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“Czas” Periodical as a Source of the Lifelong Education for Galician Society in the 19th Century

Stefania Walasek

Between 1848 and 1867 Galicia was an area of a struggle to introduce Polish language as a tuition language in comprehensive secondary school teachings. Intense actions for the sake of teaching in mother's tongue were supported by the representatives of Polish society. Significant role in this regard was played by Galician periodical “Czas”, which informed the readers on actions undertaken in the state and country. It included critical assessment of Austrian legal regulations, revealing its numerous flaws and lack of execution of appropriate rules regarding tuition language in gymnasiums. The readers' attention was also drawn to the importance of teaching in native language, stressing the relation between education and preserving national identity.

Key words: *Gymnasium; native language; Polish language; German language; periodicals.*

The issue of the lifelong learning is, in contemporary world, perceived as “a process of systematic learning taking place after completing school obligation or extended full-time education, taking place throughout entire period of professional activity, and sometimes longer”¹. The demand for permanent education is reflected in the ideas of European educational and political circles at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, underlining lifelong need for education of the contemporary man².

In the past, absorbed by several, essential educational problems such as introduction and accomplishment of school obligation, or promoting schooling, the issue of the lifelong learning could not become the focus in the theoretical as well as practical works of educationists. Nevertheless, issues relating to the lifelong learning were tackled from 19th century, for example with regard to teachers. In many commentaries, also in newspapers, the teachers' obligation of permanent improvement of the skills and knowledge was stressed both regarding general, psychological, educational and methodical knowledge. In some of the

¹ Z. Wiatrowski, *Kształcenie ustawiczne dorosłych*, in: *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI wieku*, tom II G–L, Warszawa 2004, p. 903.

² Polish theory of pedagogical science tackles permanent education from various definition discourses. Z. Wiatrowski, *Kształcenie ustawiczne...* op. cit.

social, cultural and – most of all – pedagogical periodicals, a teacher could gain new information, improve it or develop interests, not only those related to the profession. It may be assumed that at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, the teacher becomes a precursor of accomplishing the idea of continuous learning, defined at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries as the lifelong education.

Periodical press in Poland experienced intensive growth from second half of the 19th century, with many new titles appearing, addressed to various social and professional groups. They often included information regarding social life under occupation, as well as important issues of political nature, encouraging to cooperate in activities for the sake of the poor, with reports from activities undertaken by charities, reeducation units and schools. Many of the titles published literary works, with poetry or fashion pages. Moreover, there were biographies of distinguished figures in Polish history, as well as prominent figures of political, cultural and educational life of that time. Therefore, the periodicals were of informative nature, promoting, for instance, healthy lifestyle, fashion of that time, promoting knowledge about Polish history and literature, introducing various cultures and lifestyles.

The most favourable conditions for developing press expansion in the middle of 19th century took place in Galicia, where in the period from 1815 to 1830 there were 11 publishing houses, whereas in Cracow there were 20 of them. “Although at the begging of 1848 there were only 3 periodicals in Galicia, in consequent months the number of press titles rose to 35, with 32 out them from Lemberg (Lviv) and Cracow”³. It was in the middle of the century, when first professional press appeared, i.e., of medical or technological origin (as well as those for children). The society’s interest in press news was gradually rising, particularly during political tensions. The readers would pass on the information read in the press, discuss it, contributing to the awakening of social interest in given press titles⁴.

One of the titles of informative role was the daily paper “Czas”, which first issue was published on 3rd November 1848 in Cracow⁵. It had been published for the first few months with subtitle “a daily paper dedicated to state and international politics, literary, agricultural and industrial news”⁶, which was an indication which spheres of social life were tackled there. With the time, the daily became a kind of a press tool for a group

³ Z. Fras, *Galicja*, Wrocław 1999, p. 147.

⁴ J. Łojek, J. Myśliński, W. Władyka, *Dzieje prasy polskiej*, Warszawa 1988.

⁵ The publishing was terminated in 1939.

⁶ J. Łojek, J. Myśliński, W. Władyka, *Dzieje prasy...* op. cit., p. 41.

of conservative activities called „Stańczycy”. It was a political formation established by A. Potocki, Z. Hecel, J. Lubomirski and P. Popiel. Between 1848 and 1851, Popiel was the chief editor in charge of the contents and informative level of “Czas”. The principle was to inform about domestic and foreign affairs in reliable and impartial manner, which contributed to make it a European level press. It was possible thanks to extraordinary figures gathered around “Czas” – journalists and columnists, who represented high level of “professional and writing skills as well as precise political views”⁷.

After years, „Czas” became a role-model press as far as journalistic talent and publishing techniques were concerned. Besides, it also significantly influenced public opinion in Cracow and Galicia, playing important role in Vienna too. Strong position and range of influence make “Czas” a monopolist, with other titles subsequently disappearing from the press market.

“Czas” tackled and assessed social changes, demanding for educational reforms, making comments of the system in the region, whereas the main goal of the editors and columnists was to promote the idea of organic work in the society. Therefore, the positivist idea and exposing work as a source of social growth manifested in activities itself was predominant. Still, other equally important issues undertaken by the periodical, referred to: education and schooling in Galicia with emphasis on State School Council, setting up gymnasium and didactic processes in such types of schools, increase in the value of orphanages and common education. The articles would present critical opinion as well as assessment of Galician schooling, projecting reorganizational drafts, putting stress on the value of teaching in the native language.

The aim of educational topics was to inform the society on authorities’ activities (state and Austrian ones) and encourage to participation in works for the sake of changes and reforms in education.

Undoubtedly, the target group was the educated representation of society members aware of school problems, not having precise interpretation of the postulates in projected changes. The article would not only inform, but also shape the public opinion, which was to be in accordance with the editors’ vision.

The year 1848 marked the beginning of significant changes in the system of Austrian state, having been based on programme and organizational principles in the entire monarchy. The same year marked intensified interest in schooling problems in Galicia too⁸, with priority in

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ R. Dutkova, *Polityka szkolna w Galicji: między autonomią a centralizmem (1861–1875)*, Kraków 1995, p. 10.

introducing Polish language to schools and state institutions. Since the beginning of “Czas” activities, it became a source of information regarding changes in all spheres of social life, including education. The chief editors informed about crucial events in such way: “Today, the highness decided on the day of 4th March introduced Act of Constitution to the people of Austria, and at the same time in a manifesto announced what kind of reason made this distinguished figure to undertake such a step”⁹.

First change regarding educational system was “eliminating The Royal Scientific Commission”, which, in March 1848, was preplaced by Ministry of Education and Religion¹⁰. The subsequent changes in school administration arose hope among Polish society members to resolve the issue of teaching in mother’s tongue. Such expectations clearly emphasized excerpts from the Austrian Constitution, recalled by the “Czas” editors: “§3. Knowledge and its teaching is free. Each citizen being able to rightfully prove own skillfulness has the right to establish scientific institutes, units and carry out the process of upbringing there” (...); §4 (...) in multinational countries, it shall be judged in a way so as to provide for such minority tools to cultivate own langue and education”¹¹.

The aspects tackling the issue of position of Polish language at schools initiated long fight of “Czas” editorial team for the right position of Polish langue in teaching Polish youth, accordingly to the Austrian legal principles.

“The organizational outline of gymnasiums and real schools” released in 1849 and partly exercised in 1850 was widely commented in ‘Czas”, as it also referred to the topic of tuition language, which – as suggested in the outline – shall be adjusted to the local people’s needs. It stated, that each state language (including Polish) may become a tuition language, depending on the language used by the local people on a daily basis. In October of 1850, the Ministry of Education released a decree with specifications on what language should be applied when teaching given subjects, in specified schools and levels of education¹².

⁹ Prawa zasadnicze dla Monarchii Austriackiej, „Czas”, 1849, nr 20, p. 3.

¹⁰ S. Goliński, Historia gimnazjum przemyskiego. Sprawozdanie dyrekcji c. k. gimnazjum w Przemyślu za rok 1894, Przemyśl 1894, in: S. Możdżeń, Ustrój szkoły średniej w Galicji i próby jego modernizacji w latach 1848–1848, Wrocław 1974, p. 6.

¹¹ Ibidem p. 2.

¹² According to the decree there was a following order regarding languages: a) in gymnasiums in Bochnia, Tarnów, Sącz and Rzeszów, Polish become the teaching language, whereas German was to remain while teaching geography and history from 3rd to 8th grade (...); b) Polish and literature in all grades was compulsory c) German and literature must remain in all grades: I–II 6 hours a week, III–IV – 5, V–VIII – 4 hours

Before, on the basis of directive from 9th January 1848 “giving the appearance of protecting Ukrainians against Polonization, Polish language was eliminated from gymnasiums in eastern Galicia, temporarily introducing German, until the Ukrainian gained literary shape”¹³.

It must be stated, that considering the above arrangements, German was – particularly in gymnasiums – a privileged language. This fact made the editorial team publish two editorials (dated 31st October and 19th December 1850) claiming: “having been preoccupied by publishing Statues for Galicia, we remained silent for a while on the Ministry directive from 12th September 1850, published in “Gazeta Lwowska” the day after, and reprinted by us on 21st October”¹⁴. This information included the following „the Minister of Enlightenment has to have knowledge on education and upbringing, and should know, that no nation has ever been able to rise on other basis than own nationality”¹⁵, and the Polish nation has the right to ask from the minister to make Polish the tuition language in all gymnasiums. In the December edition of “Czas” in that year a remark was made, hoping that the directive is provisory, and would soon become withdrawn “when the minister shall realize the flaws of the directive. If so, we shall be very content with it”¹⁶.

As emphasized many years later in the same periodical, “the system exercised in rest of the monarchy’s countries was directly rooted in Galicia as for the contents and the shape, since from the first classes until completing education at universities, German language was introduced, partly accompanied with Latin. The Polish was not mentioned once (...) To a young man, the school not only didn’t mention that he is a Pole, but also neglected natural rights assigned to such status, and did all to prevent him from finding out who he is. Therefore, the system is strange, the tuition language foreign, the teachers in most cases are strangers too”¹⁷. In consequence, as mentioned above, there was a tendency to

d) (...), e) in gymnasium in Przemyśl German was the teaching language, whereas Polish and (...) are optional; f) Krakow gymnasium Polish and German are obligatory g) in other gymnasiums in Eastern Galicia German is the teaching language h) (...) and German shall be taught as commonly obligatory, Polish shall remain optional in gymnasiums, 2–3 hours a week) in Dominikańskie gymnasium in Lvov German is the teaching language (...)

¹³ S. I. Możdżeń, *Ustrój szkoły średniej w Galicji i próby jego modernizacji w latach 1848–1884*, Wrocław 1974, s. 34.

¹⁴ „Czas”, 1850, nr 252.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁶ „Czas”, 19. 12. 1850.

¹⁷ „Czas” 1862, nr 204.

eliminate Polish language as a teaching tool in gymnasiums of western Galicia, as well as its entire exclusion from comprehensive, secondary schools in eastern Galicia. On the basis of decree from 15th September 1853, things got even further in western Galicia, as German was introduced in teaching mathematics and science, and on top of that other 5 subjects were taught in German, 70 hours a week in total”¹⁸.

A year later, on 16th December 1854, the emperor finally approved “Organizational outline for gymnasiums”, at the same time, the Ministry of Enlightenment released a document on tuition languages, abolishing the previous one from 1850. The new act stated “as for the tuition language, the main rule shall be that the teachings must be carried out always and everywhere in a language, that most effectively contributes to teaching pupils, therefore, in any given circumstances the language used should be familiar to pupils, so that they could study with best opportunities for that purpose provided”¹⁹. In consequence, number of hours in German increased, whereas Polish lost one hour in each grade at gymnasium. “Such changes made German the leading tuition language, whereas in junior gymnasiums, classes were carried out in Polish, except from geography and history”²⁰.

In the years 1859–1867, the leaders of political and social life in Galicia undertook steps in order to gain back the right to teach in Polish, also in secondary schools. Such attempt was made in 1859, when the emperor’s announcement of changes in education were perceived as a chance of making native languages the teaching ones in secondary schools. Unfortunately, those turned out to be nothing more than conciliatory actions of Austrian authority, and in consequence the question of tuition language had not been tackled appropriately.

Columnists connected with “Czas” were still undertaking the effort for the sake of the position of Polish language in schools. Number of papers would indicate the importance of teaching in Polish, making the society aware about these issues. As it was written “many time we tried to acknowledge in writing the need to bring Polish back to schools and governmental offices, supporting our ideas with unquestionable arguments, as we thought they’d be” (...) the authority’s decrees in this regard appeared to have been approval and recognition of such need (...). School year has passed by, and German remained the tuition language. (...) Therefore, we expect the school break period to be used

¹⁸ S. Możdżeń, *Ustrój szkoły średniej w Galicji...* op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁹ „Czas”, 18. 12. 1854.

²⁰ M. Stinia, *Państwowe szkolnictwo gimnazjalne w Krakowie w okresie autonomii galicyjskiej*, Kraków 2004, p.128.

for implementing the indispensable right, so that in the future the school shall become the centre of knowledge, not a tool to impose learning in German only”²¹. The State’s Assembly tackled this issue in 1861 and upon first session, put forward the notion requiring exchanging German for Polish in schooling and administration, still, until 1865 working out a draft had not taken place”²².

Hence, the “Czas” editorial team participated in ongoing discussion through number of articles and comments for the sake of teaching in Polish in secondary schools. The reflections of the atmosphere of the press discussion regarding tuition language set, for example, editorials from 1862, where adequate legal guarantees were recalled, dating back to 1848. The article from 12th September pointed that, when in 1848 a new life began for the nation, “the native language was not taught, maybe with the exceptions when it took place in very poor quality and insignificant quantity, so it was rather a poison than a food that by its nature shall sustain living powers”²³. It was also recalled that even religious education was taught to children in foreign language. People’s schools were scarce, and in those existing – trivial and ordinary ones, pupils were taught only German. And, “when sudden change arrived, once the Polish could be taught, it was largely criticized that there are neither course books, nor skilful teachers to accomplish this task”²⁴.

In subsequent issues of “Czas” from 1862, the activities of Minister, count F. von Stadion (Galician governor in 1846–1848) was heavily criticized for not being able to take a step beyond political subjectivity in pedagogical and didactic problems. He did restructure people’s schools, nevertheless, in journalists’ opinion this kind of problems meant nothing more, but plain topics for discussions and plans. According to the governor, the native language shall be not only a subject, but a commonly recognized tuition language in education, which he thought to be Polish²⁵.

Finally, after 1848 all scientific units in eastern Galicia remained German. In schools of western Galicia (including Cracow), Polish remained the leading language, therefore “everything was taught in Polish for two years, i.e. in school years 1849–1850 in gymnasiums and ordinary western-Galician schools. But in fact, things were slightly different. Polish was the tuition language only in places with teachers

²¹ „Czas”, 1860, nr. 166.

²² M. Stinia, Państwowe szkolnictwo gimnazjalne... op. cit., p. 129.

²³ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 209.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 233.

skilful enough to accomplish it, and German remained in the rest of the units (...). The editors commented this situation as follows: „therefore, it was a strange mix, a Tower of Babel in a small scale. One class would learn in Polish, the other would do the same subject in German, in one year they'd learn from Polish teacher in Polish, in another – from non-Pole in German, in one unit in Polish, in other – few miles away – in German”²⁶.

A document from September 1850 regulated the issue of language in Galician gymnasiums, therefore “Czas” precisely presented in which Galician gymnasiums, which grades and what subjects were to be taught in German, according to the official document. The article was accompanied by several comments and remarks, indicating the dominant role of German over Polish in secondary comprehensive schools”²⁷. The topic of German language in gymnasiums of western Galicia returned to the pages of “Czas” in issue no. 246, when the teachers and the level of their comprehension of Polish was the focus²⁸. It was referred to the document from 9th December 1854 with satisfaction, as its §2 abolished unfavourable entry from 1850 regarding the language. In the new understating it says “as for the tuition language, the main principle is to provide with knowledge everywhere and always in such a language, that contributes most to educating pupils, hence above all, the most familiar and best-known language should be applied, and in those areas where German could be not the sole tuition language, it shall remain predominant in higher classes, whereas in most gymnasiums it should remain obligatory subject as such”²⁹. Therefore, the journalist posed the question “which language is our youth most fluent at, without even learning it?”³⁰ The answer is found in subsequent part of the article: “Our entire past, the distant one, or just from decades ago, experienced under Austrian authorities, the history of our education, our contemporary life, natural one, not artificial, such wide and profound, provide us all with unquestionable facts that shall be heard and understood by everyone, that in the state of Galicia and Cracow, the gymnasium pupils know Polish foremost and best, as it is something they learn at homes, using it even there where it is not practiced, so they learn it themselves. Therefore, Polish language is common in entire country, hence it is also the same language in which the gymnasium pupils may receive the teachings with the most effective result”³¹. The problem of Polish teaching language was raised again

²⁶ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 237.

²⁷ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 244.

²⁸ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 246.

²⁹ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 250.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ Ibidem.

in the following issue of "Czas", with the emphasis on grammar schools established in western Galicia. The authors deplored, that after publishing the document from 1854, as far as language is concerned, nothing had changed in these schools. "If it wasn't for religious education and teaching Polish and Ruthenien, all the schools would look like units set up and run for the youth of lower or upper Austria, Salzburg, northern Tirol or any other German province. Hence, our part of the country, despite continuous emphasis on equality, is still subject of discrimination". The journalists mention peculiar school-leaving certificate exams procedures, where writing essay in native language takes 5 hours, whereas in foreign languages 3, therefore in eastern-Galician grammar schools exam in German takes 5 hours, whereas Polish and Russian takes only 3. "Therefore, it may be concluded, that the native language of Eastern part of the country is German, and Polish or Russian appears to be nothing but a language of some minority or margin"³². In the final point of the article, the editors refer to the example of Tarnów grammar school where in the years 1855–1861 the number of lectures in German increased. Four published issues later, the journalists returned to the topic of German and Polish language basing on the example of gymnasiums in Bochnia, Nowy Sącz, Tarnów and Cracow. As emphasized in another article, after 1854 "the eastern part was subject to Germanization in all units, except from four-grade Lemberg grammar school, which used the model of western-Galician grammar schools, whereas in the West, German language was introduced in as many schools as it was possible"³³. Again, Tarnów grammar school was recalled where almost all of the lectures were given in German (...) despite the fact that the hand-written emperor's document from 1854 clearly abolished any previous acts, nevertheless – as it was written in the editorial – still, even after 1854, German language was dominating in Tarnów grammar school more than in any other unit"³⁴. The article ends with rhetorical question how can it all be combined... Looks like the answer should be searched for in subsequent editorial, referring to the issue of languages of lecture (and Polish professors) at Cracow University.

It was anxiously stated that "these changes, whether after the 1850 document or the later one from 1854, aimed at a goal that was not verbalized, but everyone is aware of, as in reality, if accomplished, they strived for Germanization of the grammar schools, despite the fact, that the documents did not include such objective"³⁵.

³² „Czas”, 1862, nr. 254.

³³ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 262.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 264.

A significant change in Galician situation, referring to education as well, took place as late as in 1859, when the new decree of the Minister of Religion and Enlightenment dated 8th August 1859 (basing on the resolution from 20th July the same year) implied to terminate dominance of German language in grammar schools³⁶. Also in this case, the editors quoted large parts of this decree, which having legal foundation, confirmed the emperor's idea to "refrain from unconditional dominance of German language in secondary schools"³⁷. Hence, the Galician society expected in the following school year 1859/1860 significant changes in this regard. "Nevertheless, things remained unchanged, and the ministry that announced the decree neither hurried up with the execution, nor to explain the gist, if misunderstood by the society. We dare to call it procrastination as only in March 1860, the case met with interest from the authorities (a year and a half later)"³⁸.

For the next few years the problem of the tuition language was in the focus of attention among school representatives, as well as political and social leaders. In contrast, Austrian authorities, instructed the headmaster shortly before starting classes in the school year of 1860/1861 to "stick strictly to the binding law (i.e. the document from 1854) while establishing curricula, so as to make German predominant only in higher gymnasium grades"³⁹. The issue of tuition language in Galicia was subject of speeches and appeals of representatives of Polish society during the State Council meetings. The fight for the sake of native language moved to the State Assembly, assigned to Galicia on the basis of February patent from 28th February 1861, according to which "a bill was passed ordering the State Office to work out appropriate draft"⁴⁰. Breakout of January uprising aborted the efforts of state authorities for the cause of tuition language.

The struggle for the language was completed by a draft of the law on tuition language from 1866, which was entirely approved by the Assembly, and consequently recognized by the emperor on 22nd June of 1867.

The issues tackled in this paper exclusively refer to the aspects of teaching in Galician grammar schools in native, Polish language. Other aspects related to this problem, such as employing Polish teachers and approval from Austrian authorities to use Polish course books in teaching, have been omitted. Nevertheless, these aspects were also presented and analyzed in the recalled "Czas".

³⁶ „Czas”, 1862. nr. 272.

³⁷ S. I. Możdżeń, *Ustrój szkoły średniej...* op. cit., p. 36.

³⁸ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 272.

³⁹ „Czas”, 1862, nr. 298.

⁴⁰ S. I. Możdżeń, *Ustrój szkoły średniej...* op. cit., p. 39.

Selected forms of social and educational activities of the Union of civil activities of woman (Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet)¹

Mirostław Piwowarczyk

The most adequate ways of work with adult women in the day rooms were referring to their interest, i.e. manual works, household issues or aspects of upbringing children, therefore small groups dedicated for this purpose were set up, where apart from manual works or aloud reading, it was recommended to introduce choral singing, declamations, or reading dialogues in roles. It was also advised to set up groups of household or pedagogical character, where thanks to reading appropriate how-to books, periodicals and pedagogical books, knowledge and practical skills were acquired, indispensable in managing the household².

Key words: *Social and educational methods of work; after-school clubs; day rooms; civic education.*

Dreamt Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet (the Association) was, in the interwar period, one of most influential and biggest Sanacja³ women's organization in Poland, with nearly 50 000 members at its peak activity⁴. The Association was established on 25th March 1928, during governmental election activities that took place at the turn of 1928 and 1929. Its creation was proceeded by women's active participation in Democratic Election Committee of Polish Women, established on 16th December 1927 (it was a common agreement between all women's associations that supported Józef Piłsudski's Sanacja policy), with participation of Polish intellectual elite, former independence advocates as well as ex-legionnaires and Polish Military Organization – Women's Units as leaders⁵. After the coup of May

¹ Association of Women's Civic Work. Further referred to as the Association.

² Praca świetlicowa. Instrukcja dla świetlic Z.P.O.K., Warszawa 1934, pp. 73–85.

³ Political formation calling for moral and political cleansing of the reborn state.

⁴ Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet*, [in:] *Almanach Kalendarz Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet. Rok 1932*, Warszawa 1932, p. 9; Also: Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet*, Warszawa 1933, II Edition, p. 78.

⁵ J. Dufurat, *Stanowisko Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet wobec „Wyborów brzeskich” w 1930 roku. przyczynek do dziejów kobiecego stowarzyszenia*, [in:] „Studia z dziejów XIX i XX wieku”, ed. T. Kulak, Wrocław 2005, p. 197.

1926, thanks to their husbands with high political position, these women joined Sanacja political elite in the establishment in power. In consequence, it was connected with fulfilling many new duties, as it required participation in official state ceremonies and bank holidays celebrations, stimulating social life, accepting honorary patronages of various events and actions, showing consideration for the poor, homeless and unemployed. Some of the wives to new elite members felt activists and left-wing politician, one of the organizers and leaders of Democratic Election Committee of Polish Women, one of the first female Member of Parliament, member of the legislative assembly (1919–1922) and member of the 3rd tenure (1930–1935); Leokadia Śliwińska⁶ – activists of Polish Women's League military very comfortable with such obligations⁷, as „traditional activities reserved for women were not enough for those, that of participation in a real political life”⁸. It referred to such women as: Zofia Moraczewska⁹ – social emergency service during First World War; Hanna Hubicka¹⁰ – leader of the management of “Military family” (“Rodzina Wojskowa”) association, member of the BBWR, Member of Parliament of 3rd tenure (1930–1935) representing BBWR; Wanda Twardowa¹¹ – independence advocate, Wincenta Konarzewska¹² – leader of the management of “Military family” (“Rodzina Wojskowa”) association; Helena Cejsingerowa – columnist, women's and education movement activist; Halina Jaroszewiczowa¹³ – Polish White Cross and Rifle Association activist, “Military family” (“Rodzina Wojskowa”) management member in 1922–1933, member of Polish Military Organization during First World War; Maria Jaworska – a teacher and a headmaster of gymnasium in Lvov, member of Polish Teachers Association, member of Association for Reform of Polish Republic; Eugenia Waśniewska – a clerk, connected with Labour Party; Bronisława Dłuska – a physician, Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska – professor of history of economics at Free Polish University in Warsaw, member of Polish

⁶ Artur Śliwiński, vice-mayor of Warsaw in 1919–1922, MP in 1935–1939.

⁷ A. Chojnowski, *Moralność i polityka. Kobięce lobby w Bezpartyjnym Bloku współpracy z Rządem*, [in:] *Kobięta i świat polityki w niepodległej Polsce 1918–1939*, ed. A. Żarnowskiej i A. Szwarcza, Warszawa 1996, p.163.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 164.

⁹ Z. Moraczewska (1873–1958), Roman Gostkowski's daughter, professor and rector of Lvov Polytechnic, wife to Jędrzej Moraczewski – prime minister, MP of Polish Socialist Party in 1919–1927, Minister in subsequent cabinets in 1926–1929, president of Trade Unions in 1931–1939.

¹⁰ General Stefan Hubicki's, Minister of labour and social care in 1930–1934.

¹¹ Stanisław Twardo's wife, Warsaw voivodship leader in 1927–1934.

¹² General Daniel Konarzewski's, I vice-minister of military affairs in 1926–1931.

¹³ Tadeusz Jaroszewicz's (a diplomat) wife.

Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Ciecżyn Silesia, member of Polish Socialistic Party, and also – Janina Strzelecka and Natalia Steinowa¹⁴. All these women became members of Association of Women's Civic Work when it was established after restructuring Democratic Election Committee of Polish Women, with Z. Moraczewska becoming the official leader. "Together with other activists, they constituted an elite, that made efforts to work out position in the structures of political life, perceiving it as a guarantee to gain influence regarding legal solutions, considered important for women"¹⁵.

The Association had clear ideological and political view. "The Association's attitude in political matters was in accordance with standards of perception applied in Sanacja formation, what basically came down to becoming subordinate to the will and thought of Józef Piłsudski, as well as accepting the ideas of state philosophy"¹⁶ – therefore, the main goal of the Association was to deepen the state-creative vision of Piłsudski. "The Association was formally independent from BBWR, but in practice it was partly funded by this party, and also delegated its representatives to the regional offices, and the MP women would be also members of BBWR parliament club. Generally, the Association was identified with the policy of the col. Walery Stawek's formation"¹⁷. In its statute, the Association also embraced aims of making women equal, as it strive for implementing the rule of equal rights for women by changing civil and commercial law, making higher official governmental posts accessible to women, and equalizing salaries of both sexes, at the same time setting up the minimum wages for women depending on their profession. The idea of Sanation political life was particularly close to the activists, as it was corresponding with the vision of a woman created at the begging of Second Republic of Poland, a woman, who is the healer of the relations in public life. Therefore, among other tasks, civic education for women was a priority in the Association, in order to shape "*a new type of a Polish woman-citizen*", aware of her rights and obligations, interested in the country's issues and participating in works "*(...) to increase the ethical, cultural, economic and social*

¹⁴ J. Dufurat, *Stanowisko Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet...*, op. cit., p. 197, 200, 202; A. Chojnowski, *Moralność i polityka...*, op. cit., p. 166–168. Another active members of the Association were: Wanda Krahlrska-Filipowiczowa (employee of Polish Telegraph Agency), Wanda Pełczyńska (journalist, independence advocate, Polish Radio director in Vilnius) and Jadwiga Poczętowska (Juliana Poczętowski's sister, activists of Labour Party and BBWR).

¹⁵ A. Chojnowski, *Moralność i polityka...*, op. cit., p. 168.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 166.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 168.

level”¹⁸. According to Moraczewska, “a real citizen is someone who can live in such a way, that his or her daily work, wherever and whatever he or she does, becomes a creative link in the enormous entirety, as well as someone, who is able to subordinate to the general good”¹⁹.

Explaining the position of the Association as far as women’s issues are concerned, Janina Strzelecka wrote in 1929 in „Praca Obywatelska”: „we are feminists, because we want (...) the world to stop to think that if we are not the breadwinners, we have nothing to do. We are feminists, because we extensively awake awareness about all, that the world owes us as doctors, teachers, lab workers, journalists, great inventors, poets and writers (...) We want to wake the sense of dignity and value of the work, even the most ordinary, we want to make women aware that refraining from wise, noble and planned action to exercise what the constitution grants them, they move away from the most scared and profoundly perceived obligation towards children, particularly daughters, who, when becoming professional workers, will still remain – as their mothers – handicapped, unless they break this truly sinful apathy and indifference for the most crucial own sake”²⁰

Association was as social formation, driven by the idea of “pulling up” mainly uneducated women by encouraging them to engage more in public issues. Hence, the main form of activity referred to organizing presentations and lectures tackling social and state topics, setting up day rooms, after-school clubs, training courses or publishing periodicals. For those women searching for work or experiencing hardships in private family life, material help was also arranged. The Association branch offices would also set up kindergartens or pre-schools, run counseling for girls and women released from prisons, dealt with alcohol and prostitution problems, conducted wide and constant educational actions²¹. According to the data of the Head Office, in 1930 the Association gathered ca. 31 000 members in 360 offices²².

In political sphere, the Association aimed at implementing the real principles of democracy by promoting and deepening the idea of Polish statehood and providing women with direct sense of influence on political and social life in Poland²³. As for social life, it implied and developed

¹⁸ *Z Kongresu Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet*, „Kobiety w Pracy”, nr 9, 1938; „Statut Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet”.

¹⁹ Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet*, Warszawa 1933, II Edition, p. 12.

²⁰ J. Strzelecka, *Jak rozumiemy feminizm*, „Praca Obywatelska”, nr 2, 1929.

²¹ A. Chojnowski, *Moralność i polityka...*, op. cit., p. 167.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 167.

²³ J. Bętcikowski, *Polskie Kobietyce Stowarzyszenia i Związki Współpracy Międzynarodowej Kobiet*, Warszawa 1929, p. 67.

wide range of actions by establishing and running social care institutions, as well as by setting up cooperative enterprises, and introducing women to labour for the sake of economic welfare in Poland. Moraczewska expressed the aims and tasks of the Association as follows: *"the ideal, aim and most important contents of our efforts is to move as many circles of women as possible to highest level of understanding civic duties (...) We want to bring active help in building up and structuring internally the reborn country – we want to focus all our minds, hearts and women's hands on works that are urgent in all the places where human resources are insignificant, we want to call all women for constant consideration for the entire system and welfare, for the happiness and fortune, bright future and development of Poland. We understand, that having received at the very begging of independent Poland full civic rights, Polish women must fully accomplish this task. Therefore, we want to make all women in Poland aware, that to be a citizen means to take care of common, own, independent country, i.e. adjust own ambitions, goals and affairs to common interests, working at all posts that life puts in front of us, fulfilling it honestly, enthusiastically with deep belief that this work is a part of a big entirety, that is called: a State. To work as if happiness, growth, welfare and future of Poland dependent on it."*²⁴.

The Association provided for its members possibility of work in various aspects, adequately to individual skills and interests. According to the idea of civic education, the activists worked in many places, in day rooms, working clubs, numerous methodical courses, giving public lectures and leading discussions regarding general-state, as well as social issues with the participation of crowd of women from all environments in Poland. They were continually reaching self-improvement, increasing own intellectual, moral and civic level.

In order to implement in life these ideological instructions, the Association established unique organizational structure: Offices were the basic organizational units, set up in one province, that made County Unions, and Management of County Unions, that had its head office in a county town. The Management would be in charge of the work of its Offices in given county. County Unions would join in given voivodship to set up Voivodship Unions, with head office in a voivodship city from which all works in given voivodship would be governed. The sit – head management and highest authority of the Association, was set in Warsaw.

From the moment of setting up the Association, until the end of 1993, its growth and expansion was remarkable. At the beginning of 1934 there

²⁴ Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy...*, op. cit., pp. 11–12.

were 50 000 members in 527 Offices operating in all voivodships of the country (by the end of 1931 there were Voivodships Unions in all voivodships)²⁵.

The Head Office of the Association divided works into various sections, referring to entire complexity of political and social life. Departments were in charge of these works, with qualified human resources, i.e. supervisions. Bureaus at the Management of Voivodship Unions and Management of County Unions and Offices were adequate to the Department at Head Office. There were 8 Departments at Head Office: Department of Civic Education, Women's Affairs, Mother and Child's care, Beauty and Arts, Economic Manufacture, Foreign Affairs, Press Relations and Finances.

Department of Civic Education set up and ran, both for its members and for women in general, educational activities, lectures, presentations, discussions, instructor courses, training courses, day rooms, clubs, labour clubs, instructors' libraries, reading rooms, or visiting instructor courses. Moreover, it also set up and managed vocational schools in Brzeżany (Bereżany), Hrubieszów, Krzemieniec (Kremenec), Kowal (3-year cycle), Kutno (3-year cycle), Łomża, Stryj, Vilnius, Warszaw (established in 1931 one-year women's school of merchant business), which all have the statute of public schools (some were of lower vocational school type). Until 1932, the Department had organized 25 national instructor courses and 30 training courses in given Offices, day rooms were run in 54 Offices, there were 72 labour clubs in 72 Offices, with 16 instructors' libraries in 16 Offices²⁶.

The Department developed and deepened sense of citizenship of the members and taught them to work in social and political life²⁷. The area where these tasks were carried out was mainly limited to own day rooms, where – according to systematic, local part of civic and state education, lectures, courses, practical labour and discussion clubs were held. Day rooms and labour clubs were places, where individual traits of the

²⁵ *Almanach Kalendarz Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet. Rok 1932*, Warszawa 1932, p. 229.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ The ideological foundation for civic education for the Association was worked out by Hanna Pohoška, for which the area of educational and civic works should refer to the family, school and all formations that gather on the territory of Poland those, who work for the sake of social and state good. Pohoška defined goals and methods of civic education, paying most of the attention to the tasks and methods of educational and civic works adequate to social and political organizations. H. Pohoška, *Wychowanie Obywatelskie*, [in:] *Almanach Kalendarz Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet. Rok 1932*, Warszawa 1932, pp. 19–24.

members could be presented and revealed, management skills developed and shaped, due to the fact, that choice of work to be undertaken was subject to own needs and preferences, as in other Departments of the Association²⁸.

For the purpose of fulfilling own goals and tasks, Civic Education Department, constantly cooperated with Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Religion and Public Enlightenment, as well as with number of women's and "mixed" organizations²⁹.

The aims and tasks adopted by Department of Women's Affairs were specified as follows" „(...) *In order to involve all the women in civic works, as it is stated in our mission, we must undertake and continue persistent fight with law that discriminates women, make efforts towards modification of codes, gain protective legislation for women, equal access to all posts, fight with human trafficking, all kinds of prostitution, alcoholism and misrule, but also free women from hard or underpaid work, from disgraceful dangers in the corners of big cities and in the darkness of the night, from the threat of the old age in poverty and loneliness*"³⁰. Such stipulated aims were accomplished by organizing and running courses and lectures, caretaking over sick and homeless girls, organizing many charitable actions, running legal and medical counseling (in 17 Offices), setting up places for lonely women (in 7 Offices), running work agencies, counseling offices of emigrants looking for work aboard, holiday accommodation and shelters for the elderly, educating and increasing the number of women's police staff in morals and customs department.

²⁸ Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy...*, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁹ The group of organizations that cooperated with the Association (short-term or permanent), despite some ideological differences, included: Chrześcijański Związek Rękodzielniczy „Dźwignia” (Warsaw), Katolickie Towarzystwo Opieki Nad Dziewczętami (Warsaw), Klub Kobiet Postępowych (Warsaw), Koło Pracy Kobiet (Warsaw), Koło Studiów Gospodarstwa Domowego (Warsaw), Stowarzyszenie „Nasz Dom” in charge of the orphanages (Warsaw), Polski Biały Krzyż, Polski Czerwony Krzyż, Polski Związek Kobiet z Prawniczym Wykształceniem (Warsaw), Polskie Stowarzyszenie Młodych Kobiet (Warsaw), Polskie Stowarzyszenie Kobiet z Wyższym Wykształceniem (Warsaw), Towarzystwo „Ratujmy niemowlęta” (Warsaw), Stowarzyszenie Zjednoczonych Ziemianek (Warsaw), Stowarzyszenie „Młode Ziemianki” (Warsaw), Towarzystwo Polek (Katowice), Towarzystwo Klubów Kobiet Pracujących (Warsaw), Wydział Kół Gospodyń Wiejskich (Warsaw), Wydział Kobiety Polskiego Towarzystwa do Walki z Alkoholizmem „Trzeźwość” (Warsaw), Zrzeszenie Lekarek Polskich (Warsaw), Związek Akuserek Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Warsaw), Związek Kobiet Pracujących (Poznań), Związek Katolickiej Organizacji Kobiet (Warsaw), Zjednoczenie Katolickich Związków Polek (Poznań), Związek Pań Domu (Warsaw), Związek Zawodowy Kobiet Pracujących w Handlu i Biurowości (Warsaw).

³⁰ Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy...*, op. cit., pp. 12–13.

From its beginning, the Association was committed to childcare thanks to Mother and child's Care Department. Supported by governmental and municipal authorities it established and managed many co-related institutions of open and closed care, as it very often organized and ran with the help of well-qualified caretakers (trained during specialist courses), places of providing care for a mother and a child, kindergartens, pre-schools, orphanages, shelters, centres of providing meals (it was usually run next to after-school clubs for children or adolescents), actions of social service clerks or public health experts visiting homes, actions such as Drop of Milk, after-school clubs for pupils and handicapped children³¹, camps, summer camps, summer play centers, Jordanowskie Gardens, or Child's and Mother's House in Warsaw. In 1932 the Department ran: short-term support – giving out meals and material help in 299 Offices, kindergartens in 5 Offices, pre-schools in 80 offices, places of providing care for mothers with children – in 42 Offices, after-school clubs in 30 Offices, Jordanowskie Gardens in 4 Offices, dormitories in 2 Offices, Drop of Milk – in 3 Offices, summer camps – in 6 Offices, summer play centers – in 20 Offices, one Child's and Mother's House in Warsaw, health centers for mothers in Warsaw, and one tuberculosis health care centre in Warsaw³².

Department of Beauty and Art organized in its Offices artistic events, concerts, academies, theatre plays, lectures, discussions, and exhibitions. It had its own theatre for children and youth in Warsaw, and according to Marczevska, thanks to its work “the members of this Department cleared the way to the culture and beautiful life in Poland in everyday life. By developing sense and need for beauty, inborn in women, they tried to clear the way to culture starting from moving gradually from interior aesthetics in homes, cleanliness and external beauty in our cities, towns and villages, to highest level of experiencing concerts, musical and singing events, artistic evenings and theatre plays, available to all citizens, with no exceptions”³³.

Department of Economic Manufacture organized and carried out specialized courses and craftsman's trainings, economic and vocational courses, annual exhibition of women's crafts, taverns and eating places, kiosks, bazaars, workshops, cooperative enterprises, and manufactures. Its aim was to promote women's resourcefulness and manufacture, as

³¹ For abandoned, begging in the street children, the Association ran a support by the help of so called patronages, whereas an after-school club for “children of the streets” was operating in Warsaw.

³² *Almanach Kalendarz Związku...*, op. cit., p. 229.

³³ Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy...* op. cit., pp. 13–14.

well as to activate them economically, which was a priority for the Association. Until 1932, the Department organized courses and exhibitions in 61 Offices, run eating places and taverns in 10 Offices, kiosks and bazaars in 15 Offices, workshops, manufactures and cooperative enterprises in 69 Offices³⁴.

The Department established all over the country various types of women's manufacture businesses based on the principle of cooperativeness, subordinate to the head office in Warsaw. There were basket-making, embroidery, silk, lacemaking, canvas weaving mills, bookbinder manufactures, as well as Christmas toys factory and toy factory (there was a toys factory in Warsaw using flannel, plush and felt). The Head Office in Warsaw enabled such various range of manufacturing and possibility of employment, in the same way supporting unemployed women, moving women's crafts to high level of professional workshop, stimulating economic growth and state welfare at the same time³⁵.

The Foreign Affairs department initiated and established contacts with women all over the world, sending delegates to congresses and foreign conferences. The Department gathered women, who – according to Marczewska – *„thanks to command of foreign languages could help in sustaining continuous contact with foreign women, read articles and translate them for us, take part in women's international congresses, take care of the emigrant-women, right the wrong perception of Poland aboard and clear way to real, deeply perceived and widespread propaganda for the sake of our country, that amazes the world with its speedy recovery after more than 120 years of national bondage and atrocities of the world war”*³⁶.

The Department cooperated with number of Polish organizations of international character, as they cooperated with others, similar in ideology and structure international associations³⁷.

Press Relations Department published two periodicals: “Praca Obywatelska” and “Prosta droga”, as well as “ZPOK instructor's library”, where each volume would “provide with studies issues or methodical

³⁴ *Almanach Kalendarz Związku...*, op. cit., p. 229.

³⁵ Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy...*, op. cit., p. 14.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ The most important included, according to the Association: Związek Międzynarodowy Praw Wyborczych i Pracy Obywatelsko – Państwowej Kobiet, Międzynarodowa Liga Kobiet na rzecz Pokoju i Wolności, Unia Międzynarodowa Kobietych Związków Katolickich, Federacja Międzynarodowa Wykształcenia Gospodarczego, Towarzystwo Katolickie Międzynarodowe Ochrony Młodej Panny, Klub Polityczny Kobiet Postępowych, Polska Liga Kobiet Pokoju i Wolności, Katolicki Związek Kobiet, Rada Naczelna Gospodarczego Wykształcenia Kobiet w Polsce, Chrześcijańskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Kobiet w Polsce.

guidelines within the range of social and cultural work”³⁹. They also published many leaflets, with precise instructions regarding various activity”³⁹. The most important title for the Association was a bimonthly „Praca Obywatelska”, with articles about political and social matters, announcements, reports from activities and any other instructions regarding Association works, whereas a popular weekly, “Prosta Droga” was dedicated to „a less sophisticated reader” and women masses, where one could find articles about politics, social, educational and cultural issues, as well as those regarding ethics, history, literature, women’s and household affairs, but also some popular novels in chapters.

Until 1932 Press Bureaus functioned in 150 Offices all over Poland, and works included writing articles for the local press, distributing periodicals and publishing titles of the Associations, working out reports and carrying out correspondence between the Association sections with cooperating organizations and institutions⁴⁰.

Finance Department was in charge of three basic tasks: it kept the accountancy books of entire Association (including yearly balance sheets and financial statements at the end of each fiscal year), organized and ran all enterprises that were source of income, managed the works of financial Bureau at Offices in all country⁴¹.

After-school clubs and day rooms were one of the best developed ways of educational and pedagogical works, as among any other activities of this kind, it was the leading method of work of pedagogical utmost importance, enabling the influence both on the “mind, feelings and individual’s will, fully developing his/her personality, simultaneously preparing him/her to active participation in social life”⁴².

³⁸ Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy...*, op. cit., p. 15.

³⁹ Until 1934 14 volumes were Publisher within „ZPOK instructor’s library”, including: Nr. 1. „Instrukcja w sprawie zakładania przedszkoli”; Nr. 2. Helena Krahelska „Praca Młodocianych a opieka społeczna”; Nr. 3. Maria Dąbrowska „Codzienna Praca”; Nr. 4. „Instrukcja w sprawie zakładania żłobków dziennych”; Nr. 5. N. Samotyhowa „Potrzeba kultury i piękna w dzisiejszym życiu Polski”; Nr. 6. Janina Strzelecka „Cele i zadania wychowawcze teatru dla dzieci i młodzieży”; Nr. 7. dr Gromski „Stacja Opieki nad matką i dzieckiem”; Nr. 8. H. Ceysingerówna „Jak Monika hodowała jedwabniki”; Nr. 9. „Instrukcja w sprawie zakładania przedszkoli”; Nr. 10. „Almanach spraw kobiecych”; Nr. 11. „Pocztówka z odznaką Związku”; Nr. 12. „Życiorys św. pamięci Michaliny Mościckiej”; Nr. 13. Anna Szelągowska „Międzynarodowe organizacje kobiece”; Nr. 14. Helena Witkiewicz Mokrzycka „Dziecka a służba Społeczna”.

⁴⁰ *Almanach Kalendarz Związku...*, op. cit., p. 229.

⁴¹ Z. Moraczewska, *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet*, Warszawa 1933, II Edition, p. 71.

⁴² *Praca świetlicowa. Instrukcja dla świetlic Z.P.O.K.*, Warszawa 1934, p. 3.

The heart of the matter and curriculum for state and civic education in the above-mentioned places was outlined by Association activist, Ludwika Wolska, in a leaflet regarding state and civic education in social organizations⁴³. According to Wolska the aim of civic and state education was to bring up and shape a citizen, who "*would understand the value of Polish state, know perfectly conditions of country's life, be aware that the aim of his/her life is to improve and increase strength and power of the country with own creative effort, feel responsible for the future generation to fulfill this duty, comprehend the significance of honour and good name, and in consequence – would permanently, consciously and voluntarily surrender his/her own interest to the interest of the state. Nevertheless, still the condition of upbringing a good citizen, is the moral value of a human*"⁴⁴.

Wolska emphasized that it is necessary to shape in after-school clubs participants, particularly in youth, unconditional righteousness, civil courage, sense of individual and collective responsibility, as well as respect for human dignity. As for the programme and its accomplishment, three factors of state and civic education were considered, i.e. cognitive, emotional and active one referring to civic knowledge, civic attitude and civic behaviour. Therefore, it was obvious that the Association, making effort to shape aware and creative citizen, made it crucial for all the Offices to focus on after-school clubs activities and accomplish its ideas in their local areas.

In the programme of educational and civic works of the Association, the notions of after-school club or day rooms was perceived in a specific manner, claiming that "*(...) it is not a tea room that people visit for a meal, nor a club frequented by crowd of people, nor a place where people gather to have fun or play. After-school club is a group of people, similar at age and intellectual level, that gather in order to help each other in reaching highest level of development possible, as well as to implement the principle of cheerful and productive cooperation. The aim is reached by a) cultural social entertainment, b) common work in commonly chosen directions, c) raising social and civic awareness and sophistication. The value of such places depends on the degree to which members of the gathering get together under the banner of common responsibility, friendliness and good will to serve all group with own spiritual works*"⁴⁵.

⁴³ L. Wolska, *Wychowanie państwowo-obywatelskie w organizacjach społecznych*, Warszawa 1934.

⁴⁴ *Praca świetlicowa...*, op. cit., pp. 8–9.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

The after-school clubs began to rise as early as in 1930, mainly set up in big and medium-sized cities, gathering mostly girls and women, whereas in 1935 there were 76 day rooms for adults.

The main goal of day rooms run by the Association was to “bring up girls that are idle and unaware in order to become reasonable, loyal and active citizens”⁴⁶. Therefore, the day rooms were meant to:

1. fight with bitterness and depression caused by unemployment and harsh living conditions – by establishing friendly atmosphere in the day rooms and providing appropriate entertainment, interesting reading or vocational trainings that could help in finding a job;
2. implement respect for work by visiting workshops and working centers, by lectures and discussions, first of all, however, by activities in the day rooms itself;
3. awake sense of unit and solidarity with Polish state, responsibility for its development and auspiciousness, as well as obligation of active attitude towards life issues;
4. develop sense of justice and kindness towards each man, in particular towards co-citizens of Polish state regardless of their religion or nationality⁴⁷.

Due to psychological and pedagogical factors, the after-school clubs and day rooms were divided into three types:

1. after-school clubs for youngsters aged 14 to 18,
These places could be run specifically for girls, or become co-educative, depending on adequate space or way of recruitment (if the club's members were recruited from graduates of co-educative public schools, co-education was sustained, whereas in case of women's schools graduates and young unemployed girls, after-school clubs were dedicated to girls only);
2. after-school clubs for young people aged 18 to 23,
They were meant to be co-educative, so the young people could learn to work in the society together, socialize in common participation in culture, as well as getting to know each other better;
3. day rooms for adults, for those over 23,
They were meant to gather only women and meet their needs as for professional work, bringing up children, women's household, as well as accessibility and social or political opportunities. There were cooperating in agreement with Women's Affair Department, as well as with Department of Civic Education⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, pp. 5–6.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, pp. 11–12.

The Association's after-school clubs and day rooms were set up accordingly to specific guidelines. The Association Office, which planned to set up such place, had to first of all establish After-School Clubs Section, which was set up at Bureaus of Civic Education. The supervision team of this Section had pedagogical qualification, and it was the criterion taken into consideration while recruiting the Section members.

The after-school clubs duties included:

1. providing financial foundations in each of the established clubs⁴⁹;
2. cooperation with the club's supervisors in all spheres of work, aiming at dynamic development of the club (e.g. in recruiting lecturers, consultations in the club, assistance in organizing trips or events, promoting various types of activities);
3. organizing trainings for supervisors;
4. choosing the right type of a club (i.e. for girls, co-educative, or for women), which should be done on the basis of conditions and offices space, as well as capabilities of given Offices⁵⁰.

Besides, way (procedure) of recruiting supervision had to be in accordance with accepted criteria, as the supervisor had to face very responsible task *"to bring up and shape well-integrated, harmonious team from loose, uncultured, irresponsible crowd, raise its culture, develop minds, prepare for social works, at the same time respecting and developing individual values of each person"*⁵¹. Therefore, it was expected from a supervisor to be:

1. young and friendly, as it would be easier to gain trust in youth;
2. healthy, as work with the youth required health, especially there, where sport, trips and social entertainment was considered;
3. professionally prepared, as amateurism and diletantism in work at after-school club would only waste resources, hence at least

⁴⁹ The after-school clubs and day rooms were meant to be funded from many sources, first of all by the Office Management, city authorities subvention or county's subventions (from the sources dedicated to after-school care or support for unemployed), and from own sources (gathered during charity events or gained by donations section). It was also possible to introduce some fees donated by the after-school clubs' members. Depending on the type of the after-school clubs or day rooms it was possible to introduce small fees, with exemption of all those in difficult material situation. The fees should be used only for internal needs of the after-school clubs or day rooms, e.g. to redecorate the rooms, subscribe periodicals, never to be spent on wages for the management, lecturers or instructors. The exceptions were day rooms for adults only and aware women who wanted to organized cycle of lectures o household courses from own expenses. *Praca świetlicowa...*, op. cit., pp. 23–24.

⁵⁰ *Praca świetlicowa...*, op. cit., pp. 12–13.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

secondary school education was required, plus completed courses and some experience in practice in such places;

4. artistically gifted;
5. activist of the Association, well educated and aware of the objectives and tasks of the Association⁵².

Due to shortages of such qualified people, it was necessary to select such workers, who would be similarly prepared and then enable them to improve during training (Section should make sure the supervisor attends trainings organized by the Association, or similar organizations as Polish Teachers Association, Polish Union of After-school Clubs, Institute of Adults Education)⁵³.

After-school clubs should be dominated by team work, but attention was also drawn to exposing values and individual abilities, if the members develop such advantages and transform into creative resources, enriching individuals and the society. It was recognized that, with regards to such goals, the most useful method of work are after-school club circles or groups – so called theme groups in the following range: literature, social life, scientific activity, self-development, manual works, gardening, radio-amateur, photography, drama, singing and orchestra.

The activities and development of after-school clubs were reflected in the interests of the members and office space capacities as appropriate formula of works. A specific list of formula of works was worked out for the needs of such places, with recommended formula of intellectual works as lectures, discussions, or readings that should initiate discussion or conversation. The most ultimate formula were self-development circles, with most important tool of achieving it – widely perceived reading. Therefore, such places should awake need and love for reading books and periodicals, making it a permanent life habit. One of the ways to shape individual and creative intellectual work, was to edit own papers, or similar, but easier – method of keeping a chronicle. Manual works in the after-school clubs was focused – apart from pedagogical goals – not only on learning the profession, but on increasing practical skills of a participant, for instance in book binding, toy making, jewellery or gardening. Nevertheless, running sections of manual works still required specialist instructors, but the right atmosphere was equally important, paying attention to diligence and accuracy of works.

Art and artists activity was expressed in the after-school clubs in biggest numbers and variety of forms, with the most accessible and

⁵² Ibidem, pp. 17–18.

⁵³ Ibidem, p. 18.

popular one – common singing. It was more difficult to educate musically by setting up music bands, still the desired formula of work included choral declamations, shaping sophistication and allowing to experience art by larger audience. Another basic formula was also a theater, but it was also recommended to organize folk songs evenings, evenings of humour or literature, organizing celebrations, anniversaries and academies. Apart from signing, music and theatre groups, it was advised to include drawing and embroidery sections. Meetings at after-school clubs should also refer to issues of personal and interior aesthetics, using discussions, presentations, for instance, organizing competitions for a description or a model of appropriate clothes or home⁵⁴.

Accomplishing civic education in after-school clubs for young girls (14–18 yrs old) it was also crucial, regardless of their professional work – to take into consideration their future function at homes and prepare them for this type of work, too. It was carried out by implementing household work and upbringing contents in the everyday activities of a after-school club (e.g. by taking care of the cleanliness of the place, providing care for younger members of the club, taking care of children in the families)⁵⁵.

In the clubs for those over 18, gathering youth from working class, both working one, unemployed (those who despite their age and vocational preparation had not worked yet) or jobless (those, who were made redundant), trainings and professional courses were the most appropriate formula of work. The participants should also get involved in the social and state issues, make efforts to eliminate class differences, carry out pedagogical works, with particular emphasis on “pulling up” in terms of intellect. The need for intellectual or pedagogical improvement was also one of the priorities, with trainings organized through setting up self-improvement circles of intellectual or professional character (establishing groups of interest or professions). With regards to groups consisting of only unemployed or jobless, it was necessary to apply general cultural works, introducing a training in given profession as well. In the unemployed groups, apart from cultural works, it was desired to use the participants’ skills to set up various kinds of team work, e.g. refurbishing the rooms or book binding. By some help from other sources (Labour Fund, or collecting various items or money donations for the society) it was possible to cater for the needs of the participants or organize courses or workshops⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, pp. 39–46.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, pp. 46–58.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, pp. 59–73.

In the day rooms for adult women, set up mainly for the wives of the unemployed, lonely women or those from poor families, efforts were made to set up circumstances to acquire new skills necessary to deal with the reality (environment) in their own homes, or in economic or mental aspect of life. At the same time, women were encouraged to run houses more comfortably and raise children more effectively. If the participants of the clubs showed interest in hygiene, it was developed by appropriate discussions or organized courses, tackling the issue of personal hygiene or aesthetic house decoration. In case of lack of interest in this problem, it had to be arisen.

Idea of Key Competences in Andragogical Context

Marek Podgórný

Analysis of key economic phenomena of the recent years clearly reveals the disgrace of the idea of systematic and unswerving economic growth of such developed countries of Europe as well as other continents. Simultaneously, significant rise in pace of civilization changes is noticeable, implying shift in the pattern of work organization, making the contemporary job market challenging for the employees. Possessed profession does not guarantee stable, nor long-lasting employment. In such context, European Qualifications Framework gain new significance as it may be considered as response to globalization processes and development of knowledge-based economy. This idea particularly enhances the concept of key competences and knowledge itself which meaning in the contemporary knowledge-based society cannot be underestimated. It seems that these intentions are being met by the theory of knowledge management, offering to a contemporary andragogy a wide set of educational tools.

Key words: *Andragogy; adults education; competences; knowledge management.*

Casual analysis of key economic phenomena of the recent years clearly reveals the disgrace of the idea of systematic and unswerving economic growth of developed countries of Europe, as well as other continents. In consequence, the idea of state intervention or even anti-globalism return to public discourse, both in political, economic and social dimension. Simultaneously, significant rise in pace of civilization changes is becoming noticeable, implying shift in the pattern of work organization, making the contemporary job market challenging for the employees. Hence, possessed profession does not guarantee stable, nor long-lasting employment. Moreover, it is becoming common to perceive identifying with the profession as a barrier in functioning on the job market, as it is perceived as limits to possibilities of employment.

Another, yet still supplementary perspective of analysis, is the idea of European Qualifications Framework (EQF), which was subject of intense pace in the second half of 1990s, when it turned out to be rather obvious, that the process of globalization requires working out tools for assessing and comparing qualifications acquired in various educational systems. As early as in 1991–1996, Council of Europe initiated research project “*Secondary education for Europe*”, aiming at finding similarities, sometimes common traits, or curricula in given membership countries of

Council of Europe that time, as well as identifying these issues that cause discrepancies. It was the first, most significant, educational initiative of slowly reuniting Europe after 1989.

The idea of EQF appeared only in 2004, then became conceptualized by European Commission in October 2006, and became formally approved by European Parliament in February of 2008. EQF is a first international point of reference that embraces all qualifications. This model entirely refers to the learning outcome, since factors characterizing local educational systems are of no significance. The aim of EQF is to, first of all, enable mobility of workforce and promotion of the lifelong learning¹.

The idea of EQF, is, on one hand, an answer to globalization processes and growth of knowledge-based economy, and on the other – a tool of comparison of qualifications gained in various educational systems of European countries, that are becoming more and more distinctive. It also seems that such way of thinking about education, as emerging from this idea, shall constitute – in closer and further perspective – the basis for establishing European education area, becoming for this purpose not only a universal source of objectives, but also a point of reference in assessing the outcomes of teaching.

In local scale, i.e. – given EU membership countries, National Qualifications Framework is applied, understood as *“description of mutual relations between qualifications, integrating various national subsystems, contributing in an increase in clarification, accessibility and quality of qualifications, established for the needs of job market and civic society. In particular, it includes description of hierarchy of qualifications levels – each qualification is placed at one of these levels, whereas each of these levels is assigned to given level in EQF²”*.

Returning to the economic issues of these reflections, it must be emphasized that dynamically occurring changes in running privately owned business, made the success of a company, related to previous investment in development of employees' qualifications. Such mechanism of human capital influence on economic growth is based on the premise that knowledge and skills possessed by the employees significantly contribute to the capability of entire economy to grow and develop³. Also, within economic sphere, we have been witnessing for the past decade how much the importance of competences matters as far as process of finding employment is concerned.

¹ A. Janowski, *Motywy utworzenia europejskich ram kwalifikacji i krajowych ram kwalifikacji*. http://www.krk.org.pl/download/dokumenty/prof.Andrzej_Janowski_Motywy_utworzenia_KRK.pdf.

² <http://www.krk.org.pl/stownik-pojec>.

³ A. Marszałek, *Doskonalenie kluczowych kompetencji*. E-mentor 2011 nr 3, p. 67.

The notion competences can be easily captured as all, what given person knows, understands and is able to perform appropriately to the situation⁴. Contemporarily, this definition is applied both to describe soft skills (behavioural competences), as well as hard ones (functional competences). The first ones define how *people should behave* in order to perform their job well, whereas the latter ones inform, what *people should know*, to do it well. The reflections over competences were enriched by the concept of Richard Boyatzis, who – analyzing factors influencing success in the working place – distinguished personality features, motives for action, possessed experience and behavioural qualities. He suggested to divide competences into threshold competencies – basic ones required at given post, and differentiating competencies, enabling differentiation between those legitimating better results, from those performing worse. The first group of competences include knowledge and skills, whereas the second – attitudes, motives and values⁵.

The European attempts to define competences are carried out to a large extend under the influence of dominating models worked out in Great Britain, Germany and France, since in these countries emphasis, put on competences acquired at the working places, is significant. At the same time, there are slightly differently defined in each of these countries. For instance, in Great Britain competences were initially referred to as the possibility to apply knowledge and skills in the process of accomplishing standards appropriate at given post. Only after suggestions from employers' representatives emphasizing necessity to refer to social aspects, behavioural and functional competences were considered. On the other hand, in Germany, as early as in 1990s curricula for vocational schools depicted competences of specialist, technical, personal and social origin. At the same time, attention is still drawn to the idea of relative balance between them all, as only such a state supports the process of shaping further competences, i.e. of communicative, methodical and learning nature⁶.

The idea of Key Competences and their classification recognized by the EU played important part in the process of conceptualization of comprehending competences. In the document from 18th December 2006 "European reference framework", competences were defined as combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes adequate to the situation, whereas key competences are these, that become indispensable for self-

⁴ www.krk.org.pl/stownik-pojec.

⁵ M. Armstrong, *Zarządzanie zasobami ludzkimi*, Kraków 2005, p. 154.

⁶ A. Marszałek, op. cit., p. 68.

accomplishment and personal growth, civic activity as well as social integration and employment. The reference framework consisted of eight, following, competences:

1. communicating in native language;
2. communicating in foreign languages;
3. mathematical competences, basic scientific and technical competences;
4. IT competences;
5. ability to learn;
6. initiative and resourcefulness;
7. awareness and cultural expression⁷.

The range of the above competences are often compatible or related, as aspects necessary in one field support competences in other. Good comprehension of basic linguistic skills, reading, writing, counting and abilities in IT and communication at the same time constitute basis for learning, whereas the ability to learn is an indispensable support for any other educational activity. In all eight competences what seems to be crucial is: critical thinking, creativity, initiative, problem solving, risk assessment, decision making and constructive management of emotions. It must be emphasized that the key competences are considered equally important, as each of them may contribute to successful life in the society of knowledge.

Nevertheless, it is worth to focus on knowledge itself, especially that there are contemporarily many new concepts in this regard, directly or indirectly resulting from new technological solutions within searching, gathering, processing and accessing knowledge. Without elaborating on the above-mentioned processes, as it would be rather irrelevant to the topic of this paper, I shall hereby still pay attention to selected specific features of knowledge and its consequences.

In classic understating, accordingly to Plato, knowledge was perceived as "*justified, true views or judgments*", whereas contemporarily it is often believed, that knowledge is a set of facts and intuitive rules, acquired by an individual during years of practice⁸, and this definition seems particularly useful for the purpose of further reflections. Analyzing contemporary, high position of knowledge, four fundamental features are stressed, i.e.:

- domination;
- non-depletion;

⁷ Attachment „key competences in the lifelong learning – European framework” http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriSer v/site/pl/oj/2006/l_394/l_39420061230p100100018.pdf

⁸ W. Karwowski, *Zarządzanie wiedzą, Bezpieczeństwo Pracy*, 2004/11, p. 11.

- non-linearity;
- simultaneity⁹.

Domination of knowledge implies the fact that it takes a priority place among other values of contemporary world, having strategic meaning for planning and accomplishing any undertaking. Non-depletion means that the value of possessed knowledge does not decrease with being passed on to others, but quite the contrary – the process of making knowledge accessible marks the beginning of its processing, generating new information, i.e. multiplying previous knowledge resources. Non-linearity of knowledge means lack of implicit, clearly noticeable correlation between the size of knowledge resources and the advantages resulting from this fact. In other words, having significant resources of knowledge, does not imply effectiveness of the undertaken activities, nor the effectiveness in competition with rivalry. Eventually, relevant knowledge resources are not a guarantee of outnumbering the rivals. Simultaneity of knowledge is manifested in possibility to use it by many people at the same time. Contemporary data bases within computer servers make particularly use of this quality of knowledge, enabling multi-access, regardless of time and place.

In his works, Toffler and Drucker foresighted the knowledge-based society¹⁰, and as far as informative society is a society, where everyone have limitless access to information, in *knowledge-based society everyone has enough knowledge to make use of this information appropriately and effectively*¹¹. It is recognized, that the foundation for informative society were laid out in Bengemann report in 1994¹². He presented arguments justifying need for systematic answer from EU towards challenges of information society, paying particular attention to the development of information technologies and indispensable transformation on the job market.

Other significant EU documents on information society and knowledge-based society are as follows: "Towards information society in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe" (1996), "eEurope – An Information Society For All", Brussels, 1999. "eEurope – A Co-operative Effort to Implement the Information Society in Europe", Göteborg 2001. They presented another list of recommendations towards implementation of their idea of common informatization of the European society. On one

⁹ A. i H. Toffler, *Budowa nowej cywilizacji*, Poznań 1996, p. 86.

¹⁰ A. Toffler, *Trzecia fala*, Warszawa 1997.

¹¹ L. W. Zacher, *Od społeczeństwa informacji do społeczeństwa wiedzy, Społeczeństwo informacyjne. Wizja czy rzeczywistość?*, Kraków 2004, p. 105.

¹² M. Bangemann, *Europa i społeczeństwo globalnej informacji*. Bruksela, 1994.

hand, it was meant to increase competitiveness of European economy, and on the other – to stimulate the quality of education at all its levels.

Nowadays, relation between knowledge and intellectual capital appear to come across as a more relevant sing of appreciating the knowledge, where the intellectual capital constitutes “hidden” assets of a company, that are not fully embraced within the accountancy reporting of a company¹³ including both, what the members of the organization can directly posses, and this what they leave behind in a company. It consists of knowledge, skills, abilities and innovativeness of an each employee. Besides, it also refers to the organizational culture of the company, expressed in the way of supporting productivity and innovativeness of the employees. Nevertheless, it must be noticed that not each kind of knowledge constitutes intellectual capital, so its usability for the organization is a significant characteristic. In other words – knowledge is shaped and structured only when it is possible to use it for the purpose of improving internal processes of an organization. Hence, it may be concluded, that intellectual capital is the difference between the market value and accountant value of the company, what in turn stresses the fact, that the value of a company is in less degree dependent on purely financial factor¹⁴.

Hence, the intellectual capital comprises of:

- human capital (including knowledge, skills, abilities, attitudes and values of the employees);
- structural capital (including data bases, organizational structures, IT systems and patents);
- external relations capital (including relations with clients, suppliers, partners, competitors, media and local community)¹⁵.

It is noticeable, that the mentioned categories of competences are reflected in each of this component of intellectual capital. Essential conclusion based on identifying and then appreciating the significance of intellectual capital for an organization, is that “*employees’ intellectual capital – including their competences – is far too valuable resource to leave it for its own*”. Therefore, it should be made one of priorities in organization management and it seems, that for such formulated demand, the most suitable answer is the set of processes offered by the concept of knowledge management in organization. Looking at various conceptions of intellectual capital, what is usually emphasized, is the

¹³ T. Steward, *Intellectual Capital*, New York, 1997 In: A. Sopińska, *Jak mierzyć kapitał intelektualny w przedsiębiorstwie?* E-mentor 2004/2 p. 42.

¹⁴ L. Edvinsson – M. Malone, *Kapitał intelektualny*, Warszawa, 2001, p. 39.

¹⁵ H. Król – A. Ludwicyński, *Zarządzanie zasobami ludzkimi*, Warszawa, 2006, p. 97.

widely perceived knowledge, both individual and organizational. The foundations for successful functioning in contemporary, complex and demanding market seem to be laid in knowledge resources at given company's disposal. This is perfectly reflected in the following Jashapara's opinion: "*searching for an answer to a question whether it is possible to build up a permanent advantage over competitors in such unpredictable resource as knowledge, it may be concluded that this is still the only way to gain permanent advantage on the market. In the era of knowledge, only constant work on knowledge and system of its management, strengthens the company's place and enables the opportunity to become a leader*¹⁶".

It couldn't have been put more precisely to emphasize the meaning and role of knowledge. Nevertheless, contemporarily intensified reflection over knowledge, its value and usefulness for an organization leads to surprising conclusions, revealing contradictory condition of knowledge resources, as sometimes it must be clearly said, that "this, what we gained comes down to enormous amount of unselected and unprocessed information, whereas this, what we have tried to find with such effort, is the knowledge indispensable for fast response to requirements and demands of the surrounding"¹⁷. Therefore, it is worth to return to the reflection over the knowledge now, not to multiply its, already multiple features, but to make attempt to distinguish types of knowledge.

From interpretation of the heart of the matter of the intellectual capital, two essential types of knowledge may be established, according to Nonaka and Takeuchi, i.e. explicit and tacit one¹⁸. The explicit one is constituted by systematized and external contents, easily formalized and stated in documents or reports. In other words, it is knowledge whether codified, or easily codified, and in consequence – accessible to others, whereas tacit knowledge is not easily accessible, as it reflects specific automatic process of subconsciousness. Therefore it is highly personal, context-dependable, and at the same time difficult to formulate, and not well documented. Hence, it is strongly person-related, with the entire context of personal experience and self-reflections. In consequence, this type of knowledge is not reasonable to be passed on to others.

Such situation challenges knowledge management, as it is all about reassuring the possibility of conversion tacit knowledge into explicit – accessible at the same time. Only then, knowledge hidden in the

¹⁶ A. Jashapara, *Zarządzanie wiedzą*, Warszawa, 2006, p. 39.

¹⁷ A. M. Serban – J. Luan, *Overview of knowledge management. New Directions for Institutional Research*, 2002, s. 5–16. In: W. Karwowski, op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁸ Ch. Evans, *Zarządzanie wiedzą*, Warszawa, 2005, p. 189.

employees' minds, shall become a real resource of organization knowledge, possible to gather, process and make accessible to all the interested.

Classic model of knowledge management called the Knowledge Spiral, worked out by Nonaka and Takeuchi implies that "human knowledge is initiated and spread by the use of social interactions between explicit and tacit knowledge"¹⁹, whereas the interactions refer to externalization, socialization, internalization and combination.

Eksternalization of knowledge means to transform the tacit knowledge into the explicit one, codifying it in the way, so it would be possible to share it with others by its skilful presentation by the use of definition patterns accessible to the addressee. Thanks to this, upon ideas exchange we do not only share what we know, but what's more important – we generate new knowledge.

Another process is socialization of knowledge, i.e., acquiring new knowledge by cooperation of individuals, who – spending time together and learning one from another – share own experiences.

Knowledge internalization, is basically using formal knowledge in practice. "Knowledge becomes a useful resource when it influences the human in tacit way thanks to experience, mental models and technical skills. People gather knowledge and interpret it adequately, making use of it subsequently"²⁰.

Combination as the last interaction in the process of knowledge management, is first of all about updating and categorizing the formal knowledge, already possessed by an individual, that one shares with others. Selecting, unifying gathered information and setting up data bases – it all leads to creation of the new knowledge. Constant repetition of described processes of knowledge interaction is the mentioned knowledge spirals, that "starts from the individual level and moves up to the top by the means of broadening knowledge interactions"²¹.

What seems to be particularly interesting for andragogy is the knowledge externalization, when the process of adults' education is gaining crucial significance, particularly in comparison with more and more popular method of learning by teaching.

To complete the picture of knowledge management it is also worth to mention Probst, Raub and Romhardt model²². This model distinguishes

¹⁹ A. Kowalczyk – B. Nogalski, *Zarządzanie wiedzą...*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

²² G. Probst – S. Raub – K. Romhardt, *Zarządzanie wiedzą w organizacji*, Kraków, 2004, p. 42.

six main processes of knowledge management, which are co-related. Localizing possessed knowledge is a process aiming at identification of sources and values of possessed knowledge in order to use it with better outcome. Remaining knowledge provides security of knowledge resources and protects it from being applied by unauthorized individuals, e.g. the competitors. Apart from sole protection, this process includes selection, patterns of storing the information and its update. Acquiring knowledge and its growth is about increasing recent knowledge resources and completing the gaps, which are all kinds of contacts with clients, competitive organizations or other companies with which the organization cooperates. Applying knowledge is only hypothetically the simplest process, as most of information we have (despite its contents) are not used, or are used in insufficient degree. Developing knowledge is not only a process of multiplying the already possessed knowledge resources, but also encouraging and supporting employees to be creative, build up trust and responsibility in working places, as well as supporting innovative attitudes. Sharing knowledge and its popularization as next process in the management model is aiming at maximum application of possessed knowledge resources at work, establishing such base, from which all employees could derive necessary information.

It is worth to emphasize after the author that all these elements establishing this model of management complete each other and support, shaping in such way coherent, yet universal system of knowledge management in organization²³.

Nevertheless, numerous models of knowledge management may be brought down to three basic groups of processes:

Knowledge generating, i.e., all processes and ways of acquiring it,

Knowledge conversion, i.e. revealing tacit knowledge

Knowledge transfer, i.e. passing it on to practical application.

The above set enables taking into consideration and appropriate valuating of all crucial components of knowledge management.

Hence, in such way, the issue tackles also the role of a pedagogue, to be more precisely – andragogue, since such activities as acquiring knowledge, revealing, updating, popularizing, and last but not least – assessing and estimating knowledge are vital in the range of andragogue competences²⁴. Further proving of relations between the issue of knowledge management and andragogue's work seems to be unnecessary.

²³ Ibidem, p. 47.

²⁴ M. Knowles, *Edukacja dorosłych*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 82–86.

Summing up, it may be concluded that knowledge management may be treated as, on one hand, specific tool of shaping employees' competences, and on the other – a mechanism of verification, evaluation and upgrade of previously acquired competences.

Learning as a Way to Survive: from the Memories of the 19th Century Exiles to Siberia

Barbara Jędrychowska

Many Polish exiles in Siberia, sentenced to harsh punishment and settlement in difficult conditions for participation in the 19th century independence uprisings and conspiracies, found new meaning of life in these circumstances in work for their own self or for others, with learning as crucial part of life, regardless of age, level of education or social background. They would take up learning for various reasons – some hoped to use the gained knowledge or practical skills in earning capacities still in Siberia, or after returning home. For others it was only then, that the possibility of gaining informal education or developing interests became real. Others considered it as a factor that added a little bit of variety to their monotonous life, and a way to survive it by leaving the difficult reality behind.

Key words: 19th century; Siberia; Polish exiles; learning.

A martyrdom vision of life of the 19th century exiles to Siberia had been alive in the consciousness of Poles for many generations, with particular role played by romantic literature, as it consolidated vision of transported convicts cuffed to the wheelbarrows, working in extreme conditions in gloomy coal mines beyond the border of Ural, with their forgotten graves scattered all over vast ice-bound space, covered with snowcaps. The description of inhumane existence affected by hunger, the cold, loneliness and missing the relatives and homeland arose not only sympathy, but also fear, at the same time preventing other insurgents and conspirators from participation in freedom uprisings.

Such vision, depicted by writers, poets and painters, who in most cases had never been there, significantly differed from the reality. It was only after the analysis of so called exile literature (memoires, diaries, and recollections) by the Siberia exiles themselves, that another dimension of this experience was revealed. At the same time, the crucial differences between the 19th and 20th century exile is still not always taken into consideration. Usually, visions of Siberia exile as a place of torment are brought from 19th to 20th century, extending the martyrdom depicted by the romantics. Nevertheless, different circumstances and causes of these repressions must be taken into consideration. The first period of exile was considered as official punishment for disobedience towards tsar's

authority, aiming at separating rebels from the rest of the society as a warning for conspirators-to-be, whereas the 20th century exile was a planned extermination, carried out with the motto of resocialization of the system enemies. These significant differences set up different approach to the exiles, and in consequence determined different life conditions. The Siberia exile in the eyes of a 19th century poet, Teofil Lenartowicz captured in the line “it can’t be any worse in hell”¹, is definitely closer to the 20th century circumstances of Soviet labour-camps, than to the previous experiences of Polish exiles in the Russian Empire. Therefore, many of those sentenced to harsh punishment for participation in the 19th century independence uprisings and conspiracies, could find the meaning of such penal servitude in works for others and for one’s self. Learning became crucial part of their lives, regardless of their age, education or social background.

Learning was took up due to number of reasons. Some hoped to use the gained knowledge or practical skills in earning capacities still in Siberia, or after returning home. For others it was only then, that the possibility of gaining informal education or developing interests became real. Others considered it as a factor that added a little bit of variety to their monotonous life, and a way to survive it by leaving the difficult reality behind.

A 19th century historian of Siberian exile, Sergei Maksimov, wrote in 1860s, that the way to recognize Polish political exiles “was not the language, but the education. Many convicts and settlers approached education seriously and achieved high level of intellectual development”². Poles themselves would very often refer to this point in their letters, diaries or exile recollections. A January insurgent, Józef Kalinowski, wrote in 1865 from eastern Siberia to his relatives, that “in the evening, when we are altogether, the room looks not like a barrack, but a reading room: you can hear French, English or conversations on accountancy at the tables lit by candles, whereas others spend their time painting [...]”³. Jan Modzelewski, an exile in a settlement in Tiumien, recalling this period mentioned that “life was quiet, calm, and we could do a lot of learning”⁴.

Exiles’ education was various – it could be just a participation in organized teaching as in schools (in the system similar to a class-lesson

¹ T. Lenartowicz, *Cienie syberyjskie. Z opowiadania powracającej wygnanki*; first edition in: *Na przepadłe imię. Kartki z nieskończonej tragedii*, Lipsk 1862.

² S. Maksimow, *Syberia i ciężkie roboty*, Warszawa 1898, pp. 52–53.

³ J. Kalinowski, *Listy 1856–1877*, Lublin 1978, p. 174.

⁴ J. W. Modzelewski, *W Cytadeli i na Sybirze. Wspomnienia z lat 1850–1858*, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, rkp. 53171.

scheme), theme lectures organized by colleagues, taking up individual lessons, or self-education that was also common. Sometimes it was limited only to few accidental classes or lectures, which for some were an introduction to specific, subsequently deepened field of science, or for others, a revision and completion of the knowledge gained previously.

The collective teaching mostly referred to those not educated, gaining knowledge at elementary level in reading, counting, or religious education. The recollections from their activities are scarce, as they did not keep any dairies, and the letter to families we dictated to literate colleagues, what limited the possibility to express oneself freely on the issues of their difficult position in the exile. Some of those undereducated decided to take up vocational training, what was also popular amongst those, who completed "units of higher education"⁵, as it increased their chances of finding way to earn own living. Those having the foresight and provident enough would take up some steps towards this direction on their way to Siberia, having the possibility to "acquire craftsman's workshop", for instance at times of longer interval during so called stages⁶. In Irkutsk, in 1860s, one exiled, Ignacy Eichmiller, (brak pryypisu do Eichmillera) set up a workshop, transformed later into artistic studio, where the co-exiled could train to become a carpenter. Nevertheless, carpentry was something taught also to those young people, who graduated universities⁷. Hilary Weber⁸ found himself in similar position, as he gained grinding skills while in exile, what he later used in glass processing.

Learning foreign languages (especially French, Italian and English) was very popular among Polish exiles beyond Ural, taking advantage of the fact, that co-exiled would often give private classes. Julian Sabiński⁹ was one of them, as he taught German, French and Italian to many colleagues. Thanks to his Siberian diaries it was possible to learn about motivation and progress of his pupils, as well as about methods of teaching. Before 1844, French was taught in Usola exile by Piotr Borowski, Leopold Niemirowski, Adolf Roszkowski, and Justynian

⁵ B. Dybowski, *O Syberii i Kamczatce*, Lwów 1899, p. 44.

⁶ *Pamiętniki Zygmunta Mineyko*, Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, rkp. 7092, t. VII.

⁷ B. Dybowski, op. cit., pp. 314–315.

⁸ Hilary Weber (1817–1870) from Poznań Provence, a pharmacist's disciple, sent to Siberian exile in 1834 for participation in A. Zawisza unit, with no right to return after settlement in 1857.

⁹ Julian Glaubicz Sabiński (1797–1869), thoroughly educated despite not having completed schools, sentenced to exile and settlement for conspiracy activity, participated actively in the life of Irkuck exiles. Granted a pardon in 1856.

Ruciński¹⁰. In spring of 1844 Italian was took up by Antonilla Roszkowska, who would show up for classes twice a day. After three months, the Italian teacher emphasized her exceptional abilities: “she has progressed so far in Italian, that she is beginning to understand pretty well the plays of Metastasio (brak prypisu dot. italskiego poety Metastasio)”¹¹. Walery Kossakowski was also Sabiński’s pupil in the Irkutsk settlement¹², and as he had already known basic French, classes were about spending evenings together, when they could talk, read and translate in French”¹³.

In November 1846 Leopold Jarzyna¹⁴ also took up French with Sabiński, demonstrating exceptional enthusiasm, diligence and strong will. He wanted “not only know the language and comprehend it, but also speak it clearly and fluently, despite the necessity to overcome many difficulties to get rid of the habit of mispronunciation ”¹⁵. Apart from the conversations, the pupil was translating from Polish to French elaborate texts on a daily basis.

In 1849, another exile, Henryk Monikowski¹⁶, took up French with Sabiński, whereas in May of 1855, Gustaw Ehrenberg¹⁷ started to learn

¹⁰ Piotr Borowski (ca. 1806–1882), graduate of Krzemienieckie Liceum and Kiev University, for being involved in conspiracy with Sz. Konarski, sentenced to exile in 1839, settled from 1853, died in Siberia.

Leopold Niemirowski (1810–1883), law graduate at Vilnius University, was studying drawing AT Literary Department, in 1839 sentenced to 20 years of exile, employed as a graphic artist in Russian exploring team in Kamchatka, returned to the country as a free man in 1856.

Adolf Roszkowski (ca. 1808–1875); sentenced to 20 years of exile, from 1843 settled in Irkuck, released in 1856.

Justynian Ruciński (1810–1892), Lenart at Krzemienecie Liceum (did not complete), sentenced in 1839 to 20 years of exile, settled after 1841 where his wife Łucja joined him, in 1852 was free to return home.

¹¹ Metastasio, Trapassi Pietro (1698–1782), Italian poet, popular author of librettos and other plays until the end of 19 century, his works were published in Paris in 1780–1782.

¹² Walerian Kossakowski (ca. 1812 – ok. 1878), graduate of Vilnius University, a Clark, sentenced to 20 years of exile in 1839, settled from 1843, health with hunting and farmstead, returned to the country in 1856.

¹³ J. Glaubicz-Sabiński, *Dziwiętnaście lat wyrwanych z mojego życia; czyli Dziennik mojej niewoli i wygnania, od roku 1838 do 1857 włącznie*, t. II, Warszawa 2009, pp. 89, 93.

¹⁴ Leopold Jarzyna (ca. 1817–1850), arrested in 1838, sentenced to 20 years of exile, moved to settlement in 1843, where he lived with his brother Narcyzt, died in Woroneż.

¹⁵ J. Glaubicz-Sabiński, op. cit., p. 248.

¹⁶ Henryk Monikowski (born ca. 1827), studied in gymnasium in Płock and at courses in law in Warsaw, for connections with conspiracy youth conscripted to Siberian Corpus, arrived in Irkuck in 1849, granted the right to return to country in 1858.

¹⁷ Gustaw Ehrenberg (1818–1895), a poet, natural son of Alexander I, sentenced in 1838 for conspiracy activity to permanent exile, spent 20 years in Siberia (15 in penal servitude, 5 in settlement), returned to the country in 1858.

Italian in order to “get to know and asses the enormous talent of Dante in original writings”. After four months of systematic reading in Italian few hours twice a week, “with outstanding knowledge of Latin and French, he should achieve the goals fast”¹⁸, as assessed by the teacher.

Simultaneously, Sabiński devoted time free from teaching others to learn, too. In exchange for teaching French to Karlberg – a Swede, who ran a pension for girls in Irkuck, he learnt English from him few times a week. In 1848, after Karlberg’s death, he continued to study English with Samuel Hille, a traveller who stopped in Irkutsk for 6 months on his way to Kamchatka. After he left, again for exchange in teaching French, Sabiński learnt with another Swede – Edward Sederholm, who was an Irkutsk clerk. They arranged to “spend two hours three times a week studying French for the first half, and English for the second part of the meeting”¹⁹.

Feliks Zienkowicz²⁰ spent on learning English in Siberia exile many years, and as he wrote in a letter to his relatives, having troubles with English, “studying it, I’m not only not wasting time, but it is also spirit lifting, although it is too early to make any earning of it”²¹. In 1880 as an Irkutsk settler, he continued to learn English from an English woman working as a caretaker at general Pietrow’s.

Jan Bogdanowicz²², sent to Kiereński after January uprising, was also studying English, firstly from co-exiled Mierzejewski, then listening to the classes given to Maria Andrzejkowicz by her mother²³.

Only very few Polish exiles took up Russian. In most cases the motivation was the possibility of getting a job, as in case of Benedykt Kosiewicz²⁴, present in Tomsk from 1852, who was receiving classes from co-exiled Mieczysław Wyrzykowski. Comprehension of this language was indispensable for Kosiewicz to run accounting books and

¹⁸ J. Glaubicz – Sabiński, op. cit., p. 486.

¹⁹ op. cit., pp. 440–441.

²⁰ Feliks Zienkowicz (1842–1910), studied at Environmental Sciences Faculty in Sankt Petersburg University and Medicine in Paris, for participation in January uprising sentenced to exile and permanent settlement in Siberia, in 1882 granted the right to return to the country.

²¹ B. Jędrzychowska, *Wszystkim obcy i cudzy. Feliks Zienkowicz i jego listy z Syberii 1864–1881*, Wrocław 2005, p. 200 (Usole, 31VII\12 VIII 1865).

²² Jan Bogdanowicz, exiled to Siberia from 1863, stayed with the family in Kiereńsk (Irkuck province).

²³ *Listy Jana i Marceliny Bogdanowiczów z Kiereńska do matki z lat 1863–1864*, Bibl. Publiczna im. Łopacińskiego w Lublinie, rkp. 1750 (9 XII 1863, 7 I and 24 VII 1864).

²⁴ Benedykt Kosiewicz (1813–1887), arrested for patriotic activities in 1845, sentenced to 1000 lashes in 1848 as well as harsh labour in Siberian fortresses (Ust-Kamienogorsk); moved to settlement in 1851, was able to return to the country in 1857.

work as a supervisor in glassworks of Alfons Poklewski²⁵. Kornel Zielonka²⁶, sent to Irkuck province learnt Russian in 1860 from co-exiled Franciszek Korbut, as it was needed in trade business²⁷. In order to get a job as a French and German teacher in Tomsk gymnasium, Kazimiera Ostromęcka²⁸ had to learn Russian first of all²⁹.

Konstanty Borkowski³⁰, sent to Tomsk district in exile, earned his living in unusual way, as in 1867 he was offered to teach old-Slavic language to two children in one of the villages. As he did not know the language, he asked for help an Orthodox exile, living in a nearby village. This, what he learned everyday in the lunch time, he taught to the children the very same day in the afternoon³¹.

The Polish exiles also learned the local language. In Omsk, in 1833, Jan Sierociński³² learnt Tatar language by the help of a local teacher of Tatar origin³³.

It is difficult to establish in each case to what extend the exiled would use help from others in learning foreign languages. Zygmunt Librowicz wrote in 1833 about the exiled Hilary Weber, that "sent to Siberia at the age of 15, he educated himself there, having learnt French, Russian and German"³⁴. Similar information can be found about many other Polish exiles. For instance: Aleksander Krajewski³⁵ „intensively learnt and

²⁵ *Bieg życia Benedykta Kosiewicza (Aneks do sprawy Henryka Kamieńskiego)*, B. Zakrzewski ed., „Prace Literackie” 1986, nr 10, p. 176.

²⁶ Kornel Zielonka, for participation in 1863 uprising sentenced to settlement in eastern Siberia (Irkuck province), returned after amnesty in 1868.

²⁷ K. Zielonka, *Wspomnienia z powstania 1863 roku i życia na wygnaniu w Syberii*, Lwów 1913, pp. 144–145.

²⁸ Kazimiera Ostromęcka, moved to Siberia voluntarily with her husband Witalis, sentenced for participation in 1863 uprising, died in exile in 1873.

²⁹ E. Tabeńska, *Z doli i niewoli. Wspomnienia wygnanki*, Kraków 1897, p. 92.

³⁰ Konstanty Borowski (1844–1915), sentenced to 4 years of arrested janissary in Archangelsk for participation in 1863 uprising, returned in 1867, sent to western Siberia (Omsk area) immediately. Returned in 1872.

³¹ K. Borowski, *Wspomnienia powstańca i Sybiraka z 1863 roku*, [in:] Z. Starorypiński, K. R. Borowski, *Między Kamieńcem a Archangielskiem. Dwa pamiątniki powstańców z 1863 roku*, Warszawa 1986, p. 364.

³² Jan Sierociński (1798–1837), from Basilian monastery, Vilnius University graduate, sentenced to exile in Siberia for participation in 1830 uprising, incorporated to Omsk battalion as a private; became a teacher at military Cossack school, for co-participation in Omsk conspiracy sentenced to the punishment of 6000 lashes (died during execution).

³³ *Dziennik ks. Jana Henryka Sierocińskiego* [in:] *Spółeczeństwo polskie i próby wznowienia walki zbrojnej w 1833 roku*, Wrocław 1984, p. 556.

³⁴ Z. Librowicz, *Polacy w Syberii*, Kraków 1884, p. 315.

³⁵ Aleksander Krajewski (1819–1903), studied at Jagiellonian University, for participation in patriotic and independence organization sentenced in 1839 to Nercz exile, returned home in 1857.

comprehended few languages” in the period between uprisings, whereas Józef Piekarski³⁶ sent to Baikal exile in 1866 spent almost all his free time to learn German. In the 1850s, also Piotr Wysocki³⁷ learnt German using German lexicon in exile in Akatuja³⁸. Everyday duties of Józef Kalinowski³⁹, sent to Usola exile included “revision of French grammar” and learning Buriat’s language for a change⁴⁰. However, coming across difficulties and considering little progress he made, he soon gave it up, especially when he realized that there is no demand for such language, as Buriats use Russian with no problem.

The need for learning was also mentioned in the letter of Ludwik Balcer, sent to exile in Siwakowa, “I can’t waste time just like that, so I work as much as I can, especially in French and German, but insufficient number of books available is still a problem”⁴¹. Hence, he asked his father to send some books from home library, particularly a French-German-Polish dictionary, newspapers and calendars in these languages.

Polish exiles undertook learning in many fields of science. Some of them dealt with science, such as the above-mentioned H. Weber, who apart from three languages (French, German and Russian) learnt to grind glass, but also took up chemistry in Siberia. The acquired practical and theoretical knowledge became extremely useful in processing colour glass – previously unknown in that areas. Then, from such raw material he produced elaborately polished and cut dishes imitating malachite or agat. He also took up previously unknown technique of covering various metal with iron. Weber became also recognized as author of works in

³⁶ Józef Piekarski (died in 1881), doctor, graduate of Moscow University, for participation in uprising formation sentenced to exile in 1863, settled in Irkuck.

³⁷ Piotr Wysocki (1797–1874), drill instructor in Cadet School in Warsaw, leader of conspiracy cadets’ organization, participant of the November Night in 1830, sentenced to capital punishment (by quartering, changed for hanging), eventually changed for 20 years of exile in Aleksandrowskie units, after failing to escape sentenced to 1000 lashes and penal servitude in Akatuja with isolation and chaining up, on the basis of manifesto returned home in 1856.

³⁸ *Opisanie Zabajkalskiej Krainy przez Agatona Gillera*, t. II, Lipsk 1867, p. 109.

³⁹ Józef Kalinowski (1835–1907), graduate of Agronomic Institute in Hory-Horki and Engineering School in Petersburg, for participation in uprising authorities sentenced in 1864 to 10 years of exile in Usol, settled in Irkuck from 1868, returned home in 1874, joined Carmelite monastery (monk’s name Rafael from St. Joseph), announced beatified in 1983, canonized in 1991 in Rome.

⁴⁰ J. Kalinowski, op. cit., p. 178, 169.

⁴¹ *Listy z Syberii pisane do Janiny z Balcerów i Franciszka Strzyżowskich w latach 1861–1883*, Bibl. Narodowa w Warszawie, rkp. III 2973 (Siwakowa, 25 VII/9 VIII 1866).

chemistry, which were published in Irkutsk⁴². Eugeniusz Żmijewski⁴³, sent at Baikal lake in 1840s “was committing himself there to mathematics, chemistry and mechanics”. He was using the gained knowledge for 14 years as a supervisor of workers employed with private gold-diggers⁴⁴.

Apart from practicing French grammar and Buriat language, Józef Kalinowski spent a lot of time in Usola on “revising geometry”, with mathematics and arithmetic tasks as his favourite pastime, that he practiced thanks to books sent from Warsaw. After years he also took up mechanics and building engineering that he had neglected before, not seeing previously any practical application of it. Upon settlement, he hoped to “find employment in this field”⁴⁵.

Zygmunt Wróblewski, a January insurgent, also committed himself to science, as in Tomsk he studied “enthusiastically everything he could have access to in literature referring to physical theories”⁴⁶. Thanks to work in mathematics, that Jan Woźniakowski⁴⁷ was preoccupied with in Tomsk exile, he became promoted to the rank of non-commissioned officer⁴⁸.

A lot of Polish Siberian exiles took up learning in humanities and social sciences, for example in law, philosophy, history, history of literature and religion or economy...

Aleksander Krajewski, sent to exile in 1838 to Nerczyńscy factory, studied there history, economics and social sciences⁴⁹. Feliks Zienkowicz manifested similar interests, writing from the exile that “whatever free time I have, I spend it on intellectual work [...] I catch up

⁴² Z. Librowicz, op. cit., p. 314–315; D. Kacnelson, *Uczestnicy wyprawy J. Zaliwskiego na katordze nerczyńskiej* [in:] *Spółeczeństwo polskie...*, op. cit., p. 166; „Irkutskije Gubernskije Wedomosti” 1859, nr 25.

⁴³ Eugeniusz Żmijewski (1817–1885), sentenced to five years in exile and settlement in Siberia for participation in conspiracy independence formation in 1838, returned home in 1857.

⁴⁴ M. Janik, *Dzieje Polaków na Syberii*, Kraków 1928, p. 194; E. Helleniusz, *Wspomnienia lat minionych*, t. II, Kraków 1876, p. 245.

⁴⁵ J. Kalinowski, *Wspomnienia 1835-1877. Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Kościoła w Polsce*, t. III, Lublin 1965, p. 113; J. Kalinowski, *Listy ...*, op. cit. pp. 190, 224, 237–238.

⁴⁶ A. Maciesza, *Dzieje kolonii polskiej w Tomsku*, Poznań 1934, p. 10.

⁴⁷ Jan Woźniakowski (born ca. 1819), studied at Medical- Surgery Academy in Warsaw, for patriotic activity arrested two times, finally in 1841 sentence to harsh labour in fortresses – stayed in Omsk, in 1845 moved to military janissary, in 1848 promoted to the rank of non-commissioned officer, in 1852 moved to engineering unit in European part of Russia (Narwa), moved to Petersburg in 1856 for a model service.

⁴⁸ S. Tokarzewski, *Siedem lat katorgi. Pamiętniki 1846-1857*, Warszawa 1918, p. 140.

⁴⁹ *PSB*, op. cit., pp. 103–105.

on history, law, economics”⁵⁰. His friend from Usola, Józef Kalinowski, worked on history of Church and “some subjects regarding church science, such as theology for example”⁵¹. In Tunka, eastern Siberia, where priests were gathered, one of them, Mikołaj Kulaszyński⁵² was doing a self-study in philosophy, even managed to have written dissertation regarding this topic⁵³. Another one, Tomasz Bułhak⁵⁴, being sent to one of Siberian villages in the years 1839–1841 explored philosophical subjects⁵⁵. Moreover, it was only in Siberia that Karol Lichtański⁵⁶ conceptualized his system of social and political philosophy, despite not having any education in this regard⁵⁷. After arriving at Iszym in 1835, Gustaw Zieliński⁵⁸ began to learn history of European literature and that of Polish renaissance, having access solely to books sent from home to co-exiled Adolf Januszkiewicz and to library for the exiled run by Onufry Pieraszek in Tomsk⁵⁹.

Besides, Poles in exile would often take up self-study within environmental sciences. As justified by Benedykt Dybowski⁶⁰, it was mainly because books and dissertations in this field of science were accessible there⁶¹.

⁵⁰ F. Zienkiewicz, op. cit., p. 200.

⁵¹ J. Kalinowski, *Wspomnienia...*, op. cit., p. 113.

⁵² Ks. Mikołaj Kulaszyński (1828–1901), a priest, sentenced to settlement in Siberia for participation in 1863 uprising, stayed in Krasnojarsk province and Tunka. Released before 1889.

⁵³ (W. Nowakowski), *Wspomnienie o duchowieństwie polskim znajdującym się na wygnaniu w Syberii, w Tunce*, Poznań 1875.

⁵⁴ Tomasz Bułhak (1801–1895), unenrolled student of Vilnius University, arrested in 1838 for participation in conspiracy independence organization, sentenced to settlement in Tomsk province, in 1856 granted a warrant to return home. In 1863 sent to exile in Siberia again, spent 6 years with wife in Naryma and Tomsk. Returned to the country in 1871.

⁵⁵ *Listy z Syberii. Z korespondencji Teresy z Wierzbickich Tomaszowej Bułhakowej do rodziny*, „Rocznik Literacki” R. Podberski ed., Wilno 1849, p. 83.

⁵⁶ Karol Lichtański (1835–1898), probably studied medicine in Kiev, for participation in 1863 uprising sentenced to 6 years of exile in Siwakowa, as a leader of a rebel in 1865 punished with permanent penal servitude in Akatuja. Returned home around 1880.

⁵⁷ *PSB*, t. XVII, pp. 297–298 [entry: Karol Lichtański]

⁵⁸ Gustaw Zieliński (1809–1881), talented poet, participant of 1830 uprising, emigrant, engaged in conspiracy movement, sentenced to settlement in Siberia in 1834 (Iszym, Tobolsk). Released in 1842, returned home.

⁵⁹ G. Zieliński, *Kirgiz i inne poezje*, ed. J. Odrowąż-Pieniążek, Warszawa 1956, p. 17.

⁶⁰ Benedykt Dybowski (1833–1930), studied medicine and environmental science in Dorpat, Wrocław, Berlin. Zoology and comparative anatomy professor in Warsaw, for participation in 1863 uprising sentenced to 12 years of exile (Siwakowa, Czyta, Darasur); settled at Baikal and Irkuck from 1868, conducted scientific research on fauna and flora of Baikal region, returned to the country in 1877.

⁶¹ B. Dybowski, *O Syberii...*, op. cit., pp. 25–26.

Mikołaj Witkowski⁶², organist by profession, was an exile who thanks to self-study – ignited by learning Russian – became a scholar and an expert in Siberia archeology. In recognition for his scientific achievements, in 1879 he became a custodian in Natural Science Museum in Irkuck⁶³. Jan Czerski⁶⁴, his colleague and co-worker, manifested outstanding knowledge in geology, zoology, paleontology, geography, archeology and ethnography, all solely thanks to own self-study during exile. With the others co-exiled from the period of 1863 uprising⁶⁵, he established the basis of modern recognition of Siberia natural environment.

As far as priests are concerned, Feliks Kowalewski, joined the group of natural scientists, who gained knowledge self-studying in Tunka. Kowalewski was exploring ornithology, establishing significant collection of birds, whereas other priests, Remigiusz Apanasewicz and Franciszek Szmeiter, working in botanic, worked out herbarium of local plants and herbs⁶⁶.

Moreover, the journey to Siberia inspired a 13-year-old Konrad Prószyński⁶⁷ to study geography. Therefore, under supervision of older exiles in Tomsk, he began to study maps of Siberia (particularly the hydrological ones), whereas studying geography became one of the daily routines of Józef Kalinowski too⁶⁸.

Also the doctors sent to Siberia did not forsake learning, although in their case it was more about improving the knowledge. As Wacław Lasocki

⁶² Mikołaj Witkowski (ca. 1843–1892), after completing pro-gymnasium began a school for organists in Witebsk province, sentenced to exile in eastern Siberia in 1863 for participation in the uprising. Committed suicide in 1892.

⁶³ J. Talko-Hryniewicz, *Z przeżytych dni (1850–1908)*, Warszawa 1930, p. 234.

⁶⁴ Jan Czerski (1845–1892), geologist, paleontologist, geographer, sentenced for participation in 1863 uprising to military service in Siberia – was in Omsk and Irkuck. He spent time in exile on geological and geographical research of Siberia. After return from exile in 1883, cooperated with Sankt Petersburg Academy of Science.

⁶⁵ The group of Polish environmental scientists in Siberia included, between others, the following exiles: B. Dybowski, A. Czekanowski, F. Zienkiewicz, W. Godlewski, M. Hartung, M. Dubiecki, A. Wałęcki, J. Łagowski, J. Kalinowski, M. Gruszecki. Some, thanks to their own self-study, contributed to the scientific research of the region.

⁶⁶ Z. Wójcik, *Jan Czerski*, Lublin 1986, p. 99; X. Ahasfer, *Tunka. Opowiadanie o wsi Tunka, gdzie było na wygnaniu przeszło 150-ciu księży, oparte na wspomnieniach naocznych świadków i odnośnych dokumentach*, Poznań 1914, p. 99, 164.

⁶⁷ Konrad Prószyński, son of Antohny (1826–1895, sentenced to exile for participation in 1863 uprising the same year), stayed with parents and siblings, Zenona and Maksymilian, in Tomsk. Returned home with the family in 1873, from 1881 publisher of "Gazeta Święteczna", author of elementary books, supporter of the organic work and self-teaching idea.

⁶⁸ M. Maciesza, op.cit., s. 10; J. Kalinowski, *Listy ...*, op. cit., p. 217.

wrote in his recollections “the exile did not interrupt my medicine work, as in fact all days long I was studying various books in my cabinet, making use of constantly sent new works and medicine periodicals. It positively influenced improvement of my specialist knowledge, which I'd frequently used in following years”⁶⁹. Władysław Krajewski and Ignacy Janowski⁷⁰, sent to Krasnojarsk in 1865–1869 also supplemented their knowledge.

Siberian exiles acquired knowledge also with reference to fine arts: music, drawing and painting. Priest Grabowski learned to play violin in Tunka, whereas Władysław Więckowski⁷¹ sent to Nerczyńscy workshop in 1843 „all alone, with no help, learn diligently to draw and paint”. A 13-year-old Stanisław Witkiewicz⁷² settled in Tomsk with parents got interested in drawing and started to take classes from another exile, Flek. Also Alfons Parvex⁷³ exiled in Piotrowsk, began to paint with watercolours, with Stanisław Wroński becoming his tutor⁷⁴.

During different period of Siberian exile, it was noticeable how Polish convicts played significant role in promoting among the co-fellows the idea of learning. In 1840s Antoni Beaupre set one of such examples „influencing young colleagues, who were being highly educated under his supervision”⁷⁵. After the January uprising in Siberian battalion in Omsk, the same role was played by Witold Marczewski, where he brought to the forts books and newspapers, renting them to the exiled youth and encouraging them to learn. At the same time in eastern Siberia, Henryk Wohl „was carrying out his mission for almost 25 years [...] promoting among the exiled inclination to intellectual work”⁷⁶.

⁶⁹ W. Lasocki, *Wspomnienia z mojego życia*, t. II, Kraków 1934, p. 209.

⁷⁰ Władysław Krajewski (1839–1891), student of Medical Academy in Warsaw, sentenced to exile in Siberia for participation in 1863 uprising, lived in Minusińsk and Krasnojarsk, from where he returned in 1869, PSB, t. XV, s. 119 [entry: Władysław Krajewski].

⁷¹ Władysław Więckowski (1821–1867), lawyer, patriotic formation activist in Warsaw (founded in 1839), for what He was sentenced to exile in Siberia in 1843, with no right to return. Settled in 1854, he managed to obtain warranty to return to the homeland.

⁷² Stanisław Witkiewicz (1851–1915), painter, art critic, writer, live in Tomsk from 1864 to 1867 with exiled father Ignacy, mother and four siblings. In 1867 or 1868 he left Siberia and began studies at Fine Arts Academy in Petersburg.

⁷³ Alfons Parvex, Switzerland serf, live in Poland before 1863 uprising, for participation as insurgent sent to eastern Siberia, from where He departed in 1869.

⁷⁴ W. Nowakowski, op. cit., p. 33; A. Maciesza, op. cit., p. 11; *Opisanie Zabajkalskiej Krainy...*, op. cit., p. 261; M. Janik, op. cit. p. 135; B. Dybowski, *Pamiętnik od roku 1862 zacząwszy do roku 1878*, Lwów 1930, pp. 106–298; B. Dybowski, *O Syberii ...*, op. cit., pp. 56–84.

⁷⁵ M. Janik, *Wołyniacy na Syberii*, Równe 1931, p. 23.

⁷⁶ S. Tokarzewski, *Z roku 1863 i lat następnych. Opowieść w dwóch częściach*, Warszawa 1912, p. 131; *Wtorki Marii Ilnickiej* [in:] A. Kraushar, *Polki twórcze czasów nowszych*, Warszawa 1929, p. 87.

The accomplishment of various forms of learning by 19th century exiles proves that Siberia was not only a place of solitude and idleness. For some, it brought some meaning to the exile, making use of the time and years that were destined to be forsaken”⁷⁷

⁷⁷ F. Zienkowicz, op. cit., p. 224.

Extra-curricular Educational Activity among Youth and Adults in Hucul Region (Huculsczyzna). Analyzed from the Perspective of the Association of Friends of Hucul Region¹

Anna Haratyk

After 1918 Hucul Region belonged to neglected regions, both in economic, cultural and social meaning. It was inhabited by highlanders, who were rather poor, undereducated, dealing for ages with pasturing and trees felling in the areas. In order to increase the level of life quality in the region, the Association of Friends of Hucul Region began its works in the 1930s. One of the priorities was education among the youth and adults of eastern Carpathian. Within this range, various courses, lectures, and competitions took place. Moreover, local organizations were set up in order to support cultural and intellectual growth in Hucul Region. Few years of works were terminated by the breakout of the Second World War, interrupting at the same time works carried out in the mountainous regions with impressive engagement and enormous effort.

Key words: the Association of Friends of Huculsczyzna; Huculsczyzna; extra-curricular youth and adults education; school inspectors; cultural and educational activity.

The eastern Carpathian, i.e. so called Hucul Region, became a part of II Republic of Poland after 1918. After the end of the war and gained independence, the new state required several reforms. Its southern, mountainous region belonged to one of the poorest and backward ones as far as economical, social and cultural aspects are concerned, whereas the western Carpathian appeared to be in slightly better position, as Podhale was popular among both tourists and investors, that indirectly improved the life quality of the dwellers in the area. In contrast, Hucul Region was far more neglected, and its values had still been unexplored. Insufficient growth of the region affected the quality of life of the locals, which number estimated at 100 000 inhabitants. The Huculsczyzna dwellers had their own language, unique clothes, customs, traditions, architecture, folk culture style, etc. Preservation of these features contributing to regional uniqueness became – next to

¹ Further referred to as the Association.

economic, educational and cultural development – one of the main tasks both for the authorities, as well as for social activists.

In the 1930s, a group of passionate enthusiasts of eastern Carpathian undertook a decision to establish an organization promoting and coordinating growth of the region. Thanks to their determination, the Association of Friends of Huculsczyzna was set up in 1933, when the statute was accepted and signed. The area of actions embraced entire Republic of Poland, with particular emphasis on Huculsczyzna. The head office and management was in Warsaw, with the director, a member of parliament, gen. F. Zarzycki². Setting up the head office away from Huculsczyzna, in the capital city, the founders were hoping to find more feasibly understanding for their ideas, as well as real support for the whole venture from the government agencies and social institutions³.

Association of Huculsczyzna Friends focused on the cooperation in cultural and economical development of Huculsczyzna, protection of its unique values, contributing to regional identity, working out rational use of climatic attributes of the area, as well as stimulating sanatorium and touristic activity⁴.

The main objective, resulting from the above aims, was to provide help to the poor inhabitants of Hucul Region, by the means of initiative and cooperation in cultural and economical growth of the region.

In order to improve coordination of activities within Huculsczyzna region, distant from the head office, the main committee set up a branch office in Stanisławów, to which the following regional offices were assigned: Kosów (Kosiw) (with a local club in Żabie Verchovyna), Kołomyja (with local clubs in Jabłońów and Peczeniżyn), Nadwórna (with local clubs in Dora, Jabłonica, Jaremcze, Piaseczna, Worochta and Zielona), and last, but not least- in Stanisławów.

Projecting wide range of activities, set up by the head office, contributed to establishing – both in the head office as well as in branch office in Stanisławów and given local clubs – six sections: economical, social hygiene, touristic and sanatorium, propaganda, neighborhood protection, as well as cultural and educational⁵. All these sections were managed by members of the Association, which were experts in given aspects of the regional development. Each of the section was assigned

² *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Huculsczyzny Ekspozytura Zarządu Głównego w Stanisławowie*, b/d, p. 1.

³ *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Huculsczyzny T.P.H. Sekretariat Komitetu Organizacyjnego. Warszawa. Komunikat Nr 1, Warszawa 1933*, p. 2.

⁴ *Statut Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Huculsczyzny*, b/d, p. 1.

⁵ *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Huculsczyzny T.P.H. ...*, op. cit., p. 3.

to tasks in given range, and in charge of collecting appropriate research field material (statistical data, specification of the tasks and problems, recognizing given needs and setting up principles of actions). On the basis of profound analysis of the gathered information, each of the section would prepare scheme of work, which shaped the general activity of the given local club or branch. Introducing sections created perfect opportunities to undertake common actions by experts in given fields, and conduct interdisciplinary activities. It also referred to the issue of raising the level of education among highlanders, which was the responsibility of the cultural and educational section.

Sections and local clubs were assigning appropriately prepared instructors to educational and cultural work, which was supervised by extra-curricular education instructors and inspectors active within the Regional School Inspectorates.

Upon their first weeks, instructors commencing their field educational works were carrying out interviews, enabling them to become familiar with the local environment, its needs and establish contacts with the local people. There were also recognizing conditions of educational activities in given places, examining organizations operating there, and level of Huculs' engagement in their works, as well as political awareness and number of local, Russian intelligence, determining the countryside life⁶.

It made it possible to chose the right ways and methods of work, as well as establishing which clubs, e.g. sports, hobby, or what kind of courses shall take place to fulfill the needs of the entire local community. Only after such introductory activities, a specific tasks were carried out.

The instructors tried in various ways to get to the inhabitants of the surrounding villages and promote their actions there, particularly emphasizing extra-curricular education courses: *I spent the reporting month on preparations to extra-curricular education courses, promoting them first of all. For this purpose, I used Sunday gathering of the locals at the Orthodox churches, parties, meetings etc, when, during ordinary conversation, I would always find the right time to indicate advantages of*

⁶ For example, it was stated that favourable circumstances for the Associations' instructors to set up educational works are in Berezów Bania, Berezów Wyżny and Tekucza, whereas it's hard to develop such activities in Berezów Niżny and Kosmacz. It resulted from significant number of Russian youth with secondary school education living there. They were engaged in organizational works in the villages, being under strong influence of Ukrainian nationalists. From the moment of setting up Ridna Szkoła association in the mentioned places, there were also antagonisms between this institution and the state school, which later would reflect conflict between the rest of the community. T. Drabik, *Sprawozdanie z pracy oświatowej na Huculszczyźnie za czas od 1.IX do 31.XI.1936 r.*, Kołomyja 1936, p. 1.

*participating in a course, encouraging to participate in such. Independently, with local school head maters' approval, I made sure the courses would be announced by the village leader and the priest in the church*⁷. Activities in given villages were undertaken in such skilful way, that would leave *no place for pretext to counteraction by local organizations*⁸, therefore, fearing reaction from Ukrainian nationalists, the announcement were made with no reference to the organizers whatsoever (i.e. the Association of Friends of Huculszczyzna). Nevertheless, there were also situations, when the enrolled would surrender to the nationalistic persuasion, thwarting all efforts of the instructors; *A sudden flow of summer holidaymakers, mainly Russians, is noticeable in Kosmacz. The locals, particularly youth, is disinclined to the educational issues, or any others resulting from school or Polish instructor's initiative, which I experience myself, as despite my, or Mr. Ekert's (local teacher) strongest efforts, only one out of six enrolled participants take part in classes.*⁹

The reports from instructors show that the basic activity among Huculs was to set up and lead various courses, such as for the illiterate, or even vocational trainings. It was caused by significantly neglected need for education in mountainous villages, where according to one of the instructors, B. Dąbrowski, in his area, i.e. from Kosów to Burkut, in 1936 there were as much as 40% of the illiterate¹⁰.

In education, the Association was competing with the "Native school" ("Ridna Szkoła") organization, as indicated in an excerpt of the letter to the instructor: *Jawornik is 9 km from Zetene, with 42 children plus 10 of them born in 1930. Ridna Szkoła is applying for the building and from there they want to start teaching from the 1st of September, which is contradictory to our cause. The head master from school in Zetene made a list of all the children and I am, hereby, sending with this list a letter to the School Inspectorate in Kołomyja, asking subsequently for a kind intervention in this case*¹¹. Mr. B. Dąbrowski, the instructor, indicated that Huculs living at the main communication roads became spoiled by the tourist and in consequence became greedy, as well as "poisoned" by the activities of "Luh" association, prone to the influences of "Front

⁷ T. Drabik, *Sprawozdanie z pracy oświatowej na Huculszczyźnie za miesiąc październik 1936 r.*, Bania Berezów 26 X 1936, p. 1.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ T. Drabik, *Sprawozdanie z pracy oświatowej na Huculszczyźnie za czas od 1.IX do 31.XI.1936 r.*, Kołomyja 1936, p. 2.

¹⁰ B. Dąbrowski, *Sprawozdanie z mej dotychczasowej działalności od 17/VIII do 30/IX 1936*, p. 1.

¹¹ *Jaśnie Wielmożny Panie Inspektorze*, pismo B. Dąbrowskiego b/d, p. 1.

nacionalnoi jednosity". In the contrary, Huculs living far in the mountains, away from direct influences and contacts with tourists and various organizations, were according to him rather primitive and disengaged in politics. As B. Dąbrowski said, *Russian princes and their dwellings are centre of all Russian nationalistic drives*¹².

Rivalry between the Association friends and "Native school" (Ridna Szkoła), caused in some villages in Huculszczyzna (e.g. Berezów Niżny) conflicts between the people, what in turn was reflected in the unsatisfactory results of educational works. Nationalistic issues required from the instructors significant delicacy and caution so as to not induce unnecessary conflicts. In places where it was inevitable, efforts were made to start activities from sport or courses in producing skis, while procrastinating setting up courses of extra-curricular education, which would be participated by Poles in majority, since such situation could become a trigger of unnecessary conflicts with the Ukrainian inhabitants¹³.

In the letters and reports, the educational instructors paid attention to the influences of Ukrainian nationalists, which were not only aimed at raising national awareness among the Huculs, as for example, information on procedures of recruitment in forestry (e.g. Rafajłowa region) were given only to those workers, who came from the villages in lowlands (Dolyna, Katusz), where the idea of Ukrainian nationalist had already been deeply rooted. In consequence, the forest district managers would deliberately recruit such workers, depriving Huculs of the working place, forcing them to live in poverty¹⁴. Such actions significantly disturbed the works of the Association's instructors, which all together claimed that the most successful areas to develop activities were those politically neutral. Dwelled by politically unaware locals, they willingly accepted and undertook any kinds of educational initiatives. Such places were also more suitable to set up after-school clubs, in which it was possible to successfully run extra-curricular education courses. Establishing after-school clubs, particularly courses, indispensable help was provided by the teachers of local schools¹⁵.

In the face of actions of Ukrainian nationalists, the Association was accomplishing among Huculs education focused on the knowledge of

¹² B. Dąbrowski, *Sprawozdanie z mej...*, op. cit., s. 1.

¹³ T. Drabik, *Sprawozdanie z pracy oświatowej na Huculszczyźnie za miesiąc wrzesień 1936 r.*, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Do J. W. Pana Inspektora w Stanisławowie*, Ferdynand Gerlib, Maksymiec 27 X 1936, p. 1.

¹⁵ T. Drabik, *Sprawozdanie z pracy oświatowej na Huculszczyźnie za miesiąc wrzesień...*, op. cit., p. 3.

the region, as indicated in the request to the head of educational activities in Huculszczyzna, A. Pikulski, where he was asked to send for the Association's instructors a monograph on the region, i.e. "Huculszczyzna" by Volodymyr Shukhevych or "Huculszczyzna" by Z. Ossendowski¹⁶. These works were believed to be indispensable in the Association instructors' work, but also for the purpose of getting to know the region, planning works and analyzing educational aspects related to Huculszczyzna. Political maps of Poland, used in newly set-up public after-school clubs (reflecting the model of those in Lublin Region) were also required.

The role of after-school clubs in educational and cultural activities was emphasized, especially with regard to working with the youth aged between 13 and 17, that had not attended places run by "Prosvita", nor choirs or singing clubs.

As stated in the notes of cultural and educational instructors working in the region, the local people were predominantly positive towards activities carried out in their surrounding; *I concluded from the conversations that they're quite favourably inclined to all that would tackle their culture or education*¹⁷, as stated by the instructor among Zielona dwellers. Nevertheless, it did not refer to all villages, as according to the same author, Huculs in Zielona were much in favour, whereas in Rafajłowa (Bystrytsya), as warned by the local teacher, the will to participate in courses and other actions was almost absent as *the people are occupied all day long by the work in the woods*¹⁸. The reading room "Prosvita" in Zielona set an example of a competition for educational activities of the Association, where also some parties for the locals took place. Association's educational instructor indicated that despite the "Prosvita" activities, *the local people are not that much depraved by the Ukrainian nationalists*¹⁹ and referred to oneself as Russians, not Ukrainians. After conversations with the workers repairing a road in Zielenica, he claimed that those Huculs are respectful towards the Polish state and enjoy chatting about various matters. Taking advantage of their interest, the instructor would often organize evening meetings with the dwellers in, e.g., local restaurant and had educational conversations with them, tackling Huculs' work in the forest, or ways of spending the earned money

¹⁶ Pismo Do kierownika Akcji Oświatowej na Huculszczyznie JW. Pana Inspektora Szkolnego Pikulskiego Ant. w Stanisławowie, Nadwórna 26.X.1936 r., p. 1.

¹⁷ Sprawozdanie miesięczne z pracy kulturalno-oświatowej na terenie gminy Zielonej. (Odpis z dzienniczka zajęć.), Zielona 1936, p. I.

¹⁸ Sprawozdanie miesięczne z pracy kulturalno-oświatowej..., op. cit., p. II.

¹⁹ Sprawozdanie miesięczne z pracy kulturalno-oświatowej..., op. cit., p. I.

usefully, for example on buying new clothes or improving the condition of the household²⁰.

The above-mentioned conversations with the dwellers took place in various places and times of the day. The closest surrounding of the Orthodox church was a frequent place of meetings between the instructors and the locals on Sundays and other bank holidays, as noticed in the diaries: *Sunday, 20th September 1936, having had a conversation with the local people in the surrounding of the church, we spoke about cultural needs of those living in the Bystrzyca ("Bystrytsya") valley. In the afternoon I went to the "Prosvita" reading room where we discussed the sports issue*²¹. There were some other subjects too, such as comparing life of Huculs and those in the valleys, with emphasis on advantages of mountainous regions and benefits derived from development of tourism and leisure, role played by the Polish state and its care for the needs of Huculszczyzna, cattle breeding and its benefits, taxes and its use by the state with particular emphasis on spending it on Huculs' people, harmfulness of alcohol abuse, hygiene, taking care of one's health, etc.

The Association's instructors were also visiting Huculs in their homes. Upon such visit, they tried to recognize the locals' needs and encouraged them, for instance, to take care of the house and household cleanliness, as it appeared to have been quite a problem in the countryside.

The instructor had to have a broad knowledge and various skills as the dweller would turn to him for help of any kind, e.g., one of the visited host asked for teaching him to stack timber, and the other needed assistance in tax declaration, whereas another one asked to be assisted in organizing winter activities pointing their benefits, or making others aware of the necessity of becoming literate²².

During the meetings, the instructors had opportunity to present their engagement and sympathy for the Huculs and the region, defending for example employees mistreated by the employers. *In the afternoon I was busy in front of the forestry office building, where many workers gathered expecting to be paid the salary. I made remark to one of the young forestry officers not to use violence towards the workers (he hit one of the old workers), and the employees appreciated my engagement*²³. Hence, the instructors' role was to gain the Huculs' trust in such a way to defend them, or prevent physical violence from taking place.

²⁰ *Sprawozdanie miesięczne z pracy kulturalno-oświatowej...*, op. cit., p. III.

²¹ Ibidem.

²² *Sprawozdanie miesięczne z pracy kulturalno-oświatowej...*, op. cit., p. IV–VII.

²³ *Sprawozdanie miesięczne z pracy kulturalno-oświatowej...*, op. cit., p. VI.

In order to try to reduce amount of consumed alcohol among Huculs, not only verbal means were used. While drinking and socializing, highlanders in the restaurants were taught to play chess, and since drinking was notorious habit among them, sometimes the instructors had to use physical strength to separate those drunk, fighting men²⁴.

The instructors' accounts suggest that a good instructor is able to use any given circumstances to use it properly for the right usage of the word, action and own example.

The usual basis for establishing instructor's work, was to set up courses for the illiterate, preceded by meetings with village dwellers, as it was a challenge to convince the adults to undertake learning, and make them aware of the benefits of comprehending reading and writing skills. Nevertheless, not always was it successful as basing on the information provided by the instructors, such meetings were attended by as little number as 2 people only (perhaps due to heavy downpour or snowfall as it had been mentioned by an instructor)²⁵.

The courses would start in late autumn (November) because of the workload in the fields. Course books for the participants, registry books for the teachers and etc., were obtained by the instructors from the School Inspectorate. In order to encourage Huculs to participate in evening classes in extra-curricular education, the instructors used various methods, such the one mentioned by some instructor, who wrote in his report that twice a week at the beginning of the course he'd bring some board games for the participants. The students could take these games home for the weekend, when they'd meet upon common games, as in that time there was no after-school or social club in the area²⁶.

During the first three months of the instructors' activities, they had to set up three simultaneous courses in their area. Nevertheless, not all those enrolled would turn up for the classes systematically. There were also such participants, that failed to complete the education. But there were also such ones, who got involved in extra activities such as in Tekucza (Tekucha), where the pupils organized a drama club and staged a play with singing and dances²⁷.

The instructors tried to engage all dwellers, however, they also claimed to have managed to recruit the youth more successfully. *First of all, I'm trying to attract young people, eager to have some fun and activity. Of*

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ *Sprawozdanie miesięczne z pracy kulturalno-oświatowej...*, op. cit., p. VIII.

²⁶ T. Drabik, *Sprawozdanie z pracy oświatowej na Huculszczczyźnie za czas od 1.IX do 31.XI.1936 r.*, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁷ Ibidem.

course, I equally care for the elderly, whose presence is highly desired, nevertheless, it all seems easier with the young²⁸. The adolescents are more willing to take up sports, what had been skillfully used by the instructors for the organizational purposes. Winter sports were particularly popular (mainly skiing), as promoted during sport events accompanying the II Legion's Brigade March, whereas in team sports football and volleyball were favourable.

Thanks to this, the educational instructors were able to set up sports clubs, which would become a tool of widely perceived educational works with the Huculs, who passed the school age. Grouping young highlanders in football teams, they saw it as opportunity to attract their attention to other issues, hence young boys willingly joined in sports clubs or choirs, participated in producing skis etc. One of the instructors recalled example of a group of 18 boys from the village of Berezów Bania (Banya-Bereziv), who started from playing football together, then enthusiastically constituted sports and singing section²⁹.

Therefore, starting from sports activity, young people's interests were expanded setting up choirs for instance, then trying to encourage them to take up evening school education. The Huculs eagerly participated in various types of trainings, especially in wintertime, starting from November, when the number of everyday household and farm duties would decrease. Courses in home-made skis were particularly popular among boys and young men, so the instructors provided the youth interested in skiing with projects, according to which boys could do it alone at home, having some fir or ash timber accessible. Those in charge of such courses applied for help to the head office to sponsor some materials or timber, supporting the poorest highlanders in such way. Tools for skis production were commonly borrowed among the boys, whereas the instructor supervised construction of ski binding, so they could match the shoes they wore.

As social animators, the instructors tried to plan events and classes for the inhabitants in such a way to mix the age groups. B. Dąbrowski, for instance, organized with the help of local authorities, athletics championships in Kołomyja (on 20th September 1936) with 76 contestants. The sports event was accompanied by some games for school children and a folk party for the adults³⁰. The championships and

²⁸ T. Drabik, *Sprawozdanie z pracy oświatowej na Huculszczczyźnie za miesiąc wrzesień 1936 r.*, op. cit., p. 1.

²⁹ *Do W. Szan. Zarządu Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Huculszczczyzny. Ekspozytura Zarządu Głównego w Stanisławowie, Kołomyja 23 IX 1936*, p. 1–2.

³⁰ B. Dąbrowski, *Sprawozdanie z mej...*, op. cit., p. 1.

games were free of charge, and the winners were awarded with prizes such as watches, statues, shoes leather, electric lamps or strings of beads.

Moreover, B. Dąbrowski, assisted by teachers, organized a cleanliness contests among pupils of the local schools, and with some help from local village leaders he managed to organize similar contest regarding cleanliness of the cottages and cattle. In the school classrooms he gave lectures on Sundays regarding personal hygiene, necessity to keep the courtyard and household clean and taking care of the cattle cleanliness. Numbers of listeners would sometimes reach 100³¹.

Because the local people demonstrated significant interest in the hygiene around households, a special counseling office was opened for this purpose. Such activities contributed to the increase of the trust capital among the Huculs towards the instructors of Association, what nevertheless was not an easy task, as recalled by B. Dąbrowski, since those people were rather precautious towards experiencing something new and strange. Teachers from local schools provided invaluable help, as after day of work at school they would join the after-school activities with adults. Positive results were also achieved by cooperation between instructors and various institutions accomplishing tasks in given area, e.g. with the Orthodox church, or local priest, who could be helpful when setting up church choirs, teaching notes and lyrics.

Instructors' work was not ea easy one, nevertheless, despite being away from school inspectorates, clubs and Association's branches, they could still count on support and assistance from the local teachers, school headmasters and influential, wealthy inhabitants of the area. And although in many places, initially the dwellers were rather distrust of the instructors' educational activities, in the course of time they began to show understanding for their work and become friends with those in charge of the courses. Works carried out by other sections of the Association, e.g. protecting the identity, propaganda, or social hygiene were also supportive for the instructors accomplishing directly theoretical ideas of the cultural and educational section, as they all contributed to the support for the idea of educating the Huculs.

Unfortunately, only few years after commencing educational work by the Association, the idea was interrupted and destroyed firstly by the Second World War, and then its repercussions, i.e. shift in state borders, in results of which, Hucul Region became a part of USSR.

³¹ B. Dąbrowski, *Sprawozdanie z mej...*, op. cit., p. 2.

Continuity and change in vocational counselling – towards the lifelong career counselling

Violetta Drabik-Podgórna

The traditional model of counselling was shaped at the beginning of the 20th century in the context of professional system of work organization and was optimal at given time. Nowadays, counselling is not solely limited to assistance in choosing the right profession, as it concentrates on supporting individuals in their personal and career development, evolving at the same time towards a lifelong counselling (or biographical one). The aim of assistance is to accompany in the process of construction own life path, supporting in regeneration of personal potential, as well as assisting in dealing with constant changes. This paper makes an attempt to capture this change, that is not only noticeable in new counselling practices, but also in counselling theories.

Key words: *vocational counselling; lifelong career counselling.*

Despite common conviction in our times, that a man is free and self-reliant, demand for professional assistance is not a downward trend at all, quite the contrary – growth in demand for counselling services is noticeable these days. Therefore, vocational counselling is becoming popular too. Nevertheless, since it became shaped as professional and institutionalized assistance, its character has changed. It is obvious that change taking place in the surrounding reality implies changes in the way the reality is described and interpreted. The traditional model of counselling emerged in specific context of the job market and was optimal at given time, whereas nowadays counselling is not solely limited to assistance in choosing the right profession, but also evolves towards the lifelong, or biographical counselling. It is worth noticing, that the significance of such lifelong learning-oriented activities is stressed in official documents of European Council¹. The goal of this paper is to

¹ "Vocational counseling refers to set of activities enabling one to identify skills, competences and interests of a citizen in all age groups, at any given stage of life (...) facilitates making the right choices of professional and educational character and managing own life path during education, work and other situations (...). The lifelong counseling contributes to accomplishment of the goals set by European Union, such as economical growth, job market sufficiency, professional and geographical mobility by increase in effective investment in education and vocational training, strengthening lifelong learning processes, influencing human resources and potential". Resolution of

make an attempt to capture this change, which is not only noticeable in new practices, but also in counselling theories.

Context of vocational counselling in the process of change

In order to understand the specificity of contemporary vocational counselling it is crucial to notice shift in systems of work organization, as it constitutes a factor influencing ways of perceiving professional competences, and in turn – ways of acquiring them in the process of education. J. Guichard and M. Huteau, exploring the ideas of A. Touraine, highlighted the fact that in the 20th century systems of work organizations were subject to evolution of the model from professional, through ford's to technical (competence) one². The *professional* model (where patterns of production was similar to a craft) made the individuals, during time-consuming process of education, acquire given capital of knowledge and skills referred to as profession, that would become a factor constituting their identity. The *ford's* pattern required from the employee as little as to comprehend some simple set of activities to perform a task related to a given job at production line, but also to adjust to the working team, therefore education at the working place was sufficient. On the other hand, the *technical* pattern emphasized possessing various skills not only linked to the profession, but regarding interactions that are shaped in situation at work, e.g. team work abilities, performing task under time pressure, communication skills, flexibility etc³. Contemporarily, competences perceived in such way are understood as career capital, i.e. *subjectively perceived value of personal resources, enabling one to establish and sustain employment capability*⁴.

In the context of globalization processes, these conventional patterns are supplemented by the *occupational chaos* theory established by J. Guichard and Huteau. Its feature is the phenomenon of coexistence of all the above-mentioned models of work organization. At the same time, there are new phenomena emerging, such as flexitime at work, loosing bonds with working place, changes in labour legislation or

the European Council *Guidance throughout life in Europe*. Brussels 18. 05. 2004, [in:] Poradnictwo zawodowe w oficjalnych dokumentach oraz opracowaniach o zasięgu międzynarodowym, MIPiS Departament Rynku Pracy 2007, Warszawa, Euroguidance, p. 120.

² Guichard J. – Huteau M., *Psychologia orientacji i poradnictwa zawodowego*, Kraków 2005, pp. 10–15.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

⁴ Bańka A., *Psychologiczne doradztwo karier*, Poznań 2007, p. 64.

segmentization of the job market⁵. It means that, apart from employment guaranteeing high level of prestige, there are such places of professional activity where work does not provide a decent level of living conditions, with the shrinking job market making workers abort their careers and search for other ways of gratification for the preformed work.

Traditional perspective of the vocational counselling

Institutionalized vocational counselling was established at the beginning of the 20th century in the context of professional system of work organization. It was rooted in the model of a *feature* and a *factor* as proposed by F. Parsons (1908), who implied that an individual posses a set of relatively permanent features, that may be diagnosed by the means of professional test tools, and then compared to expectations of given occupations in order to make the right adjustment. The three-factor formula: *get to know yourself – get to know the occupations – adjust yourself to the occupation* is still being applied nowadays in many areas within occupational counselling.

The ford's pattern, despite altering the work organization, to some degree still sustained the practices applied previously in counselling, as the aim of counselling services was the adjustment to the working environment, hence getting to know occupations was replaced by getting to know the requirements of the environment and specificity of the working place. By examining interests, values, personality types and defining contraindication for performing given professions *appropriate adjustment* of the personality type to the material and social environment was made. It was also then, that the concepts of personality types and corresponding environments by J. Holland, as well as the theory of work adjustment by R. Dawis and L. Lofquist were established.

In consequence, it was such context in which the first definitions of counselling were coined, perceiving it as either providing assistance in choosing the right profession (narrow meaning) or as purposeful, systematic and planned educational activities preparing one to the selection of occupation (broader meaning), or as system of activities, undertaken by specialists in counselling institutions (system meaning)⁶.

⁵ Guichard J. – Huteau M., op. cit., p. 14; Also see: Beck U., *Spoleczeństwo ryzyka*, Scholar, 2004.

⁶ Wojtasik B., *Doradca zawodu – studium z zakresu poradoznawstwa*, Wrocław 1993, p. 22.

Regardless of the meaning assigned to the counselling, the aim was to choose the profession considering it as a single act, due to the fact that at the beginning of the 20th century it was assumed (and confirmed in biographies) that the once-chosen profession was a choice for a lifetime.

Traditional occupation counselling was brought down to single activities resulting in measurable effect, based on diagnosis of preferences and identification of contraindication for performance of given professions, thanks to application of especially designed measurement tools. The counsellor would become an expert that, on the basis of own knowledge, could assess professional capability, convey information and outline future path. Counselling in such form was based on the medical model, where the counsellor, having put the diagnosis forward, was in a way “writing out a prescription for given profession”. It was of directive manner, therefore the client could do nothing more, but to accept given professional advice/instruction/recommendation. In wider context, counselling was a social sub-system and functioned as such within co-related institutions, linked between in their actions. Moreover – in such constructed model of counselling, the *school logic* not the *life logic* was predominant, what meant that school results were crucial in choosing the future career path, not the interests nor dreams. Nevertheless, as B. Dumora's notices – not all professional activities, present in the job market, have their equivalents in school subjects, what makes the experience in first years at work a period of verifying the previous plans⁷.

Nowadays, such traditional model of diagnostic counselling, although the oldest and most common, is considered as not sufficient any more. It does not match the present time, not guaranteeing neither to obtain, nor to sustain the job in trained profession. Moreover, the notion a *profession* is more and more often becoming overtaken by a *competence*.

Towards the lifelong counselling

The concept of D. Super provided basis for contemporary career counselling. He developed it and improved in period between 1950s and 1990s, when the technical model of work was in process of establishing, related to informatization and automatization of the production processes. As mentioned before, the predominant role began to be played by the

⁷ See: Dumora B., La dynamique vocationnelle chez l'adolescent de college: continuite et rupture, L'Orientation Scolaire et Professionnelle 1990 nr 19, pp. 111–127.

interactions taking place in situations at work, as they generate demand for given competences. Shift to competence system caused a change from precisely described professions to so called "competence portfolio" which refers to set of skills at one's disposal that may be used by him/her in various types of occupational situations.

D. Super's concept is a part of the developmental concepts discourse, hence implies that the career development is a long-lasting process, embracing entire human's life, therefore competences are subject to change and their modification is possible. Despite the fact that Super sustained the idea that individuals differ from each other (in terms of skills, personalities, needs, values, interests and features) and acknowledged the requirements towards the job candidates for various types of occupations, he claimed that "*the relation between the individual and a profession is flexible; it means everyone is able to perform different jobs and each job may be performed by individuals clearly different from each other*"⁸. Individuals, on the other hand, were perceived as capable of enriching their skills with new elements in the course of various situations they participate in at work.

It was accompanied by the conviction that professional path is tightly linked to other life roles, what developed the notion of a *life-career rainbow*⁹. Therefore, the *career* moved beyond its common identification with success or promotion at work, even further beyond the professional sphere, embracing other spheres of individuals' life. In consequence, new practices of counselling were developed, more and more often referred to as *career counselling*. Hence, the main task of a counsellor was not limited to assistance in choosing the profession, but assistance in *career planning*, by accompanying in moving from subsequent stages in professional growth and preparing to deal with next developmental threshold. W. Rachalska is also supporter of such perception of counselling, claiming "*it is an educational lifelong process of helping one in aware and self-reliant planning and accomplishing independently constructed career path (...)*"¹⁰.

There are also *career education* programmes, for example *Education of career choice. Activating personal and occupational development*, that have been based on the premise that everyone may learn how to make choices and decisions by participation in various occupational situations. The aim of the programme was to accompany individuals in the process

⁸ J. Guichard – M. Huteau, op. cit., p. 165.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 167.

¹⁰ Rachalska W., Poradnictwo wobec problemów jednostki i rynku pracy, Pedagogika Pracy, 2001, nr 38.

of self-reliant decision taking, and the counsellor's task was to stimulate and create spheres of reaching the opportunities that would enable one to understand and organize the world better, improve interaction with others, and in consequence – construct occupational trajectories. D. Pelletier noticed, that in order to make the choices of the career path optimal, it is necessary to resolve four crucial developmental tasks, or in other words – to move through four stages which are as follows: exploration (searching and gathering information), crystallization (structuralization and grouping acquired information), specifying (making hierarchy and evaluating), realization (making the right choice), altogether in consequence establishing a career project¹¹.

The lifelong career counselling

Present situation is far more complex. The career project, as a goal of career education in the chaos of postmodern world, turned out to be impossible to accomplish. The unpredictability of the postmodern world, episodic nature of life, instability of the job market and its segmentization cause the professional career to become interrupted more and more often, taking place in chaotic manner, not having much in common with systematic growth as seen by D. Super. Hence, the Guichar's proposal to refer to the contemporary system of work organization as *professional chaos*. Its feature is the phenomenon of simultaneous co-existence of all previously mentioned systems of work organization. In other words – there are professions in the job market that require a long-lasting process of education, as well as those trained on the post, or those with no importance drawn to the trained professions, but with emphasis on competences the individual possesses and is able to manifest as own career capital.

With the constantly shrinking job market, the tasks of education system are also subject to change, since as Szkudlarek claims, the basic goal is not to get the job, but to prepare young people to live in the world with no employment¹².

The phenomena outlined above make human biographies a mosaic of various life episodes, that may become joined by self-reflectiveness¹³.

¹¹ See: Pémartin D. – Legres J., *Les projets chez les jeunes. La psychopédagogie des projets personnels*, Issy-Les-Moulineaux 1988, pp. 73–75.

¹² See: Szkudlarek T., „Koniec pracy” czy koniec zatrudnienia? Edukacja wobec presji światowego rynku [in:] Kargulowa A. – Kwiatkowski S. – Szkudlarek T. (ed.), *Rynek pracy i kultura neoliberalna a edukacja*, Impuls, Kraków 2005.

Hence, also career planning acquires new meaning as it becomes an element of shaping own subjectivity¹⁴. Activity in professional sphere is perceived as tightly linked to other life roles, acquiring particular meaning with relation to them. Getting to know own self, own inclinations and skills, it all serves the process of acquiring competences within the sphere of planning own life and establishing own Me. And since, as A. Giddens notices that "course of life is perceived as series of thresholds"¹⁵, dealing with numerous transitions becomes an inevitable skill.

Therefore, contemporary counselling is of a lifelong or biographical character, where directive manner is overtaken by assistance in "individual learning of reflective reconstruction of biography, learning to tolerate the fears and insecurities"¹⁶. According to A. Bańka the goal of counselling is the assistance in constructing many life scenarios (although none provides the guarantee of success, prosperity or sense of serenity), enabling one to adapt to various environments, presenting life and growth opportunities in permanent change, providing clients with assistance in diminishing the risk and supporting in constant recovery of the personality potential¹⁷. Similarly, the tasks of the lifelong counselling are perceived by J. Guichard, and M. Savickas as *counselling for life design*, understood as counselling in constructing own life and own Me, where the aim of the counsellor's actions is to accompany the individual in the process of constructing own identity¹⁸.

Lifelong counselling in such perception becomes a long-lasting process, leading to reflective establishment of the identity, based on partnership relations, dialogue and trust, which aim is to prepare individuals to function in the job market without employment, revealing their resources and possibilities, building up a personal capital, creating many other alternative life scenarios, and last but not least – learning to plan the unplanned events¹⁹.

¹³ Wojtasik B., Refleksyjne konstruowanie kariery życiowej w ponowoczesnej codzienności, Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja, Numer Specjalny 2003.

¹⁴ See: Jacyno M., Kultura indywidualizmu, Warszawa, 2007; Giddens A., Nowoczesność i tożsamość. Ja i społeczeństwo w epoce późnej nowoczesności, Warszawa 2001.

¹⁵ Giddens A., op. cit., pp. 110–111.

¹⁶ Wojtasik B., Refleksyjne..., p. 349.

¹⁷ See: Bańka A., Rozwój i zastosowanie teorii psychologicznych we współczesnym doradztwie karier w kontekście integracji transkulturowej, Chowanna 2004, nr XLVIII, pp. 9–32.

¹⁸ See: Savickas M. – Guichard J. – Nota L., in., Construire sa vie: un paradigme pour l'orientation au 21^e siècle L'Orientation Scolaire et Professionnelle, 2010 nr 1, pp. 5–39.

¹⁹ See: Krumboltz J. – Levin A., Szczęście to nie przypadek, Gdańsk 2009.

Continuity and change in counselling

The above presented changes are also reflected in the counselling theories which applied new categories of interpretation. As far as discourses are concerned, the example is set by gradual elimination of the term *problem*, being replaced with notions such as *challenge* or *solution*. Analyzing therapeutic nature of postmodern culture, M. Jacyno pays attention to *manipulation of meanings* that enables one to work out the biographical experience²⁰; where "the experience of failure (...) is re-written and translated into new language. The word »*problem*« *is erased, as it implies hardships and »it programmes unawareness«*"²¹. Therefore, contemporary counselling does not focus on problem solving, but makes attempt to provide with solutions.

Comparing the model of traditional counselling with the life long/biographical one, one more significant shift may be noticed. I.e., whereas in the traditional model the aim was to assist in the choice of profession, the lifelong counselling is directed at assisting in growth in various spheres of life. The traditional model perceived individuals as weak and limited, therefore focused on eliminating the difficulties and barriers on the way to reach occupational goals by analyzing reasons for previous failures, determining contraindication for performing given profession, as well as assessing the risk that must be undertaken. According to the assumptions acknowledged in the lifelong counselling, the individual is strong, still developing and possess numerous resources that the counsellor may help to discover and use. Focusing on future possibilities, the counsellor tries to understand the client and looks for circumstances in favour of the success. The counsellor in traditional model made decisions for the client, applying diagnosis and instructions, whereas the lifelong counsellor teaches the client to be self-reliant applying cooperation and dialogue. The table below presents comparison between traditional and lifelong perspective of the counselling services.

Despite changes that have taken places in vocational counselling, some of its elements stay unchanged. The occupational chaos we deal with nowadays makes the counsellors apply various activities in counselling, as the optimalization of individual and group functioning is still a crucial aim of assisting actions. Individuals, lost in postmodern everyday life, expect to be provided with information or advice,

²⁰ Jacyno M., op. cit., p. 236.

²¹ Gergen quoting: Jacyno, op. cit, p. 110.

Tab. 1: Comparison of the traditional model of counselling with positive lifelong counselling.

Traditional, single counselling	Biographical, lifelong counselling
Choosing a profession	Supporting the development, life designing
Weak individual Concentration on weaknesses (and eliminating them)	Strong individual Concentration on strengths (and improving them)
Contraindication diagnosis	Discovering resources
Understanding the problem	Understanding the client
Focus on problems	Constructing solutions
Past-oriented	Future-oriented
Searching for „real explanations”	Searching for “making senses”
Causes analysis	Searching for opportunities
Emphasis on risk → failure analysis	Emphasis on human’s strengths → success analysis
Making decision on behalf of the individual Diagnosis, instruction	Teaching self-reliance Cooperation, dialogue

Source: own compilation based on: *De Jong P., Kim Berg I. (2007); Guichard J, Huteau M. (2005), Milner J., O'Byrne P. (2007), Stewart J., Milt T. (2005), Bańka A., (2007)*²²

sometimes even instruction or support in a situation of hopelessness, whereas others need only to be assisted in the process of independent

²² See: *De Jong P. – Kim Berg I., Rozmowy o rozwiązaniach. Podręcznik, Kraków 2007; Guichard J. – Huteau M., op. cit.; Bańka A., op. cit.; O'Byrne P. – Milner J., Poradnictwo krótkoterminowe: narracje i rozwiązania, (ed.) Jo Campling, Zysk i S-KA, 2007; Stewart J., Milt T., Stewart J., Milt T., Słuchanie dialogiczne: lepienie wzajemnych znaczeń, [in:] Mosty zamiast murów, Stewart J. (ed.), Warszawa 2005*

establishment of own life path. It is also worth to emphasize that lifelong counselling is addressed to all age groups, not only to children or adolescents, but also to adults, therefore it refers to integration of various stages of life too.

To sum up, it may be concluded that the lifelong counselling is an activity both for the hopeless as for the resourceful, being of reactive and prospective character. It is also a lifelong or biographical counselling in the context of decision making, of crucial consequences for the entire existence. Therefore, we may come across such models as the H. Kaji's counselling of life, M. Kulczycki's life counselling, or J. Koščo's biodromal counselling. These theories, as well as lifelong career counselling, all tackle the issues crucial for human existence, searching for the answer to the questions of the meaning and value of life (*Who to be? How to live? Why do we live?, What to chose from possible life paths?*)²³, assisting individuals in understanding, supporting in learning in the everyday life, accompanying in the process of shaping own reflective identity, soothing tensions connected with moving through subsequent transitions, and interrupting the course of life²⁴. In such perspective, "*the heart of the matter in counselling are not – as predominantly, traditionally perceived – human problems (...) but the human in own life itself*"²⁵.

²³ See: Kargulowa A., *Poradnictwo jako wiedza i system działań*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 28–42.

²⁴ Drabik-Podgórna V., *Tranzycja – nowa kategoria biograficzna we współczesnym poradnictwie zawodowym*, *Edukacja dorosłych* 2010, nr 1, pp. 91–104, Szumigraj M., *Poradnictwo zawodowe. Systemy i sieci*, Warszawa 2011; Wojtasik B., *Refleksyjne...*, p. 349.

²⁵ Kargulowa A., *Poradnictwo jako wiedza...*, p. 29, 31.

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