic living expenses have dominated the scene (the salary of the highest ranking professor does not exceed 120 USD per month, the doctoral student's monthly grant is less than 50 USD).

Number of Doctoral Students in Educational Sciences at Higher Educational Institutions in Lithuania

Scheme 1



VMU - Vytautas Magnus University, KU - Klaipėda University, VU - Vilnius University, SPI - Siauliai Pedagogical Institute, VPU - Vilnius Pedagogical University, PEIL - Physical Education Institute of Lithuania, KUT - Kaunas University of Technology.

The analysis will conclude with the following generalizations:

1. Educational science is a modern science with a new quality, having pedagogy as its basis and which is strongly integrated with other social sciences.

2. The development of science in Lithuania had a distinctive history of its own,

though much in common can be observed in European educational science and Lithuanian scientific thought during the period of the independence between World Wars I and II. The Soviet regime impeded the development of science for fifty years, converting it into an executor of the "social order".

3. The direction of the development of contemporary educational science in Lithuania corresponds to European tendencies; therefore, there is a good possibility to attain the fundamentals in the science.

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Erzsébet Golnhofer

Opportunity for Pluralism in Hungarian Educational Concepts and Theories

Introduction

My topic is opportunity for pluralism in Hungarian educational concepts and theories. To survey this question, there is a need for a review of the situation of educational science in Hungary at the present time of political change.

Hungary is undergoing radical changes, and this process is having a great influence in the field of education also. *The political and social changes shook up the theoretical, philosophical and ideological bases of Hungarian educational science and practice.* (Mihály 1993, 82)

The democratic changes in 1989-90 opened new, but from many points of view unknown paths in theory and practice.

What was clear was that *educational science had become part of a new situation.* Researchers had to take this fact into consideration in their scientific work and professional career as well. Hungarian educational science was characteristically self-controlled before the political changes; this quality describes it today as well. From 1990 some formal professional meetings were organized to discuss the position of Hungarian educational science. From these the following events were considered remarkable in past years:

- a conference about forty years of Hungarian educational science;
- a formation of a viewpoint of the Educational Researchers National Association on the position of Hungarian educational science;
- conducting a general inquiry to educational scientists on the situation of educational science;
- one section of the Educational Congress dealt with this question as well.

When researchers were confronted with the status and future of educational science, they *stressed some questions.* Here I would like briefly to discuss the following arising problems:

- conflicting views on the paradigmatic change in Hungarian educational science from 1989/90;
- the effect of political changes on educational science.

1. Was There a Radical Paradigmatic Change in Hungarian Educational Science from 1989/90?

A number of educational scientists think that *a radical change took place* in educational theory and practice as well from 1989/90. Their most important argument is that Hungarian educational history between 1945 and 1990 was a unified epoch, a long period of compulsory ideological indoctrination. Consequently there is nothing in Hungarian education (theory and practice) that could be continued after the political and social changes. (Mészáros 1991, 33)

The majority of researchers hold a different opinion. In their belief, the paradigmatic change in educational science can be described rather as *a slow dissolving and transforming process* than as a single act. (Mihály 1993, 100; Angelusz 1992, 13; Nézôpontok 1992) I accept this idea as well.

This statement can be supported by facts of educational history of the past so-called socialist forty years. As a matter of fact, this period can be divided into specific sub-periods. To illustrate *these sub-periods* the following *characteristics of educational politics* can be mentioned:

- The 1950s were the age of *direct political control* over educational theory;
- In the 1960s *professional control mechanism* appeared mainly in the field of didactics;
- The 1970s was *a mixed epoch*, namely, political control on the one hand became stronger, but on the other hand had to struggle with increasing demands for professional control.
- The 1980s can be marked as the shifting of emphasis *towards professional control*. (cp. Halász 1992, 64)

Another way of showing sub-periods in Hungarian educational history *is the theoretical-methodological paradigm*. (Mihály 1993) In this approach, post-WW II history of Hungarian educational science can be described as *a struggle between the philosophical-deductive and empirical-inductive paradigms.*

What Kind of Sub-Periods Can We Outline along these Paradigms?

The first one is *between 1945 and 1948:* This short epoch in the history of Hungary was *a non-socialist period*, yet a new political state formed, a new democratic society emerged. This situation provided favourable conditions for the reconstruction of a pluralistic educational world, in which, whether opposing or supporting the philosophical-deductive paradigm, the empirical-inductive paradigm appeared as an up-to-date, democratic approach. What was stressed was that Hungarian educational trends had to free themselves of the limits of philosophical and/or deductive education. (Golnhofer 1991)

This hopeful development in educational theory and practice was interrupted by the radical political changes and by the strong pressure of communist power on

education *after 1947/48.* The effects of outside *political events forced* the formation of *the so-called socialist science of education* and its monopolistic position.

This socialist educational science was *a deductive marxist-philosophical quasi-science* and this paradigm *dominated 1950s'* educational thought. There was no need for independent educational science from the point of view of power; quasi-educational science performed ideological verificatory and normative functions.

In the 1960s movements started within the framework of the existing marxist-philosophical-deductive paradigm. There were efforts to rehabilitate the young Marx, *to build a theoretically high-level marxist educational science.* Therefore, in so-called socialist education those values appeared which link general human values. This trend gave educational thought *the opportunity to emerge from the direct ideological field.* (Mihály 1993, 92) This new approach broke with old ideological socialist educational science, thus *a quasi-pluralism started* to form.

In the second half of the 1960s empirical research reappeared, and among others the researchers investigated the efficiency of some methods, began different measurements and Hungary was affiliated to the International Evaluation Association. All this played an important role in the dissolution of the philosophical-deductive paradigm.

In 1970s the above-mentioned phenomena strengthened and set off those processes which would *erode the monopoly* of the marxist-philosophical-deductive paradigm. The theoretical ground of socialist educational science broadened and at the same time became more sceptical (Mihály 1993, 93-94):

- Fundamentally neo-marxist educational approaches assumed a very important role. These trends sharply criticized socialist school practice and attempted to create a marxist educational science as a pedagogy of reality as opposed to philosophical-deductive educational science.
- The different branches of psychology and sociology influenced the development of empirical research in the field of education. These efforts began to reduce the monopoly of marxist-philosophical-deductive educational science.
- Within narrow bounds educational researchers and experts had the opportunity to get into touch with the international educational profession.
- To meet the demands of modernization a curriculum development was started within the framework of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Stressing the role of science in developing the subject-matter questioned the normative function of educational science.
- Modernization required more effectiveness in instruction, thus the government took a new managerial and technocratic attitude and model in educational professional life: Order - research - try - initiate - modify. Herewith the capacity of research increased, a new generation of researchers made their appearance, the topics of educational science were restructured, workshops were organised in the spirit of empirical research.

In the 1970s and 1980s tactics developed in empirical research which gave the opportunity of eluding Marxism in secret.

The 1980s broke the monopoly of Marxism, and the philosophical-deductive paradigm was forced onto the periphery. To illustrate this phenomenon the following reasons and consequences can be mentioned.

In this decade marxists and non-marxists developed a dialogue which influenced the appearance of alternatives in pedagogy. *From 1987-89 ideological and educational pluralism was accepted in educational literature.*

The Educational Act in 1985 helped the development of pluralism in school practice, i.e., this act declared the professional independence of schools. This was connected with those educational concepts which denied marxist pedagogy theoretically and turned to different children-centered educational concepts, e.g., the pedagogy of Waldorf, Freinet, Rogers.

Theoretical and practical pluralism mutually reinforced each other, the spread of alternative schools continuously raised new questions concerning theory; pluralism in educational theory gave greater opportunity for practice to choose concepts adequate to educational needs.

In the second half of the 1980s didactics attempted to take into consideration *the results of growing pluralism theoretically* as well. These approaches accepted educational pluralism, but they did not question the value of marxist ideology and philosophy directly.

At the same time as a consequence of the escape from marxist philosophy and ideology *the role of theory was undervalued.* Thus, Hungarian educational experts were better informed in empirical research than in different educational theories, and precise theoretical concepts could not develop.

The spread of alternatives and pluralism was stimulated by the government, that is, it was forced to rely on educational experts. The role of educational science increased in decision making. All this enhanced the prestige of educational science and encouraged more open inquiry into international trends.

At that time the normative function of educational science became doubtful for many educational researchers accepting ideological and educational pluralism. Educational scientists attempted to lay emphasis on recognizing and discovering functions and *to move towards an empirical-inductive paradigm.*

In short political and social changes opened up educational science. *In the 1980s educational science prepared itself for the reception of different educational philosophies.*

In the 1970s and 1980s *the infrastructure of educational science* was formed, the scientific standard was accepted with a consolidation of empirical-inductive research. (Halász 1992; Mihály 1993; Tamás 1993) An articulated system of institutions was developed; different research institutes and some educational departments carried out pragmatical research on an international level. But to date the financial and organizational infrastructure of educational science *is marked by the authoritarian stance of the education ministry.* The latter determines the aims, the topics of research through the system of support. In this situation competition for sources appeared as competition of loyalty towards power. Educational science is receiving more and more independence, but its autonomy is being attacked by direct depen-

dence on the ministry in the determination of research capacity.

Educational scientists cannot consider themselves to be a unified group. Some think that the sources of differences can be found in the different generations. The passing of time pushed out the generation of the 1950s from scientifical life before the political changes. In the 1970s and 1980s the beginners with different preparedness and motives more and less were selected by scientifical performance. The novices of the 1980s, the so-called third generation, are free from ideological and political restrictions. (Halász 1992; Mihály 1993, 99)

In my opinion other standpoints are important as well, over and above the generation gap, e.g., different social backgrounds, differences in attitude toward the political and social system, dissimilar education, different opportunities for receiving information from abroad.

I hope this short description of educational historical facts and processes verifies my former statement that the change of paradigm in educational science could take place without a single radical change in Hungary.

2. How Did the Political Changes Affect Educational Science?

Educational scientists admit that the political and social changes produced the basis on which the real autonomy and pluralism of educational science could emerge.

The majority of experts looked at the changes of system with *great expectations*; nevertheless, today some scientists talk about *losing* their *illusions or of a crisis in educational science.*

Others think that it is not educational science that is *undergoing a crisis,* but *rather the scientists* who study educational science. Namely, as a consequence of democratic changes the various groups of educational scientists were devalued. (Kozma 1992, 72)

Not only did some followers of socialist theory and so-called socialist educational schools and their supposed or real values disappear from the scene, but political changes undervalued the technocratic educational scientists who previously accomplished expert work. Before the changes this work alone gave the "scientists" prestige; at the same time there were attempts in educational science to interweave educational policy and politics. *The new ministry* did not make use of or, at least, made less use of the so-called old experts' participation in different decisions; instead it *turned towards the politically loyal experts, mainly practising teachers.* This phenomenon was in effect the negation of every link with former educational politics and science and their representatives as well.

It is apparent that until recently the discovery, developmental and normative functions of educational science were confused, and this mixed the work of scientists with the act of experts and decision-makers.

Today not only has the ministry rethought this view but scientists have also attempted to clarify whether they want to become researchers or experts or politicians

respectively, and the opportunity of a connection between the work of researchers and experts. *The differentiation of these roles* has prevented conditions for the autonomy and independence of educational science from being attained. (Mihály 1993, 1O1) To show the difficulties concerning this problem the following selecting facts can be mentioned:

- The research bases of educational science are the background institutes of education ministry.
- The educational institutes are constantly undergoing reorganization; they have no clear functions.
- The educational departments of higher education do not have adequate personnel and financial conditions for research; they are overloaded with training.
- The financial problems of research are unresolved: financial restriction prevails; the government has no conception of research finance; there is no competition system which is able to insure aim-oriented research, quality control and publicity.
- Financing supports developing research related mainly to educational politics.

The above-mentioned items create confusion in educational science and politics concerning the role of researchers and politicians. It is relevant to this problem that researchers often confuse the inquiry of education as a macrosystem with the examination of education as a microsystem.

Studying educational science, one can see alarming signs of a narrowing of educational science and the development of an official educational science supported by the government. (Angelusz 1992, 22) Others are afraid of the formation of a philosophical-deductive-normative educational science. (Mihály 1993, 1O2) In my opinion, these trends are overemphasized, but we must pay attention to them.

After this short description of the situation of educational science we can sum up *the minimal tasks to develop real pluralism* in Hungarian educational science:

- We should clarify the functions of educational science;
- we should interprete the roles of educational scientists, experts and educational politicians as well;
- we should develop the financial, legal and organizational background for autonomous educational science.

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II. PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

József Nagy

About the Role of Educational Sciences in Changes of Hungarian Public Education

The sudden changes in public education caused specific, unexpected problems. The attempts to solve these problems and their consequences have become the subject of permanent analysis (as indicated in the referenced literature). The scientific results and the analyses of the educational sciences have been providing information since the beginning of the 1980s; the knowledge appears to provide a more successful transformation and a transformation with less conflicts. Despite this, the hardships and extremities of the processes of transformation have not been made easier by the theoretical recognition and the knowledge of the experiences of the more advanced countries. The reasons for this have not yet been analyzed. The revolutionary rapid changes intensified situations providing for the better understanding of the role and potentials of the educational sciences, more specifically what can be aided by an analysis of the Hungarian situation.

The Role of the Educational Sciences in the first Stage of the Renewal of Public Education

In Hungary the pedagogical research field has gradually achieved greater freedom since the early 1970s. Consequently, in a decade a small group of researchers of international level could develop who made a contribution into the massive existing field of ideological pedagogy by virtue of their empirical research results and the national introduction of foreign trends.

Interest in public education in various sciences, mainly in psychology and sociology, has also increased. Looking back to the early 1970s, it can be stated that a change in the paradigm was initiated, which later exceeded the ideological commonplace descriptive pedagogy. The initial tension was provided so that the process of democratization could be started in Hungary as well.

At the same time the change in the political situation made democratization possible. In the early 1980s, experts of thorough international perspective and diverse research experiences acquired influential positions. Researchers were given the opportunity to participate in the preparation of a legitimate fundamental process. The Education bill was completed and it passed in Parliament in 1985, initiating fundamentally positive and negative changes.

Significant characteristics of the bill were: the decentralization and liberalization

of public education which was in contrast to direct and excessively centralized methods. The independence of schools increased significantly and the checking and directing role of the state was reduced to a minimum. These changes were anticipated with great optimism. Yet, the consequences had shocking effects and raised dozens of problems, the negative consequences emerged only later.

The symptoms were immediate. The network of supervisors was abolished. However, a system of professional advisors should have replaced it. This unfortunately meant the abolition of supervision. The bill also eliminated the directing tasks of the regional pedagogical institutions and the educational departments of the city councils. In Hungarian public education there is only one examination, the final examination which is formal, due to the entrance examinations for further education. Therefore, the contextual regulation has always played an insignificant role in the Hungarian public education.

A further condition of the democratization of public education is to provide equal opportunity and develop talent. In Hungary the unified eight year primary school provided formal equal opportunity. Yet, the development of talent was not ensured. The central curricula prescribed the tasks in great detail. In the pedagogical public knowledge there was an increasing resistance against contextual uniformity. The experts could clearly recognize the problems arising from the abolition of central regulation. Therefore, recommendations were outlined for the introduction of the contextual regulation of a decentralized and liberalized system of public education. One of the ideas was the establishment of an English-type system of examinations. Furthermore, the preparatory documents included a multi-level curricular regulation, i.e., the need to develop a core-curriculum on which the local curricula could have been developed, while taking advantage of contextual independence and freedom.

However, the new system of contextual regulation has not yet been developed. Public education has developed into a system without control, where schools are left alone. Although the best schools have learned to "swim" and many new initiatives have emerged, the majority lost ground. The greatest problem (that we are beginning to see only now) is that the system has become unprotected against outdated ideas and institutions. This process can be interpreted as the extremities of decentralization and liberalization that took place against the centralization and later the "restoration" endeavors. From among the many factors, the role of the educational sciences will be detailed to a greater extent.

In the beginning of the twentieth century in Hungary, the processes of disintegration and change of paradigm started but for some specific reasons these processes were relegated to the periphery after World War I, and the dominance of the old pedagogy intensified. In the years following World War II, there was a rapid consolidation, but from the early 1950s the old pedagogy, with some new ideological content (with the new Soviet pedagogy) gained ground in a more extreme way.

Disregarding the phases preparing the changes, pedagogy remained ideological until the turn of the century, i.e., it was based on the world concept dominant in a given country. Its method was speculative pedagogical theoretical works that were

based on the axioms of a given ideology, the quotation (historical aspects) and analysis of the statements of the old and the new authorities as well as the direct inclusion of experiences. (In the last 40 years more than two-thirds of the 200 Hungarian candidate and academic doctoral dissertations were of this type.)

The focal point of the change in the paradigm which intensified after the turn of the century (it was manifested most radically in the English-speaking territories, especially in the U.S.) was ideological pluralism on one hand, and on the other hand the intention to separate from philosophy and exceed the speculative and historical characteristics referring to authorities and experiences.

This process was promoted by the advancement of psychology, later sociology and other sciences. The results of these changes were the birth of a series of new sciences: educational psychology, educational sociology, educational social psychology, educational anthropology, educational technology, theory of educational administration, policy, management etc. The history of education became independent, and a "cast" of empirical experimental researchers developed who, with their extensive publications under the title of measurement and evaluation in education and their specific competences, legalized themselves.

Due to these processes, pedagogy as a science disintegrated. Even the terms pedagogy and didactics became pejorative, especially in the English-speaking territories. Pedagogy was denigrated all over the world. It is quite natural if the developing of new sciences at the edge of pedagogy and other sciences do not become integral parts of pedagogy but rather become the periphery of other sciences that are cultivated by representatives of the other sciences.

Despite this century-old paradigm and the changes that go with it, the old paradigm has remained alive. It has particularly remained alive in the East-European countries. (Otherwise, the roots of the third pedagogical paradigm can now only be suspected from which one day an independent multidisciplinary educational science can develop together with other branches of sciences and will carry out continuous synthetization.)

As indicated above, progression in Hungary was twice interrupted and transformation received an impetus only in the early 1970s psychology that was pushed back in the decades prior to the 1970s. This was true especially for sociology in the second part of the 1970s; also in the early 1980s attention was paid to public education, and significant original works were published. These were, however, the fruits of psychology and especially, sociology. These publications and researchers received decisive tasks in the preparation of the above described changes in public education. Education research experts only played a supplementary role.

The unfolding educational psychological, sociological and policy researchers regarded traditional pedagogy as of secondary importance. In those days, however, there were few empirical pedagogical researchers and experts in curriculum development; therefore, they could not have a significant effect. For this reason, the contextual problems of public education were overshadowed. The above described changes in the system left the contexts almost unaffected. There was only a minor correction in the already existing curricula. The old curricula have been in effect

until the present. Since these old curricula do not fit into the decentralized and liberalized system, and do not harmonize with the changed requirements, schools and teachers do not take them into account. Habits and accidental ideas about the context define the contexts quite frequently. The decentralized and liberalized public education disintegrated both on the level of the institution, administration and management but also from the contextual point of view and showed signs of disintegration and chaos at the end of the 1980s, at about the time of the change of the societal system.

The Role of the Educational Sciences in the second Stage of the Renewal of Public Education

As the researchers of the educational sciences experienced the consequences of the lack of contextual renewal and the consequences of contextual disintegration, they promoted debates with writings about the necessity of curricular renewal, organized conferences and published volumes of collected writings about the international literature.

Utilizing their modest facilities, they prompted research/development projects in order to solve urgent problems (mainly at the National Pedagogical Institute and at the Attila József University Szeged).

Prior to the change of the system, four researchers (Endre Ballér, Zoltán Báthory, József Nagy, Péter Szebenyi) managed to receive a commission from the existing ministry to develop a national core curriculum, despite the fact that the powerful promoters of the contextual regulation by examinations only, considered it unnecessary and rejected it. At the same time, they did not even provide the conditions for preparation of the system of education. Despite the hardships of the change in the system, the already begun curriculum development continued. The National Core Curriculum was completed after two years' work and was presented for a debate by the new ministry set up after the change of the system.

Due to the urging of the researchers, the new ministry established a national center of examination in Szeged to start the preparation of the examination scheduled at the age of 16 and also commissioned one of the regional pedagogical institutes (Pécs) to update the final examination in secondary schools. In the two years prior to the change of the system, it seemed that contextual renewal could take place and the curricular system and the system of examinations could develop in harmony with the decentralized and liberalized school system that was established in 1985. The nearly completed National Core Curriculum was put "on hold" , financial support was terminated. Also the need for the existence of the center of examination in Szeged became uncertain and work slowed down. Due to these facts, towards the fourth year of the change of the system (at the time of this seminar), there has been no new curriculum and examination format. The contextual renewal has been taking place on the level of the individual schools and limited due to the lately uncontrolled market of course-books and text-books.

These facts can basically be interpreted in political and educational policy terms. This, however, does not release the analyzer from analyzing the role and responsibility of the educational sciences. In the 1980s the research and developments in the field of educational sciences grew richer. The number of trained experts increased, and their level of education was significantly higher than at the beginning of the early 1980s. Therefore, they could have been able to take on a challenge; they also were not lacking initiative. The basic problem, in my opinion, is that the psychological, sociological and socialpsychological training of the teachers trained in the previous decades is inadequate, old-fashioned and outdated. The pedagogical common knowledge still does not exceed the level of a collection of commonplaces.

In contrast to this pedagogical common knowledge, the expertise could not effectively manifest itself, as with the change of the system, to people whose knowledge remained at this level. Nevertheless these people also got into influential positions. From this point of view, professional expertise was regarded as priggishness. There may have been a decision that the ministry itself would take on the preparation of the curricula and a new system of examination. For this task a great many supporters could be recruited. The new documents of debates presented the naive commonplace, views of the previous decades. Fortunately, they were so poorly written that this sole fact prevented it from becoming an official document.

For this unfortunate adventure, two and a half years were wasted. In the meantime, the Bill of Education was underway that formed a specific system of the contextual regulation. The development of the corresponding curricula and system of education meant a new challenge and a third start, while at the same time there is no mutual consent in certain basic matters in the field of educational policy that would be essential conditions so that the contextual renewal, after repeated failures of nearly fifteen years could finally start an entire system, a system of contextual regulation suitable for a democratic school system.

With the disintegration of the system of regulation, the formal equal opportunity also became uncertain. On the one hand, schools with their own various initiatives upset the contextual uniformity (that is one of the most significant results of the Bill of 1985). At this stage, this process started to show chaotic symptoms without central directives and examinations. On the other hand, as the reaction to uniformity, the former eight year and six year grammar-schools were beginning to introduce the slogan of the development of talents. In other words, children (yet only a small percentage) are taken from the fourth or the sixth classes of the primary schools. Finally, the development of a new organization and network has been started to carry out the functions of professional supervision.

As democratization remained partially completed, there was no contextual regulation (curricular system and system of exams) in harmony with a decentralized and liberalized school system. Long outdated methods of regulation were revitalized in response to the disintegration and the anarchic symptoms. At first, the educational researchers fought a seemingly vain struggle. Pedagogical public opinion did not resist this process. The rejection of the completed National Curriculum, the suspension of financing the work in connection with examinations as well as the

outdated endeavors of the bill in progress, prompted a wider rejection. Due to this fact, the bill, after several revisions, does not exclude the continuance of the imperfect democratization, yet at the same time, the above described processes are also possible.

According to the bill, the National Core Curriculum has to be developed; it would consist of two parts: basic principles and requirements. Therefore, there would be a so-called frame curricula developed for each type of school and also local curricula. In case the frame curricula were central contextual prescriptions, they could take the role of the old central curricula. But if they have the form of contextual recommendations, the curricular system of three levels can finally trigger the contextual democratization.

The new bill prescribes two state examinations: the final examination and the basic examination at the end of the tenth year. The final examination would have no consequences and would have no role from the point of view of further education. The entrance examination would select and would have a feed-back contextual regulatory role. But the opportunity is given to develop it into a career orientation examination supplying comparative results. At the end of the tenth year there is no change in school in the Hungarian school system. If education is carried on according to a continuous linear curriculum in the various types of schools and at various rates, the basic examination will have no career orientation role, there will be nothing at risk.

According to the bill, the basic examination in the secondary schools is not a necessary condition of progress; the final examination is a basic examination at the same time. Therefore, the basic examination is not necessary for secondary school students. Those who do not enroll previously in some secondary school, can take a basic examination at the end of the tenth year. Yet, this examination does not entitle them to move into another secondary school. This is practically impossible since different material is taught at the various secondary schools and at different rates. For half of the students and later for one-third of them, compulsory primary school is a dead end. They either enter into employment or carry on with education in a technical school. If, however, the compulsory general education at the end of the tenth year were part of a curricular system that results in the real end of a stage, and depending on the results of the basic examination, the level and direction of further education could be reconsidered, it would mean democratization with equal opportunity.

The new bill is open both ways. So now we are where we were in 1985. Democratic contextual regulation can be carried out. The difference is that the bill makes development in the other direction possible as well.

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Emil Paun/Ioan Neacsu

Values and Dominant Features in the Educational Science in Romania

1. The Challenges of the Transition Towards a Democratic Society

a. The Sociopolitical and Axiological Context of the Changes in the Field of Education

Transition is a complex and multidimensional process with an impact on the political, economic, social, cultural, ethical and educational fields, to name just the most important. This process generates major and radical changes in all components of social and individual life.

In the economic field there are numerous difficulties (insufficient material and financial resources, lack of managerial experience and competence required by a market economy, inflation, unemployment, price rises, etc.) which also affect the educational component. A psychological dimension is present in the economic transition, expressed by the resistance to such changes from the groups who are mostly affected by the consequences of the transition. Among the perverse consequences of the transition is the following paradox: there are many people who want to live in a market economy, but with the means and in the spirit of an egalitarian, noncompetitive economy. The principal obstacle in the creation of a political system based on the fundamental values of democracy resides in the absence of relevant experience specific to a democratic life.

The present population, almost in its entirety, was raised in the period of the totalitarian regime, when democratic values were practically annulled. This process requires enormous educational efforts in this respect, efforts which should be made concomitantly with theoretical clarifications in the field of educational sciences.

The domain mostly affected by transition concerns ethical values. There is a clear moral crisis generated particularly by the phenomenon of moral anomy. Previous ethical values are being subjected to an erosion process, but certain elements are still present in the behaviour and especially in the mentality of the people. The new ethical values have not yet been instituted. The moral crisis is manifesting itself in this relative axiological vacuum, with consequences in the educational institution as such. This phenomenon can be seen in the educational field in the almost exclusive concentration of educational activities on cognitive components to the detriment of axiological and ethical components. This is also due to the axiological

anomy we are witnessing. The efforts to redefine these values are difficult, complex and will take many years.

b. Educational Science before 1990

In examining the situation of the educational science before 1990, we can probably identify aspects more or less common to all Eastern European countries as well as specific aspects, distinguishing each country.

At least two more significant aspects can be considered as common. First, the *ideologization* of the educational sciences, which, although manifested itself to varying degrees, was omnipresent. It mainly consisted in a quasiobligation of "assimilating" the ideological directives of the unique party into the educational field. This "assimilation" did not only affect educational activity as such, but also pedagogical thinking by considerably limiting the theoretical analysis of educational phenomenon.

Second, a theoretical-methodological and epistemological unilaterality made itself felt through the almost total domination of the Marxist "paradigm". Even if this did not obstruct contact with other types of approaches and paradigms, a unifying, standardizing and subordinating pressure always existed from Marxist "paradigm" side. This limited not only the freedom of theoretical and methodological alternatives, but also had a negative impact on practical research.

There were also heresies in relation to the Marxist ideology and "paradigm", but the dominant aspects were the pressure and the limitations which this ideology imposed on the field of educational sciences. The pressure was so much stronger since the educational sciences attempted at theorizing a domain which had a profound social impact, i.e. youth education. Education could in no way circumvent party ideology.

There were also particular characteristics of this process in Romania. One of them was what we could call the deinstitutionalization of pedagogical research and training in the field of educational sciences. In 1977 the faculties or university departments of pedagogy, psychology and sociology were dissolved. Five years later, in 1982, the Institute of Psychological Research shared the same fate.

For almost a decade there was neither specialiced, institutionalized pedagogical research in Romania nor any kind of training in this field. The most interesting effect of this situation for that period was the development of an underground and hidden network of pedagogical research. Pedagogical research was saved on a theoretical plane by the university chairs of pedagogy (which escaped dissolution), the main function of which was to ensure the pedagogical training of future teachers. These chairs also assumed (most often in secret) pedagogical research functions. We should also mention the numerous practical research assignments, without a far-reaching theoretical scope, carried out by practitioners in various schools. Thus a strong trend in the development of pedagogical activities could be developed and theorized.

But the most important effects of this situation as well as their scope could be noted after 1990. There is a huge gap in this field. The number of specialists in educational sciences is very small, the deprofessionalization rate being very high under the conditions described above. The average age of the researchers is very high. Things had to be started from the very beginning in this field. From 1990 on the main efforts have been aimed at relegitimating the theoretical and methodological status of the educational sciences.

Below is a brief overview of the principal actions taken during this period, which may sometimes seem to lack the necessary coherence given the fact that they were often initiated under the pressure of time.

There were three most important actions:

- the *reinstitutionalization* of research (by the creation of the Institute of Educational Sciences) and of the university-level training in the field of educational sciences (the Faculty of Sociology, Psychology and Pedagogy within the University of Bucharest and other specialized departments in various universities have been set up throughout the country);
- the effort to *deideologize* the field of educational sciences (both at the training and at the research levels);
- the efforts to upgrade the *professionalization* of specialists in the field, consisting mainly in the training of young specialists in universities by instituting master's degree courses in educational sciences, and by reinstituting the doctorate in educational sciences (the doctor's degree had been abolished) and by offering scholarships abroad.

All these activities have required substancial organizational, financal and human resources. Although this first stage is not over yet, it has created the necessary conditions to proceed to a new stage, i.e. the epistemological reconstruction of the field and the redefinition of the theoretical foundations of the educational sciences.

The efforts made in this field began immediately after 1990 and were concerted with other actions, all constituting the major goal at present.

A new question has arizen in the area of educational concerns: how in a practical way can education implement the idea contained in the following and often rhetorical message: 'are instruction and education a national priority?' The training of human resources, which has become one of the main objectives of the strategical option and a cornerstone in the development of Romanian society in the transition period, requires changes in the very paradigms of the educational sciences.

What was the reaction of Romanian pedagogy and what were the answers given by the specialists in the educational sciences to the critical issues education has been confronted and is still being confronted with?

The quality and the evolution of the signals that we could detect over this period point to a feedback most often of a circumstantial nature, slow-moving, rich in intuition. This happened in spite of the fact that educationalists would have wanted these answers to be scientifically elaborated, innovation-oriented and carefully correlated, and some of them to be even concurrent with governmental decisions.

Explanations could be certainly found or hypothesized. Some of them demand our immediate attention.

First, the *theoretical, paradigmatic answers were characterized by an individualistic, personalized stamp.* They did not express the position of a group of specialists with mature, coherent and clearly defined options; they were especially of a justificatory nature, with relatively uncoordinated arguments and devoid of the support of the educational community.

Next, we cannot help noticing certain hesitating behavioural patterns on the part of the specialists, oscillating between the nostalgia or interwar history, positive and synchronic with the great values of European pedagogy, and critically examining attitudes, either timid or aggressive.

Moreover, we could also note an obvious wait-and-see attitude, a desire for delaying any social involvement until things "get clarified". We could say that this attitude, regrettable as it is, has been typical of a major portion of the Romanian intelligentsia.

Consequences: the decisions taken by politicians did not have the necessary sociological and pedagogical foundations, bore the stamp of pressure exerted by informal groups, which pursued immediate interests. Hence the dysfunctionalities which have appeared in the very normal organization of the educational system. The system crisis did not take long to appear. Even today long-term effects require decisions aimed at correcting the state of affairs, at returning first to normality and then at embarking on positive changes and innovations in the field.

We would like to mention a third element with a negative charge: *an acute managerial crisis.* The logistic support from specialists in educational science was weak, accompanied by an infringement by legislation, the latter becoming itself a source of obstruction. A state of dependence could be noted with certain school principals, a risky assumption of competences and responsibilities without the pedagogical and psychological grounds specific to any modern school. The legislative vacuum came into paradigmatic conflict with the conservatism of the existing laws, a factor which generated slow action and adjustment to the needs of the market economy.

Another, by no means encouraging, fact should be also mentioned: we are not yet in possession of a new law on education, nor of a professional status of the teaching staff, although the respective bills were submitted to the Parliament in 1992.

To this should be added a lack of effort coordination on the part of the specialists in educational sciences employed in various university departments and of the researchers in the field. These two groups are still in a reorganization process after the institutional blows received in 1977, when the pedagogical departments within faculties of philosophy of the leading Roman universities were abolished, and in 1982, when the research centers and institutions of educational sciences shared the fate of the former.

The absence of institutional credibility was associated with a very weak information and documentation base, the lack of international scientific communication and cooperation on significant issues relating to the development of the educational sciences. The negative consequences are fully felt today and our hope is linked, not

in a few cases, to the assistance of foreign institutions.

2. Dominant Fields and Values in the Educational Sciences

One thing is certain: the educational sciences now bear the stamp of the social changes which have been taking place, preserving or striving to preserve a balance between continuity and discontinuity.

The opening of the educational sciences towards new experiences, their integration into the contemporary movement of ideas, the assimilation of new conceptual paradigms, and particularly the entry into a positive interaction with society, all this turns the educational sciences into a catalyst of progressive social evolution.

Moreover, in addition to the traditional epistemological, cultural and economic roles and functions, the educational sciences carry the values which anticipate and/or prepare social needs, adapt given social changes to a scale of values meant to give the future new dimensions. In a way, the educational system conceived as a part of a larger homeostatic social system, defined by consensus, is evolving towards a functional system capable of adjusting itself to and of rationally producing changes in the social sphere.

The recent changes which have been occuring in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe have generated and brought about new investigative and restructuring efforts in the development strategies themselves of the educational sciences in Romania. An obvious aspect of these changes concerns one of the subjects of education, namely the *youth*. The accepted expression is "the human dimension of the social integration process of the youth".

The Romanian experts in educational sciences are striving to minimize the formal, declarative and rhetorical elements on the one hand, by increasing the credibility degree of the concrete, efficient and relevant elements, on the other. Among the latter, the educational sciences are acting not only in favour of rebuilding the conceptual, value framework of cooperation with other generations, but also as an active partner in the promotion of pluralist views, in the constructive determination of an ideal based on receptiveness, tolerance and on an undogmatic opening to dialogue, on the power of discernment, creativity and balance, accompanied by value judgement as well as by a stronger involvement of the youth in its self-redefinition.

3. Educational Sciences and Educational Reform

The need for a global perspective on educational reform has committed the educational sciences in different ways in terms of rhythm, scope und methodological horizon.

A first requirement which confronted specialists referred to the examination of the *educational policies* paradigm. The major elements on which all analyses have focussed are the following: a) what fundamental options regarding the reform prin-

ciples can be identified; b) what goals (values) the actions, the processes and the behaviour of all the agents involved in the reform process pursue.

The theoretical approaches have been correlated with key questions raised by any reform: What is our outlook on man and the social environment? What educational philosophy are we promoting? What system of scientific, technological, civic, social, economic, ecological, religious values should be introduced in the core curricula? What teaching-learning-assessment strategies should be used? How does education integrate into the global restructuring strategy of the Romanian society? Etc., etc.

There have been multiple answers to these key questions. With reference to the principles of the educational reform, the following answers have predominated:

a) Educational reform is one of the most important levers of development; it calls for new policies in the training and use of human resources; it is oriented towards a democratic education, with emphasis placed on education as a universal human right, the basic values of which are freedom, emancipation, responsibility and permanent creation, the maintenance of an equidistance with regard to the various political, ideological or religious power centers.
b) Educational reform follows the principle of decision coherence, the correspondence between goals and means, the self-regulation principle, according to which education has its own development and innovation sources, etc.

With respect to the *goals of educational reform* (during the transition period, but also in the long-term perspective), the following priorities dominate the pedagogical thinking in Romania:

a) democratization of the educational system;
b) improvement of the quality of education provided, expressed in terms of efficiency and output;
c) growth of the social role of education, of its positive impact on the other spheres of human existence;
d) a real diagnostic analysis of the situation in education by identifying the bottlenecks which risk to brake the rhythm, the depth, the transparency and the penetration of reform into public consciousness;
e) stimulation of the forms of social control, with emphasis on domestic resources, by building up the mechanism of civil society, as well as on the active partnership idea;
f) development of components such as self-knowledge behaviour, self-development and strategic self-management.

The intensive and extensive dimension of education in Romania cannot ignore logistic, human and material support. Through a correct perception of needs, the specialists in educational sciences have supported the policy of receiving, on balanced and motivated grounds, expert assistance and financial aid from international organizations such as IBRD, PHARE and others.

The areas of major interests in which teams of specialists from higher education, from the departments of educational sciences, from specialized research institutes and from pre-university institutions have been and will be involved concern the

following: the provision of basic education (the core curriculum of general education) up to the age of sixteen; the modernization of the content of education; the redesign of the selection, assessment and examination system; the reorganization of the system of initial and practical training; the fundamental restructuring of the technical-vocational secondary education, with emphasis on the restriction of the vocational training groups to about 15-20 members; the creation of a textbook market, by removing the monopoly on textbook production; the decentralization of the financial and administration mechanisms; the creation of efficient accreditation mechanisms for the new state and private educational institutions.

Specialists in educational sciences are attaching increasing attention to the problems meant to bring new solutions to pre-school education, to help overtalented children or those requiring special education conditions, to solve critical educational issues in disadvantaged social and geographical zones, to broaden the area of lifelong and distance education, to ensure an efficient professional conversion in unemployment situations, to computerize the management and teaching processes, to establish cooperation with nongovernmental organizations, to promote the values of environmental education, to reduce the risks of violence, of isolation, of AIDS, drugs, smoking or alcohol; the latter, although less present in the Romanian schools, are not non-existent as alarm signals.

The legislative dimension will also be an area requiring significant efforts of rethinking and connecting this field to international standards.

There are clear efforts to provide the pedagogical groundwork for the new bills of the laws on education and on the status of the teaching staff, for the set of normative methodologies meant to install order and to give substance to the organization and operation of the Romanian educational system.

A peculiar feature is represented by *higher education pedagogy.* Present in certain areas of national scope, especially in the new movement for the higher education reform, pedagogy in this field remains to be strengthened both from the viewpoint of institutionalization and more particularly from that of the concerted efforts necessary to make decisions, to orient research towards fundamental topics, to assume greater responsibility pertaining to the inner logic of this field. As a center of interdisciplinary and especially formative interest for the university and postgraduate segments, higher education pedagogy can help in overcoming the present acute managerial crisis, the decision-making bureaucracy, in upgrading the quality of the educational activities, in ensuring the success of education, the assessment of students, and in the strengthening of university autonomy.

4. Redefinition of the Theoretical and Methodological Bases of the Educational Sciences

Parallel to the reinstitutionalization efforts, intensive activities to redefine the theoretical and methodological bases of the educational sciences are being constantly pursued. These efforts are urgently required since, until 1990, the concerns of a

theoretical and methodological nature were unilateral and carried out on a practical level within the limits of the Marxist paradigm. This fact limited the epistemological area of the educational sciences and gave it a one-sided character. On the other hand, this situation generated a relative disinterest in theoretical and methodolgical groundwork, since it was inferred from (and imposed by) the Marxist philosophy, the theoretical and methodological heresies being punished as such or allowed only in the framework of a critical analysis meant to underline their groundlessness and, by comparison, to point out the superiority of the Marxist theory.

These restrictions resulted in a market scarcity and conceptual and methodological uniformity, as well as in the rejection or marginalization of certain methodological paradigms which would have allowed for more differentiated explanations and interpretations of the educational phenomenon. At the same time, they would have determined a broadering and diversification of the theoretical and methodological spectrum of the educational sciences. One of the consequences of this situation was the obligation to use an exclusicely critical, selective and limitational grid with regard to non-Marxist or anti-Marxist theoretical and methodological orientations.

This situation was obvious both in the field of pedagogical research (as much as it existed then) and in the training of specialists in educational sciences. Mechanisms of evasion, self-defence and hidden introduction and utilization of new theoretical and methodological orientations were gradually developed, either by means of the translations from various Western pedagogical publications or of the courses and seminars at which the presentation and analysis of such trends were made by evaluating their theoretical and methodological contribution.

In spite of all this, in 1990, the situation of the educational sciences demanded systematic and coherent efforts of theoretical and methodological reorganization, the main aims of which were to eliminate any reductionism and to open up the epistemological field of the educational sciences to new paradigms of theoretical orientations, as well as efforts of clarification and redefinition at the conceptual and methodological level.

The first step should consist in the effort to (re)legitimate the identity of the educational sciences as a sphere. This is a priority after the almost total elimination of this element from the scientific field. It is all the more necessary because, during the period of social marginalization of these sciences, numerous findings were established at the level of pedagogical theory and methodological paradigms, which call for efforts to assimilate the former and to reassess the concepts. Moreover, the educational sciences syntagm is not a simple linguistic modification or a terminological convenience; it represents a profound epistemological change which indicates the setting up of various study perspectives of educational issues. It signifies the renunciation of normative speculations in favour of positive studies, a research field oriented towards the understanding and the explanation of the educational phenomenon in its multidimensionality.

We can thus say that these efforts aimed at clarification and reevaluation are subordinated to a critical paradigm, since the latter involves a relevant critical analysis of previous orientations and an attempt to formulate the epistemological pre-

mises in the foundation of the theoretical and methodological exercise in educational sciences.

One of the obvious difficulties resides in the risk of passing from previous theoretical and methodological reductionism to epistemological eclecticism through an uncritical and nonselective processing of the various paradigms. This risk is supported by the existence of a restrictive number of specialists who are qualified and competent to perform such a theoretical exercise and also by the fact that many of these specialists are involved in activities of pedagogical support of the educational reform, their energy being thus sent in this field which does not always call for rigorous theoretical and methodological redefinitions. At least this is the situation at present.

The effort aimed at the redefinition of the theoretical and methodological bases of the educational sciences is not and cannot be considered a scholastic and exclusively abstract exercise, which ignores the educational practice and the changes now taking place and which require to be achieved in this field. Consequently, the pedagogical support of the reform involves and strengthens, in our opinion, the efforts to theoretically redefine educational sciences, given the fact that the reform demands the clear formulation (in the spirit of value criteria which should be theoretically substantiated) of the educational goals, the elaboration of new models of curriculum development (and evaluation of learning performances), as well as a new philosophy of the pedagogical teacher-student relationship. All this will determine a new way of understanding the educational-social development relationship, the removal of this relationship from the paradigm of a mechanistic determinism, which subordinated education as a whole to social problematics. This relationship is being rethought in the framework of the paradigm of circular causality, which has permitted us to formulate the thesis about the educational dimension of social development, with emphasis on mechanisms through which education is manifesting its active role in society while maintaining its specifity.

The theoretical and methodological reelaboration process in the field of educational sciences is difficult, since it partially depends on the reevaluation carried out in related fields, namely in philosophy, sociology, psychology, anthropology, etc.

The connexion of the educational sciences with other epistemological fields, which in turn are undergoing a process of paradigmatic redefinition, results in a broad comparison of ideas, which will most certainly lead to notable results.

We cannot help noticing the tendency to replace the Marxist paradigm with another, imported from the numerous existing theoretical and methodological orientations. This would mean the replacement of a methodological reductionism with another. That is why the efforts to be made should be oriented towards a paradigmatic pluralism, which would permit the understanding and the explanation of the complexity of the educational phenomenon.

We should neither ignore the fact that the changes and developments in the educational sciences are not generated only by the social changes or by the theoretical contributions of other knowledge fields, but they are also achieved through the reelaborations demanded by the internal evolution of the field itself, an evolution

which enjoys a relative autonomy with regard to external pressure. This internal selection process also ensures a certain stability and continuity to all developments occuring in the epistemological field of the educational sciences. This relative stability is necessary in order to ensure the coherence of the changes the principal paradigmatic feature of which is the epistemological breach.

Without a minimum of coherence this paradigm would produce an epistemological entropy with negative consequences. This coherence is ensured by the internal logic of the educational sciences, which is not subject to the social ephemeral, but to epistemological stability.

Werner Bandoly

On the State of Educational Science in Bulgaria*

Within the context of a Tempus-Seminar which turned to questions of pedagogy under radical social change and new concepts in the field of education, a few words were addressed to "Bulgaria and Tempus".

In a Bulgarian newspaper for teachers, the idea has recently been expressed with full confidence that with the Program TEMPUS Bulgaria "will come closer to the united Europe...".[1] In 1991/92, with nineteen state schools of higher education and universities, the Free University of Sofia, and, moreover, with the sixteen Institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Science (BAN), Bulgaria had already been integrated into the TEMPUS-Program; somewhere around 50% of it in educational projects. The coordination lay in the hands of the national bureau of TEMPUS:

The decision for further continuation of the TEMPUS-project 1994 until 1998 was the reason for the Ministry for Education, Science and Culture (MONK) to make a commitment for Bulgaria's extensive participation in TEMPUS II, which along with international interests, concerns especially the development of education in Bulgaria itself. Within the framework of this commitment, pedagogic scientific tasks have been set forth which embrace aspects of scientific organization as well as content:

- The development of national research projects of an interdisciplinary and inter-university nature; the creation of inter-university centers;
- the formation of a national information network with an information system, data bank and library for all users; a connection of the national network with the European;
- the development of a new educational program for the university- and higher educational institution studies with the aim of achieving a European standard in Bulgarian education; establishing courses for the study of education documentation;
- ensurance of a greater mobility and adaptation capability in relation to the job

* *It would have been more likely for a Bulgarian educational scientist to have a right to write about the questions of new construction within the framework of a TEMPUS-Seminar, rather than me. My contribution can and should, therefore, only have the task of giving some information on the topic from my partial awareness of the situation on the topic and at the same time to express my confidence in the capabilities of achievement of Bulgarian educational science.*

All sources have been cited here only in translation.

1 Milceva, Velina: *With the Program TEMPUS we are nearer to the united Europe.* In: Teachers Journal 37, Sofia 1993, p. 1 and 4

market through improved humanitarian education in the technical higher education establishments and modern technical and information-technical knowledge in the humanitarian higher education estabishments; general improvement of language learning;
- creation of projects for the formation and development of secondary education, which includes general education and professional training as well as new faculties, e.g., in the areas of health, ecology, sociology, foreign languages, engineering, technology, etc.;
- the development of projects for introducing new forms of instruction for standard instruction, for permanent education, for correspondence degree courses and for open studies.[2]

These requirements from the TEMPUS-Program and those which have resulted from the integration into further international projects present immense tasks for pedagogic science and the pedagogic profession. Thus, twelve projects have been arranged in conjunction with the World Bank, nine with the Council of Europe, a large number in cooperation with UNESCO. Moreover, Bulgaria is integrated in bilateral forms of mutual work with educational institutions and educational scholars of many countries which have specific problems of general and professional education in all stages of education as a theme. Thus, to name just one example, it will be working on several projects with the Federal Republic of Germany in the area of professional education and post-graduate qualifications.[3]

The great variety of topics of research, which concern such important aspects as financing, material-technical and personnel conditions of research in general, contain a series of tasks relevant for educational science, which could be summarized as:

- Making a connection of the research on university education between free science and state integration;
- development of new forms of the relationship between educational institutions on the national and international level in the problem field of autonomy-centralization-market economy;
- determination of a new content of education in all aspects of the educational system oriented toward "Education in Europe" and "Education in the 21st century";
- development and application of new teaching- and learning strategies and -technologies;
- application of new forms of evaluation of achievement and behavior;
- determination of the relationship of education-instruction and their role in the formation of a modern personality structure in the problem field of mobility

2 Damjanova, Antoanetta (Director of the National Bureau of TEMPUS in the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Department Chairman of "International Programs"): *The Bulgarian Participation in the TEMPUS-Program.* Sofia 1993

3 Ministry of Education, Science and Culture: *International Cooperation.* In: Whitebook. Sofia 1992, p. 165-186

dictated by the individualist-market economy in the migration field of Europe.

Given the above, a large circle of tasks of pedagogic research and profession has been marked out. And it is discernible that less is oriented toward the process of coming to terms with the past than, above all, toward the solution of present problems and on perspectives.

But by whom shall this work be achieved? It is thought, first of all, at the institutions of higher education- and university area. This area, however, has enormous problems based on survival alone. The "law on academic autonomy of institutions of higher education" of January of the year 1990 introduced complicated, partly contradictory processes within the entire area of institutions of higher education. Up until this time, there were three universities, twenty-eight institutions of higher learning, five special institutions of higher learning and forty-four institutes of semi-higher learning. Increased through the so-called PANEV-law, the wave of evaluation that has been introduced has brought about the necessary liberation from the persons designated in Bulgaria as *nomenclatura* (bureaucracy) in these organizations, but has not paid attention to competence and preservation of achievement as an advantage of the organization. There is not total undivided agreement toward these measures. The newly acquired academic autonomy has also led, moreover, to rash, short-sighted and selfish action, which within the scope for development, through unsettled legal status, arose in the reaction to a law concerning higher educational institutions which has still not been successfully passed. Less concentration of scientific potential is general,because a harmful disintegration can be observed. And the acute lack of money, moreover, makes it even more disastrous. Universities, institutions of higher learning and institutions of semi-higher learning have clearly been weakened, have problems maintaining normal teaching operations, and can carry out research only to a very limited degree. Thus, international integration with corresponding effective market economy research results is seen as a means of survival for many areas, and for the Bulgarian educational science as a chance to form itself and at the same time to free itself from perceptible international isolation.

The existence of a capable academic establishment could have been a valuable source of ideas for how educational science can cope with the demands. However, the still continually persistent conservatism in the Bulgarian Academy of Natural Sciences (BAN), the departure of distinguished scientists, and the exhausting arguments on research in the Academy or research at the universities and institutions of higher education or special institutes, has led to a lack in orientation in the research itself. The uncertainty of orientation will also not be compensated by the many, mostly illegally founded educational institutions supported financially by the new business people.

The science- and education politics carried on by the government which, like politics as a whole, moves on the complex edge between change and relative stability, displays two lines of strategy, which for educational science - according to the Bulgarian view - are objects worthy of attention:

- The first line concerns the fundamental renewal of all areas of upbringing: fam-

ily, pre-school, primary school, general education and vocational high schools, universities and institutes of higher education, and adult education. Here state educational politics is carrying out the legal specification of current education in everyday life in the educational establishment, at the same time in whose discussions - certainly with different intentions - result as scientifically viewed examination and practical treatment in the sense of a new search for identity. The reflection on and analysis of this process and the results as tools for decision making can be offered as a field of activity.

- The second line would have to be seen in the formulation of basic tasks which educational science would have to provide to a certain degree. The demand to ensure new content, new structures and new organizational- and guideline forms on all stages of the state educational system through scientific basic- and secondary research is applicable here. Basic standards are national traditions and European standards.

In order to cope with these tasks, educational politics attempts to create legal conditions in the sense of a further democratic reform in the area of science. All designs for new laws on institutions of higher learning specify, for example, the basic independence of research and teaching from any ideology, religion, and political doctrine.

Research requirements in the area of education and instruction in Bulgaria embraces an international as well as a specifically national view and would also demand great achievements from an intact, capable educational science. The questions of a new definition of educational science in Bulgaria specially concerning us today can, therefore, not be of a purely academic nature. It has its roots in the much more urgent necessity of the current fight for survival, and therefore a view directed toward the next millenium is considered something belonging only to theoretical thinking in an ivory tower. The educational science of Bulgaria is well aware of this situation, but sees itself, however, at the same time again in a tense relationship with the state, and, thus, it is no wonder if it is eliminated as a meaningful aspect of the new determination of the clarification of the relationship of state politics and educational science.

Educational science, understood as theoretical pedagogy and pedagogic research and teaching, as well as pedagogic activity in all educational areas of education, was based in socialist Bulgaria on what was given as the Marxist-Leninist world view, and the decisions of the party ruling alone and the government subject to it. Pedagogy saw its tasks as a counterpart to this, in scientific interpretations and arguments from current and educational strategic objectives, also when, or especially when educational research was repeatedly reprimanded by the Bulgarian Communist Party, when the results were ineffective or they would not correspond to what was demanded. The complexity of the overzealous readiness for acceptance of party- and state guidelines and doctrinaire dictates, the relationship of overwhelming demands of the administration, the actual capability of pedagogic research and possibilities used for scientifically based discrepancy, required - as part of historical

self-evaluation of educational research in Bulgaria - work still to be achieved. It appears, however, at the present, therefore, that in spite of the endless number of problems to be considered, nevertheless, attention to objectivity and differentiated development and assessment of science, its results and conditions will also be used from the period between 1944 and 1989.[4]

Although all discussions, on which level there are also always reflected opposite scientific theories, political directions of thought and evaluation, as well as apportioning of blame and denial of competence, the conviction appears to grow stronger "that pedagogy has been liberated from the subservient role it has played until now as interpreter and popularizer of a single ideology and of party decisions in the area of education. It has gradually liberated itself from the crisis and slowly has taken over its real functions - diagnosis, clarification, reflection and prognosis and the projection of pedagogic processes."[5] The concept "pedagogy" stands here for "educational science," although both concepts are not identical. In a broad discussion it also is equated with "pedagogical research," when actually research as set off from a purely theoretical pedagogy is what is meant. The often confusing variety of concepts goes partly back to an unclear verbal ambiguity and to the imprecise definition of concepts, but also mirrors, however, ideas that are different in content.

There are certainly scholars in the educational field in Bulgaria who look at pedagogy as the science of upbringing, education and instruction, and at the same time as purely academic, with a theoretical emphasis, and clearly different from pedagogical practice.[6] Above all they employ a concept of educational science used very rarely until now in Bulgaria and are attempting to insert Bulgarian pedagogy in it. Such persons would also strongly emphasize the opinion that the entirety of philosophical and methodological foundations must be clarified before one could attempt a solution of pragmatic-practical problems in specific areas. As the kernal of rethinking in educational science, there is the requirement of developing an effective alternative to the totalitarian theory of education. This makes absolutely necessary a separation from a philosophical basic principle, the principle of dialectical materialism, which puts material before the spirit and led to a category which deforms the personality, "Communist education." In the new orientation of evaluation it is true still no consensus can be seen. Some say Christian values must be an essential basis. The fixation on a world view, even another one, must give way to a better consideration of multicultural basic positions[7], science especially could be seen as a neutral world view. Broad openness does not contain much from this state of inner self-searching. Parents demand a good education for their children. Ex-

4 Makedonska, Marija: *Scientific Results are "Chopped to Pieces", so that No One should be amazed at its Results.* In: Teacher Journal 32/1993, Sofia, p. 4

5 Zvetov, Dimitar: *On the Reader of the Journal of Pedagogy.* In: Pedagogoka 1/1991, Sofia, p. 3

6 Popov, Ljubomiv: *Views on the Object of Pedagogy.* In: Pedagogoka 2/1992, Sofia, p. 36-46

7 Cernev, Stanko: *Problems of Rethinking in Educational Science.* In: Pedagogoka 8/9, Sofia 1992, p. 24

pectations, above all by the unions, but also by the market economy which is so difficult to understand, are formulated and, as already has been done, demands made of pedagogic science by the state, but also clear demands made of the state and the market by science. The teachers of Bulgaria, who are coming under pedagogic pressure because of the multitude of contradictory and barely to be endured changes in the school system, who must above all themselves become part of the new type of market conditions, who must prepare their pupils, above all, for it, are waiting for research results that can be used, for clear legal regulations or pure pragmatic applications. The situation in the area of the higher institutions of education are not very different.

And thus neither pedagogic research nor good censorship of teachers of Bulgaria for the schools responsible to the Ministry have been maintained. The Syndicate of Bulgarian Teachers (SBU)[8] has established that, like education as a whole, educational science is now in a great crisis. Basically in the last two to three years, generally no scholarly work on the area of education has been accomplished. Pedagogic research on higher institutes of education, universities and special institutes have been only partially carried out. In the best case specific questions concerning educational research on dissertations and rehabilitation from the obscure background of the organization can be seen. The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (MONK) has until now made almost no money available for research. The working out of specific particular questions of educational research has been financed or partially financed by foreign organizations and institutions. As a rule an academic assistant or assistant professor of a higher educational institutions adminstration is usually entrusted with such tasks. In spite of certain individual interesting works, the scientific results which have appeared in this way certainly cannot be viewed as educational scientific primary- and secondary research.

Except for academic and university pedagogic research, there was in the past an institute dealing especially with questions of general- and professional education, to which many experimental schools and experimental firms were connected, with considerable research capacity. The restructuring and related solutions of once separate educational scientific research institutes of Bulgaria in Sofia, in view of its educational scientific potential and the situation of need, is more than welcome.[9] Since May 1992 in Sofia there is a "National Research Center for Education and Science." This is, according to the understanding of the SBU, first of all to be self-sufficient and can in no way fulfill the demands, nor the basic research and secondary research that needs to be done. Meanwhile, in the early part of 1994, research results that are noteworthy have been produced. They were partially published in the new scientific theoretical journal *Strategies of Education- and Science Politics*, which is produced together by the Ministry of Science and Education (MNO) and the Center. In this way the research results will be made accessible to an internation-

8 Author Groups of the Bulgarian Teacher Trade Union under the Presidency of Borislav Mincev and Science Adviser G. Bizkov: *Bases of the Conception for Secondary Education in the Republic of Bulgaria* (Draft). In: Teacher Journal 12/1993, p. 3-4

9 See (4)

al circle of educational scholars. The National Research Center is attempting to achieve general good, solid basic work in the country, and at the same time, also through the support of the Bulgarian Society for Comparative Education, which on their part is a member of the World Council of Societies for Comparative Education, to become integrated internationally. A look at a few research programs of the research center confirms this:

- Sofia: Schools of the 21st century;
- Social expectations of education and science:
- The value orientation of the young under conditions of social change.

Thus not only useful discussions solve, in particular, structural questions in the complicated relation of centralization and scientific autonomy, university and extrauniversity research in the Research Center of further individual research work. In these discussions, which go far beyond the Center, a tension between the representatives of the Ministry viewed as officials of the state and representatives of educational science is also extremely perceptible; the cool reaction of the teachers toward the Ministry, the Research Center and educational science is also apparent.

And the discussion contains many absurd concepts. Thus the Ministry is reproached equally by teachers and education scholars with the fact that in its strategic ideas for development of secondary education, no scientific analysis of the conditions has been carried out. Scientifically based positions on the further development of instructional secondary education are not discernible, and the entire instructional documentation, teacher plans, student tables and necessary accompanying documents for creating pedagogic daily assignments essentially has been worked out only by officials of the Ministry and is barely useable. Moreover, not only the limited ability of the officials but, above all, an underestimation and clear disregard of educational science is generally reflected. Thus, it is no wonder that as a rule the materials are without almost any scientific basis and, thereby, in no way correspond to modern demands for documents, which could put the teachers in a position to carry out a modern educational strategy concerning the area of secondary education. Underestimation of educational science is one aspect. Educational science, however, has not provided the required results! And, thus, for the second time, they are under pressure, this time created by the teachers.

How, however, then should the administration achieve well substantiated work in the crisis situation existing in science? The Syndicate of Bulgarian Teachers (SBU) has made a general criticism of the mutual apportioning of blame and denial of competence, of the divisive activity so little coordinated both in pedagogic theory as well as in practice. The main interest of all should not apply to political power play, but must turn towards the present and future of the children. The SBU emphatically demands, therefore, in the interests of Bulgarian children, the reworking of the conception "Development of Bulgarian Education," taking into consideration the Bulgarian educational traditions and new European and world tendencies of educational development and in agreement with the requirements and real possibilities of the country.

A "National Program of Scientific Research in the Field of Education" is viewed

as an essential component of the concept, that any area of scientific research on which essentially the realization of the conception depends, proves to be definitive and in the same way an efficient structure depends on a constant, steady research organization, as well as on a dynamic forming of groups for working out concrete educational problems with a precisely calculated duration of their activity.

The "National Program" must contain:

- a middle- and long term problem- and theme position and the required ensurance of their financial, personnel and organizational aspects;
- the active integration of Bulgarian research groups into international organizations and their common projects, a close relation to foreign scholars, universities and institutions;
- broad possiblities for contacts, for exchange of ideas, technology, research results;
- a strong integration of Bulgarian scholars from institutes, institutions of higher education, and universities, from assistant professors of the Institute for Continuing Education, of inspectors, of experts in methodology, teachers and directors and extensive cooperaton:
- The creation of interdisciplinary work groups for research and experimental practice;
- ensurance of scientific loyalty and protection of research results;
- construction and recontruction of Ministry printing plants in order to prepare required quick topical information on pedagogical theory and practice for all interested, especially for teachers. Clarification of problems connected to education through private journals and other publications in the field of education;
- working out of a long-term strategy plan for qualification and special preparation of new, young, talented research cadres; the possibilities secured of coming into contact with leading foreign universities, research institutes and centers in the field of education. Only thus could the Bulgarian educational science be liberated from international isolation.[10]

It is, however, not to be overlooked that the justified harsh critcism of educational science also contains constructive features and puts trust in individual readiness and capability for achievement of the educational scientists and at the same time in their national and international ability for cooperation.

When it is also a question of a crisis in pedagogic science, it should not be overlooked that, for example, each stage and level of the educational system, also each teaching- and instructional faculty has a specific journal which discusses national and institutional experiences, which can partly be taken as a basis for research results of work groups which are composed of a few scientists and mainly of teachers and assistant professors engaged in research. The theoretical and experimental formulations of the topic are numerous. They embrace above all sociological

10 See (8)

analyses and interpretations of current given circumstances, which are pursued at least in the national historical reflection and at the same time are classified as international, with an emphasis, however, relating to Europe. However, the circle of topics which do not appear as a result of direct daily events, such as reform pedagogy, social pedagogy, development theory in specific pedagogical disciplines, above all educational theory, such as questions of the relatonship of pedagogy-politics-theology-party, require great attention. There is an interest in questions of personality theory, especially change of values, and further, the object and methodology of theoretical and experimental pedagogy and instructional technology. The concentration, however, lies on the level of the educational scientific formulations of questions, which go together with student tables, teaching content and their didactic assimilation, knowledge- and mediation level, achievement- and ability evaluation, with questions on the relationship of scope of science and acquisition ability along with constantly changing offerings and demands and means and methodologies for mastery of these multidimensional theme complexes. The enumeration can be extended: it alludes only to the broad spectrum. A somewhat problematic thematics results from a required new conceptualization of the educational political and - practical environment with members of the minority. The construction and further education of the teachers play a special role in the framework of new pedagogical activity. Only recently several Bulgarian authors have published a textbook in common, *The History of Pedagogy and the Bulgarian Education* - a beginning also for the construction of a new generation of teachers.[11]

On this boundary level of educational science and pedagogical activity a considerable amount has been achieved. And the mutual catalysing effect is not to be overlooked, neither in areas of educational science nor in socio-economic and political development.

The complex of problems and individual problems enumerated here can only be sketched fragmentarily, as snapshots of a process which move on different time levels or move in different tempos and diametrically opposite directions or also simply stagnate somewhat. In Bulgaria this state of affairs is viewed as a state of potential innovation for science, predominantly, however, as a crisis in science, which in the round dance also embraces the pedagogical sciences. Lastly, the situation of the pedagogic sciences, of educational science, is only a reflection of the situation of the Bulgarian nation as a whole.[12]

The republic of Bulgaria is making an effort on the way to democracy and market economy to contribute to positive decisions by the International Monetary Fund and other international bodies through cancellation of debts and new credit for reduction of inflation, which is predicted to be 45% for 1994, for the postponement of a decrease in industrial production, for a broadening of revitalization of the agricultural basis over 40%. The development of the country requires changes which

11 Atanasov, Z./Ljuljusev, M./Kolev, J./Cabdarova, A./Dolapcieva, St.: *The History of Pedagogy and Bulgarian Education.* Veliko Tarnovo 1993

12 Angelov, Georgi: Science Politics in the Crisis Period of Science. In: Strategies of Education- and Science Politics, 1/1993, Sofia, p. 2-3

lead to stability, not, however, to a deepening of the crisis. This also is true of the field of education and science. However, the country's budget of 204 Mrd. Leva for 1994 foresees only 0.3% of the gross national product for education and science. Professors and students, not only of the oldest university of Bulgaria, who consider this a death sentence for education and science, are emphasizing their views through teaching- and learning boycotts. The demand for 2% for averting financial collapse in the area of education and science was rejected by the Financial Ministry.

Thus the new regulations on educational science and the pedagogic profession have been set limits, which result certainly not just from the inner state of affairs, but above all from the general circumstances, from external constraints. And thus the field of education must again be content with what it has: "Under the conditions of strong financial limitations and far-reaching social-economic changes, a national politics of science of a really new rationality for reorganization of scientific research is necessary, which not only will lead to a reasonable balance between freedom of scientific activity and its orientation to practice, but also simply to the preservation of a certain area of science" in general.[13] This "new rationality," at least in the politics of science, has come down again to a slogan: "hardly any money for science." And this concerns educational science in particular.

13 Ibid

Hans Döbert

Changes in the View of the East-German Teacher of his Profession, School and Instruction

The radical social changes in East Germany - in connection with the process of transformation in Central-East-Europe - in just a few years have led to far-reaching changes in the general conditions for the instructional- and educational system. In contrast to most Western European countries and to the "old" federal states, in which reforms of education extended over a long period of time - both on the upper and lower levels - a chaotic situation has occurred in a very brief period of time in the educational system in the newly formed East German states. The entire school system changed completely: in respect to structure, content and personnel. The transformation of the East-German school system not only meant the dismantling of the complete DDR-educational system - thus, for example, Kindergartens and after-school centers were partly given up, almost 6000 polytechnical and extended high schools were closed and research institutes shut down - but the new construction of an entire educational system in the new federal states took place just as rapidly. There the adaptations and reorganization of the forms of schools, curricula and termination of the educational period was carried out on the model of existing Western German regulations. The pedagogic profession had to be newly defined and a corresponding teacher training- and - further education established.

The field of educational research was and is also a part of these changes: the breakdown of Marxist-Leninist pedagogy, the coming to terms with one's own past and the continuing discussion of the ideological burden, the reclamation of the openness of scholarly discussion, the efforts for legitimation as advisers in the re-construction process of education are sufficient as key words.

The restructuring efforts in the field of education in East Germany must be elucidated in the near future. This occurs in the example of empirical-analytic paradigms and with the intention of gaining a perspective on the restructuring process from a concrete example. Thus, it is a question at most of making an approach to the problem, but in no case is it a question of making rash generalizations.

The project that was established in DIPF (German Institute for International Pedagogical Research) is part of the research focus of "Qualification of Personnel in Education." In the first phase of research, it has been concerned with the development of the satisfaction of East German teachers with their profession on the background of their DDR-experience and with perceptible changes in teacher consciousness.

The Problematic

After the structural changes in the educational system of East German states, the teacher problematic belongs to one of the most discussed problems concerning the new formation of the educational landscape in East Germany. Moreover, frequently stereotyped ideas about what constituted the teacher's way of life in the DDR have become widespread. The fact is that it is not really certain that there are empirically founded statements of how the teacher in the DDR really thought and behaved, how they subjectively or collectively perceived and coped with the field of conflict of the especially ideological constraints and controls on the one hand, and the more or less existing scope for development on the other. In the former DDR, there was, indeed, empirical research which was concerned with outlook, orientation- and behavior models of teachers. Under the influence of Soviet psychology and pedagogy, instead of outlook, it was a question often of "judgement of the personality" or, for example, also the "political-ideological judgement of the teacher's personality." Empirical findings of research on outlook on social-politically relevant areas have barely been published, because *a priori* a state of consciousness demanded by the party-and state politics, as well as a political-ideological stage of maturity was accepted as given. If individual thought- and behavior patterns of teachers were analyzed, then it was above all as an example of a successful teacher or the pedagogic capability of the teacher. Thus, from an analysis of activity, a catalog of features was made, which then was summarized as an often idealized generalization of the "socialist teacher's personality." In spite of all efforts to classify and theoretically substantiate pedagogical research in the DDR in the tradition of classical bourgeois educational thinking and research, its theoretical validation has not been successful. It was inconceivable that the internal arbitrariness -in the sense of openness - of pedagogical thinking and thereby its constructive capability was dismissed. In the final analysis the philosophy of Marxism-Leninsm and the political programmatic of the SED was set forth as irrefutable in opposition to any critical remarks. Thereby, what - itself in the inner-Marxist discussion - provoked objections theoretically and on the practical level was socially and politically legitimized and stabilized. Such a stabilizing authority with guarantees for research is difficult to find in the context of a liberal-democratic society. Here the openness of scholarly discussion demands convincing theoretical explanations and empirical substantiation.

There is just as insufficent insight into how the changes in structure, contact and personnel in the area of education in East Germany has been experienced, perceived, assessed and absorbed by teachers.

From our research projects we hope to obtain concrete information on the continuing- and further educational requirements of East German teachers, on their current difficulties and problems and, thereby, on their satisfaction with their profession. The results of this research should, therefore, be very interesting, since it is not a question here of reflection on different educational systems from outside, but the teachers have made clear their good and bad experiences in their everyday school situation, in the reality of the school context of both educational systems - the one in

the earlier DDR and the one today in their present-day federal state.

Methodological Procedures

Our research is arranged timewise so that all teachers interviewed could have had the initial experiences with the new school systems in their federal states, at the same time, however, still had a certain concrete and real memories of the DDR-school system. Therefore, September/October 1993 seemed to us to be a suitable moment for the beginning of the research.

Up until now on the basis of preliminary questioning, a standardized questionnaire with predominantely closed indicators was worked out, in which, however, also open possibilities of answering have been foreseen, and an interrogatory main line for interviews in depth. The interrogatory main line has been made more precise after evaluation of the questionnaire. The items for the most part are derived from our own preliminary work. Some tools were developed in cooperation with analogous research in the Institute for General Educational Research and Emprical Educational Research of PH Erfurt (Prof. Dr. Weißhaupt). For the range of problems of teacher satisfaction we go back to proven tools used before. The questionnaires were employed in Brandenburg and Sachsen as well as in East Berlin.

In the study around 1000 teachers of all available forms of schools in the above mentioned states were included.

The questionnaire included the following essential parts:

- Opinions on the present developments and problems of the school;
- remarks on the teacher profession and satisfaction with the profession;
- comments on present problems and difficulties;
- memories of school in the DDR;
- socio-demographic statements.

In order to get a differentiated picture of "the" teachers as well as their experiences earlier and today, we wanted to compare our research material on several levels: a comparison of states (East Berlin, Brandenburg, Sachsen), a regional comparison (teachers in large city schools and schools in rural areas in Brandenburg and Sachsen), a comparison of teachers in different types of schools).

In this empirically established project we were extremely conscious of the fact that an empirical-pedagogical paradigm within the educational field of research has been clearly established; however, it often finds no corresponding application in the pedagogical professional context, in educational-political and administrative decision making as well as in continued- and further teacher training. Regardless of this fact, the results of research on pedagogic public opinion are available in many forms.

Some Selected Quantitative Results

On the basis of the somewhat over 350 evaluated questionnaires which we now have, the following clearly discovered results can be shown:

- In the selected questionnaires there was rarely the answer that "the DDR-school system had been preserved as a whole, and in principle one would not need to change anything". The answers were divided fairly equally into: "Changes yes, but many things could have been removed from the DDR peacefully" and "there should be a completely new school system." This result shows a general agreement by the teachers on the restructuring of the school system that has been carried out.

- Teachers have evidently managed well with the redesign of structure and content of the school system. They discover imposing advantages, without, however, withholding what they consider to be problematic. As advantages they mentioned, for example: possibilities for development in one's profession; scope for development of teacher responsibility; more democracy in the school; better possibilities of differentiation; better offerings in teaching- and learning aids. As disadvantages they specify: the problematic mode of selection for visiting of particular school forms; too great a number of hours and number of classes; public evaluation of the school and teaching profession has become worse; too much bureaucracy and administrative formalities.
- It was clear that older (over 50 years) primary school teachers did not share these wholly positive evaluations. The restructuring of the school system evidently created considerable problems for them.
- Moreover, it was demonstrated that the pedagogic self-image either had hardly changed (orientation to an authoritarian conception of school, discipline and achievement) or was oriented exclusively to the educational function of school. Above all, teachers at comprehensive schools complained of a deterioration of the discipline of the pupils.
- It is estimated that through pedagogic training in the DDR and continuing education organization after the "Wende" an adequate preparation for the present requirements of the teaching profession has been given. At the same time, unmistakably the need for continuing- and further training requirements in the following areas have been signalled:
  (1) To curriculum and specialized professional didactic questions (the gap from the DDR-teaching plans to the essentially more public guideline plans is considered very great: it is important how learning through models must become systematic knowledge: in the guideline plans an explicit method of developing capability is missing);
  (2) To legal questions and questions of school organization of the daily school life (there are complaints of excessive bureaucraticizing of school life; knowledge of legal general conditions of school and instruction are evaluated very little - evidently the greatest uncertainty is shown here as well as a serious need for further training).
- According to the evalution made up until now, the young teachers appear evi-

dently better able to adjust than the older ones. This applies as well for teachers with university as well as college diplomas in comparison to ones with a diploma from an institute for teaching training (Vocational Schools). And: Teachers from humanity departments appear more positive toward reform than teachers from mathematic-natural science departments.

Results of Qualitative Analysis

Already in the first examination of the questionnaires it became apparent that an excessive number of teachers had to use the section "Remarks" at the end of the questionnaire for making detailed remarks. Obviously through the process of answering the questionnaire they had become very responsive and excited to discuss in detail the problems that had been broached. The unchallenged written remarks, in some cases very extensive, refer to the following facts:

1. **Comments on the system, on the content of an employed tool, on the methods of promotion.** There were frequent critical remarks that far too few places for open, freely formulated possibilites of answering was provided, which would be self-contained indicators that the very differentiated problematics could not always be fully dealt with and understood. It was clear that the need for communication aroused by the questions in many of those interviewed was much greater than the possibilities of answering that had been provided. We observed the unexpected freely formulated answers as so much more valuable.

2. One of the focuses which especially impressed us is composed of **claims in the remarks which aimed at fairer, more varied ways coming to terms with the teachers way of life in the DDR, of the effects of the DDR-school as a whole.** There were certainly also always critical objections to our questionnaire; essentially, however, the criticism was meant more generally, directed more to the public.

3. **Remarks to the focus school and democracy, teacher- and pupil mutual decision making, before and now.** In most comments a profound disillusionment is clearly felt about the fact that the awaited radical change hoped for by many in terms of real possibilities of a democratic co-determination and cooperation for teachers, pupils and parents in the formation of school life, according to their assessment has not - or has not yet - taken place up until now. Repeatedly the standpoint has been formulated that the real possibilites of participating in decisions really important for the vital work in schools are today virtually null as well. Many complain in their comments about the increasing bureaucratic restrictions of their daily work, which they find shocking, which are not rationally more justified or interpretable.

4. Many of the participating teachers formulated their **agreement or reservations to the quality, content and inner logic as well as to the new type of relations with the new general plans as well as the didactic aspects of particular areas and general educational aspects of the changes of their school reality.** The following aspects were acknowledged, or rather, criticized:

- The new function of the general plans is on the one hand recognized as provid-

ing a greater new possibility. At the same time its practical achievements in the states examined by us for many teachers with a no longer justifiable non-commitalness appears no longer binding for them, and will create great problems for teachers and pupils, and encourage arbitrariness.

- Nearly all special teachers for physics, chemist, biology responded almost shocked to an - as they formulate it - "alarming decrease in the standard- and achievement levels in the natural science departments." The origin for this was seen by them - in their opinion - in the partly illogical reconstruction, which was not acknowledged or was lacking inner coordination between the age groups.

We know that these remarks are still not representative of the entire survey. However, in terms of their unusual quality and the penetration of their formulation we find them interesting and valuable enough in order to utilize them as preliminary findings. Their value concerns among other things the fact that here particularly engaged teachers are expressing in words and calling attention to those problems which particularly preoccupy them.

The following perceptions can be derived from a provisional qualitative analysis of these written comments:

1. In the three federal states examined by us there are an observable number of very engaged teachers who are effective. This allows us to hope that the historically single attempt to transfer a school system of one larger territory to another or according to this model in current operation, that a complete reconstruction in the shortest period of time can be managed, with as little harm as is justifiable for the school generation in question. We have examined in what relation each large group of teachers who express sharp criticism of the existing work- and life circumstances in their schools, of new school system as a whole, stand to their past in the DDR-school. It is apparent that those teachers now under discussion without any exception made distinctions in their ealier activity, also criticize the DDR school as a system. What lends additional weight to their critical comments on the present in school is the fact that it is criticism of engaged teachers, who had to or were able to teach in two basically different school systems, who, therefore, can make comparisons.
2. In nearly all comments we find the demand formulated emphatically in the interests of the East German faculty and the school in the now unified Germany to secure and realize a more differentiated, more serious reconstruction than before of the DDR-school history, of the effect of the former DDR teacher. This appears also to be a very essential prerequisite for the unity of the state in the area of the school.
3. It makes one optimistic if more than a third display such an unusually great interest in the questions, which concern us all at the moment. The analysis presented here is supported mainly by two groups: by the gymnasium- and comprehensive school teachers. The territorial distribution is, nevertheless, noteworthy: almost without exception it was the Berlin teachers who formulated their problems, clearly less so the Brandenburg teachers. Possibly the cause for this phenomenon goes back to the fact that in Brandenburg the teachers participated and felt themselves participating to a far greater degree in the development of the school system, while

in East Berlin "overnight" the Western Berlin model was transferred to the schools in the other part of the city without the participation of the East Berlin pedagogues. The teachers' ideas, therefore, played no role. This must lead to a discussion.

A last remark: At first we are being very careful in our statements on all of this, because we have not yet studied it enough. It is, however, encouraging that more than three-fourths of all interviewed teachers in a partial spot check for Berlin and Brandenburg declare themselves to be satisfied as a whole with their present activity. This certainly does not mean that we can state whether teachers, parents and the democratic openness can be satisfied with the inner state of the schools in the three East German states examined by us, and also with the state of their own adaptation and adjustment to the new problems. This assessment also does not concern the problem of whether the teachers are conscious of the specific present responsibility for their pupils in view of completely new, social developments worldwide.

Also while some changes in the East German teachers' view of their profession, school and instruction have been indicated, many questions still remain open. How can teachers cope with a situation which demands of them a plurality of teaching content and learning aims for which they have not been prepared by the limited room for maneuvering? What perspectives do the school reforms have in the new states, above all, the internal reforms so necessary in view of the search for some new professional and social roles for the teachers? How are the teachers to cope with renewed regulations strange to them through administrative guidelines on educational structures, aims and content in the context of personal, or rather, social uncertainty?

In view of this problem in the new federal states, the future of the school and school reform will remain an open theme. Whether the field of education, and particularly the area of empirical educational research, can be effective as a catalyst of the reconstruction process must be answered by time.

III. CONCEPTS AND PARADIGMS

Peeter Kreitzberg

Democratization of Education: Search of New Educational Metaphors

> In many ways,..., contemporary education is constructed on outmoded and dangerous structural, utilitarian, and instrumental assumptions. They are outmoded because they make rhetorical claims for textbooks, teaching, research, and practice that their logic subverts. They are dangerous because they rhetorically promise foundational, final, and efficient answers about which their logic is silent. They dehumanize by demanding that we adjust to structures imposed upon us while remaining silent about the exercise of power within these structures.
> (Cherryholms, 1988, p.186)

Introduction

I received inspiration for this paper from two different sources. First, the practical process of democratization of education in Estonia, that began with great hopes for rapid development and which, however, turned into considerable chaos and lack of participative democracy in recent years. Second, research on the legitimation process of educational aims contains convincing evidence that the entire modern era with its root metaphors integrating educational theoretical thinking, contains notions inconsistent with the aspirations of democratization and, thus, frames an approach to educational phenomena based on the ideology of extrinsic control, imposition from outside and technical expertise.

In 1989 we composed and openly discussed the "Main Principles for Reorganization of the Public Education in Estonia". Three strategical directions for the development of Estonian education were outlined : democratization, humanization of educational content, and setting a high value on education.

The most easily accepted but at the same time fundamentally confusing aspiration is the one linked to democratization, as I began to illustrate above. From one point of view, democratization of education has been declared to be the most important intention of our educational development, but from another point of view, we see the lasting and even increasing denial by educational and political leaders regarding broad negotiations over educational aims and the strategy of educational development in general. One of the most widespread interpretation of democratization seems to be following the solutions of democratic western countries directly. It is commensurable to the notion of democracy as a preset way of communal life,

based on the notion of recognizable common needs of the cohabitants by a certain "spectator view". It is the notion that we can substitute the former aims set from the top in a centralized way (wrong ones) with another kind of prefixed aims that are automatically more correct and justified, without any negotiations, in order to determine our educational preferences and development. What is worked out in countries in a democratic way does not necessarily mean a democratic solution for our situation. Rather, the direct transmission of solutions of other countries tends to exclude democratic negotiation procedures among ourselves. We are actually following the same style of elaborating "correct" educational decisions in an expert way as we did for a long time under central control.

Following a radical critical stance, it seems that our hopes relied on the substitution of one kind of foundationalist position or ideology (a wrong one) with another (a right one). However, both of them reflect rather ideology and technology from top down without serious negotiations about our common interests and identity.

However, democracy, at least as Dewey conceived it, and which has been significantly developed by Habermas through his emphasis on communicative and uncoercive consensus as an ideal for which to strive, rejects any consideration of social phenomena decentered from human interests.

One very serious practical obstacle on the way to the democratization of education is apparently the lack of required competence or self-confidence in educational leaders, so that they sometimes are disturbed and frightened at the possible consequences of their own status. Another similar obstacle is the lack of prudent and fresh ideas in the participants in the discussion of educational ideas and solutions. The democratization of education cannot be viewed as the alternative to competent expert decisions but should be based on wise and reasonable ideas. Both solutions - purely expert opinions without any political will-formation, and political will-formation without necessary competence could be viewed as unvalid ways of generating educational policy or any educational decisions in general.

I do not think that we, former Eastern Europeans, represent any specific way of educational thinking compared to that of the West. At least on a certain basic level. Especially at present we are attempting to copy the modern Western style of educational thinking in many ways. In Estonia, the dominant style of educational theorizing and thinking reflects much of what we could classify under positivism, with its aspirations for value neutrality and scientic objectivity, with all its basic difficulties and invalidity popular in Western thinking. Its characteristic features include a rejection of subjective choice, retaining the status quo by optimizing the means for predetermined ends, expert solutions to institutional problems, lack of educational philosophical self-understanding, objectivity decentered from the participants, etc.

Under conditions of the former USSR educational science had already become a purely instrumental device for the legitimation of administrative orders. For maintaining a scientific image, the educational theory had to choose the positivistic way and not pose questions concerning educational ideology and content of educational aims. Empirical investigations were mainly aimed at the clarification of the ways of

attaining one or more educational aims, finding more effective methods and techniques, or they described educational facts. The background of the forced consensus in orthodox Marxism that declares the superstructure to be dependent on the economic basis, so the problem of educational aims often obtained the character of scientific prognosis of the economic development and how to adapt education to the prognosis. Constructs like "social needs" and "social interests" were very popular and reflect the personification of society which can be viewed in the framework of an "organism" paradigm of functionalism. Individual initiative was very often reduced to following objective social laws that were thought to govern our behavior like natural laws. Our educational thinking was largely unintegrated, atomistic, and technological. Education was divided into hundreds of technological subquestions, e.g., how many pages should a given textbook consist of, how many hours should learners spend on practical activities per lecture, how often slides should be shown, whether reward does or does not outweigh punishment, how much time should be devoted to delivering a lecture, etc. It is difficult to see any profound change in this up to now.

This unreflective stance of a positivistic paradigm, its intrinsic lack of self-understanding in respect to values that are followed, an approach to educational problems as problems of technical expertise detached from political will-formation, seems to be congruent to what is criticized in Western educational literature.

What has been stated Cherryholms (1988, p.1) about the characteristic features of modern western education - "structured use of textbooks in classrooms, instruction based on learning objectives, educational practice guided by research findings, standardized approach to research design and program evaluation, systematic approach to curriculum design and development, and learning as acquisition of positive body of knowledge and skills" - is valid also in our context. Teacher and students are decentered and are not the centre of meaning and curriculum. Meanings are preestablished outside of them, the function of education is to recapitulate the once established truth, instead of being shifting, receding, fractured, incomplete, dispersed and deferred.

Educational practice in general is fulfilling no active role in social thought under the conditions of unlimited economic market domination. Rather, it continues to fulfil an adaptional function, instead of the reconstructive one proposed by Dewey.

Attempts to introduce a hermeneutical and critical approach seems to threaten many educationists in a power position. Such a paradigm change would take, if at all feasible, a long overdue substantial shift in power relations not only in the educational field but in general. It means moving from representative democracy toward participative democracy in the whole society.

It means also the weakening of economic considerations over educational ones.

The difficulties of the democratization of education seem to be not so much technological but fundamental, reflecting a deep-rooted Enlightenment world-view, especially its consideration of rationality. There are some contradictory notions in our minds striving simultaneously toward democratization on the one hand and an exact natural-scientific or expert way of legitimation of educational decisions on the

other hand. I believe that such contradictory intentions characterize not only our difficulties of educational development but represent in itself some general features of modern educational thinking. Therefore, I would say that in many ways our educational problems are paradigmatic beside those of technological character. The first group of problems would be the subject of the following discussion.

Democratization and Positivistic Legitimation of Education

The democratization of education on every level - state, regional and classroom - is hindered by the domination of the scientific approach in the natural-scientific (or positivistic) sense to the legitimation of educational decisions. The search for the "right education", began by Plato long ago, under the influence of the Enlightenment philosophy turned into a positivisitic or natural-scientific legitimation of education in all its components- in relation to knowledge, man and society.

In the 80's, intensive debates began about the cultural paradigm of Modernity, or Enlightenment philosophy as the basis of modern thought, including educational one. They touched the deepest roots of the understanding of the role of the educational institution as well as the educational process and its aims.

In an encapsulated form modern thinking is based on the utilitarian instrumental world view based on the doctrine of social efficiency. The domination of the performative criterion is accompanied by an image of society as a system where economic, political and educational interpretations are reduced to their operationality towards the optimization of the functioning of the system.

According to Habermas (1987), systems rationality and personal rationality were rendered contradictory, or individual rationality is reduced to instrumental rationality. According to Habermas, modernistic rationality has been atomizing in the service of different aims and rules, and the human being has lost the integrity of his life-world. As a consequence, he has lost the ability to direct his own activity. Similarly to Rorty, he declared that "...(the) error of Modernity is the utopianism which thinks it is possible to derive the ideal or completely rational form of life directly from the concepts of a decentered world understanding and of procedural rationality." (Habermas, 1984, p.73)

The overall spirit of Modernity is also reflected in schools, where the actors (administrators, teachers, learners) start their activity with extrinsically ready-made aims and objectives, and where the connection of these aims to the inner meaning system of the actors is never questioned.

A major paradigmatic feature of the whole Enlightenmental educational thinking that influenced modern education was following the true nature of things. The imagination of the true nature of things which was the constituent part of Platonic philosophy became one of the foundations of positivism. The difference is that for the positivistic approach the nature of phenomenon should be discovered by scientific observation instead of philosophical speculation. There is no place for subjective personal interpretation or schematization of the world. Human freedom and will

are dissolved into natural laws that govern the inorganic and organic realms of existence, on the one hand, and those that rule social processes, on the other hand. "...True liberty is nothing else than a rational submission to the preponderance of the laws of nature, in release from all arbitrary personal dictation." (Comte, 1975, p. 214)

The scientific legitimation of education, according to the Newtonian paradigm, tried to overcome the contingencies of human perspectives and to establish a firm order in accordance with the laws of nature.

In this way, all social decisions must be legitimated by objective procedures. The teacher's role is thus reduced to the drawing of inferences from a particular set of research conclusions in order to determine what they ought to do in the classroom.

However, as Berlin (1966), Schwab (1969), Carr and Kemmis (1983), Rorty (1982), Schön (1983) and Elliott (1991) showed, it is logically impossible to infer answers to practical questions from answers to theoretical questions about what is actually the case in any given situation.

The purely scientific legitimation of the process of education and its aims, is in a way undemocratic according to Greene (1986). It ignores the fact that different teachers and educators are guided by different paradigms in consideration of educational phenomena. Research results obtained within a given research paradigm which would be incompatible with those phenomenologically represented by teachers could be interpreted as an imposition from outside. Or, as Carr and Kemmis (1983) claimed, if the assumptions and beliefs presupposed by a dominant paradigm are imposed with totalitarian severity, then science itself begins to resemble something like ideology. It is quite apparent that the main attraction of the positivistic approach, namely its claim to rescue educational theory from conflicts based on incompatible values and beliefs, has been achieved only because such conflicts are hyposesived through an indoctrination of values and ideology that the dominant scientific paradigm prescribes.

This type of professional expertise was very seriously and severely criticized by Schön (1983) showing that solutions to various social problems designed in this way have had unanticipated consequences, sometimes worse than the problems they were designed to solve. Concerning practical activity like those of teachers, Schön (1983), as well as Bernstein (1982), claim that there could be no prior knowledge as to the right means by which we realize the end in a practical situation. Conflict of ends, which is the characteristic feature of any coercion free of practical activity cannot be resolved by the use of techniques derived from applied research. Ends themselves can be specified through the nontechnical process of framing the problematic situation. It is the process of phronesis governing the reflective practice, instead of following some technical rules established by objective experts.

Carr (1989) concluded that the common characteristic of modern research which followed instrumental rationality is that reason is deprived of any significant role in the formulation of human purposes or social ends, reason has become an instrument for the effective pursuit of preestablished goals; human reason has lost its critical thrust, judgment and deliberation have been replaced by calculation and technique,

and reflective thought has been supplanted by rigid conformity to methodical rules.

Just as positivistic natural science helped to manipulate nature, positivistic educational science was designed to manipulate the educational process into moving toward expected or accepted directions, derived impersonally or bureaucratically.

Throughout history, the dominating notions about institutional education could be summarized under one denominator - that of the "right education", meaning that education is supposed to be legitimated by some impersonal, undebatable criteria. Postmodern critics of the modern conception of rationality and its conception of knowledge would probably connect this with foundationalism. Education is legitimated and educational aims are established mainly from three sources - the nature of knowledge, the nature of society and human nature. The nature of learning and development are in many ways derivatives of these three sources depending on the view on man general, on knowledge and on society. The Platonian as well as the positivistic paradigms (influenced by the Enlightenmental rationality) tried to find the basis for legitimation of education in some objective, impersonal, ahistorical criteria.

Nature of Knowledge

The roots of so-called objectivism have been inherited from the past. Rorty (1985) has asserted that an erroneous assumption about liberal education according to which "truth" is divorced from the "human" and attainable by the "faculty of reason" is rooted in our language. Rorty claims that we are the heirs of the objectivist tradition which centres around the assumption that we must distance ourselves from our community in order to examine the truth in the light of something which it has in common with every other actual and possible human community. He is also against an epistemology which reduces the process of justification to the so-called "natural", that would lead to the concept of truth as a correspondence to the intrinsic nature of things. Rorty viewed objectivity in solidarity and not vice versa.

According to Rorty (1980) the mind has been viewed as a great mirror containing various representations - some accurate, some not - and capable of being studied by pure, empirical methods.

According to Iran-Neijad (1990), well-organized classroom work is to be understood as a presentation of definitions, explanations, examples, questions, demonstrations and summaries, preplanned in detail. Almost no role is left for the learners' spontaneous internal self-regulation processes in his knowledge construction. This approach could be summarized by the "conduit" metaphor that is very widely used also in ordinary language (i.e. " You know very well that I gave you that idea"). Reddy (1984), who accomplished extensive investigation of the "conduit" metaphor, mentions the nearly pathological dependence of everyday language on the "conduit" metaphor. It supposes a direct transparence of sentences, thoughts and emotions to learners.

It could be supposed that the same "mirror" metaphor , actually incarnated in the

scientific legitimation of education, is an important reason why the whole complicated circle of questions about educational aims is often reduced to questions of precise and minute objectives accompanied by atomizing scientific knowledge into logical and sequential portions for achieving efficiency in finding the right answers to the right questions. However, negotiations over curriculum content seem to be excluded by such approach.

Human Nature

The modern approach, in general, laid emphasis on the objectively discoverable laws of the immanent unfolding of human nature, independent of any cultural or historical givenness. Brubacher (1962) has remarked that there has been an increasing tendency for educators to look towards educational psychology for any statement about the human nature. Educational psychology has tended to restrict itself to those aspects of human nature which enable it to state its conclusions with an exactness aping the physical sciences, and that often leads to the elimination of those aspects of human nature that do not allow scientific exactness and objectivity.

The whole 18th century, with its spirit of Enlightenment striving to follow nature, is sometimes called the century of Nature. That seems to be the starting point in the reduction of human development to natural-biological analogies, to standardized and closed stages of development. It considered it possible to make all the unfolding of human nature or its growth predictable and foreseeable by the spectator view; thus it was held that any act of human behavior could be subsumed under one or another nomothetical law. As Rorty (1985) asserted, "much of the rhetoric of contemporary intellectual life takes for granted that the goal of scientific inquiry into man is to understand underlying structures", or "culturally invariant factors", or "biologically determined patterns". This imagination is in full accordance with the Newtonian scientific paradigm and world picture. All educational decisions should follow some scientifically established objective law of human development. However, as Berger and Luckmann (1967) assert, there are as numerous ways of becoming and being as there are human cultures, and humaneness in general is a sociocultural variable that is not characterized by an inevitable narrow way of development. The natural-scientific view to human nature excludes the need for any negotiation over the preferences or interests of real actors. It has been considered possible to discover them scientifically.

Nature of Society

The dominating notion about society is the functionalistic one launched by Plato, where society is viewed metaphorically as an organism having some causally determined needs. The "organism" metaphor creates a deterministic myth of society, with definite and fixed bonds between its parts; it is just analogous to biological organs within the organism. Society is presented as a reality in its own right, having

the character of God, independent of man, having its own laws of development, and shaping man according to its own requirements. Man is seen as powerless to shape his own life except where society gives him the freedom to do so. Education transmits society's ideal of man fulfilling societal needs in this way.

All the objectivistic tradition could be summarized in the following way.

There is the notion of ultimate knowledge which is acquired by mirroring the true ideas or the world around us by transparent, clear language making knowledge nonconflicting, separated from the subjective interests of the learners. Society is dominantly viewed through the "organism" metaphor, where every part of the organism (institutions and individuals) should play its prefixed, correct role in the service of the whole. Plato's just state was substituted by Comte and Spencer, Durkheim, Parsons by one evolving by objective laws, independently of human will, maintaining a relatively stable order or moving toward a higher order. Education is seen as preparing people for certain roles or role expectations, as socializing people into a prefixed order, created outside themselves. Human nature is seen as a teleological unfolding by a divine plan in the Platonian paradigm, or as unfolding due to the objective natural laws according to Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel and even Piaget. These natural laws have often been supposed (especially by Comte) to influence the human mind in the same way as natural processes. Human nature is connected with Nature that acts as a universal directing power shaping the fates of people, or with nature as the prefixed property of the material world.

The dominating sources of educational legitimation - the "nature of society", "human nature", the "nature of knowledge" - represent a reified view of an individual, without any serious attention to the problem of the personal meaning. It is equally true about the dominant "organism" metaphor when dealing with the social bond problems, the "nature" or "growth" metaphors describing the development of man, or the "mirror" or "conduit" metaphors for illuminating man's epistemic contact with the world. They all presuppose the "spectator view" of the process of education and of the real actors, extrinsic criteria for legitimating educational aims. They all contain some foundationalism that leaves it to experts to make rational decisions about curriculum planning or to establish educational aims.

None of the paradigmatic notions about knowledge, man and his development, and society leaves any considerable place for democratic negotiations and will-formation. Thus, I would conclude that we follow two contradictory intentions - that of the democratization of education and the scientific legitimation of educational decisions.

Alternative Paradigmatic Notions

The democratic approach to the legitimation of educational aims has been supported by the revision of major metaphors describing all the three sources of legitimation of education- knowledge, society and man.

Knowledge

The constructivistic view of knowledge and learning rejects the view of the absorption or the internalization of ready-made knowledge under conscious control. The understanding of a message is supposed to be connected to personal meaning, which has no inevitability of structures absorbing ready-made true knowledge. By Popper (1979), there is no fundamental difference between personal and objective knowledge; both of them remain tentative and allocated to continuous revision. Instead of the "conduit" metaphor for describing learning, the "construction" metaphor is viewed as more appropriate. It allows everyone to retain his own paradigm in deriving his own naive theories about the phenomena under consideration. In this way the main style of school instruction - "to give correct answers to right questions" is seriously questioned. Questions of motifs and personal meaning would become more serious than direct transmission of ready-made knowledge atoms.

A similar implication could be derived from the new metaphor of "edification" by Rorty (1980). "Edification" stands "for finding new, better, more interesting, more fruitful ways of speaking" (Rorty, 1980, p. 360). It can begin with a fundamental understanding and culturally elaborated knowledge structures. It is propedeutic to find new and more interesting ways of expressing ourselves for coping with the world.

Fritzman (1990) and Apple (1971) approaching the issue from different angles, concluded that our curriculum is too "plain" and strives to prepare people for a frictionless society; it does not reflect any real conflicts in scientific and social thinking. This idea has already been forcefully presented already in the Kuhnian (1970) concept of the paradigm and even more stringently by Lyotard (1984), introducting the new metaphor of "paralogy".

Human Nature

The second basis of legitimation of education, man, or more exactly, human nature was also profoundly reinterpreted already by Dewey and from him onwards. The "growth" metaphor that for Rousseau and even for Piaget designated a kind of closed and teleological process of unfolding towards a definite terminus has been criticized by various authors for not expressing the inevitable nomothetical process, but is significantly influenced by cultural-historical environment and contains unpredictable, transformative changes. The unfolding of human nature is also influenced by the self-determination of the individual. It is not justified to derive the aims of education directly from some prefixed description of human nature, but instead with the help of communicatively arranged negotiations involving some unpredictability and indeterminacy.

"There is no such thing as "human nature", in the deep sense in which Plato...uses this term. Nor is there such a thing as alienation from one's essential humanity due to societal repression, in the deep sense made familiar by Rousseau

and Marxists. There is only the shaping of an animal into a human being by a process of socialization, followed (with luck) by the self-individualization and self-creation of that human being through his or her own latent revolt against that very process" (Rorty, 1990, p. 45)

Morss (1992) shows that the whole view to man's development as a regular, law-governed, unfolding progressively improving manner is in the process of deconstruction. This kind of evolutionist model of *Bildung* or formative running in a more or less straight line from birth to death - one of the most treasured images in the history of education - has been substituted by discontinuities, reversals, hesitations, reservations and displacements. A deterministic view of human development has been strongly emphazised. Instead of objective laws of development toward some teleologically established ideal end state governing human and social development, there is more emphasis on power relations and human choice as the causes of human change.

Society

Fritzman (1990) concluded that while speaking about socialization, it is necessary to determine what society is or what it will be. There is neither an automatic nor homogenous answer to this question. Any definite answer involves the danger of increasing terror against some persons or interest groups excluding a priori the need of negotiations over common interests.

The interpretive approach and the critical theory of Habermas consider the view of society as a "biological organism" having objective needs fulfilled by its different parts (institutions and individuals through their role activity) as inadequate, or at least, as one-sided. The issue of institutional functions is not the issue of discovering objective laws directing social processes independently of human will, it is an issue of political will-formation. In the same way, it is possible to argue against ready-made roles in society, independently of people interpreting these roles and creating new ones. The vision of school as a "factory" based on the prefixed "efficiency" model is not justified on the background of the democratic ideal of participation. Society based on "fraternity" or solidarity seems to hold more promises for real democracy than that "organism" to denote society.

Conclusion

It seems that if we want to get rid of extrinsically designed and prescribed educational organization and instructional process that we criticized in Estonia very strongly at the beginning of our educational renewal in 1987, then we must pass to another paradigm of educational thinking, away from positivistic premises towards the hermeneutical and critical ones. It touches educational science as well as educational guidance and organization. It means first of all that we should change the

style of educational theorizing profoundly, substituting ingrained root metaphors by substantially different ones.

Secondly, one of the most important issues would be the establishment of democratic procedures of decision-making at every level of educational guidance - state, municipality, school and classroom levels - which presupposes public involvement in negotiations and the preparation of different kinds of educational decisions, communicatively agreeing on their value background in the frames of system constraints if these themselves are not under consideration. There should be procedures for establishing and negotiating the principles and core values of the whole educational system, educational policy at the level of municipality coherently with general policy of the state. There should be procedures for establishing school-wide educational policy and last, but not least, procedures of involving students into the negotiations over the immediate aims of education.

The procedures of representative and participative democracy should thus be interwoven and interacting. Scientific research should carry an assistant role in will-formation and solution of educational problems. It would provide us with the ways to leave the educational political vacuum and mechanical following of the educational solutions of other countries. Education in general, is foremost an area of the choice of living philosophy, agreeing on values and aims - thus an area of political will-formation, not only an area of expert decision-making and some kind of objective solutions to follow automatically, but problems always reflect some value preferences and aims that must be negotiated and, where possible, communicatively resolved.

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Stephan Sting

The Present Concepts of "Bildung" in Germany: Between Self-Education and The Quest for New Publics

The discussion of *Bildung*, which develops in direct contact with the discussion of problems of education and instruction, is a specifically German phenomenon and finds little comparable elsewhere, at least in other Western European countries. Therefore, a logical translation of the concept *Bildung* is difficult, for example, in English or French. Words like "education" or "formation" do not come close to the rich meaning and complexity of the German concept of *Bildung*. It is a question of a discussion that cuts across the various educational science paradigms and whose general feature is that there is a going beyond questions of orientation and realization of the educational processes, questions of pedagogic process and strategies: they are connected with a discussion of the textual dimension of education as well as the value- and goal orientation of pedagogic activities. Ballauff formulates this very clearly, since he distinguished theory of *Bildung*, which is a theory of ideals, objectives and criteria, from educational science, which is concerned instead with methods and techniques. (Ballauff 1989, 3f)

Since their origin in 1800, German theories of *Bildung* have been concerned with two areas of concentration: on the one hand, it is a question of how the individual can be prepared for coping with his tasks in an existing society; on the other hand, it is a question of whether the functioning of the individual within the framework of the existing one or the mode of functioning of an existing society corresponds with the concept of *Bildung*, that is, with the specific ideals and aims regarding the development of the single individual. *Bildung* takes a median position between the single subject and the entirety of society. Adorno describes it as "culture on the side of its subjective inclinations" (Adorno 1972, 94), as a repertoire of social information, knowledge, skill, customs, and behavior patterns accesible to the subject, with whose aid he sets himself up in a relation to society. It establishes the individual at a certain distance to society, as at least a partially independent subject which does not simply proceed from the social context, but which is educated according to certain criteria and behavior patterns and through this education has an effect on society. That is why questions concerned with discussion of *Bildung* take two directions: how is the single subject to be constituted, or rather how does he establish himself at a certain distance to the social guidelines, as self-determined, free and critical? And which general conditions and suppositions result from the society or independent of it, to which the education of the subject must be adjusted? In the present situation of the problematization of the concept of subject and

general value and orientation, concepts of *Bildung* waver between the strengthening of the subject, or rather, the competence for self-orientation, and the quest for a new general public.

From Criticism to Permanent Transformation

Heydorn emphasizes the critical character of classical idea of *Bildung* directed against control, which understands the determination of human beings as self-determination toward free activity. (Heydorn 1979, 92-133). In connection with this, numerous attempts have been aimed at the actualization of the concept of *Bildung* on the preservation or recovery of the critical position of the subject toward society. Pongratz and Drechsel understand *Bildung* as an "unredeemed promise", as an "empty place", the filling of which would bring a reconciliation of the subject with society and nature." (Pongratz 1988, 293; cf. Drechsel 1987, 62ff) This type of concepts refers not simply to an imprinting or formation of the subject according to social guidelines, but to a mid-area in which the claims of society and the subject come to terms with each other. Each society reduces the possibilities of human existence. Against this curtailment, a tension is developed in the subject, a resistance established in nature, which leads to a critical reflection of social relationships. *Bildung* would correspondingly strive for a critical attitude of the subject to society, which he opposes by his non-integrated component and against which it sets the utopia of a reconciliation through changing of social conditions of existence. It would in this perspective require a type of more mature state of the subject, a final form which occurs either entirely or not at all and which require an "improvement" of society and humanity. (cf. Ballauff 1989, 84f; Benner 1977, 60-67). In this sense Adorno's "theory of half-*Bildung*" is a theory of non-education, since it rejects the half-understood and half-experienced as "the mortal enemy of *Bildung*." (Adorno, 111; cf. also Drechsel et al. 1987, 77ff).

The critical concept of *Bildung* rests on the ideal of an independent and conscious spirit which can find an approach to truth and knowledge of the world free from social distortion. This ideal, however, has certainly not been realized; in social practice one always finds only the fallout product of a "socialized half-*Bildung*", since human existence without regard to social schemata toward coping with reality is not possible - an insight which goes back to Schleiermacher (Adorno, 120f; Schleiermacher 1983, 54f). The critical understanding of *Bildung* as it occurs, for example, in Adorno and his followers, is contradictory: it takes up the positive figures of the classical concept(spirit and culture) (Adorno, 110-113), but rejects, however, a possiblity of realization under concrete social conditions. The subject remains left over, thrown back upon himself, which turns his unredeemable claims into a "critical self-reflection" and which can relate to society only through "negative thinking" (cf., for ex., Drechsel, et al., 33f) In this context then, Schäfer, for example, states the "systematic improbability of *Bildung*" as the impossibility of experience not socially mediated (Schäfer 1989, 57f).

Somewhat more moderately, Benner pleads for a "non-affirmative theory of *Bildung*," which proceeds from the educability of the subject without biological and sociological commitment. Man is educable and undetermined; all human determination is self-determination, all positive or affirmative educational concepts are to be related back to the fundamental non-determination of man in order to unmask its ideological character. Against prejudiced and reductionist concepts, Benner comprehends education in the sense of Kant and Humboldt, whose task is no longer to "accustom, instruct, and socialize the generation growing up according to any particular determination according to origin, but prepare the individual subjects for cooperation with human communal practice". (Benner 1988, 472, 468-471) *Bildung* must point to the existing social fabric, in that it counters concrete educational practice with the objective idea of an individual education derived from general reason, or rather, from a universal, cosmopolitan ethic.

Meanwhile, in my view, critical theories of *Bildung* are based on questionable prerequisites: on the nature of the subject lying outside of social determination, on an objectivity or truth beyond social codification, and on a utopia of the approach of the existing society to the claimed objectivity or nature in the sense of improvement of human relationships. In contrast to this, today all concepts of nature are subject to the suspicion of historical and social limitation. An obliging truthfulness or unquestioned objectivity is just as difficult to be fixed. In contrast, Rauschenberger points out that reality is open and ambiguous. Sense and meaning result first of all from social attribution and constructions in the perception- and meaning act, for which *Bildung* is essentially concerned. It is first of all "formation of reality." (Rauschenberger 1989, 18-24) Therewith, the anchor points of critical theory fuse; criticism itself is "socialized," the critical subject swims in a stream of a society in which no firm basis for compliance of critical normativity is any more to be recognized. *Bildung* is on the one hand always socially mediated; an education conceived outside of a concrete society is not imaginable. On the other hand, the subject is always "educated;" it does not exist independent of specific biographical conditions; it derives from its historical and social situation; an ensemble of social customs, knowledge, skills and patterns of behavior prepare the existence of the subject in a specific way. *Bildung*, therefore, takes place for the most part unnoticed and imperceptible; it is expressed in different realizations of human possibilities, whose historical and cultural comparison brings to light a plurality of human formation and education.

In regard to the variety and variability of socially constituted modes of existence, the integrity and identity of the subject as a starting point of *Bildung* has become questionable. The unity and inclusiveness of the subject according to Hanusch is dissolved into fragments and pieces, whereby the adaptation of correspondingly more contemporary analysis of youth to given relationships is connected to self-assertion. (Hanusch 1987, 174f). Instead of criticism, in this perspective *Bildung* leads to more permanent transformation - to a flexiblity for continual re- and further education, to an open, fragmentary self. (Hanusch, 179ff) The result of a *Bildung*, which rests on the transformability of man, would no longer be improvement, but a

continual "metamorphosis" in regard to contingent alterations and contingent life experiences. Without stable data points and without the horizon of a universal reason, in Oelkers it will become pure "transition from one space to another. Each is characteristic, 'each place has its own fate.'" (Oelkers 1991, 401f)

Bildung is not improbable; it takes place continually. What comes out of it is certainly not a critical self, not a simple subject formed once and for all, but a fragmentary self, which spans the variety of claims and mobilization for permanent self-transformation no more into a homogenous identity. The transformation is, however, no pure adaptation to "system constraints." A systems theory which abstracts from the subjects in favor of the self-course of a social functional course of events, or rather understands the subject only as an external "environment" of a self-reproducing social system (cf. Luhmann 1985, 234), according to Scherr fails to recognize the unique complexity and unique dynamics of the psychic system confirmed by it itself. (Scherr 1992, 98) Just as subjects do not exit without society, society is not independent of subjective intentions, modes of existence and actions.

The subject is formed in the context of a social situation, but it is realized in a certain way and reveals a difference to other subjects as well as to the society as a whole. *Bildung* is expressed in local and temporally limited forms of differentiation. On the one hand the subject is not Fatum; it is a developing being which could have developed differently and which reflects society's attempt to form and shape it. On the other hand, it "exists"in a certain way; on the basis of its individuality it blocks its own transformability and acts against its own present conditioning and claims. A genetic understanding of the subject in this way no longer allows a comprehensive criticism of society, but the reference to individual differences allows breaks, blockades and resistance to appear.

The unity of the subject is the unity of its life history.It results from a biographically founded difference which can be opposed to the arbitrariness of the transformation, and which restricts the formability and nondetermination of an existing subject and evokes claims and objections against its concrete social conditions.

General Education and Self-Education

The implementation of the concept of *Bildung* that has existed until now must deal with the reproach of subjectivism - and the subjectivism is the declared opponent of numerous older as well as new education theoreticians. (Cf., e.g., Peukert 1988, 12; Drechsel et al., 58; Scherr, 92f) In order to counter this reproach, I would subsequently test the possibilities of generalization and the statement of a general commitment.

A first glance shows that given all the differences, actually a great level of generalization occurs: the subjects are differentiated within the framework of a comprehensive socialization: their education is realized in nearly all societies in different forms of public education, which allows the discussion of school and instruction to become general experience and the basis of a general education. According to Ten-

orth, this consists in "alphabetizing and literalness," in the "universalizing of preparedness for learning and of skill" and in the "guarantee of communication". (Tenorth 1986, 16f) The generalization of *Bildung* exists, therefore, above all in the production of a horizon of mutual understanding and mutual communication, in the practice of cultural techniques like reading and writing as well as in establishing a universal preparedness for learning as the prerequisite of all further education.

The concept of *Bildung* is imprinted with the quest for generalizing, the single subject of transgressed determination. An aspect of this is the textual orientation of education (cf. Schweizer 1988, 64f; Klafki 1985, 15f). In this connection of education to content at the same time there lies its danger: it remains connected to the always specific, historically arising circumstances and is subject, thereby, to reproaches of traditionalism, of social exclusivity, of an ideological connection to a particular interest. (Schweitzer, 62f)

In the history of public education the discussion of the content of *Bildung* is concentrated, above all, on the so-called canon problem, on the selection of relevant educational material. In relation to the extension and variability of possible educational content, the increase of claims of social qualification and differentiation of social knowledge, in the West German educational field two attempts have been undertaken to solve the canon problem in a way that is adequate to the present time: Klafki substituted the education canon by the concept of "key problems." Thereby, a central, general posing of problems was to be taken up (e.g. peace, environment, media), in order on the one hand to make possible a learning oriented and related to the general, and, on the other hand, in the sense of exemplary learning to awaken a "problematic sensibility" and examine strategies for problem solving. The prerequisite of both modes of learning is an education for life-long learning, a "learning of learning", that sets the subject into a learning relationship to the world (Klafi 1985, 20-26). Klafki combines the conception of education of Anglo-Saxon pragmitism, which is oriented toward the individual and is directed to the competence of problem solving (cf. Holmes/McLean 12989, 14ff), with the German tradition of seeking overriding criteria and content, in order to set this against the aimlessness and splintering of pedagogical activitiy. The aim is finally the competence of the subject for self-determination within the framework of a general humanities perspective derived from classical education theory (Klafki 1985, 14; Klafki 1986, 458ff). Klafki does not escape the present problematic of *Bildung* in this way: neither a generally binding concept of humanity is maintained, nor can a social objectivity be claimed, from which a canon of central setting up of problems can be derived. Rauschenberger, for example, objects to Klafki, saying that no consensus exists on a contemporary catalog of tasks. (Rauschenberger, 30f)

There is a similar problem with the second concept of "key qualifications", which must be subordinated as a general category to all specific qualifications. Negt's new definition of the concept of learning on the basis of six social required key qualifications (to learn the production of relations, to learn the dealing with threatened and broken identity, technological and ecological competence, the power of the perception of the just and unjust, to learn to use one's time efficiently), even

with every desire for generality, cannot counter the reproach of selectivity. (Negt 1989) Thus, for example, Tippelts creates lists of key qualifications in a completely different way. (It is a question for him of the development of the ability for logical-conclusive thinking, of the learning of learning, of efficient use of the information horizon of a society as well as team-and cooperation capability. Tippelt 1990, 310ff)

The field of social knowledge as a whole as well as pedagogical knowledge in particular appear to Oelkers and Tenorth to be structured openly and in a varied way; it contains no universal systematics. (Oelkers/Tenorth 1991) Each determination of educational content in the essense of a canon of knowledge, of problems or qualifications fails, therefore, in their claim to generality through the actual connection to the situation. At the same time it remains ensnared in the fluctuation of social claims, conflicts and interest constellations. Also at the moment of the present social demands there is little left of the general canon: *Bildung* as production of social usefulness proves to be ever less planable and must be discussed with continually changed profiles of claims. In the final account it leads to the establishment of "undetermined qualifications," to the competence of the subject with a type of practical intelligence and flexibility in order to withstand the change of claims. (Cf. Hansmann 1988, 37-41) In the increasing imbalance between social complexity and individual capability of action, *Bildung* shifts inevitably to the side of the subject and moves to the strengthening of the position of the self. (Cf. for ex. Hansmann/Marotzki 1988, 9ff; Fischkopf 1989, 27ff)

A second generalized aspect of *Bildung* is an adjustment to reason. Against the connection of *Bildung* with any type of particularism and regionalism, Peukert rightly emphasizes that in the context of a modernization process embracing the entire globe, there is actually a question of problem situations concerning the entire world. These arise through the fact that modernizing threatens itself, and thereby it requires self-reflection. Education must face general, global problems and convey a new consciousness for this beyond subjective orientation. Peukert designates the following central fields of conflict: the area of economics, which must be extended to a consciousness of ecological relationships, the area of democracy, which must maintain the political sphere against the threats of militarism and particular claims for control, and the area of culture or science, which must establish reason, which is directed to an ability among subjects to act against the fragmentation of consciousness through specialization and differentiation. (Peukert 1992, 113-118; Peukert 1988, 14f).

The problem hereby is that the idea of general reason is questionable today. The constitution of reason going beyond the subject fastens onto the subject itself, in order to pose the question from there about society and the possibility of generalization. Reason is therefore not a formal category, but remains bound to concrete conditions of existence. Accordingly it can no longer proceed from a formation of society according to *one single* type of reason, but from a pluralization of reason "in manifold openness and social movement". (Scherr 1992, 111f, 92f)

Reason develops with a view to others and for others: Peukert proceeds from a genetic understanding of reason, which respects the difference and alienness of the

other, and in regard to its formation, produces intersubjective communication and understanding in the form of an attempt. (Peukert 1988, 15; Peukert 1992, 122f) The leap from genetic reason as reason connected to concrete situations and subjects to a general reason as "the ethic of intersubjective creativity on the horizon of a universal solidarity" certainly does not result by itself. When global problem situations are ascertainable, the question remains connected to the assessment and treatment of particular and regional perspectives.

All concepts of general education must enter into a dialogue with the social tendency toward individualizing, which accompanies the process of modernization. Beck emphasizes expressly that in a highly developed society, individualization is not sign of a disintegration of the social group, but a specific form of socialization by which the individual is bound to self-formation and individual decision, to self-planning and self-reflection of his own biography in the context of a far reaching social conformity. (Beck 1993, p. 66f)

Individualization, therefore, does not liberate from society; the individualizing self-education appears as a current social form, for which reason it also is the starting point of numerous attempts for a new definition of the concept of *Bildung*. (For a broad reception of Beck's individualization thesis, cf., among others, Vogel 1992, 13; Marotzki, 321ff; Drechsel et al, 34ff)

A *Bildung* which proceeds from individualization no longer returns to general determination without forced standardization. Schütz, therefore, recognizes the danger of education less in the "difference" of interpretation than in the "monopolization" through mono-causal claims to clarification. A *Bildung* related to the subject has to accept the limitation of typical perception-, action- and cognition possibilites and to carry out a sensitization for the differences of knowing and understanding. (Schütz 1992a, 36f; Schütz 1992b, 148) In a similar way, with a view toward school didactics, Tippelt pleads for a strengthening of the "dissent-area" in contrast to an orientation toward consensus. (Tippelt, 319ff) In the context of more inflationary circulation of information, whose objective meaning is relativized through temporality and selectivity, the subject develops an "individual meaning-game", in which it carries out a "translation" of circulating knowledge "in an existential relationship of circumstances." Through the relation of social knowledge to the individual existence it facilitates an understanding, a constitution of meaning through "small stories" or "small narration" which remains conscious of the particularity and realization of not-understanding. Self-education leads in this case to a permanent, inconclusive process of "self understanding-one's-self", which according to Schütz is based on the readiness "to undertake the authorship of a biography, which one does not write alone." (Schütz 1992a, 40)

A concept of *Bildung* which wants to go beyond the fixation of existing relationships as well as reduction of the subject turns to self-education, which, on the one hand, reflects the unavailability of the individual prerequisite and, on the other hand, the subjective perspective in provisional outline. It is a question of attempting, a tentative explanation of reality" (Marotzki, 329f) in favor of the possiblity of transgressing reality. Thereby the context of knowing and the environment of

knowing will be brought forward, which again and again must be corrected in its realization and discussion with others. A *Bildung* composed in this sense respects its fragmentariness, its basic relationship to not-knowing and to the unconscious, which is inherent to all efforts for consciousness and reasonableness.

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The Incorporation of National and Regional Components into the School Curriculum as a Means of Promoting Integration into the European Education System

For seven decades Russia's school developed as a uniform system separated from European educational processes. This situation in the educational field necessarily came into conflict with the changing economic and political situation in Europe and Russia. Educational processes were strongly influenced by the general democratization of school life, which naturally led to the decentralization of education. The latter in its turn facilitated the redistribution of authority among the central, regional and municipal organs, the expansion of the rights of educational institutions and their increasing responsibility for the results of their activity.

At the same time the destruction of the environment, the weakening of cultural traditions, the spiritual impoverishment of people's attitude toward nature and toward themselves are causing the erosion of natural self-consciousness. It is not accidental that initiating and developing regional and municipal education projects have become a priority in the current state policy.

It is a long-term objective that national education systems should make up an integral Russian system, meeting all national and educational demands of the peoples of the Russian Federation. The system is supposed to take into account various specific, regional characteristics and be integrated into the European education system. Thus, completely new components were introduced into Russia's education policy: a national and a regional component.

Description of the Concept of the "National and Regional components"

A characteristic feature of modern education systems is that they focus on taking advantage of specific national and regional characteristics for a better education of the youth. Taking into account the economic, social, and cultural structure of the area, its traditions, historical and national distinctive features makes it possible to enrich the educational process in all types of educational institutions and to ensure the cultivation of patriotism in the young. School is no longer a uniform system. Due to this, history, culture, language and literature, the customs, and the life style of the people came to play an important role in the content and technique of education.

Not only economists, philosophers, chairmen of various departments but also educational researchers have turned their attention to the problems of particular regions. Thus, St. Petersburg scholars (the A. I. Herzen Russian State Pedagogical University) study the essence and structure of regional education systems. A. V. Suvorinov (the Committee on Science and Higher School of the RF) is examining regional aspects of the research on upper level education. Academician M.I. Makhmutov (the Tatar Republic) has considered the problem of setting up a regional college as a possible variant of educational integration. The Mordavian university began issuing a specialized journal, "Regionology".

In our opinion, the regionalization of education is a principle aimed at bringing educational practice into conformity with the social demand and financial resources of an area. This principle ensures a better understanding of the processes taking place in the region, in Russia and in Europe. It forms an integral picture of the world. Life shows that negative processes connected with the striving for economic and national isolation and the devotion to obsolete traditions may also take place in various regions. We believe that school must be oriented only toward the progressive, toward the integration of the international (including European), state, national, and regional components, thus securing the continuous development of the spiritual and cultural values in society common to all mankind.

In the scientific literature there is no definition of the concept "national and regional components". We suggest the following definition:
National and regional components in education are a complex of natural, economic, ecological, historical, and socio-cultural, demographic, medical, ethno-psychological distinctive features of the region reflected in the content of education.

The methodological basis for this phenomenon is a philosophical concept concerning the unity of "the common", "the specific", and "the unique" in social life. National and regional features fall under the category "the specific".

In addition to other basic components the national and regional components are priority features in education.

How Can Our Interest in this Problem be Explained?

The Archangel Region is a specific national and regional unit integrating Russian, Eastern- and West-European socio-ethnic bases. The population of the region resulted from the ethnogeny of Finno-Ugric, Samodian, Slavic and Scandinavian peoples. The historical connections of the White Sea area have traditionally included the Barents region and North European countries.

Specific national and regional features of the educational environment here are determined by the geographical, demographic, economic, ecological, cultural, and historical conditions of the Russian North.

Its specific geographical features are determined by the fact that the Archangel Region is one of the largest in Russia: it is larger than France. In the North the

coastal strip washed by the Arctic Seas (the White, the Barents, the Pechora and the Kara Seas) stretches for almost three thousand kilometres. Over half of the territory is in the taiga zone. The region is rich in mineral resources.

Its considerable span from North to South, and the proximity of the Arctic Ocean influence the climate, which is characterized by frequent alternation of warm and cold air masses accompanied by strong winds. In summer the day is much longer than the night. In winter the temperature falls to minus 30-40^0 C below zero. Such frosts along with strong winds and high air humidity are difficult for the people to endure. The territory is not densely populated. We believe that severe conditions of life in the Russian North helped in forming a specific attitude toward man and his life. The value of human life here is much higher than in more densely populated areas. It caused the development of affectionate relations among people and a cautious attitude to the results of their labour.

Vast and sparsely populated Northern territories became a place of exile for freedom-loving people dissenting from the official policy, such as archpriest Avvakum, schismatics, Old Believers, and political exiles of the 20th century. The region also has been suitable for the siting of industrial military enterprises whose influence upon the socio-cultural aspect of the area cannot be underestimated.

An important regional feature is the multinational character of its population. People of seventy-two nationalities live in the Russian North. The Russians are the prevailing group. The Nenetz Autonomous Area and the neighbouring territories are inhabited by the aboriginal Northern peoples - the Nenets and the Komi. The Russian North has traditionally been an international area. As early as the middle of the 18th century 140 registered foreigners lived in Archangel. The geographical position and economic development promoted the establishment of the region as a major sea and timber center of Russia. At the beginning of the 20th century there were many foreigners that married and settled in Archangel. German, English, Norwegian, and Swedish speech became common for the city and its suburbs. At the Russian-Norwegian Conference in April 1993 the problem of the revival of traditional cultural and educational ties between the Russian and West-European North was discussed.

Due to the international character of its population, the Russian North concentrates various national and regional cultures: Slavic, Finno-Ugric, and Oriental. It is here that we may look for the reasons for the present Northerners' tolerance to peoples of other nationalities, and the absence of national conflicts in the Region. The fact that the original settling of the Slavs took place in the form of popular colonization, without any military struggle with the native population, also played a notable role in the spiritual life of the area. "Peaceful coexistence" of the Northerners with the people speaking other languages (Choud Zavolotskaya, Karelians, Komi, Nenets, Saami, Norwegians) secured a wide-scale exchange of production habits, economic collaboration, cultural unterstanding, and mutual influence of the peoples.

It is also important that the rural population is almost equal to that of the towns. The present siting of rural settlements took shape gradually. Many very old villages

arose in the time of Novgorodian colonization. Settlements tended to be founded on the banks of lakes and rivers which served as water-routes, sources of watersupply, and fishing. It facilitated the appearance and prevalence of little villages situated fairly close to one another, which in its turn influenced the formation of relations among people. Traditions of collectivism, independence, and stamina have become characteristic of the Russian North.

Historically, even after the area became part of the Moscovite State it managed to retain its independence. The North did have serfdom or (with little exception) patrimony landownership. It remained a classical area of small free peasantry. Without experiencing serfdom or Tatar-Mongolian domination the local population cultivated the spirit of enterprise and independence. It was here, in the North, that the all-uyezd communities, including the trading quarter and the surrounding area (uyezd), were very active. At their general meetings, community affairs were settled, and the all-uyezd self-government formed a specific strategy for moral behaviour which was reflected in various popular moral requirements and appraisal of people's behaviour. Even today these traditions are alive in Northern villages.

Conditions of social and economic development in the North (engagement in seafaring and commercial fishing, sailing to other countries, contacts with foreigners) promoted the spreading of literacy among a considerable part of the male and even female population. Thus, inscriptions in Russian and Norwegian created in places of seasonal work go back to the 17th-19th centuries. The peasants in the North owned many books of divine and mixed character.

Besides handwritten books many printed books on civil subjects penetrated the North and were highly valued here. They were so expensive that people had to join together to buy them. Peasants copied them from each other, buying them at small monasteries of Old Believer's, at markets, bringing them from capital cities. Thus, the Archangel Region Archives possess books from the 16-17th centuries, with written notes indicating that they had belonged to the Kholmogory Cathedral or had been brought from Kiev. They reached the North thanks to Kiev-Mogilyav Academy's graduates who were teaching at the Kholmogory bishop school. Unfortunately, most of the old books - treasures of the North - were taken away to the Center in the middle 60s, and the fate of most of them is tragic: the unsatisfactory condidions of book depositories, flooding and fires destroyed a large portion of invaluable riches of folk culture.

The Northern Region has been traditionally the place of a fairly developed folk culture. The Region is noted for wood-carving, birch bark processing, original wood painting, embroidering, wooden architecture and Kholmogory bone carving. The North is considered to be a treasure of agricultural, seaworthy, fishing, and craft knowledge. Legends of Kievan Russia and the Novgorod period, lyric wedding poetry, songs, and the Russian language in all its richness and variety have all been preserved here. Much of this heritage has been handed down to the younger generation, thanks to educational activities of the Northern School of Folk Handicrafts, the State Northern Folk Chorus, the Leshukansky Folk Chorus, other amateur folk groups, and the dance groups "Siverko", "Moroshka", "Ulybka".

Under the influence of the unique features of the region, a specific psychological type of personality arose, slightly different in the various territories of the North. It can hardly be described in scientific terms, but it has been traditionally noted by all visitors to the North.

Under severe conditions, generation after generation people accumulated such traits as a love for freedom and mutual assistance. A fairly developed collective consciousness resulted in developing such traits as trust and honesty: it was forbidden to hoart food, money or cheat others. Pomor people, both men and women, have been known for their patriotism, deep love for their homeland, diligence, honesty, a consideration for others, self-respect, independence, a quick mind, and self-control.

By the 18th century, under the influence of the specific socio-historical features of the Northern Region, folk pedagogy had developed as a part of the people's spiritual culture. Folk pedagogy was preserved in oral folklore, customs and rituals, and children's games and toys. The essence of folk pedagogy were educational traditions which were a means of preserving and reproducing, transferring and consolidating social experience and spiritual values. It was educational traditions through which the rules of conduct and moral requirements of a personality were passed from generation to generation.

Lay educational traditions of the North were formed and retained in the families and supported by a community support. The relationship among family members as well as among neighbours has been characterized by mutual understanding and respect. You never heard a girl called "Dashka" or "Palashka", only "Daryushka" and "Polyushka" if they were little, or "Dashenka" and "Pelageyushka" when they became older and as soon as they were married everybody called them by their father's name. The father of the family was called "bat'ushka", the mother or godmother - "matushka".

One of the favourable conditions for moral upbringing was a special atmosphere in the family which was considered to be the basis of life and everything valuable in it. Families of that time were mostly very large, since the older and the younger generations lived together. In fact, every family was an independent educational as well as production unit. Mutual respect promoted and maintained good contacts with both close and distant relatives. Kindness, readiness to help and forgiveness were encouraged. The head of a Pomor family was traditionally the father "starshoy", who had great power. Strict patriarchal upbringing instilled deep respect for parents. Everybody kept order and silence in their presence. Silent obedience to parents' will was compulsory in a Pomor family, but it did not serve as a barrier for developing children's creativity, initiative, and perseverance. Pomor upbringing was characterized by a specific attitude towards a woman, who was regarded not just as a guardian of the home, but as the personification of all moral qualities, a symbol of the Motherland. The girls and women of the North, unlike other regions of Russia, were very independent in solving all the problems dealing with household. They helped men in their hard and dangerous work at sea, and when the men went far

away to hunt or fish, the women became heads of their families. While the men were earning their families' living, they completely relied on their wives in managing the household.

The basis of family upbringing was deligence. All Pomors were very interested in the occupation by which they lived. The father and mother of the family were equal in guiding the work to be done in the house by the family members. Obedience to the parents was implicit.

The northern children were tought to work hard. The eldest shared their experience with the younger and carefully helped raise them, combining teaching with punishment, which was never initiated by spite. Those who were taught in this way realized this and did not take offence. As soon as a child was six, his father taught him to spin and make nets. Since the age of five, the girls were taking care of the smaller children. It was every family's tradition.

Since their childhood, the boys were trained to work in the fields. At the age of seven or eight, their fathers took them out to sea. They did not get any share of the catch, but were fed from the "bolshaks"' (adults') table. Those young sailors were called "zuiki" after the name of the seagulls, which were living and feeding near the fishermen's camps. "Zuiki" did everything shipboys were supposed to do. When on shore, they cleaned dishes, stored firewood, brought water, were at everybody's beck and call, and were never given a moment's peace.

At her birth a girl was presented with a small distaff and later with a larger one. At first she played with it, but later, at the age of eight, she received the task of spinning and weaving. A boy was presented with the tools to learn handicrafts. Peasant children were engaged in eighty-five kinds of work. It is note worthy that, in fact, adults did not really need children's help and could do well without it. Everything points to the fact that children were involved in labour activities on purpose. Education based on labour was the keynote in raising children. By means of labour activities children were taught to oppose immoral actions, improper relations among people. It showed everybody's responsibility for their relatives, the family, the community and the state. Many complicated problems arose in bringing up the younger generation. Much depended on the moral atmosphere in the family and family relations.

The level of education in the region, its intellectual potential are closely connected with the state of family relations. At the beginning of 1992 the region had 415.364 families. In spite of modern tendencies in the development of marriage relations, the northerners' families are still large enough:

71.357	families have	1 child,
86.453	" "	2 children,
19.688	" "	3 children,
3.583	" "	4 children,
2.037	" "	5 and more children

The average family is 3,6 persons.

Recent years have been characterized by a rapid increase in divorce. 8.2 out of a thousand marry every year, and three couples are divorced.

Today almost twenty-nine thousand families have no fathers; they are single-parent families. Lately a new phenomenon has appeared: families without any mother. There are about two thousand such families in the region. According to the latter indicator, our region comes third in the Russian Federation after Moscow and St. Petersburg. It is a sympton of serious moral disturbances, loss of traditions, and a sense of responsibility. The mother who leaves her child in the care of the fater is breaking age-old traditions which used to form the basis of the family and the state.

Drunkenness is the main reason for a dramatic increase in the number of divorces and single-parent famlies. Today, due to the demonopolization of alcohol trade, exact figures of alcohol consumption cannot be given. Approximate calculations show that an average citizen of our region consumes annually 30 - 40 per cent more alcohol than an average citizen of Russia.

It is this reason that accounts for a great number of orphans: out of 6.380 children staying in orphanages of the region, only two thousand have no parents; the other 60% have parents who have been deprived of their parents' rights by the court of law.

An increasing number of crimes is one of the most acute regional problems. We cannot give exact figures, but approximate calculations show that juvenile delinquency is increasing annually by over 40 per cent. The number of teenagers criminals is increasing: 10-11-year-old school children take part in racketeering and stealing; 13-15-year-old teenagers participate in robberies and rapes. It is not only the age of offenders that has undergone change, but the nature of the crimes as well. In the 1980s the most frequent crimes were hooligan activities, today they have given way to stealing property, burglaries in appartments, robberies in the streets, and racketeering.

The adaptation of young people to market conditions has often assumed ugly forms and has resulted in negative consequences. The desire to become rich, to get a lot of money without working hard turns out to be stronger than moral deterrent factors.

In addition to the reasons in Russia in general for an increase in the number of crimes committed by young people, there are specific regional ones. In the territory of the region there are many colonies of the Interior Ministry of Russia where tens of thousands of criminals are kept. Many of them, especially those serving long terms, lose all connection with their families and their native region. Having served their sentence, they stay in the area. This category of people is very difficult to deal with. Psychological research has shown that after seven or eight years in prison, a person's psychological state as a rule undergoes irreversible change. These people cannot adapt to normal life and crime becomes a norm of behaviour for them.

During the last few years repeaters have been acting in a more sophisticated way. They prefer not to break the law, but organize criminal groups consisting of young people and school children who participate in rackateering, burning kiosks,

and organizing robberies.

An examination of several cases in the Archangel court has shown that the criminal activities of teenagers are often inspired by the prison authorities. The fact that the offenders are becoming younger is especially troubling. The younger the age is at which the young person commits his first crime, the greater is the probability of his becoming a confirmed criminal.

These facts lead to the conclusion that it is necessary to change the system of parent education. The family is the basis for retaining and developing folk traditions of the North and its spiritual values. Involving the child in activities to protect nature, to take care of his physical and moral health, to study the traditional folk methods of raising and educating children, culture, his genealogy is a way of bringing up a new generation of fathers and mothers. This direction must become an integral part of the whole educational system in the region.

The acuteness of today's problems has forced educationalists to look for a solution to the existing situation. To accomplish this, we have turned back to our roots.

We are fully aware that we cannot idealize the past. Folk methods of raising and educating children have their merits and demerits. It is necessary to take into consideration their progressive features. We agree with K.D. Ushinski that upbringing based on folk traditions has an educational force which is missing in the best systems based on abstract and foreign ideas. It is only the folk style of upbringing that is a living organ in the historical process of people's development. Every people has its own national system of upbringing, which is a synthesis of folk traditions and culture.

At the same time we would like to point out that we understand the term "region" in a broader sense, incorporating not only the Archangel Region but the Barents Region as well.

It is impossible to isolate the Region from the neighbouring territorial units. Otherwise we lose what is most valuable in our heritage - the international and collective basis. Taking advantage of the spiritual potential of folk traditions, it is necessary to create those conditions in which a young person would become aware that he is not only a part of the Russian people, but also a part of all of mankind. From regional culture to the multi-national culture all of mankind - this is the way of bringing up a good citizen, in our opinion.

The Russian North possesses unique possiblities for education and upbringing.

The above-mentioned specific features of the socioethnogeny of the Archangel North are reflected in the national and regional components incorporated into the basic school curriculum.

In working out a model curriculum incorporating national and regional components, we were guided by the following principles:

- Preservation of folk spiritual traditions is a means of preserving the nation;
- familiarization with the spiritual traditions of the Russian people is a way to universal human values and world culture;
- the spiritual values of the Russian North reflect the moral ideal of a Russian

person;
- the embodiment of spiritual traditions is the family, which preserves, develops, and enriches the Russian people's concept of an ideal personality.

The main principles determining the content of the national and regional components are:
1. The principle of conformity with nature ('prirodosoobraznost'), as the child is a product of nature.
2. The principle of conformity with culture ('kulturosoobraznost'), as children develop in a concrete social and cultural environment.
3. The principle of 'narodnost', as every child is an embodiment of the national and psychological specific features of his people ("narod").
4. The principle of humanism, which envisages the involvement of children in studying the ecology, history, and culture of a region, aimed at the moral enrichment of the personality.

The main aim of the basic school curriculum incorporating the national and regional components is to revive the moral potential of a person, his national consciousness and national pride, by using the possibilities of the family, pre-school institutions, schools and extra-school institutions in order to preserve the spiritual traditions of the Russian North, and through it to integrate into Russian, European, and world culture.

The main features of this curriculum are:
- taking into consideration the economic, ecological, social, and cultural structure of the region, its historical and national specific features, which helps to enrich the content of the educational process, with the aim of the preservation and development of the spiritual traditions of the Russian North;
- transformation of the content of education and upbringing, taking into consideration the culturological and humanistic principles, helps to involve the child into the process of studying and protecting his native nature, language, literature, history, culture of the people, its customs and traditions;
- reliance on the progressive ethnopsychological specific features of the Pomors in developing a child's personality;
- investigation and revival of progressive features of the folk style of family upbringing, aimed at the spiritual development of a person, his individuality, and the improvement of the child's health;
- development, in accordance with the current economic situation, of a person capable of accumulating and using new scientific and technological knowledge, forming a public opinion that every child's persononality is a great value, on which the future of the family, nation, and the world depends.

As the environment which preserves and develops the spiritual traditions of the Russian North includes the family, pre-school institutions, schools, and extra-school institutions, the acquaintance with national and regional components takes place in

three main spheres: the teaching process, extra-curricular activities, and parent education.

The acquaintance of the child with the traditions of the Russian North is carried on in such priorities as the ecology of nature (formation of ecological memory) and the ecology of culture (formation of cultural, moral, aesthetics, and historical memory).

In practice, it is possible to choose a certain direction, taking into consideration the location of the educational institution, teacher's individual possiblilities, and the special features of the family.

The formation of ecological memory envisages:

- preservation of the child's physical and moral health; teaching the children to breathe, eat, and move correctly, to acquire good manners and communication habits (the subjects "Your health", "Valleology");
- educating children about the natural environment of the region, Russia, Europe, and the world, and factors, influencing it;
- studying the fundamentals of ecological information through special subjects ("Ecology", "Biology and Ecology", "Chemistry and Ecology" and so on);
- involvement of the child, his family, and his teachers in the process of protecting nature and increasing its riches.

Cultural, moral, and aesthetic memory is based upon

- studying the humanities through which the child gets acquainted with world and Russian culture, and the moral values of different peoples;
- studying Northern folk culture through special subjects: "Culture of the Russian North", "Folklore" and so on;
- getting acquainted with the moral and aesthetic values of the Russian North through studying national customs and traditions;
- teaching children, teachers and parents to master the fundamentals of folk handicrafts, music and painting of the people of the Russian North and peoples of other countries.

Formation of historical memory is based upon the child studying world, European, and Russian history through general eductional subjects of the basic school curriculum;

- introduction into the curriculum of special subjects, such as "Our region in the history of Russia", "The history of Archangel", "Archangel and European states" and the like;
- studying of the history of their own town or village by the pupils;
- studying the life stories of the famous people of the region;
- drawing up genealogical tables of their families, studying the interconnection of generations;
- involving children, teachers and parents in studying the history of their region.

Proceeding from the above, we have made the regional component an integral part

of standard secondary education. This principle can be put into practice through optional and special subjects as well as by introducing corresponding changes in the syllabuses.

It provides every school and every teacher with an opportunity to choose subjects which will contain information about different countries, their national cultures, international, European, Russian and North-Russian educational practice.

Incorporating national and regional components into education makes it possible to synthesize and integrate the progressive elements in different educational systems which will contribute to the spiritual enrichment of the child and his awareness of being a part of human civilization.

Curriculum

incorporating national and regional components (Stage II: V - IX forms)

		School-hours				
	Subjects (Courses)	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
	I. Basic Subjects	26	26	30	29	29
1.	Russian Language and Literature	7	8	6	5	5
2.	Foreign Languages	3	3	3	3	3
3.	Mathematics	5	5	5	4	5
4.	Biology (Ecology)	-	2	2	2	2
5.	Geography and Ecology	-	2	2	2	2
6.	Chemistry	-	-	-	2	2
7.	Physics	-	-	2	2	2
8.	Natural Sciences	3	-	-	-	-
9.	History	2	2	2	3	4
	The Region in World History					
	The Region in national History (up to the 20th century)	-	-	-	2	2
	Native Town History	-	-	-	1	1
	The History of Navigation and Shipbuilding	-	-	-	1	1
10.	Computers	-	-	2	-	-
11.	Folklore of Europe and the World	2	1	1	1	-
12.	Northern Handicrafts and Traditions	2	2	2	2	2
13.	Physical Culture	2	2	2	2	2
14.	Music	1	1	1	1	-
	II. Elective Subjects	2	2	2	2	2
1.	Russian Names, Fathers' Names and Surnames	-	-	-	1	1
2.	Ecology of Northern Russia, Northern Europe, the World	-	-	-	-	2
3.	Russian Culture History	1	1	1	1	-
4.	World Literature	-	-	-	-	1
5.	Archangel Regional Geography	-	-	-	1	1
6.	Chemistry and Industry of the Archangel Region	-	-	-	-	1
	III. Optional Subjects	2	2	2	2	2
1.	"Your Health"	1	1	1	1	1
2.	The White Sea and Barents Region Ecology	-	-	-	1	1
3.	Rivers and Lakes Ecology	-	-	-	1	1
4.	Ecological Education on the basis of a microsanctuary	-	2	2	2	2

Bohumir Blízkovský

System Pedagogy

A Comprehensive and Open Concept of Education

> "Some attempted to improve schools. Others wanted to improve churches, while yet others the states. However, when you yourself do not improve inwardly and at the same time everything that is interdependent does not improve either, you will not make any progress; everything will fall apart and will become chaos.
> (Comenius, J.A. Consultatio I, col. 4)

> "The world is neither the summation of scientific abstractions nor a motley collection of details, but a system of components which one must perceive in its entirety.
> (T.G. Masaryk)

> "My opinion is that we are standing on the threshold of a new era of synthesis ... probably a return to thinking in broad terms, to general theories, to a renewed relation of details to the whole. It is becoming increasingly clear to us that our excessive emphasis on the quantifiable, details torn out of context, on an increasingly precise measurement of increasingly minute problems leads to our knowing of an increasingly smaller number of things.
> (Toffler, A.: The Third Wave)

An unusually universal openness and global interconnection of hope and risk of present human life and the world, the accumulation of complex problems and a preponderance of systemless, one-sided and superficial improvement projects, an insufficent plausibility and axiomatization of pedagogic knowledge, as well as their anti-pedagogic questioning of the position of extreme subjectivism and objectivity represent difficult "hurdles" for the pedagogic researcher at the decline of the crisis-ridden twentieth century.

I would like to concentrate least of all on a concrete criticism of a systemless approach, but will attempt to draw a comprehensive model of the educational process. I would like to begin concisely with the *Paradigm of the Systems Methodology.*

The **methodology** does not only represent a doctrine about the projection and realization of present-day research on the concrete organization, methods and techniques of scientific research. It includes rather theoretical research principles, philosophical, ideal as well as scientific starting points for research, its theoretical orientation and hypotheses as well as a critical evaluation of the types and results of the research.

We will concentrate our attention on this conceptual element of pedagogic research.

Contemporary as well as former pedagogy offers a very broad spectrum of different controversial concepts. Its mutual polemics, predominantly one-sided view, partial discoveries and flaws not only testify to the extreme complexity and plurality of pedagogic reality, but substantiate the endless differentiation of human interests and value preferences. This all leads to the consequences that the inexhaustible existence of man, who sees himself transferred into an educational situation existing in the global crises of today's world, has not yet been satisfactorily mastered.

A radical improvement, a critical choice of relatively reliable knowledge from the ballast running out of control, a functional classification of experiences meaningful today and in the past, was established quite late in the pedagogical discipline, and only with great hesitation.

Among the most noteworthy and productive methodological initiatives of modern and post-modern syntheses is the ***general systems theory*** (Ludwig von Bertalanffy is considered the founder of the theory. He was born in 1901, was university professor of biology in Vienna and died in Canada in 1972. After the Second World War, Bertalanffy initiated the origin of the global interdisciplinary scientific society for the purpose of developing a general systems theory).

At this time system-solving is being greatly emphasized. However, the problem is not new. Many problems connected with systems theory have a long pre-history: the question about the whole and the part, analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, structures and functions, content and form. Integration and differentiation, quantity and quality, the problem of the relation among the individual elements of the whole, the relationship between the subjective and objective, between the external and internal, between the necessary and the accidental, etc. The systems approach includes the historical and logical viewpoint, the substantial viewpoint where the essential elements of phenomena are sought, as well as the viewpoint of the relation where the mutual relationships of the elements and that of the phenomena to its surrounding are emphasized, furthermore, also the statistical and dynamic, structural and processual, causal and final viewpoint, and others. The general systems theory illustrates these problems in new relationships which preserves the heuristically fruitful view of reality of each science. In brief, the systems approach uses everything that science has achieved and will achieve. The systems concept of education represents one of the surest ways of contemporary pedagogical research. If the concept, however, is to be developed and be applied creatively, formal declarations are not sufficient. It is more concrete to explain of what systems methodology consists and which theoretical and practical advantages it has.

It is valid to further develop the specific, anthropological and pedagogic dimensions of the general systems theory more boldly. Man is an autopoietic (self-educating) system, gifted with subjectivity, intention and transcendence (the ability to overcome the given). This is why man cannot become the object of science in the same sense as is the case with the world external to man. Pedagogic research must,

therefore, provide exact insight into the objective and subjective (mental) world of man.

We have undertaken an attempt toward analysing the systems concept of education in a special monograph (Blízkovský 1992). The book contributes to a comprehensive and open concept of education, in that it treats:

- Analysis and functional structure of the factors on which the quality and success (effectiveness) of the practical educational activity depends.
- Complex models of the educational process as well as its creative direction.
- Axiomation of the pedagogic, i.e., through a profound understanding and functional interconnection of the relatively undisputed knowledge about education for its reliable optimization.
- A calculable presentation of the systems theory, of the complex and system-justified education- and training concept.
- A new definition and interconnection of basic pedagogic concepts for a complex instrumental system of pedagogic thinking and action in a functioning categorical system, which the interdisciplinary research of educating the young and adults makes possible. A connecting link between pedagogy and philosophy are, for example, the more broadly defined categories "subject and object of education," the connecting link between pedagogy and the sciences analyzing the development of man as well as those investigating society and nature, are the more complexly understood categories connected with each other "externally- and internally conditioned, goals and means of education."

The ***basic principles of systems methodology*** must be mentioned here in brief; moreover we will cite examples of a systemless, one-sided procedure which unfortunately has gotten out of control.

The concept of a system today stands in the foreground of progressive, natural- technical and social sciences. It is a natural consequence of the total development of science. The focal point of scientific interest has shifted; science as a whole has gone from investigating a single aspect of phenomena to investigating the structure, the function and development of comprehensive reality-complexes, from a metaphysical, static and isolated study of phenomena to a recognition of their dynamics and dialectic connection.

The word **system** is derived etymologically from the Greek *systema*, which means the original connection, group, relationship, the whole. The term expresses very well the basic concept of unity of all elements of the system.

In terms of modern science, we can basically consider every defined complex (group) of elements (subsystem, components, elements, parts, factors, phenomena) which are combined through a mutual connection (mutual effect) in space and time in general as a system (e.g., a chance collection of people, an enormous unorganized pile of stones without any inner connection, the relationship between whose elements is purely external).

The first principle of systems methodology requires **the investigation of a clearly defined object of analysis in its articulated wholeness, in a unity with its**

surroundings and with the application of adequate methods.

The second principle **is oriented toward the fundamental, system-forming elements (components) as well as toward the inner- and outer- system-forming relationships of the reality to be investigated.** The relative separation of the system from its surrounding world is accompanied by external relationships of the system and its environment; the relative self-sufficiency of the system parts creates the inner relationship of the system, a structure binding its particular elements.

The third principle **requires insight and interpretation for the development of the relevant whole,** an orientation on the causes, factors and moving forces of its change, orientation toward the dynamics, processes, beginnings, results and developmental tendencies.

Systems methodology makes use of all adequate possibilities of recognition and verification. It reaches optimal knowledge by degrees (approximation). It is universal and specific, complex and open. It takes into consideration **the particular nature, complexity and wholeness of any single phenomenon, its processual nature and its context (contact)** with the time period-reality of its surroundings. The leading method of a systems approach to reality is **modeling.** It normally guides the practical attempts to form a system and completes these. The model of any system provides the possiblity of proving, at first in the mind and then on paper, in work, or rather under simplified realistic conditions, the functioning of the real system. The ideal relatively realistic model, therefore, should provide a comprehensive, true as possible picture of the corresponding whole, its surroundings and parts: it should show the determination and functions, its structure, general function and further features, whose knowledge for the comprehension, the rectification, or rather the control of a relevant system is absolutely necessary.

Each model simplifies reality, which is why complex systems sometimes cannot be expressed by the aid of a single model. The model must be oriented not toward the external aspect of a phenomenon, but on the dialectical existence of reality, on its system-forming components, relationships and patterns. The better the model fulfills these demanding requirements the greater is the meaning for the orientation, theory and practice. A good model does not so much represent a single way toward deeper knowledge; it is also a more secure connecting link between science and practice.

The above discussed postulates of systems methodology only appear to be simple. Their rigorous application often goes beyond the possiblities of a leading scientist, and even many modern scientific and interdisciplinary research teams. The subsequent example substantiates this. In spite of the sincere declared efforts to find "complex and system-justified solutions", what is predominant in current theory and practice are inadequate, one-sided, simple approaches without any system.

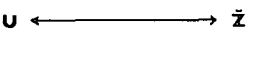
A good education assumes in all concrete conditions a complete overview, classification and optimization of all essential elements, connections and driving forces of education, and also requires a good knowledge of their later close connections. Pedagogic science until now, however, has not succeeded in drawing a comprehensive picture of system-forming elements, from inner and external relationships and

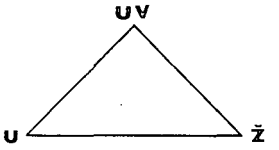
developmental changes and processes, which could give a corresponding main thread for orientation in practice.

Right now, in the present, one must pay most attention to the choice of the system-forming components and relationships. Finding them often remains something external to education; the inner core has not yet penetrated. The result is, therefore, a superficial or incomplete analysis of the education-forming process which is in no way a contribution to pedagogic theory and practice.

Recently extraordinary attention has been concentrated on a ***bipolar model*** of the pedagogic process, whereby education is understood as a dialogue (pedagogic relationships, pedagogic interaction, pedagogic communication) which is carried on between the educator (u) and the educant (ž) (see figure 1). Let us illustrate a criticism of this model from the point of view of systems methodology. It is not difficult to establish which of the principles of the general systems theory have been especially ignored.

Figure 1:



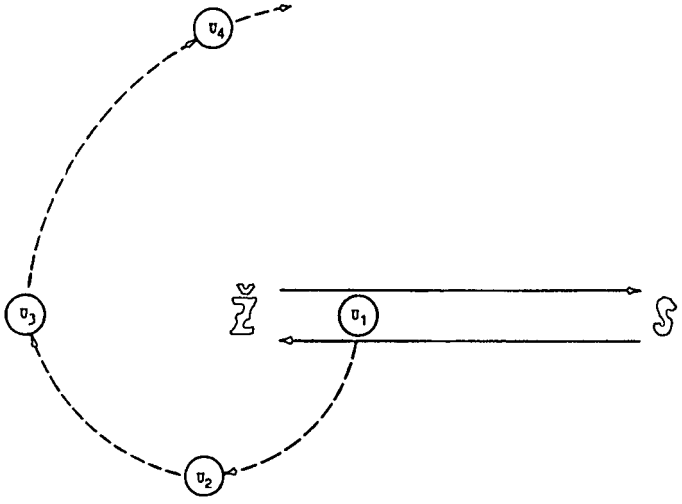


A radical simplification of the bipolar model allows a great intensity and exactitude of a partial investigation of the pedagogic event; often, however, for an unacceptable price, a fragmentary, atomized and greatly reduced knowledge, whereby the essential connections are overlooked and the required context is absent.

From the inexaustible spectrum of relationships relevant to education, the bipolar model is applied only to the most conspicuous component, what at first glance seems the most evident. One abstracts from the broader conditionality and conditioning function. The relationships between the immediate protagonists concerned with education clearly represents the kernal of the pedagogic problematic. However, insofar as these relationships are examined in isolation, the research is reduced merely to the activites of the teacher and pupil, insofar as their relationships and circumstances are overlooked, the best objectives, contents and total meaning of pedagogic communication will not be understood. The sources and functions of this communication will be mutally influenced by the world in which the protagonists of education live. For the conceptualization of school education, the relationships between teacher and pupil are extremely more meaningful, more capable of forming a system, and no less important factor. From the viewpoint of systems methodology, the relationships of the direct protagonists of education (i.e., the relationships between the subject and object of education, see further) represent a system-forming and conditional subsystem of the broader subject-object-relationships of education. (see fig. 2) The pedagogical dialogue presents simply a meaningful component of the universal dialogue between man and his world. If we do not know what the relevance is in the present dialogue between men and their world, if the adequate value orientation of human life is not correspondingly formulated and applied, then there is no way thda the basic education-forming values for the pedagogical

dialogue can be conceived, projected or evaluated.

Figure 2: Mutual Modifications of Subject-Object Relationships in Education



S = the World U = the Teacher Z = the Pupil

The pedagogic dialogue does not only represent a mutual communication between the educator and the educant; it is also a pedagogically motivated interaction of the protagonist of education with their external world; it is also their internalized dialogue. The pedagogical dialogue is not simply a meaningless self-enclosed goal for its own sake. The dialogue is open to the world; it proceeds from real life and is directed toward the cultivation of human life and the world. The educators help the educants in this world to be able to orientate themselves in their world. Pedagogical relationships are specifically human relationships which are primarily oriented toward the development of man himself, to the development of all human relationships to the world, i.e., to nature, to one's fellow men and to one self.

The strategy of a good and effective education was, therefore, to be directed toward a minimizing of external intervention and toward optimization of self-education.

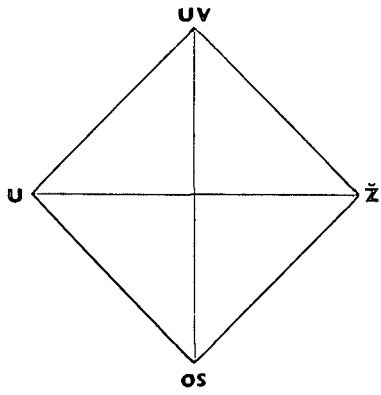
It is as if the demands of the educator at first were "betrayed and replaced" by the claims of the real world. In the advanced phases the pedagogically mediated demands, as well as the educator in the background appeared, so that the person to be educated could confront the direct reality of life and the world more directly in order to learn independence, responsibility and freedom more from life's circumstances than from the instructional aids of the educator. These cardinal questions,

however, become more confused than clarified by the bipolar model.

In our school pedagogy, the ***tripolar model* of pedagogical processes**: "teacher-pupil-learning materials," the so-called "didactic triangle," is very popular. This also, however, expresses very simplistically the most striking and at first glance most apparent relationship of school teaching and overlooks to what extent they are conditioned by the outside world. A further mistake of the didactic triangle is the reduction of the subjects of pedagogy to final relationships between the objectives and means of education, and an insufficient classification " into the broader causal-final relationships within the framework of the goal-means-conditioned relationships of education.

If one supplements the relationships "teacher (UT)-teaching materials (UV)-pupil (Z)" with the relationship to effectiveness, to the world (OS), one receives a ***quatra-polar model*** which attains a relative completeness, however, remains statical and closed (see fig. 3).

Figure 3:



Before we come to the comprehensive and open modeling of education, we wish to recall a very essential methodological bias.

The basic methodological causes for the failure of contemporary pedagogy and the school in terms of selection of basic learning materials is the oscillation between the extremes of pedagogical objectivism and subjectivism.

Under conditions of the present explosion of information and global crises, this state of affairs leads to a dysfunctional, pedagogically uncontrollable accumulation of educational content, or rather to a rejection of important learning materials, indeed even the school visit, in terms of an anti-pedagogical concept of the present-day ultraliberalism and nihilism.

The ***one-sided objective directions*** are orientated above all toward the improvement of the external ***macro-world of man***, and anticipate technical, economic, and political reforms. Pedagogic objectivism is exocentric, demonstrates an inclination toward reduction of education to external effects, and is distinguished by an

overabundance of learning material, by scientism and technocratism.

One-sided object-oriented scientism essentially teaches everything without any regard to man, and the pupils often understand the personal meaning of the learning material as well, their learning motivation and interest in school sinks in general with the dehumanized education. The maximization of pedagogical objectivsm thus leads necessarily to the contrary of what is sought, to unheard-of lamentable results of education.

One-sided subjective directions, on the other hand, seek a way out of the labyrinths of human life above all in the improvement of the inner ***microworld*** of man. They make an attempt to cultivate individual human consciousness, experience, and communal existence. Pedagogic subjectivism is endocentric and pedocentric. It focuses on a concentrated cultivation of the inner world of man, on the reforms of man himself. This subjectivism underestimates the cultivation of the external world of man, has no aspirations for life in this world, and has basically resigned itself in respect to reforms of the real world.

Extreme application of the subjective approach isolates the subject from the object, removes what is most valuable for the educants - their relation to their fellow man, to society, to nature, to the world in which they live.

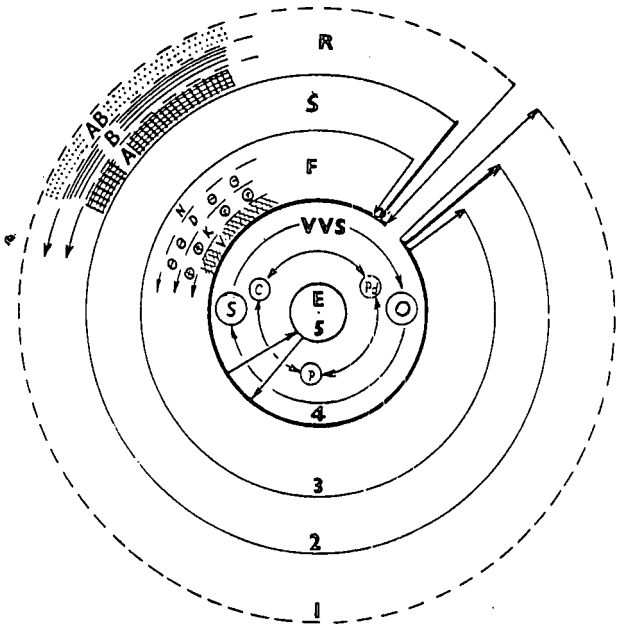
We think that the adoption of a subject- or object-related starting point, as well as its intersection, as the basis is wrong, for here the mutual relationship between man and the world, the indissoluble relationship of subject and object is not taken into consideration.

The system-related comprehension of education, man and the world is directed toward a well-balanced functional approach to the inner and outer world of man. It proceeds from the evident mutual dependence of people and their world. A complete development of the personality cannot be realized, for example, without the reasonable development of the many-sided relationship of knowledge, of creative and evaluative relations to one's fellow man, to nature, to the entire world. The existence of mankind itself is dependent on a better economy with natural and human goods and very much on the wise administration of human affairs. Man is today mainly threatened by his environment, which is again mainly threatened by man. Only people with culture make it possible to cultivate their environment, and hardly one cultivates himself as those which nature and society cultivate. The reforms of the inner and outer world of man should not be played out against each other. All human hopes consist today more in their functional penetration with a general, universal and higher value orientation. The general highest goal and truer meaning of both of these main currents of reforming mankind should be the cultivation of the entire world of man.

Integration of a transcendence of the spiritual and material, anthropocentric, sociocentric and ecological point of view of Comenius' "universal improvement of human affairs" up to the present challenge of the "Club of Rome" represents the effective way of overcoming the one-sided, subject- and object-related endocentric and exocentric, scientist, technocratic and narrowly conceived economic orientation. The objective (related to society and nature) comprehension of education, which

proceeds from the claims of the external world of man, and the subjective comprehension, which defends the inner authentic needs of a creative self-realization of personality, supplement each other in the present world. (Kučerová 1964).

Figure 4: The model of external classification and internal structure of an educational system.



I. The reality of the human world (R):
Abiosphere (AB), biosphere (B), anthrosphere - the life environment of man (A)
II. The broader social environment (S)
III. The sphere of narrower social environment and formation of the particular social groupe and person (F):
Neutral formation effects (N)
Dysfunctional effects (D)
Eufunctional or rather cultivation effects (k)
and subspheres of human behavior
IV. Spheres of educational system (VVS) and their regular dialectic relationships of subject (S), object (OV), objective (C), means (P) and conditions (Pd) of education.
V. Spheres of elements and part-relations of education
The arrow indicates the conditionality of an education system and its conditioning functions and dialectic relationships.

If the liberal project of "the workshop of humanity" is not to remain an eternal utopia, it must be comprehended more realistically, i.e., more universally. We approach an effective humanization of man only where a functionally good integration of the school of a full life with the "school" of the entire human life is achieved. Not

only schools but also human life itself must become a real workshop of humanity.

Comprehensive and open modelling emphasizes system-forming elements, their relationships, inner articulation, inner relationship and the dynamics of education. The system model of the optimization of the man's personality of man is thereby conceived as five spheres integrated with each other. It proceeds from the universal external prerequisites and relationships of education to the whole of the education-forming system, to its subsystem, system-forming components, the specific pedagogical processes, relationships and details, develops from the broad to the narrow, from the general to the concrete, from external to internal, from the macrostructure to the microstructure. (See fig. 4 with explanation)

The education of the individual can certainly not be considered in isolation from the cultivation of the other and from other circumstances. Education is in the real sense a purposeful education of the relationship of man to the world, i.e. to nature, to society and to him himself. The broadest universal frame of relations of education is, therefore, the world of man in the most general sense of the word.

I. **The reality of the world of man** (R) includes the following:

- The abiosphere (AB), i.e. the area of inorganic nature on earth and outside of this
- The biosphere (B) i.e., the area of organic nature
- The anthrosphere (A) or rather the life environment of man, that part of reality with which man is integrated.

The mutual relationship of man (of men) and the world, in which man (men) change the world and man himself, form the basis for the systems concept of man's ode of life, the environment and education. Education is nothing but a stimulation and cultivation of the many-sided relationships of man to the world, in the interest of a harmonic development of man, society and nature.

A full development of man is possible only within his complex subject-object relationships and through their mediation.

Within the global anthrosphere, their broader (S) and narrower (F) social environment are relevant to the most meaningful external relations frameworld of a specific conception of education.

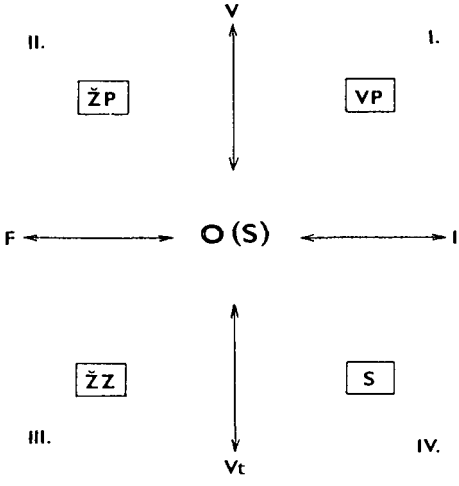
II. The broader social environment (S) is represented by a specific agglomeration, a greater region, a nation, also a greater society in a specific place and time, through a general situation, a mode of life and state of the environment, a greater social group, through a spiritual, scientific, health and political overall situation of a particular culture and civilization.

In this respect, the education-forming system is a conditional and conditioning factor; its active anthropogenic and sociogenic function is foregrounded the more the society is progressive, the more the task of human creative activity and its responsibility in history increases.

The closer relation-framework of a concrete education is represented by its narrower social environment:

III. The Man-forming Sphere (F):
We understand the formation process of the personality and social groups in a broader sense than is the case with the concept of education. In addition to education, it includes the elementary influence of the outer environment as well as the inner factor of the personality development of man. Therefore, one can differentiate functional and intentional formation. If one also considers the dialectic of the external (V) and inner (vt) development and educational factors, a general overview can be drawn of the functional and intentional formation of the personality. (see fig. 5)

Figure 5:



Traditional school pedagogy and practice represented a single-sided orientation on the educational effect (Square 1). The effect of other factors (Square 2, 3, 4) are often underestimated and overlooked, although the social environment (a) can sometimes influence the develepment of the personality more than the educational effect (a).

The efforts to establish education in the best possible way represents a complex consideration of the entire living- and education field of basic factors forming the educants, a purposeful effort and organization of all positive pedagagic values (e.g., the need of the cultivation of the environment as an educational means, advancement of conscious self-education and self-formation as the most effective forms of education-forming processes, etc.).

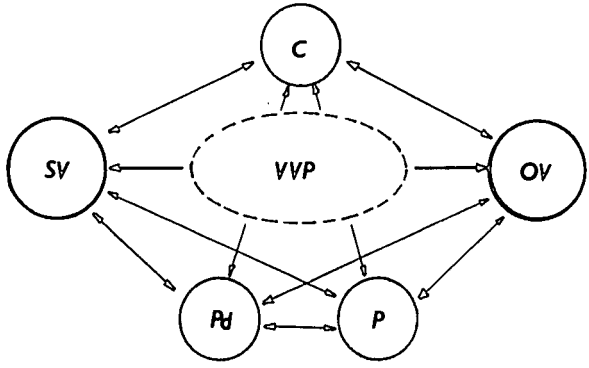
A pedagogic purposeful forming of man represents the

IV. Sphere of a certain education-forming System (vvs):
From the scientific knowledge up until now and practical experience, it follows that **the fundamental system-forming elements as well as the relations of the processual aspects of a certain education-forming system** are related in the following way:

1. **Subject- and object-related relations**
and
2. **Goal- and means-related conditional relations** of education (see **fig. 6**).

We add a definition of the above-mentioned pedagogic categories as well as a brief outline of the dialectic of the education building processes.

Figure 6: THE COMPREHENSIBILITY AND OPENNESS OF THE MODEL OF THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS



1. Explanation:
   VVP = The educative process in its entirety and its system-forming elements and relationships
   SV = the educator (the subject of education)
   OV = the educant (object of education)
   C = the educational goal
   P = the educational means
   Pd = the conditons of education
2. The world in which the educator and the educant live - the environment of the actor of the education - the reality in which the education proceeds.
3. The projected level OV
   (for which goals, for what reason, why, wherefore the education)
4. The EDUCATOR (who carries through the education)
5. Factors, institutions, organizing forms, the contents of education. The environment as a means

of education, organization of life style

(By whom, by what, in which direction, in which sequence, in what way, how long, by whose means are the educational plans realized.)

6. The EDUCANT (The addressant of education)
7. External conditions: The existing environment

   (Determing of the condition by the social and natural world, space-and temporal conditionality of education, where and when the education proceeds, what influences it from outside)
8. Inner Pd: The existing level OV

   (Conditioning of education by the achieved OV-level. Starting point-, proceeding and closing OV-level, including achieved educational results)

Deliberate creators, supporters and realizers of the educational plan are designated by the concept **subject** of education, whether it is a question of the educator or self-educator. The concept **object of education** serves as the term of the addressant, the active addressee and creative interpreter and co-former of the educational plan. In both cases it is a question of the subject in the philosophical sense, and can be a question of an individual or a group, an educator as well as the educant. The educator and the educant are, therefore, to a different extent subject and object of the education, according to which functions they have to fulfill in a concrete education-forming process.

The **conditions of education** derive from the entire life-level and environment of the educator and the educant, thus out of what already exists, what (also through education) can be achieved, from what represents the starting point of the pedagogic effort (including the obvious and concealed educational possibilities). Education does not only pay attention to the given circumstances; real education is characterized more by a transcendence of the achieved level of life than through conformity to the given relationships.

The external conditions of education include the achieved level of the living environment of the educator and the educant, the social- and natural conditoned environment in whose boundaries the education takes place, the developing influence of the social and nature-conditioned environment. The external-conditions of the educational-forming system include political factors (inner- and external-political situations), economic factors (the economic development material, material-technical basis of the education-forming system (scientific factors) achieved stages of scientific knowledge (cultural, spiritual and historic, health and demographic (population) as well as natural factors.

The **inner conditions of education** include the achieved level of the groups and individuals to be educated, which can further be enumerated: innate and acquired characteristics (desired and undesired), the sum of life experiences of the educants, their realized age-, group- and individuum-bound specific features. One must consider as an inseparable component of the inner conditions of education the education-forming results of the above education. Pedagogic diagnostics concerns itself with an analysis of the results and conditions of education.

If the concept of the conditions of education includes what already really exists, then the concept of **the aim of education** expresses the discovered and consciously

chosen pedagogic possibilities; it determines what it should be, what the education must achieve. The objectives project education-forming results; the desirable development of the educants and the self-educating groups and individuals. The objectives project qualities of personalities whose activities, social conditions and quality of entire groups of men.

Also the educational means are more complex to understand than has been normal until now. From the point of view of the subject, which is concerned with an education forming system of a certain school, the educational means can be subsumed by the following:

1. The system of education-forming factors and institutions (i.e., education in the family, education through public means and self-education).
2. The system of education-forming contents (i.e., contents of theoretic and practical education, contents of education besides instruction and family education, as well as the contents of self-education, self-exercise and self-education).*
3. The system of education-forming methods and means in the narrow, traditional sense of the word.
4. The education milieu and cultivation of the entire life-environment and life-style of the people to be educated.
5. The pedagogical application of the functional potentials of the functional forming of man.

Every internal and external condition of education can, when possible, be used in a particular situation for the education of the objective. The better an educator knows how to convert the conditions of education to a means of education, the richer the register of his effect will be, and the more his education comes close to life and becomes more effective.

The aims, means and conditions of education appear as three quantities of qualitative and quantitave variables, among which there is a mutual relationship. The aims are designated as C, the means as P and the conditions as Pd, we can represent the above-mentioned relationships schematically as follows:

C

Pd P

The result of these system couplings is that a change occurs in part of the education system and also evokes a change in other parts, and indeed the more so, the more the system is integrated. The system coupling, however, with such an open phenomenon as education, is in no way rigid or simple. Certain conditions correspond also to a greater or smaller variety of goals, and the goals can to a certain degree be

* Certain content elements can, however, also be understood as concretized education-forming objectives.

achieved through a variable series of education means.

Relevant are, for example, not only those goals which are neither too easy nor too difficult, which come close to the student's above limits of possibility.

The optimization of the goal-means-condition-relationship certainly does not subside spontaneously, but is considered among the most difficult creative functions of a single education subject.

The demonstrated, comprehensive and open education model also makes the presentation of its dynamics easier.

If we imagine a successful education as a spiral movement (see fig. 7), on this spiral we can follow the movement of the triple field of varibles in any situation, which are differentiated through their functions.

Figure 7a:

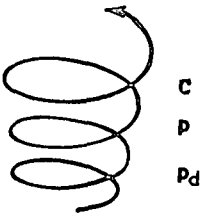
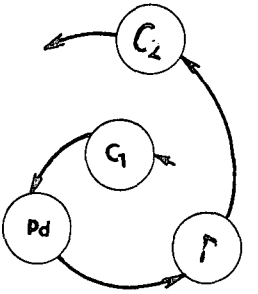


Figure 7b:



The dialectical relationship of the condition (Pd), goals (C) and means (f) of education are expressed in a double view (a) and (b): the realized goal (C1) becomes an education-forming result, and therefore changes into an internal condition of education. The subject of education can make use of the new fact as a means for education and as a critical goal (C2).

The field of relevant goals has a greater or lesser lead start than the field of conditions. In the medien zone of a certain goal and condition, one can follow more or less adequate educational means. These conditions of variable goals, means and conditions of education is at the same time also a mutual cycle: a certain goal to be achieved used external and internal condition, becomes an educational means, the realized goal becomes again a component of the internal condition of education and can thereby again become a means for achieving a higher goal, etc. Under favorable conditions, therefore, the possibilities for the perfection of man are inexhaustible.

The last life model consists of:

V. **Spheres of elements and part-relations of education** (E) which the single, or rather, incomplete elements of education (subjects, goals, conditions) and whose part-relations, without internal functioning, are represented as complete relations.

The imagined outline of a systems modeling of education has continued from

the whole to the parts. This structure of the system can, however, be characterized through a reverse process, from the components to the ever greater whole.

Apart from the comprehensive and open model, five clear basic concepts of education can be differentiated:

1. An authoritative concept can be represented through a **pedeutocentric model**, which imputes all education events to the will of the educator; the system-forming roll of the education subject is made absolute. It is a question here of a totalitarian depersonalized order, of a "childless" education, which is characterized by an exocentric pedagogic objectivity.
2. A liberal concept, which inclines toward a **pedocentric model** and subordinates unambiguously all pedegagogic events to the educant, makes absolute the system forming role of the educational object. It is a question here of a limitless freedom, of a "aimless education" which is distinguished by an endocentric pedagogic subjectivity.
3. The **voluntary model** makes absolute the system of the forming role of education goals and expresses maximally utopian demands. It is a question here of a panintentional normcentric pedagogy.
4. The technological educational model is oriented clearly to manipulation, to an educational goal and a "methodization" which becomes an end in itself.
5. **The functional model** in education also includes the pedagogically unintentional forming of man through his external and internal living conditions, and makes absolute the systems forming roll of education conditions. This model will also be designated as functional, or rather conditioncentric pedagogy.

Neither in theory nor in practice, however, does one find these biases in pure form, but in different combinations.

The entire sphere of pedagogic supervision and education-forming activity is to be conceived and postulated in the sense of an optimization of a particular system. The existence of a pedagogic creativity (pedagogic art) also as the attempt for an education-forming system, a school, or rather any society can be characterized, for example, by an uninterruped renewal and optimization of the subject-object as well as goal-means-condition-related relations of education. A permanent, professionally funded optimization of prerequisites, processes and results of education had to become the main content of school administration and self-administration (the pedegogic micro- and macrosupervision).

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Ene Grauberg

On Paradigmatic Changes in Society and its Reflection in Education

Education has undergone many reforms within the last fifty years. There has been some success in resolving certain problems that have arisen. However, in regard to problems in the educational field in particular, there has been not a decrease, but an increase in the dissatisfaction at the way problems have been solved. Since the 1970s education has been regarded as a global issue. Most of the diffculties we are facing now in designing our educational policy are due to the fact that we have focused on education by itself, isolated from society, its system of values and changing requirements.

First of all, for example, the modernization of education is lagging behind the socio-economic and technological processes taking place in society. The difficulty of this process has been increased by the rapid development of knowledge at the present time. The result is that some areas of education are losing their value entirely. There has been an attempt to resolve the problem by extending the period of study and also by a transition to continuing education.

The analysis of European educational reforms reveals that very often attempts have been made to treat phenomena as basically alike that are essentially different and take place at different times. For instance, the problems of financing and the technologization of education can be forecast at the most only for three-four years, capital investments for ten and demographic processes for fifteen-twenty years. But the content and structure of the subjects as a rule remains constant for many decades. Such consciously incompetent planning of education is due to the fact that projects are not based on empirical studies, and for this reason it is impossible to consider the fact that many different educational systems are based in some way on specific philosophical ideas and socio-pedagogical conceptions arising from them.

When designing educational programs, usually three levels of research are discussed, depending on the methodology employed and the level of abstraction. First, the general or macrolevel - conceptions on this level usually analyze society as a specific whole. Second, the middle level is a combination of general and specific problems concerning the conceptions of this level being studied, and which analyze, for example, education as a specific subsystem. Third, the microlevel is connected with concrete empirical research based on social facts. General problems of educational design will arise very clearly, especially during crucial periods of society, in epochs when various values and concepts are newly defined. For example, at this time problems have arisen as to what society is, what the role of education is, and so on.

Society

What is society? There are many approaches to society. However, in general, there are two - a static and dynamic approach. Parsons' way of approaching it is, for example, a structural-functional one, stressing first of all its static aspects. He notes that society is a network of mutually interlocking and interacting subsystems. One and the same person participates simultaneously in many systems and plays different roles. (Parsons 1961, 42) In turn, in dealing with society, Bell emphasizes its dynamics and purposefulness. He writes, for example, that the order which exists in society is different from that in nature. Nature is somewhere beyond, outside, without a telos; society is a moral order which can be characterized by purpose and consciousness. (Bell 1980, 29) He looks at society above all through the purposeful activity of man. My way of approaching society differs from Bell in that I have replaced purposeful activity by the activity of the subject, a category opposite to the object, which is passivity, a world theoretically or practically mediated by the subject. The main subjects are the individual, the nation, and the state. The subject-centered approach, in my opinion, is more capable of realizing its objectives and interests and the contradictions between them in a temporal-spatial context. For example, the interests of an individual and those of the state may come into serious conflict concerning education. When solving the problem, we should proceed from national interests and objectives, since the duration of a nation in time and space is always longer than that of an individual or a state. The most comprehensive and, from the point of view of education, the most essential is a transnational or universal absolute subject, which is eternal. Hence, the priority of universal values over all other ones.

In treating society as the purposeful activity of the subject, it can be said that the subject is like a double-faced Janus. On the one hand, he is always looking forward, attempting to change the world, gaining profit through his activity. Trying to meet his material needs, the subject makes tools, develops technology. This subject who is participating in the technological race and is pursuing progress may be called Homo Faber, and the system of social relations established by him is the techno-economical field of society. On the other hand, the subject is always looking backward. He solves eternally existing problems of life and death, luck and suffering, freedom and responsibility; he is carrying on the idea of continuity on which the whole mental culture is based. The subject who is oriented toward regresssion and who tries rather to preserve and protect the world rather than change it can be called Homo Pictor, or the subject creating symbols, and the corresponding system of social relations is the cultural field of society. Homo Faber, striving to meet his basic needs, and Homo Pictor, striving for transcendental aims, will inevitably come into conflict, which, from the point of view of a stable development of society, must be resolved. This falls to the lot of Homo Politicos, who will have to discover respective ideologies and institutions, in this way creating the political field of society. While Homo Faber is oriented toward the future and Homo Pictor is directed toward the past, Homo Politicus is operating in the present. Paraphrasing Heidegger,

it can be noted that the past is not what is finished, and the future is not what is yet to come - they both are continuously with us, shaping our life in the present.

Proceeding from the different objectives and tasks set for Homo Faber, Homo Politicus is society. We can look upon society as a three-dimensional system in which each one occupies a certain place and role in social relations and in their normal development. In case one of these systems begins to prevail over the others, alienating them from the purposeful acitivites of the subject, it will cause a crisis. the crisis is a revolution or a decisive change in any sphere of life. The crises can differ from one another by their extent and depth. If it strikes the basis of a world outlook or its value in society, then we can call it a paradigmatic crisis.

In the present period, several new, different and rival systems of value and paradigms proceeding from them, including educational problems, have come to the fore. They are attempting to replace the old paradigm. There is always more than one way for development to take place. The subject's understanding of the optimal order of life and the ways of reaching these may be different. When selecting between various sets of values, we will also select a given ideology of development and a corresponding type of society. When analyzing the change in the system of values in society, I am proceeding from the methodology of the Subject and Object. Depending on the understanding of the relations between the Subject and Object at different periods, those relations of man and the world, truth and liberty, and other general values on which the society as a mental whole is based have also been different. I call this mental whole a cultural paradigm, which will form the basis to the development of a certain way of thinking or acting. This is the metaphysical mean of the paradigms. In this sense, Kuhn employs such expressions as a "set of beliefs," "something governing a large proportion of reality." (Kuhn 1970)

On the Dynamics of Cultural Paradigms in Europe

Proceeding from solutions to the subject-object issue in different periods, we can distinguish three systems of values or cultural paradigms in Europe - those of Ancient, Medieval and Modern, which in some way are reflected in the educational philosophy and economic and political life of the respective period. In other words, Homo Pictor, Homo Faber and Homo Politicus have proceeded in their activities based on the system of values of the respective period. Relying on the aforesaid, considering the integrity of the society and the changes taking place in it, it would be necessary to discuss in detail how the change in the system of values is connected with economic and political life. But because of the time limit, I am not going to treat these issues. I will confine myself only to making some general remarks on the subject.

The ancient cultural paradigm: All ancient culture, which is closely related to the emergence and formation of philosophy in the 6th-7th centuries B.C., proceeds basically from the world as a macrocosm, which was created by laws of harmony and

beauty. In the world a general order, a rational embryo and Logos govern. Man as a microcosm constitutes a part of this world, and he has to arrange his life in accordance with this world. The highest objective for man was to merge into this cosmological harmony, general order and logos. Therefore, he had to search for this intellectual order within himself as well, in his own rationality. In the ancient period, rationality, which as one of the basic values runs through all of Western culture, was associated above all with the ability to motivate knowledge through argumentation, without turning to experience. The highest form of any cognition is philosophical intuition as a non-profit mental activity. Man as a free and intellectual being achieves harmony through philosophical intuition. Mental activity as the highest form was opposed to practical activity as something lower. There was an attempt to overcome the contradiction between Homo Pictor and Homo Faber through ancient democracy, inclining the scale toward Homo Pictor as the subject striving for transcendental values. The dualism between Homo Pictor and Homo Faber is quite clearly reflected in the ideals of ancient educational philosophy. The objective of education is to achieve perfection and harmony. Thus, education in antiquity had mainly a general cultural function. They appreciated the teaching of the "seven liberal arts" - which are said to help achieve harmony. The "seven liberal arts" included rhetoric, dialectics, and grammar as the verbal arts, and astronomy, arithmetic, geometry and music as the numerical arts. As we know, the seven liberal arts were later also taught in medieval universities in philosophy faculties and had a propaedeutic role in further studies in theology, medicine and law. Actually, the liberal arts played a significant role in education until the middle of the twentieth century, when their humanitarian base was greatly appreciated. The liberal arts in ancient times were strongly contrasted with the "mechanical arts" (artes mechanice), which are associated with the material world. The dualism between the liberal and mechanical arts originates from Aristotle. He distinguishes the "teacher's activities" from those of the simple artisan, pointing out that we honor teachers more than artisans, since they know the cause of what they create. But artisans, according to Aristotle, are like inanimate objects. They produce ore without realizing it. They are like a flame which burns without being conscious of it. If the motion of the objects is connected with their essence, then artisans produce something only by habit. The "mechanical arts" or activities based on habit were still looked down upon in the Medieval period as well, and even in the Renaissance, when life gradually came to be based on materialism.

The medieval cultural paradigm: Even before the ancient system of values forsook the scene in the 5th-6th centuries, the new medieval system of values or cultural paradigm began to take shape in the 2nd-3rd centuries. The world becomes more complex than it used to be: one might even say hierarchical. The creator of this hierarchy is God, who has created the world and man according to his own image. God himself is harmony. The entire Medival culture is based on the idea of hierarchy as one of the most essential pillars. The very rigid relations of social rank in society are also based on this notion.

The highest objective of man as a volitional being was the cognition of divine harmony, which can be striven for only through moral-religious and sacramental activity. It was necessary to save one's soul for eternal life, whereas it was thought that in order to strive for God, one needs the aid of the church. The church was like a shepherd to man. These ideas are also reflected in medieval educational ideals. In general education, the most important place was still occupied by the teaching of the seven liberal arts. The highest level of education and upbringing was theological. The dualism between mental and practical, material activities deepened into a dualism between sacramental and profane activity, whereas sacramental intellectual activity is higher in relation to the profane.

The Catholic-scholastic way of thinking of Homor Pictor was closely connected with the activities of Homo Faber, which found its expression in feudal monarchy and in conservative ideology.

In the 14th-15th century a strong opposition to the hierarchy began to be formulated. On the one hand, this idea was attacked by Renaissance humanists who, when glorifying man, saw him in a sheer civine nimbus and radiance. For humanists, man was the creator of himself and the world. Gradually a new religion began to be formulated. The belief in a supernatural God began to be replaced by a belief in man as the creator and ruler of the world. The idea of hierarchy was also unacceptable to the Protestants. They substituted this idea by one of absolute predestination. Man cannot be saved only by good deeds. The saving of one's soul depends on the secret decision of God. According to Calvin, for example, there are those who are destined to eternal blessedness, while others are destined for suffering. We can judge the selected ones by their earthly success. Therefore, everyone had to make an effort to work hard, to follow the divine call, which meant an invitation to a certain field or job. The Protestants proceed from the idea of man as a sinful being to fairly democratic conclusions that in their sins all men are absolutely equal before God. Nobody can enjoy only privileges. No job is better than another. All jobs are equal.

The biblical movement initiated by Luther, Zwingly and Calvin grew into a cultural and educational movement, where a person's individual contact with God through the word of scripture was considered to be of utmost importance. But to have this contact, one must be able to read. The problem of public education became the principle of the Protestant church.

Gradually a new type of individual developed who was considerably more active, struggling and abstract. While a person in the Middle Ages could count on the church, corporation or guild to which he belonged, in the new highly competitive society, everything depended on himself alone. Since nobody knew who was an elected person, everybody had to behave as if he or she were one. Only man himself is responsible for his salvation.

The modern cultural paradigm: The ideas of the Subject and Object which were worked out in the Renaissance and Reformation, and relations between them became the basis of the Modern Cultural Paradigm (17th-20th centuries).

The world itself changed into a quantitative one. The idea of an organism to which the world was compared in Ancient and Medieval times was substituted by the idea of a machine. By the machine, they understood a mechanism which provides an individual with absolute control over himself and the world as well. The idea of a machine corresponded quite well to the needs of a man who lived in a society of free competition, and these needs became more and more material. The result was that dualism between the liberal and mechanical arts, which originated in antiquity, or that of Homo Pictor and Homo Faber, tended more and more to Homo Faber, until the activities of the latter were subordinated any other activity and cognition. The system of values which was based on free competition and indivdualism created a new type of individual and society as well, namely, the industrial one, where success and profit were the main criteria.

One of the thinkers who spoke about man's domination over the world was Francis Bacon, who came from and was brought up in a Puritan family. He, like other thinkers of the time, believed that man could attain supremacy over the world only through the absolute knowledge which Adam lost after the Fall. Knowledge is always absolute and certain. Bacon attempted to substitute ancient knowledge as "pure observation" by the idea of knowledge-action. According to him, the theoretical study of nature should be brought closer to the "mechanical arts" (industry). As a lawyer Bacon liked to compare research with legal inquiry and the examination of the defendant. In this activity, the "loafers" should be cast aside, and if nature is reluctant and will not let the secret out, even torture may be applied. But it is experiment that influences this torture. In order to become aware of the deepest secrets of nature or divine signs, the mind should first be disillusioned so as to be purified of all idols. The cognition of absolute knowledge had, in fact, two meanings: first, it was necessary from the practical point of view as the source of useful discoveries and, second, from a moral aspect, as the understanding of nature helps us to know better its creator, and through this, to become purified.

Proceeding from Bacon's standpoint, Comenius worked out his general didactics, appreciating above all Bacon's utilitarianism. But when Bacon and Comenius are speaking about profit, they have in mind rather intellectual than material profit. It was not until the 18th - 20th centuries when profit came to be associated with material profit and chasing after progress.

In modern times, the system of values is also reflected in the modern philosophy of education and, in general, didactics (visibility, graduation, imitation, practice). The modern educational system is based on contemporary educational philosophical attempts toward absolute knowledge.

In the new developing educational system, which is gradually beginning to rid itself of transcendental prescriptions, the teacher becomes the herald of absolute truth, an indisputable authority and model who directs his pupils toward absolute truth. The pupils had to be studious, correct and obey the orders of the teachers. Only in this way could he be guided toward absolute knowledge.

Utilitarian and instrumental cognition of the world was also carried over to education until in the twentieth century it gradually began to lose its cultural and hu-

manitarian foundation. In designing educational programs, it began to proceed from the necessities of working life, training a specialist. Its philosophical foundation was positivism, which prohibited the idea of a unity of the sciences. According to this, even the humanities are reduced to an exact description of experience. In actual school life, this new ideal resulted in emphasizing the knowledge of facts, training encyclopedists. Universities produced narrow-minded specialists, restricted to their own realm, who were unable to see or realize themselves from a cultural angle, having lost any sense of responsibility for the future.

Many of our troubles may be caused by the fact that biology has been taught by biologists, mathematics by mathematicians, the state has been ruled by officials. A specialist also produces specialists of the same kind, to whom the problem concerning his speciality, his personal profit or unimportant paper may be more sigificant than the destiny of an indivdual or the whole nation. From here it is but one step to the vast narrowness which nips every mental and intellectual spirit in the bud. Profit and only profit becomes the only criteria of human activity and value.

For a long time, the principals of classical educational philosophy have not corresponded to contemporary science and philosophy. At the same time, in most cases no one realizes that philosophy forms the basis of the educational system of all civilized society, as well as its organizational structure. It still determines as before the stages and types of schools, a knowledge-centered training process, and principles of drawing up curricula and methods of instruction and criteria for marking.

Losing the consciousness and belief in harmony, man will lose the idea of eternity. But one will have to pay for everything sooner or later. The culture is paying with its global problems regarding the modern world outlook, which found its genuine expression in the ideas of Enlightenment philosophy and which flourished in twentieth-century industrial society.

Is there any way out of the global issues which are the principal changes in understanding the relations between the Subject and Object? What should be the starting point for culture and education in the next century?

The postmodern cultural paradigm: Proceeding from the changes taking place in society, we can assume that the contemporary system of values and the model of development originating from it has exhausted itself. In culture it means, first of all, the domination of a new means of rationality in society which is different from a rationality where human understanding is alienated from man as a whole and subjected to making profit. In this new rationality, next to Homo Faber, who is chasing after progress, a greater contribution is made to culture and traditions, or Homo Pictor, and to everything which bears within itself the idea of continuity.

On the basis of changes in understanding the relations between subject and object in the new developing system of values, we can characterize the new developing cultural paradigm as follows: first, in realizing the object or the world, we are proceeding from pluralism, according to which the entire existing world consists of numerous entities of equal value. These entities cannot be reduced to the "one and

only true" embryo, as monism claims to do. Translated to people and culture, or to the relations between subjects, pluralism means that every nation and person has the right to decide and choose his own way without doing harm thereby to other people and nations. Monism takes us inevitably to the conception of integral and indivisible absolute truth and to a state-empire which represents it in society.

Second, as a result of the above mentioned, in treating man and any subject, individualism is eventually substituted by personalism. Under early capitalist conditions, individualism as a principle, declaring the autonomy of a person and his absolute priority in regard to society, had great significance in liberating man from medieval dogmas. In the contemporary complicated, contradictory and dynamical world, it is difficult to take a single step forward, while disregarding another person, culture or society. Third, in this new changing system of values, science is also acquiring a new meaning. Science is no longer the most powerful means by which we can change the world in order to gain profit. Balance and harmony between Homo Faber and Homo Pictor, or between the subjects rushing on ahead and trying to change the world and those looking back and carrying continuity within them will become more significant than profit. In this new system of values, knowledge is not absolute, something which is consistant and conceded forever. Knowledge, or truth, forces the creation of a dialogue between different subjects. But any dialogue and communication presumes comprehension, both of oneself and others. In connection with this, problems of identity of culture, turning back to one's life and history, become essential. Next to naturalistic, mathematically exact knowledge, the issues of humanitarian cognition are acquiring special meaning.

It stands to reason that we should take an interest in how the new system of values is reflected in the activities of Homo Pictor, Homo Faber and Homo Politicus, how it is reflected in social structures, in its tendencies of development, and in political democracy, as well as in demands that the new system of values relate to education. In my view, these issues require interdisciplinary research in the future.

About the Estonian Way of Development

Here I can but once again point out that the new developing system of values corresponds well to the cultural traditions of Estonia in its Finno-Ugrian base: first, pluralism, a relation on a footing of parity between subject and object, and subject and subject, and homage paid to individuality arising from it; second, traditionality, strong identification with kin, home and family; third, a relatively closed culture, and lack of expansionist ideas arising from it. (Ruutel 1991, 17-27) But as other European cultures, the Estonian one also comprises several subcultures. When designing the developmental model for the future, it should be taken into account that next to the Finno-Ugrian lower layer, the Christian-Lutherian one has also left traces on it, as well as the Homo Sovieticus, although the influence of the latter seems not to be quite so profound on the Estonian culture and way of thinking. Considering the present state of affairs in Estonia, where 60% of the population are Estonians, 40%

non-Estonians, and apparently 25-30% of the latter are Homo Soveticus we can guess that Estonian society is undergoing a serious transition period, and in order to characterize it, we shall have to analyze the following features: first, how to shake off the systems of thinking and values of Homo Sovieticus, where earthly life acquired sacramental form, on top of which towers the Ruler as the Highest Divine Being. It should be born in mind that for Estonians it is comparatively simple to rid themselves of the mentality of Homo Sovieticus as compared with most non-Estonians; second, how is the Finno-Ugrian substratum of Estonian culture to be restored, which creates more favorable conditions for a transition to the new paradigm to be formed in our contemporary civilized world, and also its Christian-Lutherian substratum in a cultural context, which helps Estonia in communication with other cultures and nations within the framework of the Protestant culture; third, in light of the aforesaid, what changes should take place in educational philosophy and in the entire educational system of Estonia.

Estonia, like all former Eastern-block countries, is at present experiencing a deep paradigmatic crisis. The Soviet system, which was forced upon us, has collapsed. The system of values which it was based upon is no longer functioning. But there is no new one to replace it. Here we are forced to deal with a deep ideological vacuum. To overcome this, we have to be aware of what we want, of what our vision is of the result, of what the basic values are. Is it actually a society of well-being, or will we appreciate national values as well?

How can one achieve this society? In principal, there are three ways: first, relying only on the experience of the past and on traditions, which in our rapidly changing world will inevitably lead to crawling into one's shell, which will interrupt any development. Futhermore, the changes in the contemporary world are so rapid that proceeding only from past experience will always hinder us from seeing new problems and resolving them. Second, the imitation, or even copying of some other model of development, which is now occurring in Estonia. When in former times the ideology of development for Estonia came from Moscow, now in design in the development of Estonia it is mainly based on recommendations coming from Washington. The development of both Estonia and other societies liberated from occupation is being designed in accordance with the conception of a "belated society." What various theories of the latter or of modernization have in common is that they all are aimed at applying "theoretically pure" models of developed Western countries, first of all, those of Angloamerican, disregarding the present state of affairs in any given country, its historical background and cultural traditions. The accent is put on the technologization in contemporary industrial society in a liberal-democratic orientation. At present, for example, the development of Estonia is economic fundamentalism (balanced budget, monetary policy, the essential reduction of the costs of the state), which has been successful. It has helped, for example, to cut the inflation rate (which is now 2,5-3 per cent a month), and the economic development has been stabilized. Actually this ideology has protected those tendencies in Estonia which have led to an essential decrease in the middle-class and to a rapid stratification of society, where riches are being concentrated in the hands of a

relatively small group of people. Important changes are taking place in all socio-cultural spheres. The process which is under way in education is extremely dangerous. An educated person has always been the capital of Estonia, since our country lacks great natural resources. The reforms are associated with a significant reduction in the network of state schools and the establishment of private ones. The latter are treated according to the US model in the spirit of neoconservative ideology, i.e, that a private school is the private business of its owner. And if we consider the fact that pursuant to the recently passed law on basic and secondary school education, the state has taken on the obligation of providing young people only with a basic education free of charge. It may result in the fact that Estonia will make a transition to elitarian principles. It means that good education is available only to those who have a large purse or who succeed in finding a sponsor. The latter is quite difficult, while persons who have recently become rich do not realize that their success will very soon depend on investments in education. All this is taking place at the end of the twentieth century, under conditions where the contemporary civilized world has oriented itself to 90% of secondary and 60% of higher education. Thus, the model of development which suits a large and rich country as such as the US can produce a different effect in Estonia. Here in Estonia it may result in a transition to the Latin-American model, which is based on cheap manpower with relatively low qualifications. This is also reflected in the economy and its orientation toward imports, not to mention the increase of economic voluntarism of Estonian culture and national identity. Spengler in his "Downgrade of the West" warns us against this mode of development. Each culture is unique in its essence. The standing of a nation, especially a small one, which falls under the power of an old, alien culture, usually ends up in a mixture of its own and the alien, and in a degeneration of national self-expression in various spheres of life.

Third, the designing of their own way of development. To understand himself better, to see the objectives and customs in the world at the turn of the century, we must have a look at ourselves from a distance, on a global scale, not only from the West, but also from the East. In finding our own way, we should take an interest in Japan. We should bear in mind the conditions in which we are starting and the experience of the "four dragons," particularly that of Korea, where a great contribution is made to education. Moreover, we are related to South Korea in several ways which should be taken into account. First, instability, which is the result of our geographical position between large and powerful states which have largely determined our development. Second, a lack of great natural resources. Third, education has been the most valuable capital. When seeking our own way of development, Estonia should also take into account the fact that the civilized world itself is undergoing change.

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Paradigms of Educational Theory

The Development of Educational Theory in Germany

In the sixties and seventies the study of educational theory in Germany became one of the most widely developed fields in the social sciences or humanities. In terms of content this development took place due to the addition of empirical and critical educational theory (the latter inspired by the Frankfurt school) to the then dominant type of educational theory orientated towards the humanities. The development led to an unprecedented level of differentiation and complexity in the educational sciences. The development in content was paralleled by the institutional growth of the educational system and educational theory in research institutes and universities.

As a scientific discipline educational science was constituted in the reciprocally supplementing interplay and overlapping of its three major directions: the pedagogic theory of the humanities; empirical educational science, and critical educational science. Since these three scientific paradigms were of central significance in the process of the development of educational theory, their reconstruction is a necessity for the self-understanding of the discipline. This reconstruction is the task of the present essay which outlines the central positions of educational science and pedagogy and indicates their general theoretical foundations. By demonstrating the specific achievements as well as the limitations of the individual positions, this essay seeks to serve the reader as an introduction to the present stage of development of educational studies in Germany.

In the course of the development of educational science, controversies arose which were not restricted to the field of educational theory. In the process, educational science lost its monolithic character. Various branches were created which in the increasingly pointed debates strove to distance themselves from one another. With the intensification of the engagement in the controversies, little room was left for a balanced overview of the entire field. Although the controversies were not always completely resolved, they did help to clarify. The results lie in the recognition of the strengths and weaknesses of the individual theories and concepts which became evident during the debates between the various positions. Each of the three most significant paradigms developed specific questions which were handled with distinct methods and practices and which determined in their own manner their relationship to educational praxis. A short sketch of the central points of reference of these major branches demonstrates this.

The Educational Theory of the Humanities (Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik)

The origins of the educational theory of the humanities go back to Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Dilthey (1833-1911). In the twenties, it became prominent under the influence of Hermann Nohl (1879-1960), Theodor Litt (1880-1960), Eduard Spranger (1882-1963), Wilhelm Flittner (1889-1990) and Erich Weniger (1894-1961). Right up to the late sixties this was the definitive paradigm in German pedagogy, in whose framework Wolfgang Klafki, Klaus Mollenhauer and Herwig Blankerz began their academic careers. In attempting to characterize this by no means homogeneous paradigm, five distinct features can be isolated which have determined large fields of educational science to the present day:

1) the historicity of education and educational theory;
2) the central significance of hermeneutics for educational theory;
3) the demand for the relative autonomy of education and educational theory;
4) the pedagogic relationship;
5) and the relationship between theory and practice, constitutive of educational theory.

The Historicity of Education and Educational Theory

The recognition of the historicity of education, established by Schleiermacher's successor, Dilthey, was adopted by all the representatives of the educational theory of the humanities, but with varying consistence. For Dilthey and Nohl, the insight into the historicity of Education contained the recognition of the historicity of educational processes, institutions and the concepts, models and instruments of educational science.

According to Nohl, the structural elements of educational theory still relevant for contemporary pedagogic practice can be ascertained in historical analysis of educational reality. The historic analysis of educational reality is carried out on the basis of the interest directed towards the acquisition of a educational ability to act and towards surmounting historically originated pedagogic praxis. Nohl, however, does not answer the question how and to what extent a historical analysis of educational reality is able to comprehend and judge the relevance of the objectives, forms and processes of educational theory present in educational reality for practical educational activity. There is good reason to object critically that educational theory within the humanities has not been consistent in its application of the principle of historicity; instead, it reduced the historical contingencies it investigated in most cases to the history of ideas and history of theory. At the same time the principle of the autonomy of educational theory led seductively to inadequate research concerning the political, social and economic relationships in which educational problems are embedded. From a contemporary point of view there was a lack of social history

and "histoire des mentalités" in historical research on educational theory.

The Significance of Hermeneutics for Educational Theory

Inseparable from the insight into the historicity of educational theory was the recognition in educational theory of the humanities of the central significance of hermeneutics for the humanities. In the tradition of Schleiermacher, Droysen and Dilthey, the educational theory of the humanities was primarily concerned with the development of a hermeneutic method of understanding. The object of study in the hermeneutic method were initially largely linguistic sources from which the pedagogical theories and programs of the past were to be obtained; its subsequent object of study was educational reality with its inherent contemporary problems whose historical background required clarification before they could be understood and diagnosed in order to progress from problem-oriented analysis to systematic observations aimed at solving the corresponding contemporary problems. Educational reality became - on the one hand, as a historical reality, and on the other hand, as a praxis field for "pedagogical acts" - a subject of hermeneutic reflection. Thus two important criteria for the application of hermeneutic processes were given.

A humanities-oriented educational theory which does justice to its own findings would have the task of providing a historical reconstruction and interpretation as well as an immediate explanatory sense-interpretation of educational reality as a "meaningful unity". And here it is a matter of arriving at an understanding of educational reality by way of historical analysis and of immediate sense-understanding, the two approaches considered, in Nohl's work and in educational theory within the humanities, to be mutually complimentary. Both these hermeneutic tasks have indeed remained important right up to the present day.

The Demand of Educational Theory and the Educational Sciences for Relative Autonomy

The humanities breed of educational theory has sought to justify its demand for the "relative autonomy" of education and educational theory with two approaches. On the one hand, Schleiermacher, Dilthey and Nohl were concerned with liberating educational theory from its dependence upon ethics and psychology, thus founding educational theory as a self-standing discipline. On the other hand, the task of founding educational theory as a self-standing discipline arose out of the intention of maintaining the child's rights vis-a-vis adults and social groups which exercise influence upon the child.

In his collection of essays, "The Independence of Education in Theory and Praxis", Weniger attempts to establish the independence of educational theory with two arguments. Firstly, he indicates the inability of other sciences to comprehend educational reality and the pedagogically relevant world of child and youth. Sec-

ondly, he demonstrated the reliance of pedagogic praxis on educational theory whose development is one of the tasks of educational science. The dependence of educational praxis upon educational theory consists in the fact that without theory as a guide educational praxis can not properly fulfill its tasks. Later, the autonomy of educational theory is qualified as "the behavior arising out of the responsibility and position of the educator", behavior which consists in taking sides with the entrusted child and which has its origins in the "conflict between duties, bureaucratic instances and reality's claims to power". The independence of the youth raises the demands on the teacher to act as an "advocate of the future in the child", not interested in transient needs of the moment, a "defender of the past of the child against the present and the future to which the state, the economy, culture, family and profession lay claim." From the corresponding historically mediated ethical obligation of the educator to the child, the concept of educational theory and educational science established in the educational theory of the humanities acquires the possibility of critically distancing itself from social reality and the social forces ruling over it.

The Educational Relationship

Using his idea of the "educational relation", Nohl attempts to develop a theory of education which places the relationship between the educandus and the educator in the center. He defines the basis for educational theory as "the passionate relationship of a mature human being to a developing one for his own sake, so that the developing individual finds his way to his own life and his own form." Educational theory thus takes place in a relationship that is for the sake of the young human being. In this relationship the educator must defend the young individual's right to development and to self-realization against the unjustified demands placed upon him. This formulation of the educator's task requires the assumption of pedagogic responsibility for the young individual in order to safeguard his interests. The educational relationship is an interactive relationship that is characterized by an element of free will. It is determined by the tension between the urge to education and the urge to self-dependence. Between these two elements lies the problem of "pedagogic tact". The educational efforts of the adult for the young individual is marked by a "dim orientation": on the one hand, the educator must take into consideration the young individual's present situation, current interests and needs; on the other hand, he must direct his own pedagogic efforts towards the as yet unrealized efforts of the young individual.

The Theory-Praxis Relationship in Education

For Schleiermacher, founder of the educational theory of the humanities, the theory-praxis relationship was understood as a dialectically mediated relationship in which

Schleiermacher hypothesized the primacy of educational practice. Later, Weniger differentiated the concept of theory in a manner that has been decisive in the educational theory of the humanities. He begins by distinguishing theory of the first degree. This theory is not directly available to the practitioner, but influences unconsciously his perception of the field of educational theory and the tasks that need to be solved there; it is the result of numerous, already forgotten experiences of socialization; as an unconscious theory, it is not, or only with difficulty, to be controlled. In distinction to this theory, Weniger delimits a theory of second degree, encompassing the act-related knowledge of the practitioner. Even when latent, this knowledge is not always fully present. It can, however, be made conscious with the aid of intentional effort and can be located in its function of directing behavior. Finally, Weniger distinguishes yet another theory of the third degree that focuses on "the relationship of theory and praxis in praxis." This degree clarifies the relationship of theory and praxis in correlation with the activity of educational praxis. In addition to the task of a fundamental definition of the theory-praxis relationship, it also contributes to the specification and elucidation of the theory at work in the field of education. Here, the task is also tied to praxis; and the relationship of theory and praxis is defined so that the theory depends upon the corresponding given praxis. Here, the primacy of praxis over theory is maintained, and theory is understood as theory of praxis for praxis.

In a departure from traditional normative models of educational theory, the educational theory of the humanities began with the hypothesis of the historicity of its task field. Although it was highly conscious of the sociality of educational reality, it nevertheless lacked the necessary possibilities for a critical analysis and definition of educational reality. Here the help of the critical social theory of the Frankfurt School accounted for the first advancement. The educational theory of the humanities had recognized the significance of educational reality; however, hermeneutic methods developed in its framework were not sufficient for the interpretation of educational reality. This is where empirical educational science, oriented towards critical rationalism, furthered research and knowledge with its quantitative and qualitative methods.

Empirical Educational Theory (Empirische Erziehungswissenschaft)

Since the beginning of the century there have been numerous attempts to make empirical and analytical research a stable part of educational theory. Only in the sixties and the first half of the seventies did the empirical research in educational theory become established. About one quarter of the university professors in faculties of educational theory focus on empirical research. The development of empirical paradigms took place in tandem with the reform movement in the educational system. Today, it seems that basic research is regaining significance.

In historical perspective attention should be drawn to:

- the work of the two founders of "experimental educational theory", August Lay

(1912) and E. Meulmann (1920);
- the efforts of Else and Peter Petersen to ground pedagogic "fact research";
- the works of Aloys Fischer (1966) and Rudolf Lochner (1927; 1963) on the development of a descriptive educational theory;
- and Heinrich Roth's efforts to bring about a "realistic turn".

The most consequent model of educational theory orientated towards Poppers critical rationalism was published by Brezinka (1972). It is based on the following epistemological principles which are important for empirical educational research:
- the division between the context of discovery and the context of justification;
- the distinction between metascientific normative decisions pertaining to basic values and the demand for value freedom in the object sphere of the scientific system of statements;
- the rejection of the principle of induction, still considered to be valid in positivism, as a means of reasoning in the system of statements;
- the deductive construction of theories that can be provisionally affirmed by the fact that attempts to falsify them were unsuccessful;
- intersubjective falsification as a method of investigating statements.

In this paradigm science is defined as a research activity directed towards cognition of reality with the help of scientific methods. Since this concept cannot fulfill all tasks that have been recognized by "former" paradigms in the field of educational theory, Brezlinka supplements educational sciences (1) with a philosophy of educational theory (2) and with practical educational thought (3). Furthermore, he subdivides educational science in the broad sense of the word into a "theoretical science of educational theory" and a "historiography of educational theory". The historiography is largely conceived of according to the principles of "theoretical educational science". The field of the "philosophy of educational theory" is also subdivided into a "cognitive theory of pedagogic statements" and a "moral philosophy". Thereafter, practical educational thought is developed by reverting to the concept of practical artistic apprenticeship. Although a detailed description, analysis and critique of this concept of educational sciences cannot be entered into here, the epistemological problems that result from such a triadic division of a science ought to be noted - problems that are created by clinging to the concept of a unified educational science while at the same time dividing educational science into subdisciplines that are of varying value.

The scientific doctrine of critical rationalism that provides the basis for the concept of a largely content independent unified science is comprised of five central elements:

1) Definition and Explanation of Categories

Critical rationalism presupposes that science cannot directly comprehend reality, but rather has as its object the world of experience which is linguistically mediated and prestructured by concepts. As a result, the categorical mediation between subject

and object of experience is the sine qua non. For this reason it is necessary to define the ideas and linguistic expressions used in research so that they become concepts.

2) Operationalization of Concepts

Thereafter the demand for precision of categories in the operationalization of the concepts is used in the framework of empirical research. Thus the explicit definitions of concepts are taken a step further insofar as precise instructions for research operations are given in the framework of operationalization which helps to distinguish whether a phenomenon indicated by a certain concept is present or not. The operational definition is accordingly a necessary translation stage in research operations. The formation of indicators is required in order to express with concepts phenomena that are not immediately perceptible. If the phenomena referred to by the indicators are empirically demonstrated, the phenomenon referred to with the original concept may also be considered to be given.

3) Scientific Statements

These remarks indicate various sentence types that are employed in the classical social sciences; their differentiation is of central importance for the precision of language in empiric analytical research. Thus one distinguishes logical sentences from analytical and contradictory sentences, prescriptive from descriptive and hypothetical sentences. The relation to reality and the distinction between space/time restricted and space/time unrestricted statements is important; important, too, is the difference between logical and empirical verifiability. In empirical-analytical social science research, the "if-then" statements, the hypotheses, play a special role.

4) Theories, Hypotheses and their Verification

According to Popper, a theory is a net that we cast out in order to catch the world, to rationalize it, to explain and master it. Everything depends upon making the holes in the net smaller. The most important problem is to determine the truth-value of empirical theories. Here one must distinguish between the context of discovery and the context of justification. In the first case, the question of the origin of theories must be clarified; in the second, the question of the intersubjective verifiability of hypotheses in reality is the problem. In distinction to positivism, in which statements are made with the help of the principle of induction, critical realism relies on the deductive method of verification. The critical method of scrutinizing theories can lead only to an absence of their confirmation, to their falsification, but not to their verification.

5) Technology as a Field of Application for Theories

According to the scientific doctrine of critical rationalism, theories serve to clarify, to prognosticate and to develop technology. The logical structure on which these three application fields are based on is the same. With respect to the social sciences, technology as a field of application for theories is especially significant. In distinction to the prognosis, technology has an immediate relation to praxis. Technology refers here to methods and prognoses that are independent from their authors and with whose help a social field of praxis, such as education, can be influenced. Due to the given logical structure-equivalence between the process of explanation and application of technologies, the application of technologies is also

targeted to end-means-thinking. Technology is applied in order to attain certain goals that have been predefined by theory. Educational praxis is thus structured upon an ends-means relation. The limitations of such an approach to social praxis have been illustrated in recent years by Bourdieu and others.

As well as the theoretical-scientific sketches of critical rationalism, the results of the empirical research already carried out are especially important for the construction of educational theory as a complex social science and branch of the humanities. With their aid important new information can be obtained that is helpful in developing a multi-dimensional body of knowledge for educational theory. And yet in the course of this development it became clear that the empirical educational science of the sixties and seventies could not fulfill the expectations placed upon it. Especially the hope to achieve a substantial contribution to the improvement of educational praxis with the help of empirical educational theory could not be fulfilled.

Critical Educational Theory (Kritische Erziehungswissenschaft)

Critical educational theory was developed as a paradigm of educational theory bearing a strong relationship to the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and distancing itself expressly from the humanities educational theory and empirical educational theory. In distinction to these latter paradigms, critical educational theory stresses the historical and social character of education and the necessity of orienting education on a critical theory of society, science and the subject. Despite the general orientation upon the fundamental ideas of critical theory, critical educational theory does not represent a self-contained paradigm. This is due to the fact that critical educational theory initially was conceived as a negation of traditional theory. Its task was the critique of bourgeois society and its scientific industry. Critical educational theory was not interested in developing a "positive" theory of its own that would itself become an object of its own critique. Despite this limitation, the task of critical theory in educational theory was to guide and change educational praxis. And here educational theory had to go beyond the Frankfurt School; it had to restructure the material content at hand in the subdisciplines of educational theory and to make conscious educational contexts with the aid of other social sciences. In judging the value of critical educational theory emphasis was placed upon the contribution it made as a praxis oriented theory for educational praxis and for the praxis of persons active in education. The critique contained in critical educational theory must therefore also be applied to critical theory itself so that it becomes self-reflective. The elaboration of this assessment led to an increase in behavior research in educational theory.

Already in the thirties Horkheimer had developed his critique of the objectivistic self-misunderstanding of bourgeois science. Critique is intended to help understand the world as a product of work and to recognize bourgeois society as the result of

the division of labor and of a specific structure of production in whose framework the principle of exchange has a fundamental significance. In addition, Horkheimer and Adorno had shown that the enlightenment could no longer be simply understood as a linear increase in freedom, since the process of enlightenment gave rise to many side effects which threaten to turn the enlightenment into its opposite. "Even myth is enlightenment, and enlightenment can strike back in the form of myth." Later critical theory turns against the "fury of identification" in the positive sciences in the interest of the "difference between the conceptual and non-conceptual in the object itself" (Adorno). Habermas distinguishes numerous cognitive interests in the sciences which correspond with one another: the "technical cognitive interest" that aims at the most possibly complete mastery of its objects; the "practical cognitive interest" that is oriented towards an understanding of the central questions of life; and the emancipatory cognitive interest that is primarily concerned with dismantling the control over people. And finally, Marcuse propagates that it is not the task of theory or of philosophical thought - and here they encounter their limitations - to attain happiness and to "furnish the new society", but rather the task lies in "the free labor of the freed individual." Marcuse thus sees the task of reason in the drafting of such a society prior to its realization with the help of fantasy.

In the course of history critical reason has developed a number of basic concepts. These basic concepts are of central importance to the understanding of critical theory and its affects. Among them we find the following concepts: enlightenment, emancipation, reification, critique, society, and the theory-praxis relationship.

Enlightenment

If enlightenment is "man's departure from the minority-status he himself is responsible for," then the educational system is obligated to contribute to it. Enlightenment means calling into question authority and control that cannot be rationally justified and insisting upon majority and freedom as the goals of human development. Enlightenment aims at dismantling social repression and at liberating sensuality from reification. Enlightenment takes place in processes of reflection in which reification as well as communication and thought barriers are dissolved.

Emancipation

Emancipation aims in the same direction. But it radicalizes the relationship to material, social and productive conditions and the distribution of property without exhausting itself in this field. The goal of "political" and "human" emancipation (so Marx) is, finally, man's development towards his essence as generic being, man understanding himself as an individual and at the same time as a social power for whom self-reflection is tied to the interest in majority and emancipation. In light of the tendency to intensify bureaucratic power and to control and rationalize social life

in the sense of instrumental behavior and give it the appearance of rationality, the goal of breaking down this structure in the aim of "human" emancipation and the humanization of social life is a project bound to fail repeatedly.

Reification

A central concern of the enlightenment and of emancipation consists in defending man from reification or liberating him from the consequences of reification. In part reification today can be understood as a result of the exchange of goods whose function to conserve the structure and organization of bourgeois society can scarcely be over-estimated and whose significance in the deformation and reification of communication processes has been stressed again and again in the field of critical educational theory.

Critique

Critique, especially social, cognitive and scientific critique, serves as a vehicle for liberation. The limitations of critique consist in its incessant dependence upon the handicaps it criticizes without itself becoming productive in the process. Especially in the case of a science related to the field of praxis of education, this is a central epistemological problem. At the same time the situation must be avoided where the radicalness of the critique, due to the helplessness of pedagogic activity in the face of historical macrostructures that deeply influence the youth, leads to a point where the sense of educational activity can no longer be seen.

Society

Society can be understood as the totality of interrelations of social action and behavior that is constituted in the exchange and collective effort of man in a divided labor force. Insofar as critical theory is conceived of as a social theory, it aims at analyzing and explaining the present social system. Critical theory is critical only insofar as it measures the present form for socialization according to the possible development of society. Critical theory is primarily interested in the perception of the totality of society which yields the basis for an interpretation of its individual structural elements. Beginning with a certain stage of development, the entirety of social development can only be properly understood with reference to the concept of the division of labor. With the increasing division of labor and the improvement of labor productivity, both labor power and the means of production as well as their combined influence on the relations of production become ever more definitive for the development of the structure of society. In contemporary society the state must continually attempt to compensate for the crises of the system or to repel crises

prophylactically. To this end state cushioning-mechanisms are developed. With their help the legitimacy of social power as well as mass loyalty are held intact. Often measures taken in the area of education belong to the necessary cushioning-mechanisms of interventionist state activity which help to counter inequality and bridge the gap between diverse spheres of life.

The Theory-Praxis Relationship

Right from the start the theory-praxis relationship was the focal point of reflection in critical theory and the critical social sciences. Critical thought is not exclusively orientated towards cognition; it has an immediate interest in the improvement of social conditions. That is why it must reflect the conditions of its own development. Critical theory must call into question with the aid of ideological critique what function it fulfills and what possibilities it offers to influence social praxis. Insofar as critical theory conceives of the division of labor between theory and praxis on the one hand and social praxis on the other as characteristic for a certain social situation and thus alterable, the value of theories cannot be determined independent from social praxis in the framework of research. Rather, social praxis has the task of determining the value of theories to the extent that the theories must prove themselves in social praxis. Any delimitation of critical science from other directions of science contains at the same time a statement on the relationship of science and the object-field, and thus on the relationship of theory and praxis. In this way critical theory distances itself from the reduction of intentional action to behavior, thus avoiding the ascription of the objectified sense-context in social and educational systems to contents of cultural tradition. Instead, critical theory inquires into the systems of language and action contained in power structures.

In clear distinction to the educational theory of the humanities and empirical educational theory, critical educational theory attempts to avoid the objectivist self-misunderstanding of those theories which are not able to relate critically to the social stage of development of education. The point of departure for such a delimitation is the critical assessment of the historical and social character of education. In the course of this assessment the interdependence of the educational system and the corresponding society has to be addressed; and this in turn raises the question of what functions the educational system in its various forms has in society. The significance of critical educational theory is not only to be found in its application of the critique of ideology to the field of education, in the development of conceptual goals based in social theory and in the development of praxis oriented research in educational theory. To a large degree the significance of critical theory consists rather in its influence upon numerous subdisciplines in educational theory, leading to a new orientation of the work of the practitioner within them. The most important attempts to offer contributions to critical educational theory were related to the works of Mollenhauer, Klafki, Blankertz, Lempert and Heydorn. Despite the significance of critical thought in educational theory, educational theory has itself failed to

develop a consistent, much less self-contained, general theory.

Educational Knowledge

Our examination of the development of educational theory into a complex, heterogeneous scientific discipline has made it clear that each of the paradigms described above remain valid only within itself. No one paradigm can be replaced by another. This fact, which only slowly gained recognition, is today undisputable. The relativization of claims to scientific validity that went with this recognition has lead to a radical scientific pluralism. This epistemological pluralism finds adequate expression in the concept of "educational knowledge" that comprises very divergent forms of knowledge. The concept of "educational knowledge" was made possible by the discussions in which once again the significance of the various paradigms for the development of educational theory was considered. In these discussions the positions during the sixties, seventies and eighties were taken up once again, but with less of an attempt to defend one's own position and criticize others; interest was more directed towards a detailed understanding of the various positions. The question of the consequences of this discussion for future development in educational theory was also raised.

At the same time, further intensive epistemological questions were considered in the wake of the paradigm discussion. Thus system-theories have played a large provocative role for some years. Even the impulses stemming from the discussion surrounding the unfortunately titled concept of "postmodernism" gained influence upon educational theory. In accordance with the developments in other humanities, reconsideration was given to the question of anthropology which, in the sixties, had played an important role in educational theory prior to the spread of the paradigm discussion.

The tendency of scientific advancement raised the diversity of the discussion and lead finally, at the beginning of the nineties, to the concept of "educational knowledge" as a reference point for future epistemological developments. With this reference point the diversity becomes programmatic for forms of knowledge and symbolic manifestations. Science is from then on possible only in the plural form. The distinctiveness of forms of knowledge is stressed, forms whose acceptance makes possible the sanctioning of not only scientific, but also literary and practical knowledge as educational knowledge. This development leads to mixed forms of educational knowledge which are an expression of the fact that the normative instance of science is seemingly hopelessly entangled in the diversity of institutional references, social experiences and now historic points of validation from which it in the past was so sublimely removed. There is no ideal way of producing and using educational knowledge that would suddenly compensate for all mistakes and offer only advantages.

The concept of forms of educational knowledge comprises forms such as "knowledge of control", "knowledge of education" and "knowledge of healing"

(Scheler) or "technical", "pragmatic" and "emancipatory" knowledge (Habermas). Educational knowledge makes reference to "the origin of knowledge in the practices of power" (Foucault) and the "discourse character" of knowledge, and allows for further differentiation according to the location of origin and utilization, to the functions in social reality, to forms and instances of notarization, to structures, contents and types. In the functions of educational knowledge one can distinguish, for example, practical and reflexive knowledge, operative and diagnostic knowledge, knowledge of orientation and knowledge of action. In these types of knowledge distinction is made between utopic, critical and action-related knowledge. An additional division can be made according to the context of origin and affiliation to a certain culture or milieu. Educational knowledge assists in understanding the sense of educational praxis and rendering it analyzable. The result of these processes of understanding and analysis can be encoded in text, circulated and discussed.

Every since the theoretical "anything goes" (Feyerabend) signaled the programmatic end of the absolute claim to validity of a scientific paradigm, every since the end of "large stories" (Lyotard) in which the direction of social and individual development was determined, and every since the acceptance of a radical pluralism, the epistemological situation of educational theory has been changed lastingly by the concept of "educational knowledge" and by the idea of the principle value-equivalence of various forms of knowledge. Following the intensive discussion over different paradigms and over the establishment of a concept of educational knowledge, isolated attempts to revive the anthropologic mode of observation are currently underway. This revival of anthropology is however taking place in changed social and epistemological conditions. In many branches of the human sciences today anthropological themes and questions have become more significant. The reason for this growth in significance lies in the epistemological situation of the human sciences which have lost their secure frames of reference; in these human sciences the "anthropological turn" promises new points of reference and new orientations.

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