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## ARTICLES

### I. History

# The First Fifty Years of the Didactics of History at the Faculty of Education at Masaryk University (1946–1996)

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Vaculík, J. (2016). The First Fifty Years of the Didactics of History at the Faculty of Education at Masaryk University (1946–1996). *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 8/1, 3–10.

*The study presented here concerns the development of history didactics at the Faculty of Education at Masaryk University. It focuses on the first fifty years of work in this field (1946–1996) when was represented by Jaroslav Kopáč, Stanislav Opatřil and Stanislav Julínek.*

**Key words:** *Masaryk University; Faculty of Education; Didactics of History; 1946–1996*

Faculties of education were established at universities in Prague, Brno, Olomouc and Bratislava in 1946 to develop academic and research work in the educational sciences and to contribute towards assuring the training of qualified teachers and new teachers entering the profession. This training included a methodology for history teaching that was initially provided by teaching seminaries at these faculties. The term “methodology of history” was used up until the end of the nineteen sixties when it was replaced with the term “theory of history teaching”, from which the branch didactics of history then developed as part of general didactics.

This field was cultivated by Jaroslav Kopáč and Stanislav Opatřil, both from a teaching seminary, from the time at which the Faculty of Education was established at Masaryk University until its temporary closure in 1953. Jaroslav Kopáč (1898–1982) published a monograph entitled *History*

*Teaching with a View to a Number of New Trends* in 1936. Following the foundation of the Faculty of Education at Masaryk University he enrolled for the subjects history, geography and civics, in which he passed the final state examination, and defended his dissertation *Aspects to the Selection of Teaching Matter in New History for Secondary Schools* in 1950. From 1952 onwards he worked as a lecturer at the Department of Education.

In addition to lecturing on the history of education, he also contributed to the preparation of new history curricula with V. Husa, M. Pravdová and J. Filip (1952) and was also one of the authors of a number of new history textbooks: *Ancient History*,<sup>1</sup> *Medieval History*<sup>2</sup> and *Modern History*,<sup>3</sup> all of which were translated into the Slovak and Hungarian languages. He was part of the team that published *The History of the New Age and Later*<sup>4</sup> in 1954. He was excellently equipped for this work as he had already produced history textbooks for the needs of the experimental differentiated lower secondary school in Humpolec in the nineteen thirties.<sup>5</sup> In 1953, he submitted a dissertation entitled *The New Content of a Methodology of History Teaching at Secondary School* whose opposers were Professors F. Kalousek and B. Uher. He took his doctorate examination on 3rd April, 1953, with the examiners Professors F. Kalousek, Z. Hájek and B. Uher. In 1947, he wrote about history curricula at level-two schools.<sup>6</sup> He also presented information about the work of history circles in the USSR.<sup>7</sup> He made methodical notes on the teaching of ancient history,<sup>8</sup> medieval history,<sup>9</sup> the American Civil War,<sup>10</sup> the Franco-Prussian War,<sup>11</sup> the Paris Commune,<sup>12</sup> the First World War,<sup>13</sup> the October Revolution in Russia,<sup>14</sup> the First Resistance,<sup>15</sup> and the inter-war period.<sup>16</sup>

1 *Dějiny starověku* (1949<sup>1</sup>, 1953<sup>2</sup>, 1954<sup>3</sup>). Praha: SPN.

2 *Dějiny středověku* (1949<sup>1</sup>, 1953<sup>2</sup>, 1954<sup>3</sup>). Praha: SPN.

3 *Dějiny novověku* (1949<sup>1</sup>, 1952<sup>2</sup>). Praha: SPN.

4 Kopáč, J. et al. (1954<sup>1</sup>, 1955<sup>2</sup>, 1956<sup>3</sup>, 1957<sup>4</sup>, 1958<sup>5</sup>). *Dějiny doby nové a nejnovější*. Praha: SPN.

5 Kopáč, J. (1966). Pokusná diferencovaná měšťanská škola v Humpolci v letech 1929–1938. In *Za těsnější spojení školy se životem VI*. Brno: UJEP.

6 Idem. (1947–1948). Dějepisné osnovy na škole II. stupně. *Teorie a praxe*, pp. 86–90.

7 Idem. (1948–1949). Práce v dějepisném kroužku jedné střední školy v SSSR. *Společenské nauky*, pp. 120–121.

8 Idem. (1949–1950). Paměť lidstva. *Společenské nauky*, pp. 30–32 and pp. 82–83.

9 Idem. (1949–1950). Rozmach feudalismu. *Ibid.* pp. 125–126.

10 Idem. (1949–1950). Sever proti jihu. *Ibid.* pp. 320–321.

11 Idem. (1949–1950). Válka prusko-francouzská. *Ibid.* pp. 320–321.

12 Idem. (1949–1950). Pařížská komuna. *Ibid.* pp. 321.

13 Idem. (1949–1950). První světová imperialistická válka. *Ibid.* pp. 366–368.

14 Idem. (1949–1950). Velká říjnová socialistická revoluce. *Ibid.* pp. 368–370.

Jaroslav Kopáč's publication output was understandably influenced by the specific atmosphere of the nineteen fifties. He published, for example, an overview of work in history didactics after 1929 entitled *Against the Throwbacks of Reformism in History Didactics*<sup>17</sup> in the journal *Pedagogika (Pedagogy)* in 1952 and printed a paper entitled *Educating for Socialist Patriotism*<sup>18</sup> in the journal *Komenský (Comenius)*. He devoted systematic attention to history textbooks, including their illustration.<sup>19</sup>

Stanislav Opatřil (1907–1996) was born on 13<sup>th</sup> November, 1907, in Žďár in the district of Blansko to the family of a factory labourer. He obtained his university education at the newly established Faculty of Education at Masaryk University in 1946–1948 where he studied history, geography and civics. After receiving his graduation certificate in 1949 he submitted, and in 1950 defended, his doctorate on *The Function of History in Civil Education* (opposers K. Galla and O. Chlup). He received a higher doctorate in 1961 at the Institute of Education in Brno, where he was appointed senior lecturer in 1962. His appointment as reader of education in 1971 was the climax of his academic and educational career.

Opatřil published a number of teaching texts for students of the Faculty of Education. In 1951 he printed a study entitled *A Chapter on History Teaching at Secondary Schools*,<sup>20</sup> in 1953 issued a *Methodical Guide to Medieval History*,<sup>21</sup> and in the years 1956–1959 issued two volumes of a textbook entitled *A Methodology of History* devoted to teaching and educational tasks in history and the teaching process in history.<sup>22</sup> He was also concerned with the experience of historical work in the Pioneer Organisation of the Czechoslovak Union of Youth<sup>23</sup> and work with the chronological timeline.<sup>24</sup> He wrote about the use of museums in school practice with K. Cigna.<sup>25</sup> His papers on thematic gatherings,<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Idem. (1949–1950). Český a slovenský odboj. *Ibid.* pp. 370–372.

<sup>16</sup> Idem. (1949–1950). Krize kapitalismu. *Ibid.* pp. 440–442.

<sup>17</sup> *Pedagogika* (1952), pp. 481–488.

<sup>18</sup> *Komenský*, 76, (1951), No. 2, pp. 321–328.

<sup>19</sup> Kopáč, J. (1962). K otázce ilustrací v učebnicích dějepisu. *Dějepis a zeměpis ve škole*, 5, pp. 249–250.

<sup>20</sup> *Metodické stati pro vyučování společenských věd*, (1951). Praha: SPN, pp. 17–26.

<sup>21</sup> Opatřil, S. (1953). *Metodická příručka pro dějiny středověku*. Praha: SPN.

<sup>22</sup> Idem. (1959). *Metodika dějepisu I*. Praha: SPN. 185 p.; *Ibid* (1959): *Metodika dějepisu II*. Praha: SPN. 238 p.

<sup>23</sup> Idem. (1956). *Po stopách dávných Slovanů*. Brno: Krajské nakladatelství.

<sup>24</sup> Idem. (1959). *Pásmo času v pedagogické praxi učitelů dějepisu*. Brno: KPÚ.

<sup>25</sup> Cigna, K. – Opatřil, S. (1950). Muzea ve školní praxi. *Komenský* 74, pp. 334–337.

<sup>26</sup> Idem. (1956). Tematická shromáždění s dějepisným zaměřením. *Dějepis ve škole* 3, pp. 352–358.

work with dates,<sup>27</sup> the independent work of pupils in history,<sup>28</sup> goals in teaching and education,<sup>29</sup> homework,<sup>30</sup> tasks in history teaching<sup>31</sup> and the polytechnic principle in history teaching<sup>32</sup> also made a useful contribution.

Dr. B. Uher made the following comment on the motion to appoint Stanislav Opatřil Head of the Department of Education, "*In his lectures on the methodology of history and the methodology of civics, Stanislav Opatřil has rejected the relics of bourgeois education and has shown us new paths to follow*".

He also lectured on the methodology of teaching history and national history and geography in the first half of the nineteen sixties when he co-authored the textbook *A Methodology of National History and Geography* for educational institutions which was comprised of sixty-four pages concerned with basic methodological questions relating to the historical subject matter taught in national history and geography.<sup>33</sup> He was a member of the state examination committee for history with didactics and led a number of history excursions such as *In the Footsteps of the National Struggle for Liberation in Slovakia*<sup>34</sup> in 1962. He also published papers on the history of teaching staff in Moravia in the anthology of the Institute of Education in Brno.

He worked as a member of the subcommittee for history at the Ministry of Education on issues relating to the education of teachers in level two of the education system. He was recognised by the ministry in 1966 for his work as coordinator of the ministry assignment *Problems in the Methodology of History at Level One and Two Schools*.

In connection with the motion for the appointment of Stanislav Opatřil as reader of education, Prof. Dr. Josef Novotný, research assistant at the

<sup>27</sup> Idem. (1957). Letopočty v dějepisném vyučování. *Dějepis ve škole 4*, pp. 349–357.

<sup>28</sup> Idem. (1958). Význam samostatné práce žáků a možnosti jejího rozvíjení. *Dějepis ve škole 5*, pp. 456–457; Idem (1958). Možnosti samostatné práce při vyučování dějepisu. *Dějepis ve škole 5*, pp. 456–457.

<sup>29</sup> Idem. (1958). K otázce učebně výchovného cíle dějepisných hodin. *Komenský 82*, pp. 600–605.

<sup>30</sup> Idem. (1959). Domácí úkoly ve vyučování. *Dějepis a zeměpis ve škole 1*, pp. 239–241.

<sup>31</sup> Idem. (1960). K otázce cíle a úkolů dějepisného vyučování na ZDŠ. *Dějepis a zeměpis ve škole 2*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>32</sup> Idem. (1960). Polytechnický princip v dějepisném vyučování. In *Za těsnější spojení školy se životem*. Praha: SPN, pp. 334–340.

<sup>33</sup> *Metodika vyučování vlastivědě* (1964). Praha: SPN.

<sup>34</sup> Archive of the Masaryk University, A 4, Annual evaluation of external work at the history section of the department of history, civics and geography in 1961–1962.

J. A. Comenius Institute of Education at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, said in 1971 that Opatřil, "*following his arrival at the faculty in 1947, focused on questions of didactics (in particular the methodology of history teaching). He did not consider the issue of history as a teaching subject unimportant, particularly as he was well aware of its low standing and the falling standard of history teaching in which formalism dominated to an extent seen in few other areas. For this reason he thought deeply about the position of history among the other teaching subjects, studied its effectiveness in relation to human knowledge and its educational impact, and studied the question of the teaching process in history and its function and mission in civil education. He was also interested in forms and methods of history teaching (such as thematic gatherings with a historical focus), dates and their place in history teaching, etc.*"<sup>35</sup> Professor Novotný also assessed the publication output of the candidate and stated that, "*the systematic and diverse work of Stanislav Opatřil relating to history teaching has had a favourable influence on the state of history teaching in many regards.*"

The reintegration of the Faculty of Education into the university in 1964 created favourable conditions for the development of academic and research work. The theory of history teaching became an important field at the Department of History. Its development can be dated to the end of the nineteen sixties when collective research into the use of textual aids in history teaching at primary school began. Attention was also devoted to the application of regional historical research in history teaching. The department held academic conferences on this issue in 1973 and 1976. The importance of teaching aids in increasing the effectiveness of teaching was the focus of academic conferences in 1979, 1983, 1986 and 1989. In 1977, the department held a VII international symposium for historians – didactitians.

Stanislav Julínek (1931–2013) lectured in history didactics at the Department of History from 1968 and defended his doctorate dissertation on the topic *The Principle of Permanence and its Importance in the Teaching Process* in January 1972 (examiner Josef Maňák), obtaining the title Doctor of Philosophy (PhDr.). At this time, he contributed to the preparation of a selection of literary fiction for history teaching in years 7 and 8 of primary school, investigated the importance of bibliography to the regional work of history teachers,<sup>36</sup> produced a bibliography on the methodology of history

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<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, prof. J. Novotný's expert opinion from 1971.

<sup>36</sup> *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty UJEP, řada společenských věd* (1974). No. 6, pp. 91–114.

teaching,<sup>37</sup> studied the issue of co-operation between museums and schools from the viewpoint of the training of history students<sup>38</sup> and made a selection of teaching aids for national history and geography teaching in year 5.<sup>39</sup> At the symposium *Statistisches Bild in Greifswald* in 1972 he talked about the application of didactic technique in the special didactic training of students studying history. He also contributed to works associated with the modification of teaching plans and curricula for full-time, combined and postgraduate history studies and to the establishment of collections of graphic aids and attempts at the modernisation of teaching in terms of content and technique. He also investigated the role of the content of history curricula in shaping aesthetic feelings in the young.

In the nineteen eighties Stanislav Julínek contributed to work on the academic research project *Methodical Use of Didactic Means in History Teaching*. He participated in training primary and secondary school teachers in connection with the introduction of a new concept of history teaching at primary and secondary schools and new teaching plans. In 1984, he defended his candidate dissertation *Art Education in History Teaching* at the Faculty of Education at Charles University in Prague and was awarded the academic title candidate of educational sciences. He published papers on the history of history teaching at Czech primary schools from the viewpoint of the development of teaching plans, curricula and school textbooks,<sup>40</sup> aesthetic instruction in the process of teaching history,<sup>41</sup> didactic analysis as a starting point for the functional selection of teaching aids in history teaching,<sup>42</sup> basic methodical approaches to the use of the history of art in history teaching<sup>43</sup> and the organisation of excursions as part of the specialist and didactic training of history students.<sup>44</sup> He spoke on new knowledge in branch didactics at

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<sup>37</sup> *Dějepis ve škole* (1968).

<sup>38</sup> *Spolupráce školy a muzea* (1971). Praha: Národní muzeum.

<sup>39</sup> *Komenský* (1970).

<sup>40</sup> Julínek, S. (1977). 30 let dějepisné výuky na českých základních školách z hlediska vývoje učebních plánů. *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty UJEP, řada společenských věd*, No. 8, pp. 143–162.

<sup>41</sup> Idem. (1981). Estetická výchova a dějepisný vyučovací proces. *Ibid*, No. 10, pp. 123–130.

<sup>42</sup> Sýkora, J. (Ed.) (1986). *Vyučovací pomůcky jako prostředek modernizace výuky dějepisu*. Brno, pp. 78–95.

<sup>43</sup> Julínek, S. (1985). Základní metodické přístupy s využitím učiva z dějin umění při výuce dějepisu. *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty UJEP, řada společenských věd*, No. 11, pp. 31–56.

<sup>44</sup> Idem. (1988). Exkurzní činnost jako součást odborné a didaktické přípravy posluchačů. *Ibid*, No. 12, pp. 39–46.



the III Dresden Days at the University of Education in Dresden in 1985. He was appointed senior lecturer in the didactics of history in 1988 on the basis of his successful academic and teaching work. He later presented his conception of the didactics of history in the teaching text *An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of History Didactics* (Brno 1995).

The collective research into the use of teaching aids in history teaching at primary school mentioned above was coordinated by Jaroslav Sýkora (born 1928). In addition to a number of theoretical papers considering the use of literary fiction, this study also resulted in a number of practical textual aids for teachers, such as *Literary Fiction in History Teaching in Year 7 of Nine-year Primary Schools*,<sup>45</sup> a similar publication for year 8 teachers<sup>46</sup> and the guide *Who's Who*.<sup>47</sup> Sýkora also investigated the use of study materials in national history and geography in teaching the most recent history<sup>48</sup> and pondered the importance of halls of tradition in fulfilling the teaching and educational tasks of schools.<sup>49</sup> He wrote about the use of regional history in history teaching with F. Čapka,<sup>50</sup> and about the use of literary fiction as a literary teaching aid in history teaching<sup>51</sup> and methods of work with literary fiction in history teaching with O. Sýkorová.<sup>52</sup> Last but not least, Jaroslav Sýkora gained a reputation as co-author of history textbooks for year 3 of the grammar schools of the time and methodical guide to these textbooks.<sup>53</sup> His editorship of anthologies of didactic conferences organised by the Department of History should also not be forgotten.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Sýkora, J. (Ed.). (1971). *Krásná literatura ve vyučování dějepisu v 7. roč.* ZDŠ. Brno: UJEP.

<sup>46</sup> Idem. (Ed.). (1974). *Krásná literatura ve vyučování dějepisu v 8. roč.* ZDŠ. Brno: KPÚ.

<sup>47</sup> Sýkora, J., Sýkorová, O. (1973). *Kdo je kdo*. Brno: KPÚ.

<sup>48</sup> Sýkora, J. (1974). Ispolzovanije krajevedčeskogo materijala pri izučeniji istorii socialističeskogo strojitelstva. *Prepodavanije istorii v škole*, No. 6, pp. 95–97.

<sup>49</sup> Idem. (1977). Pomoc vlastivědným pracovníkům při budování síni revolučních tradic ve školách a na závodech. *Vlastivědný věstník moravský*, 29, No. 1, pp. 91–96.

<sup>50</sup> Sýkora, J., Čapka, F. (1977). Regionální historie ve vyučování dějepisu. *Vlastivědný věstník moravský*, 29, No. 1, pp. 83–85.

<sup>51</sup> Sýkora, J., Sýkorová, O. (1977). K otázce využívání krásné literatury jako literární učební pomůcky ve vyučování dějepisu. *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty UJEP, řada společenských věd*, No. 8, pp. 163–176.

<sup>52</sup> Idem. (1980). Metody práce s krásnou literaturou ve vyučování dějepisu. *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty UJEP, řada společenských věd*, No. 9, pp. 131–146.

<sup>53</sup> Cambel, S., Kováčová, A., Macek, Z., Sýkora, J. (1981). *Dějepis. Experimentální učební text pro III. ročník gymnázia*. Praha: SPN; lbid (1981). *Dějepis. Experimentální metodická příručka pro 3. ročník gymnázia*. Bratislava: SPN; Cambel, S., Kameneč, I., Macek, Z., Sýkora, J. (1987). *Dějepis pro 3. ročník gymnázia*. Praha: SPN.

<sup>54</sup> Sýkora, J. (Ed.). (1983). *Podíl vyučovacích pomůcek na modernizaci výuky dějepisu*. Brno: UJEP; Sýkora, J., Julínek, S., Nečas, C. (Eds.). (1979). *Materiály z konference Využití nejnovějších regionálních dějin ve vyučování dějepisu*. Brno: UJEP.

Libuše Urbánková (1955) studied the use of diaphone in history teaching.<sup>55</sup> Jaroslav Vaculík (1947) presented an overview of the development of training for history teachers at the Faculty of Education at Masaryk University in the years 1946–1981.<sup>56</sup>

The didactics of history continued to develop after 1989, making a contribution to history textbooks and textbooks of national history and geography for primary schools and research into the use of didactic video recordings and historical films in the context of historical culture and history teaching.

In 1996, the Department of History organised the international academic conference *The Production of History Textbooks in Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic*.<sup>57</sup> František Čapka (born 1942) spoke of the importance of regional history in history teaching at the XIX Mikulov Symposium in 1990.<sup>58</sup> He referred to the possibilities of incorporating elements of regional history into history textbooks at the conference.<sup>59</sup>

Kamil Štěpánek (born 1960), a new lecturer in the didactics of history, appeared at a conference on the production of textbooks in 1996 with a paper on the didactic use of historical feature films.<sup>60</sup> He also presented the depiction of Oliver Cromwell in film in the faculty anthology.<sup>61</sup> He considered the formation of history teaching and verification of its effectiveness at the conference Videodidakta 91.

The outline submitted here gives an indication of the substantial results achieved in the study of the didactics of history at the Faculty of Education at Masaryk University in its first fifty years.

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<sup>55</sup> Urbánková, L. (1988). Diafony ve vyučování dějepisu. *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty UJEP, řada společenských věd*, No. 12, pp. 47–60.

<sup>56</sup> Vaculík, J. (1988). Příprava učitelů dějepisu na pedagogické fakultě v Brně v letech 1946–1981. *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty MU, řada společenských věd*, No. 11, pp. 7–30.

<sup>57</sup> Vaculík, J. (Ed.). (1996). *Tvorba učebnic dějepisu v Polsku, na Slovensku a v České republice*. Brno: MU.

<sup>58</sup> Čapka, F. (1990). Několik poznámek k významu regionálních dějin pro vyučování dějepisu. In *XIX. mikulovské symposium*. Brno: SOA Břeclav, pp. 69–75.

<sup>59</sup> Idem. (1996). Možnosti začlenění regionálních historických prvků do učebnic dějepisu. In Vaculík, J. (ed.). (1996). *Tvorba učebnic dějepisu v Polsku, na Slovensku a v České republice*. Brno: MU, pp. 41–42.

<sup>60</sup> Štěpánek, K. (1992). Oliver Cromwell, filmový a skutečný a školní dějepis. *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty MU, řada společenských věd*, No. 13, pp. 100–109.

<sup>61</sup> Idem. (1992). Poznámky k tvorbě a ověřování účinnosti dějepisného videozáznamu. In *Videodidakta 91. Formy a metody využití videa ve výchově a vzdělávání*. Brno: MU, pp. 32–38.

## Participation of the Society for the Support of the Construction of State Schools in the Realisation of Construction Projects in the North-eastern Borderlands of the Second Republic of Poland

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*In the Second Republic of Poland the actions undertaken in state schooling called for intensive efforts in the realisation of the school duty and the organisation of new schools. The difficulties related with the setting up of the network of schools which would allow children to fulfil their school duty would arise in, among others, the north-eastern borderlands of the reborn Republic. The aforementioned tasks required major financial contributions connected with the construction of schools. These needs were too high for the State Treasury. Likewise, the local government, especially in villages, did not have sufficient funds. In 1933 the Society for the Support of the Construction of State Schools was founded. It was a charity organisation that would undertake a number of different actions to use even small funds to provide significant financial support in construction of schools.*

Key words: *state school; construction of schools; Charity*

In the Second Republic of Poland there was a number of issues connected with state schooling that required intensive efforts of both the ministry of education and the local government. The problems arose mostly in the Eastern Borderlands, in the territory of the partition of Poland that had formerly been under Russian occupation. The historical conditions that resulted in, among others, the lack of Polish schools (until 1915) presented the local school administration with tasks encompassing the organisation of state schools, inclusion of children in the educational process, because of their school duty, and providing the founded schools with qualified teaching staff. The aforementioned scope of activities was a part of a broad effort for the benefit of Polish schools for children aged

7 to 14, especially because the schools constituted the centres of cultural life of local communities.

The example of the Vilnius province show that the realisation of these tasks was not easy. When addressing the question of the organisation of state schools one is presented first and foremost with the problem of school buildings that need to meet certain construction and health and safety standards. The documents stored in the Lithuanian Central State Archive in Vilnius show a difficult situation of the particular towns and villages, whose schools would be located in rented rooms, private flats, farmers' houses, or in parishes. Frequently spontaneous actions of the leaders of local communities and organisers of schools were being held back by circumstances such as the lack of space for all the students, lack of floors, heating, and school desks. This rendered the proper realisation of didactic and educational tasks impossible.

In the archives one can discover in which towns and villages the construction of schools was undertaken during the German occupation (1915–1918). In the village of Pamucie (Lyntypska borough, Świeciański district) the local population brought some wood from the forest and started building a barrack for a state school.<sup>1</sup> Very soon the local military administration tried to claim the barrack. Because of the unresolved problem of ownership the construction works came to a halt.

Throughout 1918 to 1922 in the Vilnius province intensive efforts were made to construct new schools. The initiatives were spontaneous and it appeared that all the ideas were about to be implemented at once. The Bill of February 17, 1922<sup>2</sup> guaranteed that the works of the local governments could be carried out successfully. The bill, however, was vague and written rather carelessly. The bill did not address the crucial problem of the sources of financing the construction works. On the basis of the bill in question the ministry of education issued a regulation of April 6, 1922<sup>3</sup> in which it was noted that 50% of the costs of the construction of state schools was to be covered by the borough, and the remaining 50% from the so-called support from the State Treasury.

In the regulations pertaining to the granting of the support funds for construction of schools one ought to look for the root of the difficulties in

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<sup>1</sup> Inspektorat Szkolny pow. Świeciańskiego do Dowództwa Zdobyczy Wojennej w Wilnie, Świeciany May 30, 1922, Lithuanian Central State Archive in Vilnius (LCVA), f. 172, op. 1, no. 722, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Ustawa z dnia 17 lutego 1922 r. o budowie publicznych szkół powszechnych. *Dziennik Ustaw (DzUMWRiOP)* 1922, Issue 18, pos. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *DzUMWRiOP* 1922, Issue 12, pos. 113.

solving the problem. The local governments did not have budgets substantial enough and the local population was not always willing to pay voluntary taxes to build schools.

However, the financial difficulties did not discourage the local government authorities and in the years 1922–1925 further investments were started. At the same time the Treasury stopped supporting the construction of schools.

The situation was difficult because a number of construction projects was never finalised. What is more, at the turn of the 1920s and the 1930s the world economic crisis influenced Poland and exacerbated the problem.

In the numerous mentions attention is drawn to the halting of construction works. For example, the Province Office of Nowogródzkie in 1926 informs that in the Stołpeck district in the years 1928–1929 the building of three public state schools was initiated (in Wielka Słoboda, Turec, and Kościuki) “but because of the ceasing of the financing from the State Treasury it was stopped and over the last seven years the boroughs have not been able to raise enough funds to complete them”.<sup>4</sup>

The lack of financial funds would often bring very advanced construction works to a halt. It defeated initiatives when there was a growing social awareness of the need to have a school and to educate the young generation.

On the basis of the population census of December 9, 1931 it was noted that to meet the urgent needs it would have been necessary to build 2,500–3,000 rooms for schooling annually for the following 20 years. Constructing those would not yet suffice in solving the problem of securing enough space for all children to study. Furniture and equipment were also required. In the pedagogical press, e.g. in “Przyjaciel Szkoły”, it was emphasised that “reality and the interests of the State call for a great effort that cannot be made only by the State and the local government”.<sup>5</sup> That is why the participation of the entire society is necessary so that “the charity funding for schools may become the interest of a group of people who can understand the importance of the participation of the society in construction of schools, which is crucial for the state”.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Urząd Wojewódzki Nowogródzki, Wydział Samorządowy do Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych w Wilnie, Nowogródek July 14, 1936, LCVA, f. 278, op. 1, no. 36, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> K., Odezwa Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych, *Przyjaciel Szkoły* 1933, Issue 13, p. 431.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 432.

In 1933 the starost of Lidzk proposed that, among others, that “a Poviato School Construction Committee be founded in the poviato – this consist of the representatives of all the boroughs”.<sup>7</sup>

In the same year the idea to set up the Society for the Support of the Construction of State Schools (Towarzystwo Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych, hereinafter TPBPSP). The organisation’s aim was to support the construction and equipment of state schools.<sup>8</sup>

The society was founded in June 1933 in cooperation with school authorities. Władysław Raczkiewicz (Senate Chairman) was elected its chairperson. The Board consisted of six people: Julian Smulikowski, MP (vice-president of Polish Teachers’ Association –Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego, hereinafter ZNP), senator Siciński (president of the Christian-National Association of State School Teachers, Stanisław Machowski (secretary of the board of ZNP), dr Michał Mendys (director of Department of General Schooling), Stanisław Bugajski (Head of the State Schools Department).<sup>9</sup>

In the statute of the society it is stated that “the Society is divided into districts, precincts, and associations”.<sup>10</sup> The basic organisational unit was therefore the Association. They were financed from: “a) entry fees and subscriptions; b) donations and subventions; c) revenue from real estate and interest on capital and loans; d) revenue from publications; e) revenue from other sources, such as: concerts, lectures, shows, events, etc.; f) other sources”.<sup>11</sup> The District Committee was obliged to transfer 25% of the funds raised by the Associations to the Board. The remaining funds were spent by the Districts according to the regulations issued by the Board. Paragraph 17 of the statute defined the authorities of the society as the Public Meeting of the Associations and the Committees, General Meeting of the Society as well as the boards of the Associations and the Committees and the Society Board. The Minister of Religions and Public Enlightenment and his subordinate school authorities of the first and the second level could nominate “delegates-advisors to the Public Meeting of the Associations and the Committees, General Meeting of the

<sup>7</sup> Walasek, S. (2006). *Szkolnictwo powszechne na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej (1915–1939)*, Kraków, p. 234.

<sup>8</sup> The society was founded in June 1933 and it was chaired by the then Marshall of the Senate W. Raczkiewicz, *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Akcja budowy szkół powszechnych, Oświata i Wychowanie*, 1933, Issue 6–7, p. 549.

<sup>10</sup> *Statut Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych*. Lwów 1933, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 3–4

<sup>12</sup> *Statut Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy...*, p. 21.

Society as well as the boards of the Associations and the Committees and the Society Board and their Executive Departments and Auditorial Commissions and the Main Auditorial Commission".<sup>12</sup>

While the statute discusses the sources of financing, it lacks regulations of the distribution of the funds. It can be assumed that they were granted to the particular boroughs on the basis of applications submitted by the Associations to District Committee for the "fulfilment of the needs of the schools".<sup>13</sup>

The report of TPBPSP for the period between July 1, 1933 and December 31, 1934 states that there was 2,788,359 zł committed to construction of schools and purchasing school equipment, and the subventions of the Board amounted to 1,015,000 zł.<sup>14</sup> What is more, the society contributed to the construction 288 quarters for state school teachers. Among the mentioned figures one can notice that in 1934 the Wilno district received 255,000 zł in funding, which, however, did not amount to a significant number when compared to the needs of the schools in this region of Poland.<sup>15</sup>

The aforementioned project of the municipality of Lidzk to organise district structures to finance construction of schools was approved. The district of Grodno informed the TPBPSP and the Wilno school authorities "that in the district a District Fund for the Construction of Schools was founded, and annually it grants donations amounting to a sum of over a dozen of thousands of zlotys".<sup>16</sup> The District Fund did not have funds sufficient to secure the needs of the powiat, that is why loans and charities of the TPBPSP were also required. It can be assumed that the cooperation of the organisations was seamless. However, further parts of the document indicate that the District Department, when planning the building of schools, would count on the support of the society, which the Society would frequently fail to provide at the last moment, which led to significant material losses and discouraged the local communities.

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<sup>13</sup> *Statut Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy...*, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> The loans for building schools amounted o 2,391,000 zł, and nonreturnable subventions to 280,399 zł; loans for school equipment – 2,000 zł, and nonreturnable subventions for school equipment and didactic tools – 114,560 zł; Towarzystwo Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych, *Oświata i Wychowanie* 1935, Issue 5, p. 326.

<sup>15</sup> B., O izbę szkolną. *Oświata i Wychowanie* 1935, Issue 7, p. 504.

<sup>16</sup> Wydział Powiatowy w Grodnie do Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych przy Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego Wileńskiego w Wilnie, Grodno September 11, 1936 r., LCVA f. 278, , Issue 36, p.134.

One also ought to note the good cooperation between the local government and the Board of the District Committee of TPBPSP in Vilnius.

The 1934 correspondence between the Vilnius governor, the Education Authority of the Vilnius School District, the Society for the Support of the Construction of State Schools, and the District Department in Głębokie presents the common effort for the construction of a state school in Głębokie. The local community also contributed to the work.

It can be found in the documents that out of the 8,500 inhabitants, not including the nearby villages, there is one school with the capacity of 750 students.<sup>17</sup> The school was a group of small houses "below any hygienic standards, which is also a source of infectious diseases".<sup>18</sup> As it was observed, 1,500 children ought to attend school in the town. Consequently, 50% of the children were out of school, "and the gathered inhabitants cannot educate their children in any other way, henceforth the children, against the will of their parents, shall remain illiterate".<sup>19</sup> The inhabitants of Głębokie presented the proposal to build two state schools in the town, which would have a sufficient number of classrooms, and where the conditions for learning would be proper and standards of hygiene met. The request was concluded with a dramatic address: "the people gathered believe that governor will not allow that in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the citizens of the State of Poland, regardless of their faith and willing to fulfil their duties to the State, should be forced to watch their children grow up without even the most basic education required of a citizen".<sup>20</sup>

The postulate to build the schools was not entirely up to date, because the Town Council of Głębokie had started the construction of a school, however, it could only be completed with the help of funds that the town did not have.

The estimate of the construction costs was originally 77,765 zł. Because of the objections of the Province Office it was raised to 82,513 zł.<sup>21</sup> The construction cost forced the city to apply to the Society for the Support of the Construction of State Schools for a 20,000 zł loan, and another loan of the same figure to the Labour Fund. In reply to the

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<sup>17</sup> Do Jaśnie Wielmożnego Pana Wojewody w Wilnie, Głębokie 7. 09. 1934, Wileński Urząd Wojewódzki. Wydział Samorządu. Oświata i Kultura 1934 r., LCVA, f. 51, op. 5, Issue 1133, no page number.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Pismo Od Wojewody Wileńskiego do Pana Kuratora OS Wileńskiego z 22. 09. 1934 r. Sprawa – budowa szkoły powszechnej w Głębokiem, Wileńskim Urząd Wojewódzki... 1934 r., no. page number.



application the society granted the city a 15,000 zł loan, and Labour Fund failed to reply at all.

In a letter from June 1934 the District Board of the society in Vilnius informed the voivod of the zero-interest loans for the construction of schools,<sup>22</sup> including the dziśnieński district (zaleska, pliska, mikołajewska boroughs, and the town of Głębokie), that amounted to 22,000 zł. In the same document the Society informs the province of the figure of the loans and charities of further boroughs in the Vilnius School District. Altogether the Society granted 73,000 zł in loans and 7,000 zł in charity funds for the construction of state schools in 22 boroughs and 2 towns (Mołodeczno and Głębokie).<sup>23</sup>

The greatest problem for the borrowers was the requirement for the funds to be spent before July 15. After this date the District Board was obliged to transfer all funds not spent to the Board in Warsaw. This is difficult to understand in light of the regulation of the Statute of the Society stating that funds ought to be allocated for the entire year.

In the annual report of the TPBPSP for 1935<sup>24</sup> the Board mentions a number of issues. It was noted that difficulties were caused by too high a subscription fee. The decision was made to decrease it and to attempt to find new members. What is more, it was stated that there was not enough contact between the District Committees and the Associations, and that "most of the District Committees fail to complete their tasks within the time limit set by the Board".<sup>25</sup> Further in the report it is emphasised that the District Committees did not meet the deadline to submit annual reports, and that 11 of the Committees submitted incomplete reports, which was caused by the Associations failing to fulfil their duties.

In the document from August 1935 the Vilnius Province Office notes that "year by year the number of school children increases disproportionately to the number of the newly constructed and rented school buildings and classrooms".<sup>26</sup> That is why a substantial number

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<sup>22</sup> Zarząd Okręgowy Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych do Pana Wojewody Wileńskiego w Wilnie, Wilno 19. 06. 1934, LCVA, f. 51, op. 5, Issue 1051, no page number.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Sprawozdanie z działalności Komitetu Okręgowego Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych w Wilnie w roku 1935, LCVA, f. 278, op. 1., Issue 36, pp. 177–179.

<sup>25</sup> Op. cit., p. 177.

<sup>26</sup> Urząd Nowogródzki Wydział Samorządowy do Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych w Wilnie, 17 sierpnia 1935, f. 278, op. 1, Issue 36, p. 318.

of children were out of school. As the Office communicates, due to the difficult financial situation of the local governments in many towns and villages construction works came to a halt. In a letter to TPBPSP a request is made for support in the form of loans and charity funds that the Office planned to devote to completing the construction of schools.

In the Public Meeting of the District Committee of TPBPSP in Vilnius that took place on March 22, 1936 the annual working schedule was accepted. It was decided that the number of members actually paying their subscriptions would be increased, and that schools of the second and third level would be supported if they did not have sufficient buildings. 250,000 zł<sup>27</sup> was allocated to this aim, and the decision was made to devote 10,000 zł to didactic aids.

The interest of the local governments in the work of the Society was great. The opportunity to finance the construction of schools in villages and towns was noticed. Nevertheless, the procedures of receiving the financial support were somewhat misinterpreted, because in 1936 the District Department of the TPBPSP in Vilnius in a letter to the Board of the District Department in Grodno explained that loans and charity funds are to be granted to "those units of local government that construct schools"<sup>28</sup> and the allocated sums are transferred to Borough Boards. It was clarified that "the amount of the planned loans and charity funds and the clearly defined aims that they are to be spent towards are determined according to the regulations of the District Committees of the Society in cooperation with school authorities and upon the official acceptance of the construction plan".<sup>29</sup> Every year in January the Board of the Society in Warsaw would accept the budget, subsequently the District Committees would draw up construction plans on the basis of the applications submitted by the Precinct Committees.

It needs to be noted that the efforts made to build schools had numerous supporters. They were, among others, the Polish Society of Book Publishers and the Polish Booksellers' Society, who in 1933 donated 10 gr from every school book sold to TPBPSP.<sup>30</sup> Schools also received substantial support from the State School Books Publishing House who "every year distributes a number of books among schools and

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<sup>27</sup> Op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>28</sup> TPBPSP Komitet Okręgowy Wilno do Zarządu Wydziału Powiatowego w Grodnie, October 2, 1936, op. cit., p. 135.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Budujemy szkoły. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1933, Issue 36, p. 586.

occasionally among the poorest of school children”.<sup>31</sup> Similar donations of school books were submitted by private enterprises such as the Polish Booksellers Association (Związek Księgarzy Polskich). Their action consisted in marking every school book with the label “Donate a dime to the Society for the Support of the Construction of State Schools”.<sup>32</sup>

The Society for the Construction of Schools collected funds from many sources, such as a voluntary tax on teachers' salaries, subscriptions, and charity donations. Originally the Society would collect donations by selling post stamps. The effort of the youth who were engaged in selling mostly the stamps of the lowest price range (5-10 groszes) needs to be mentioned. These actions were aimed to promote the Society and to attract new members as well as supporters of the cause of building state schools. In pedagogical press there was a call for action to support the Society, because “the sum collected from the society and given back to the society amounted to about 200,000 zł and it made it possible to help 139 boroughs who could not complete the construction of schools. They were granted interest-free loans of a few thousand złotys as well as long-term loans that were crucial in completing the construction of the schools”.<sup>33</sup>

Yet another form of the promotion of the construction of schools was the action called “The Week of the State School” that was organised by TPBPSP starting in 1933 and which was aimed to disseminate the idea of the construction of schools among the society. As it was noted in “Głos Nauczycielski”: “it is high time to get the society interested in the fate of schools, they must be involved in the effort to provide the basic conditions for the founding and the development of schools”.<sup>34</sup> As it was noted by Vilnius Municipal Committee that organised the 5<sup>th</sup> Week of the State School (October 2–9, 1928) year by year “the number of public institutions, social organisations, as well as private individuals with no connections with the schooling system who, due to their understanding of the importance of the task, are glad to make the effort to increase the funding of the construction of schools rises substantially”.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Polskie Towarzystwo Wydawców Książek do TPBPSP, Warszawa 2 June 2 1936 r., f. 278, op. 1., Issue 36, p. 161

<sup>32</sup> Budujemy szkoły. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1933, Issue 36, p. 586.

<sup>33</sup> Towarzystwo Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych. *Echo Nauczycielskie* 1934, Issue 7, p. 272.

<sup>34</sup> Towarzystwo Popierania Budowy Szkół Powszechnych... *Głos Nauczycielski* 1933, Issue 5, p. 80.

<sup>35</sup> Wileński Miejski Komitet V Tygodnia Szkoły Powszechnej, 24. IX. 1938, f. 203, op. 1, Issue 7, p. 12.

It was estimated that even in the first year of the work of TPBPSP the Society collected 3 to 4 million zlotys and, as it was noted, "this sum could break the standstill in construction of schools and at least partly fulfil the growing needs necessary to solve the problems connected with it".<sup>36</sup> In 1937 the State Treasury devoted 600,000 zł of investment loans as a donation to TPBPSP and a further "680.000 as the rest of the million committed to construction of Marshal Piłsudski schools in the Vilnius region".<sup>37</sup>

As it was stated, the financial efforts of the Society were generally made to build schools. To a lesser extent the funds were committed to purchasing equipment and didactic tools. Nevertheless, the Society would also work towards this aim. For example, in 1938 school books were purchased and libraries organised in state schools no. 31, 42, 33 in Vilnius.<sup>38</sup>

The work of the Society was frequently mentioned in pedagogical press. Construction of schools in the particular towns and villages was discussed, and the press would also inform of the difficulties and encourage the society to participate.

For example, in 1933 in "Przyjaciel Szkoły" the Society's call for action was published. Therein it was emphasised that "one of the main tasks that we face is undoubtedly the construction of state schools. It is a growing concern that may bring the development of the school system to a halt".<sup>39</sup> When the Society was founded the press informed that "[the Society] aims to rely on the cooperation of all the members of society, to unify individual efforts, to upkeep the society's willingness to donate to schools, to generate interest in the cause".<sup>40</sup> In the same year in the magazine "Oświata i Wychowanie" information was published about the founding of TPBPSP which "has initiated an energetic effort to set up Associations in all school districts".<sup>41</sup> A year later "Echo Nauczycielskie" informed of the aims of the Society.<sup>42</sup> Information was published systematically in

<sup>36</sup> Towarzystwo Popierania Budowy Szkół Powszechnych. Organizacja, cele, zadania i możliwości. *Głos Nauczycielski* 1933, Issue 5, pp. 79–80.

<sup>37</sup> Speech of the Minister of Religions and Public Enlightenment Wojciech Świętosławski at the Budget Commission of the Sejm of February 3, 1938. *Oświata i Wychowanie* 1938, Issue 2, p. 128.

<sup>38</sup> Inspektorat Szkolny Wileński Miejski w Wilnie do Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego w Wilnie, 3. XI. 1938, f. 172, op. 4, Issue 415, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup> K. Odezwa Towarzystwa Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych. *Przyjaciel Szkoły* 1933, Issue 13, p. 431.

<sup>40</sup> Op. cit. p. 432.

<sup>41</sup> Akcja budowy szkół powszechnych. *Oświata i Wychowanie* 1933, Issue 6–7, p. 549.

<sup>42</sup> Towarzystwo Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych. *Echo Nauczycielskie* 1934 Issue 7, p. 273.

“Oświata i Wychowanie” published by the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment.<sup>43</sup>

The efforts of the TPBPSP brought substantial results in the form of financial support for construction of schools. It was crucial in such regions as the north-eastern voivodships in which the lack of schools was particularly severe and the economic potential of the local government was insufficient.

What was a major achievement of the Society was that in the years 1933–39 it was able to involve the nation, with the help of the ministry of education, in the priority task of setting up state schooling. Cooperation, combined action, help, and integration of the society brought substantial results in the form of newly built schools, verification of the network of schools, and providing children with places in schools.

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<sup>43</sup> B., O izbę szkolną *Oświata i Wychowanie* Issue 7, pp. 501–505; Towarzystwo Popierania Budowy Publicznych Szkół Powszechnych, *Oświata i Wychowanie* Issue 5, pp. 325–327.

## The Educational Work of the Slavic Women's Union in Poland (and Czechoslovakia) during the Interwar Period – Ideas, Postulates and Selected Examples

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*The beginning of the work of Slavic associations ought to be connected with the idea of Slavic alliance – the idea of Pan Slavism – which was reborn after World War I. It was argued that Slavic nations needed to be united on equal rights, without the supremacy of any single nation. This cooperation (bringing together, improving relations) was to take place, first of all, in economy (according to the idea of economic unity), and also in politics (political alliance), and culture (the idea of common acquaintance, understanding, promotion of culture) and it was to involve all Slavic nations.*

*What may serve as an example of such cooperation can be the Polish-Czechoslovakian relations, in spite of their political and social difficulties. Throughout the years 1929–1939 associations of Slavic women were established and active in Poland as well as Czechoslovakia. The forms of their work as well as aims and tasks were similar. They would implement similar ideas. Their statutes clearly defined the aims and the forms of work in education; they were: establishing and fostering friendly contacts between Slavic nations, learning about the culture and the life of Slavs, promoting, supporting, and bringing together Slavic nations by all means permitted by law, and improving economic and cultural cooperation in the spirit of Slavonic mutuality. The broad and diverse educational work of the Slavic women's associations in Poland and Czechoslovakia contributed to the improvement of the good relations and bringing together the two nations.*

Key words: *Games; Women's Union; educational work; interwar period*

In Poland the rapprochement of Polish and Czechoslovakian nations and states was actively supported mainly by the intellectuals belonging to social and cultural Czechoslovakian-Polish and Polish-Czechoslovakian

associations for mutual friendship,<sup>1</sup> aided by few politicians and officials. In Czechoslovakia the associations and organisations aiming to bring a rapprochement with Poland were first founded with the attempts to improve the Polish-Czech relations initiated by Czech persons of culture and business.<sup>2</sup>

One of the greatest proponents of a union of Poland and Czechoslovakia was the chairperson of the Polish-Czechoslovakian Society of Poznań, Kazimierz Kierski, who presented the idea of an economic union and a political union (political alliance). Kierski perceived a great role in bringing the nations together in, among others, the work of all the clubs and Polish-Czechoslovakian associations. He wrote that "(...) these associations, regardless of what they are called and where they are, ought to unite all their efforts towards realising the idea of a Polish-Czechoslovakian union. To achieve this a dialogue needs to be initiated and intensive propaganda developed, so that the broad social strata in which they work – from the lowest to the highest – are instilled with the awareness of the necessity of such an alliance."<sup>3</sup>

The main idea behind the founded and developed Czechoslovakian-Polish and Polish-Czechoslovakian associations was "the Slavophilian thought, the idea of a Slavic unity, that is deeply rooted in the older generation of Czechs and Poles – men of science and culture."<sup>4</sup> Both in Poland and in Czechoslovakia the regaining of independence was accompanied by a rapid boost in the number of Slavophilian organisation – especially among Polonophilian and Czechophilian societies. These organisations were founded in both countries mostly in 1922 – however, one could witness their greatest growth in the years 1928–1934.<sup>5</sup>

The worsening of the political situation in 1934 "resulted in a change in the attitudes of Polish and Czechoslovakian authorities towards social

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1 More on Czechoslovakian-Polish and Polish-Czechoslovakian associations for mutual friendship: Piwowarczyk, M. (2010). Polish and Czech cooperation exemplified by the Polish-Czechoslovakian Club in Lviv (Lwów) in the period between 1926–1935 (38). *Czech-Polish Historical And Pedagogical Journal*. Volume 2, Brno, pp.17–33.

2 Jasiński, Z. (2005). Wystawa czechosłowacko-polska w Hradcu Kralove w 1933 roku. *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska*, vol. LX Sectio F, Lublin – Polonia, pp. 109–120.

3 Kierski, K. (1931). *Problemat Polsko-Czeski*. Poznań, p. 17.

4 Doliwa, J. (1987). Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności na terenie Kraju Morawsko-Śląskiego w okresie międzywojennym, część I (1918–1934). *Zeszyty Muzeum Ziemi Kłodzkiej*, Issue 2, p. 46.

5 Ibidem, pp. 46–47.

and cultural organisations promoting Polish-Czechoslovakian rapprochement in Poland as well as Czechoslovakia. The negative political situation was not without consequences for the already existing societies<sup>6</sup>, “there was an intensifying bad atmosphere around the organisations striving for Polish-Czechoslovakian cooperation,”<sup>7</sup> they lost political support and began to be criticised by the people. The situation remained virtually unchanged until 1939.

In Poland the first society for Polish-Czechoslovakian cooperation, founded in 1923 and active until 1938, was the Polish-Czechoslovakian Society in Poznań. The society that was a model for most Polish clubs considered their main aim – as proposed in their statute – to be “bringing together both the nations and maintaining mutual friendship through getting to know each other better in the fields of literature, art, and culture, as well as enterprise.”<sup>8</sup>

Following the example of the Society after 1923 there were more Polish-Czechoslovakian associations established, and later (after 1929) also other organisations for broader cooperation – Slavic associations and Slavic nations’ unions. The majority of them were modelled on the Society in relation to their aims, tasks and forms of cooperation, dissemination of the proposed and realised ideas, as well as education. That is why, just as the Polish-Czechoslovakian associations for cooperation, the Slavic societies in their statutes defined the forms of educational work that was to be aimed to initiate and maintain friendly contacts between Slavic nations, to study the life and the culture of Slavs, to promote, support, and realise bringing together of Slavic nations by all legal means, and to strengthen economic and cultural cooperation in the spirit of a Slavic mutuality. What was needed at the same time was to nurture Slavic mutuality and to teach the societies about the culture and the life of other Slavic nations through, i.a., organisation of lectures on culture, economics, history, and geography, organising official celebrations of national holidays of Slavic nations, organising social and cultural events such as concerts, plays, exhibitions, evenings with literature, dances, organisation of trips to Slavic countries, promotion of Slavic unity through articles in local and national press, and publications and leaflets of the organisations, as well as speeches on the radio, establishment of club libraries and reading

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<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, pp. 64–65.

<sup>8</sup> Kierski, K. (1933). *Dziesięciolecie Towarzystwa Polsko-Czechosłowackiego w Poznaniu*. Poznań, p. 6.



rooms with Slavic literature, and organisation of lectures, readings, and courses of Slavic languages.<sup>9</sup>

The beginning of the work of the Slavonic associations in Poland and in Czechoslovakia needs to be connected with the founding of Slavic Women's Union (hereinafter SWU) in Prague on January 20, 1929. Its president for many years was Bohumila Smolařová-Čapková.<sup>10</sup> The organisation had its Circles in Brno, Olomouc, Moravská Ostrava and Bratislava and since the spring of 1929 cooperated with numerous organisations in Poland, among others with the Association for Women's Citizen Work (hereinafter ZPOK), Association of Women Landowners in Warsaw, People's Schools Society, Union of Patriot Women in Kraków.<sup>11</sup>

On February 5, 1930 in Prague in "Zlatá Husa" hotel the First Congress of the All-Slavic Union of Slavic Women was held. There were delegations of women's organisations from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia (Polish women's organisations were represented by Stefania Laudyn-Chrzanowska – representative of the Associations of Catholic Women in Lwów, dr Hanna Hubicka, a delegate of ZPOK and the Military Family in Warsaw as well as Jadwiga Grudzińska (representing ZPOK).<sup>12</sup>

At the Congress questions connected with the aims and the organisation of the work of the Union were discussed. The delegates debated the contents and the methods of the work of women's organisations in the particular countries. It was emphasised that, as Bohumila Smolařová-Čapková stated in her speech, "(...) every method of work ought to be a basis for the better mutual understanding and bringing together the Slavic tribes."<sup>13</sup> What was discussed in detail were the problems of education of youth, women, and the society in the spirit of the Slavic idea. It was postulated that action be taken to promote the cultural heritage of Slavic nations through: (1) education on the history, culture, and traditions of the particular nations; to this end, newspapers of all the Slavic countries were to be employed, as well as women's magazines,

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<sup>9</sup> Cf.: Doliwa, J. (1987). *Op. cit.*, p. 49; Kellner, A. (1935). Deset let Československo-polského klubu v Brně (1925–1935). In *Jdeme dál! K desátému výročí Československo-polského klubu v Brně (1925–1935)*, Brno, p. 10; Tobjański, Z. (1994). *Czesi w Polsce*. Kraków, p. 148.

<sup>10</sup> SWU was located at: Praha-Dejvice, Velflíkova ulice, č.1427, and since the end of November 1930.: Praha-Ořechovka, Dělostrelecká ulice, č. 264/47.

<sup>11</sup> Державний Архів Івано-Франківської Области [hereinafter: DAIFO], f. 362, op. 1, spr. 2, k. 2.; Also: DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 6, k. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Центральний Державний Історичний Архів України, м. Львів ([hereinafter: CDIAL], f. 841, op. 1, spr. 78, k. 7.

<sup>13</sup> CDIAL, f. 841, op. 1, spr. 78, k. 7.

and periodicals of the associations; there articles were to be published discussing the work of the Slavic circles and the heritage of the Slavs in the form of descriptions and photographs of "landscapes, villages, folk clothes, national traditions", (2) organisation in each country of "all-Slavic literature evenings", lectures about different Slavic countries and nations, exhibitions of art and craftsmanship.<sup>14</sup>

The question of student exchanges (from higher schools as well as vocational ones) for summer holidays was discussed. The students were to be educated in the spirit of "unity".

An instruction proposed by H. Hubicka was accepted. It pertained to the education of youth, women, and societies "towards an objective view on the Slavic race, its historical and contemporary international and local situation."<sup>15</sup> It was accepted that the following are necessary for Slavic education and raising the awareness of national and international citizens' duties:

- teaching history of the particular Slavic nations, their culture, traditions, and needs;
- looking into the reasons for disharmony between the Slavic nations and aiming to find opportunities to remove them;
- teaching respect for national and Slavic literature and a critical attitude to foreign literature;
- education towards a conscious Slavic conduct with the awareness of the cultural traditions of Slavs;
- appreciation of the work of great individuals of the nations;
- maintaining friendly relations between women's organisations in Slavic and non-Slavic countries;
- exchanging books in order to teach about literature and Slavic languages, and organising language courses;
- education in economics (with emphasis placed on Slavic economies).<sup>16</sup>

What is more, it was accepted that the local organisations of the SWU (local Clubs of the SWU subordinate to the Board) in the particular countries (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria) were to belong to the All-Slavic Union of Slavic Women (hereinafter: ASUSW), and the members of the ASUSW could be: central women's organisations (with their local departments) of the particular Slavic nations and Slavic women's organisations in non-Slavic countries.<sup>17</sup> During the Congress in Prague the representatives of the Polish women's organisations – in light

<sup>14</sup> CDIAL, f. 841, op. 1, spr. 78, k. 8–10.

<sup>15</sup> CDIAL, f. 841, op. 1, spr. 78, k. 8–10.

<sup>16</sup> CDIAL, f. 841, op. 1, spr. 78, k. 8–10.

<sup>17</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 26 (the statute of the All-Slavic Union of Slavic Women).

of the resolutions of the Congress to “aim to establish a special association in every Slavic country” (which was the result of the idea of all-Slavic unity, the idea of Panslavism, which was reborn after World War I and which disseminated the slogan of an alliance on equal rights, without the supremacy of any single nation: the free with the free, the equal with the equal – that was the motto of relations between Slavs) – made the decision to establish first Clubs of the SWU: in Kraków, chaired by Maria Siedlecka, and in Zakopane, chaired by the initiator of the SWU in Poland, Stefania Laudyn-Chrzanowska.<sup>18</sup>

In July 1930 in Zakopane a conception was developed of the work and the development of SWU Clubs in Poland with the help of B. Smolařová-Čapková, arrived from Prague. Polish SWU was to be a non-political, non-partisan association aimed to “bring Slavic nations together in the field of national culture and nurturing the noblest of the relations between the nations, with the exclusion of everything that could hurt the noble brotherhood.”<sup>19</sup>

Soon, new Clubs were founded; there were 21 of them, located in Biała Podlaska, Będzin, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Katowice, Kielce, Lwów (2), Milanówek, Mława, Płock, Poznań (2), Pułtusk, Sosnowiec, Stanisławów, Toruń, Warsaw (with the Board of the SWU with its offices at Marszałka Focha Street 12/8), Włocławek, Wyszaków.<sup>20</sup>

On April 19, 1931 in Kraków the First Meeting of the Polish SWU was organised. There the statute was accepted and the Board were elected. The tasks of the Board were, among others, “organisation of all the efforts to realise the ideas and the goals of the SWU, namely: all-Slavic meetings, concerts, lectures, performances, trips.”<sup>21</sup> In the Board of the SWU there were, among others, member of parliament H. Hubicka (president), MPs Maria Jaworska and Ludwika Wolska (vice-presidents), Jadwiga Grudzińska (secretary) and Wanda Pełczyńska (treasurer and spokesperson).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The vice-president of the Kraków Club of the SWU was Henryka Braunowa, steh secretary – Maria Zamorska, the treasurer – dr Wanda Wistocka, and the members, among others: Wanda Chodorowska, Wanda Grabowska, and Felicja Kowalewska.

<sup>19</sup> CDIAL, f. 841, op. 1, spr. 85, k. 2.

<sup>20</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 45.

<sup>21</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 1, k. 6–7 (project of the statute of the SWU in Poland).

<sup>22</sup> A general member of SWU could be any women of Slavic ethnicity over the age of 21. Women older than 18 could cooperate with the SWU. A member of the SWU needed to have a “perfectly clear reputation as a citizen”. A honorary member – according to the statute – could be anyone, regardless of gender, who “contributed substantially to carrying out the aims of the SWU as a member of a Club or had major achievements in the field of the promotion of the all-Slavic idea without being a SWU member”; DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 1, k. 3 (draft of the statute of the SWU in Poland).

According to the statute the aim of the SWU was to promote “the meeting and the unity of Slavic nations and working towards nurturing and developing original Slavic traditions.”<sup>23</sup> The ways to achieve these goals were:

- “founding Clubs in all of the Republic of Poland and in Polish circles abroad;
- maintaining close contacts with Slavic organisations representing the same ideology in other countries;
- organising national and all-Slavic meetings;
- education in Slavic languages, intellectual life, economies and social life of Slavic nations;
- exchange of propaganda of works of folk craftsmanship and the national traditions in general;
- organising lectures, plays, informative discussions and propaganda exhibitions;
- organising and facilitating trips to Slavic countries, student exchanges;
- promoting the idea of the SWU in press and our own publications.”<sup>24</sup>

Until the end of 1932 the SWU Board conducted a very energetic educational action aimed to “develop the Slavic movement and awaken Slavic interests”. A series of lectures was organised in most of the Clubs. For instance, the Club in Poznań (the most active of all the Clubs in Poland) organised evening lectures on, among others, Sorbian culture, Kashubian culture or outstanding politicians (a lecture titled “Mrs Masarykova” was given by the Czechoslovakian consul Jaromír Doležal). The Board also organised a series of courses and discussions (with the use of educational films) that promoted Slavic ideas and the culture of Slavic peoples among the students of state schools, gymnasiums, and vocational courses (having received permission of educational authorities). They cooperated in the field of the promotion of the idea of Slavic unity with similar associations in Poznań, among others, with the Polish-Czechoslovakian Society, the Slavic Society, the Polish-Yugoslavian Society, the Society of the Friends of the Sorbs, and with the Academic Club of the Friends of Czechoslovakia.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 1, k. 2 (draft of the statute of the SWU in Poland).

<sup>24</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 1, k. 2 (draft of the statute of the SWU in Poland).

<sup>25</sup> Starting with 01. 10. 1932 the Board of the Poznań Club included: Zofia Kawecka (president), Marcela Cosieniecka (vice-president), Bożena Stelmachowska (secretary), Aniela Sowówna (treasurer), Leonia Madurowiczówna, Maria Grossmanówna, Maria Zakrzewska (Board members); DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 11–16.

At the beginning of April 1933 there were 18 Clubs of the USW in Poland, located in Dąbrowa Górnicza, Kraków, Katowice, Kowel (Wotyń), Kielce, Lwów, Łódź, Milanówek, Mława, Poznań, Pułtusk, Płock, Stanisławów, Sambor, Toruń, Włocławek, Wyszaków, and Zakopane<sup>26</sup>. On April, 4 a new board was organised, which included Jadwiga Łypacewiczowa (president), Józefa Bratkowska, member of parliament L.Wolska and J.Grudzińska (vice-presidents), Zofia Mańkowska (secretary), Maria Siennicka and Zofia Januszewska (assistant secretaries), Zofia Mikołów (treasurer), Rita Bogustawska, Jadwiga Kurnatowska, Wanda Pełczyńska, Jadwiga Szadurska, and Maria Zaleska (members of the Board). The new Board organised specialist commissions: the press commission, chaired by M. Zaleska, the bulletin commission, chaired by M. Siennicka, and culture and propaganda commission, chaired by J. Grudzińska, and the commission of non-regular income with Helena Lesser as its chairperson. Even in the first months of its work the new Board held a number of cultural events that promoted the material and musical culture of Slavs. They were, among others, concerts of Slavic music with lectures (April 11 and 14, May 30, 1933),<sup>27</sup> and lectures of Kazimierz Wyszomirski on the subject of "Villages and cities in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia" (April 17 and 28, 1933) and of Stanisław Zakrzewski on the history of Poland (June 1933).<sup>28</sup>

The action of lectures for school children and youth was continued to promote folk traditions of Slavic people (starting with February 20, 1934 a series of discussions titled "Slavic embroidery and clothes" was organised in girls' vocational schools in Warsaw, where the art of embroidery in Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, and Yugoslavian clothes was presented)<sup>29</sup> as well a series of training courses for teachers where they were instructed how to hold theatrical plays, concerts, and screenings that could allow young people to become accustomed with Slavic culture. Through a special Social-Propaganda Commission (Komisja Towarzysko-Propagandowa) the Board organised in Warsaw Slavic dances and theatrical plays to raise funds, and in cooperation with Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, and Yugoslavian associations it initiated a tourist and training exchange for state school teachers which was aimed to not only

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<sup>26</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Russian, Yugoslavian compositions were performed under the artistic supervision of the pianist Lucyna Robowska, cello player Kazimierz Wiłkomirski, a choir of Bulgarian students and a Ukrainian Lysenko choir.

<sup>28</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 5-6; 24.

<sup>29</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 6, k. 13.

go sightseeing in the countries of destination but also to make the teachers familiar with the schooling and the family life there.

In March 1936 a new Board of the USW was formed. The president was Maria Bogucka, the vice-presidents – Maria Siennicka and Józefa Bratkowa, the secretaries – Maria Rudniewska and Irena Biedrzycka, and the treasurer – Jadwiga Nikołowowa<sup>30</sup>. Unfortunately, with the end of that year the activity of the SWU would gradually decrease until eventually fading away.

On the days June 10 to 12, 1931 the Second Congress of the All-Slavic Union of Slavic Women was held in Warsaw. There arrived the delegates of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria (B. Smolařová-Čapková, Ludwika Mašnerová-Vebrova, Iška Gollová, Ludmila Stejskalová-Rabašová) and Poland (i.a. H. Hubicka, M. Jaworska, Józefa Szebeko (representing the National Women's Organisation – Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet), J. Grudzińska, Anna Paradowska-Szelągowska (of ZPOK). During the Congress the statute of the All-Slavic Union of Slavic Women proposed by Poland was accepted and Smolařova-Čapkova was elected the president of the Union.

During the Congress (June 12) there was also the Meeting of the Polish SWU which at a programme panel accepted the programme of educational work for the Union. That was how it was made mandatory for the Clubs to:

- promote through press, spoken word, images (cinema) the spiritual and material culture of Slavs, i.e. science, history, ethnography, philosophy, literature, art, geography, natural resources and industry, and in this propaganda they ought to emphasise all the ideas connecting the Slavic peoples;
- conduct the education of youth in the Slavic idea through: proper training of teachers, conducting the lectures, especially in history and geography, about the role and the importance of Slavs in the past, the future, and the contemporary world; organise camps for the youth in Slavic countries and develop their interest in geography;
- properly train (educate) teachers for the role of leaders of youth in the spirit of the Slavic idea;
- emphasise the work of Slavic women in all fields and departments; lead a common fight for women's rights in Poland; communicate with all the international congresses to take a common stance;
- promote Slavic folk embroidery and support it by holding exhibitions as well as trade with the help of social and economic organisations, preferably women's organisations;

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<sup>30</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 8, k. 8.

- initiate and support trade and facilitate the exchange of goods among Slavic nations;
- set up a correspondence network between the members on the particular Slavic countries in order to be brought together closer and to get to know each other better;
- organise days of Slavs at the same dates in all Slavic countries;
- set up Slavic departments in the existing ethnographic museums;
- hold concerts of Slavic music, played on the radio; evenings with Slavic songs, evening events with folk dances in folk outfits;
- organise with every congress exhibitions of women’s works and fairs;
- collect photographs of historic buildings, art, folk celebrations, properly describe them and send them to other clubs of the associations in other Slavic countries to be used by the press, particularly women’s magazines;
- develop biographies of women who have contributed to the Slavic idea and the history of the relations between Slavic women;
- support the initiatives to organise lectures in administration and economics in Gdynia and in particular hold international presentations on the problems of immigration and care for women immigrants;
- promote studying literature, history, and the art of Slavic peoples in Poland and other Slavic countries;
- cooperate in initiating direct relations among the local clubs through help and support in organising field trips, holiday camps, and facilitating the exchange of information pertaining to the work of the associations focused on the same areas, while at the same time aiming to exchange instructors and other professionals, if necessary;
- promote the idea of economic cooperation among the Slavic countries, based on the combined economic power of the bloc of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria in alliance with Romania.<sup>31</sup>

During the Congress reports of the work of the Union in the particular countries were presented and lectures on programmes and ideas were given. Some of them pertained to the educational work of Slavic associations. For example, I. Gollova in her lecture titled “The all-Slavic educational activity” she stated that what needed to be done was intensive educational work to facilitate closer contacts and better understanding among the Slavic peoples, to increase cooperation, to organise themselves. She proposed to “organise cultural work in schools

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<sup>31</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 30–31; Also: DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 2, k. 10.

through personal relations and cultural propaganda”, she advised to promote the works of culture through the press (“run Slavic columns in newspapers, publish magazines, illustrated magazines, organise libraries, bookshops and reading rooms, scientific libraries, publish scientific papers, as well as popular articles and brochures about Slavs”), spoken word (“organise lectures of national and international experts on all-Slavic subjects, evenings with recitation, evenings of Slavic folk songs, as well as artistic and musical events, and language courses”), images (“organise screenings, collect copies of the works of painting and sculpture, drawings, organise exhibitions of original artworks, painting galleries, art fairs, museums of folk art”), and to hold “events with folk art, evenings with Slavic art, national dances lessons, all-Slavic exhibitions.”<sup>32</sup>

L. Mašnerová-Vebrová, in turn, in her lecture titled “The education of youth for the aims of all-Slavic alliance” she called for the Slavic associations to take care to have the youth of every Slavic nation brought up in the ideas of bringing the Slavic peoples together. As to these aims and tasks she stated: “it is mandatory to endear schools, educators, teachers, and it is necessary that in the curricula, in the school subjects (literature, history, geography, music) all that is related to the Slavs is emphasised (...), at the same time, teachers ought to create such atmosphere in schools as to allow the children to get to know the Slavic culture and to love it with all their hearts”. Apart from education Mašnerova-Webrova called for the holding of lectures of teachers and individuals “who work for science, for the nation, for the arts, and the subject of those ought to be historical events, anniversaries, the lives of those who have contributed to the good of the different Slavic nations”. She emphasises that all the work needs to be governed by one rule: “always and everywhere only present the things that unite Slavic peoples, without discussing the issues that divide them”. She claimed that outside the school there is the need to organise concerts of Slavic songs, academies, theatrical plays and film screenings for young people; she accentuated the necessity to have the youth meet (on trips, field trips, holiday camps), where they could get to know each other, to get to know the literature, the countries, the culture, and the history of other Slavic nations, which would contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of friendly unity.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 32.

<sup>33</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 40–42.



On October 14–17, 1933 the delegates of the Polish SWU took part in the Third Congress of the All-Slavic Union of Slavic Women in Belgrad. The Polish delegation was led by H. Hubicka and it included: J. Łypacewiczowa (president of the Board), Maria Siennicka (secretary of the Board), dr Zofia Kawecka (vice-president of the Poznań Club of the SWU), Zofia Tyszkowa (president of the Lwów Club of the SWU), Małgorzata Bogusławska and L. Wolska (vice-president of the Board, who presented the organisers of the Congress in Belgrad with a gift from the Polish SWU in the form of works of folk ceramics of the Hutsul, Volhynian, Kashubian, and Łowicz culture, Polish embroidery patterns, samples of folk art textiles from all the regions of Poland, folk textiles from all the regions of Poland, traditional corsets from Kraków, and two works by Stryjeńska – “Polish dances”, and “Polish clothes”). During the Congress Z. Kawecka, a teacher of Serbo-Croatian at the University of Poznań gave a lecture titled “Women’s schooling in Poland” in the context of the conducted reform of schooling in Poland.<sup>34</sup> The lecture of Z. Zalewska was titled “The Slavic press”, and of H. Hubicka “The international role of the SWU.”<sup>35</sup>

During the congress the task commissions of the ASUSW – organisational, cultural, and press commissions accepted their resolutions. The Press Commission obliged the national Clubs to: (1) promote the Slavic ideas in the press; (2) exchange newspapers and semi-official documents with clubs, cafes, reading rooms, universities, and secondary schools; (3) exchange illustrated children’s magazines.

The Cultural Commission, in turn, made it mandatory for the Clubs to: (1) organise exchanges of professors, librarians, teachers, and students; (2) organise presentations of women’s literature and providing libraries with such books; (3) hold exhibitions of women’s art; (4) promote Slavic plays in the theatres; (5) increase the number of the translations of Slavic literature; (6) exchange Slavic films; (7) ask the educational authorities to introduce obligatory courses in one Slavic language and Slavic literature, and at least one hour of lecture on Slavonic questions a week; (8) promote of Slavic music; (9) hold games and balls for adults as well as children in Slavic outfits.<sup>36</sup>

The work of the Slavic organisations in interwar Poland was an expression of the interest in the all-Slavic idea and the engagement of

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<sup>34</sup> CDIAL, f. 841, op. 1, spr. 78, k. 32–33; Cf.: *Věstník Jednoty slovanských žen*, Volume II, Number 2, pp. 1–3.

<sup>35</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 6, k. 5.

<sup>36</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 6, k. 4.

a small part of the Polish society in this field. The existing Clubs of the SWU had a low number of members altogether, and the scope of their educational work would vary. Apart from the significantly active Clubs in Poznań, Warsaw, Lwów, and Silesia, the remaining Clubs were not very active, which is exemplified by, among others, the state and the work of the Club in Stanisławów.

The SWU in Stanisławów was established on April 15, 1931 out of the initiative of the member of the Polish parliament Ludwika Wolska and ZPOK. The board of the Club included: Maria Ungerowa (president), Paulina Stupnicka (vice-president), Janina Łomnicka (treasurer) and Dobruchna Lorschówna (secretary). The Club had 27 members. Soon after its inception, in June 1931, the Club organised its first cultural events. Most of the events the Club organised together with ZPOK in their day rooms. What was organised most frequently were theatrical plays and evenings for Polish youth as well as Ukrainians, which presented traditional dances and clothes of both the nations (unfortunately, due to the deteriorating Polish-Ukrainian relations the organisations stopped holding these events very soon – about the half of the year 1932), meetings, usually with teachers, where the participants could become familiar with the ideas of the SWU (one of the lectures, titled “Slavic ideas in Poland”, was given by S. Karpowa),<sup>37</sup> also often the so-called tea-parties were organised, where the participants became acquainted with Slavic literature as well as listening to concerts of Slavic choirs. The members of the Club ran the action of the collection and dissemination (also abroad) of the regional works of culture, among others, photographs of landscapes in the vicinity of Stanisławów and the outfits worn at local folk celebrations.<sup>38</sup>

After 1934 the activity of the SWU in Stanisławów visibly decreased. Only four meetings of the Club were held, as well as a discussion on the subject of “The culture of Bulgaria” (led by M. Ungerowa in April 1934).

In May 1935 new board was elected, which included M. Ungerowa (president), Stefania Karpowowa (vice-president), Stanisława Krzywińska (treasurer), D. Lerschówna (secretary) and Józefa Fuchsówna (member of the board). Leontyna Rutkowska, Leontyna Freszłowa, and Elżbieta Przystalska were elected to the Audit Commission,<sup>39</sup> and the number of members dropped to 19.<sup>40</sup> On January 30, 1936 the Stanisławów Club

<sup>37</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 9, k. 1.

<sup>38</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 4–5; Also: DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 2, k. 17–22.

<sup>39</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 9, k. 1.

<sup>40</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 8, k. 2–4 (Annual report of Slavonic Women's Union, Stanisławów Club, for the year 1935).

held one of its final discussions, during which a presentation titled "Cooperation of Slavic nations now and before the War" was given by the President of the Board of the SWU in Warsaw L. Wolska.<sup>41</sup> No further activity of the Club is reported after this event.

Formally the SWU in Stanisławów functioned until half of the year 1936. Later, due to the increasingly more difficult political situation in Poland (i.a. the deteriorating relations between Poles and Ukrainians in eastern voivodships) and internationally (i.a. the deteriorating Polish-Czechoslovakian relations) the Club ceased to be active.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 9, k. 9.

<sup>42</sup> DAIFO, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 5, k. 3.

## Contemporary Didactics of History in the Czech Republic

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*Fundamental changes in Czechoslovakia after 1989 naturally had an impact on the educational system, and this impact was particularly pronounced in the subject history. This study presents a basic chronological overview of the changes made in terms of the content, didactics and methodology of history teaching at Czech schools, with a particular view to the adoption and implementation in school practice of the Framework Education System and School Education System. The implementation of these changes was far from simple and encountered frequent misunderstanding and much comment from teachers. Attention is also devoted to changes in the concept of school history textbooks. In conclusion, a number of basic notes are added on the didactics of the subject as an academic field and to new trends in particular.*

Key words: *didactics; methodology; school history; the Education Act; key competences; historical thinking; regional history; everyday life; textbook; empirical research*

The fundamental politico-economic and social changes in Czechoslovakia after 1989 were also reflected in the education system and, of course, particularly markedly in school history. The law passed in 1990 stipulated compulsory school attendance of nine years. From the middle of the nineteen nineties, the first level of primary school was extended to five years, there began to be grammar schools offering six-year and eight-year studies in addition to four-year grammar schools, while there were also lyceums and other types of secondary education – church schools and private schools.

The liberalisation of Czech society (following the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993) was reflected in all areas of education. The basic changes for school history were: 1. The principals of primary schools could reduce history teaching to 6 hours according to new teaching plans and curricula (this proved unfortunate), history teaching was often similarly minimised at secondary technical colleges; 2. The history textbooks used were removed and gradually replaced with new

textbooks, with entire series of textbooks published by emerging (largely) private educational publishing houses.

This was accompanied in the nineteen nineties by criticism among both the professional community and civic society of the large degree of factualism, labelled “date-cramming”, in school history. The emphasis was placed on teaching methods and means that often lead to an unambiguous domination of form over content. Factualism dissipated from history lessons, though no discussion is possible without it as facts are to history what symbols and equations are to exact sciences. This led to a temporary decline in the standard of history education, followed by the rehabilitation of commensurate factualism.

There was also a similar retreat from the thematic conception of history back to a chronological conception. Introducing poorly prepared and hasty reform steps under the pressure of political transformations proved to be the path to short-term success that does not last, that results merely in increased administration of the school system and that is a dangerous game to play with the cultural standard of the nation. Rapid and easy solutions of this kind may do more harm than good.

The new Education Act No. 56 was passed in 2004 (and came into effect on 1 January 2005). It respected democratic and pluralistic trends in general education around the world. The new act was responsible for the introduction on 1 July 2007 of: a) The Framework Education Programme<sup>1</sup> and b) The School Education Programme, accompanied by hastily introduced “standards” that were intended to fill the conceptual gap between the two programmes. The Framework Education System for primary schools was created according to specifications that were at that time, and still remain, a mere mixing and reformulating of three still valid education programmes, of which two are mere modifications of old pre-Revolutionary curricula (i.e. before 1989). There is currently talk of a fundamental reform to the Framework Education Programme that will necessitate the drawing up of new School Education Programmes.

The school subject history is included in the Framework Education Programme along with a social science foundation in the educational area Man and Society. A wide-ranging discussion broke out among teachers reacting to the efforts on the part of the Ministry of Education to connect history with civics. The two subjects have even been integrated provisionally at many primary schools at their own initiative. The specialised history community has taken an unambiguously negative position on this issue and called for the preservation of the existing

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<sup>1</sup> *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání* (2005). Praha.

subject model, particularly in view of differences as regards content, even though there is a certain kinship between the two subjects. The fact that no one considers connecting mathematics and physics, for example, even though a certain closeness may be found here, may serve as a comparison. The discussion on this matter led to the famous initiative on the part of Czech history didacticians known as A Word on History of 2003.<sup>2</sup> The most comprehensive definition of the functions that school history should fulfil was provided by the Catalogue of Requirements for the School-leaving Examination which has undergone frequent modification.

The process of putting key competences into practice in Czech schools was conducted in a number of phases. Various educational events associated with the training of school coordinators, who at many schools encountered resistance from teachers (“it’s pointless, we do that anyway”), were first held. This “warm-up round” (to use the sporting colloquialism) was followed by the elaboration of key competences in respect of their individual components and the description of output. Teachers were to think out and draw up strategies and methods for this that they would use in implementation; this task was rather demanding for teachers and took them a relatively long time, particularly the determination of competences for teaching. The long-term absence of systematic further education for teachers in the area of didactics and psychology manifested itself here. A positive aspect to the process as a whole was the initiation of systematic discussion at schools during the formation of School Education Programmes that enabled a comparison between individual schools. Assistance was provided by a number of institutions, of which we might mention, of many, the operation of the portal of the National Institute for Education (formerly the Pedagogical Research Institute), whose range of programme includes such items as “The Memory of the Nation”, “Totalitarianism” and “One World at Schools”.

There were also wide-ranging discussions at the time about issues related to the conception of school history. The leading Czech didactician Vratislav Čapek viewed history as the transformation of the system of historical science into the didactic structure of school history. History, in his view, was a “small science” in which pupils are acquainted with the basic approaches of the historian’s work (i.e. heuristics, criticism, the interpretation of sources, synthesis), with the classification of historical sources, with the fundamentals of auxiliary historical sciences. However,

<sup>2</sup> Slovo k dějepisu (2003). *Dějiny a současnost*. 25/4, pp. 53–54.

Zdeněk Beneš, another leading Czech didactician, considered this conception outdated and believed it did not correspond to the new reality. In his view, school history shapes, first and foremost, a highly structured historical awareness (thinking) and the historical culture of the young generation, though a large number of influences outside school – the media, the family, reading, films, travel experiences, etc. – also contribute towards their shaping. In this regard, Beneš compared sources of historical awareness to a supermarket in which history should also lead pupils to a recognition of the quality of historical phenomena such as truthfulness, accuracy and legitimacy.

Emphasis was gradually placed in the didactics of history on the development of key skills or target skills, i.e. the ability of the pupil to contribute to the creation of historical subject matter and to assess, analyse, apply, understand and remember it, while the basic task of school history should be the historical thinking of the pupil. The following basic competences were demarcated:

- for learning (being able to read verbal and iconic texts, orientation on the time axis and maps);
- for problem solving (the causes of historical situations, comparison with the views of classmates);
- for communication (the ability to express one's views and standpoints and to justify them);
- social and personal (co-operation in class groups);
- civic (perceiving a work of art, the pros and cons of people living together in various situations);
- work.

The appearance of history textbooks changed along with this. The recommended teaching matter was offered in more general form, with the selection of teaching matter depending to a large extent on the teacher, based on the famous thesis that the textbook is not dogma and is not intended to be learnt from cover to cover. A number of attempts to define suitable teaching matter were made from the beginning of the nineteen nineties onwards. A preference was seen for the most recent history of the twentieth century, and particularly history after 1945, although practice differed in schools, unfortunately, and was not always satisfactory. There was a gradual reduction to the history of prehistoric times and antiquity. This corresponded fully with the results of the questionnaire survey of 2005–2011 at secondary schools in which respondents stated the greatest handicap to be the minimal attention devoted to history after 1945. Grammar school students felt the lack of an interconnection between national and global history. The study areas

mentioned as absent included the interpretation of the history of everyday life. Discussion of the inclusion of topics such as the history of childhood, physical education and sport, and the history of the Roman people or gypsies came to the forefront.

New textbooks place the emphasis on the inspirational components of teaching, their visual form and stimulating activities. Repeat tasks provide ideas for creative tasks, for work with maps, group work among pupils, items of special interest, ideas for work with the Internet, examples of great literature, interconnection between subjects, and all-day projects. Year-long projects, key competences, expected output, an index of terms used and an index of names are also given at the back of a number of textbooks. Certain textbooks are also produced in an interactive version in addition to their classical form. The emphasis is, meanwhile, placed on cultural, social and economic history and (a new feature) the history of everyday life. A balanced proportionality has also been preserved at the level of regional history, ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic (including the Polish nationality in the Těšín region), different ethnic groups, gender history and the issue of the environment.

A number of notes in conclusion on the didactics of history as an academic field.

- A. The didactics of history was not part of university studies as an academic field in the nineteen nineties, and even now often remains merely a peripheral part of student training. The branch didactics of history does not have a clear position either in respect of its parent branch or of pedagogical-psychological disciplines. It is pleasing to note the opening in September 2015 of full-time four-year doctoral studies in the field of the didactics of history, with the awarding of the title Ph.D., at the Department of History at the Faculty of Arts at Ostrava University.
- B. Another problem is the continuing didactics-methodology relationship. Didactics remain rather undervalued by the Czech historical community, although the situation has been gradually changing for the better, evidence of which is provided, for example, by the fact that didacticians had an opportunity to present their field at the X Assembly of Czech Historians in Ostrava in September 2011.<sup>3</sup>

Why must the didactician still have to fight for his position among historians? First and foremost, because he is frequently identified with the

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<sup>3</sup> Beneš, Z. (2014). Zpráva o stavu historické edukace v České republice. In Zářický, A., Vorel, P., Kadlec, P., Závodná, M. (edd.): *X. sjezd českých historiků* vol. I. Ostrava, pp. 69–76.



methodology, with the science of “the art of teaching” history. There is a certain aversion among history students to the theoretical questions of didactics, associated with the implementation of the Bologna Process within the framework of structured teaching study in the Czech Republic. A larger number of bachelors of teaching (pedagogical assistants) are trained in the first cycle, though the current Czech legislation does not count on them since the full guarantee of a teacher’s education, i.e. acting in the role of the teacher, are master’s studies for which there has, however, been a restricted number of places in recent years. The incorporation of bachelor graduates in the system of primary education is, therefore, problematic in view of their employment and influenced by the financial possibilities open to schools.

Concurrently with this, there began to be talk of the need to increase the professional qualifications of history teachers by opening pre-graduate and post-graduate studies as specific forms of teachers’ history study. This is the future task facing all twenty-five faculties of teaching in the Czech Republic, though it will (again, or as usual) be confronted with a lack of money. Nevertheless, it can be said that the development of branch didactics (including the didactics of history) has been more dynamic in recent years and the outlook is more optimistic.

C. As essential part of the didactics of history is empirical research, the principal task of which is expert diagnosis of the state of history education. Extensive empirical investigations have been implemented since the middle of the nineteen nineties by the team of Blažena Gracová and Denisa Labischová at Ostrava University.<sup>4</sup> The concept of their research is based on the tradition of German and Polish branch didactics. Other research projects have also been implemented in the Czech environment, such as the sociological investigation entitled *The Historical Awareness of the Population of the Czech Republic* by the team headed by Jiří Šubrt and the broad-ranging research *The Young and History*, to which our Department of History at the Faculty of Education at Masaryk University contributed on behalf of the Czech Republic.<sup>5</sup> The field of research into the didactics of history has been significantly expanded. Oral history, which is now widely used and on which great emphasis is now placed, has found a place in the new interpretational situation. Dramatisation and the use of music have also found a place.

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<sup>4</sup> Gracová, B., Labischová, D. (2013). *Aktuální podoba výuky dějepisu. Z empirického výzkumu*. Ostrava.

<sup>5</sup> Klíma, B. (ed.) (2001). *Mládež a dějiny*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

D. These new trends are also being followed by Czech didactics of history, though this move occurred at a relatively late date. It began taking note of some of them at some time in the nineteen eighties, though this was followed by a period of crisis when it was called into question as a special discipline and practically expelled from the “family of academic disciplines”. Its institutional foundation almost disappeared, and contact between didacticians (in small numbers) developed more or less at the level of personal links. Only the alarming fall in the standard of knowledge among Czech pupils led in 2010 to institutional changes in the standing of branch didactics. A special working group for branch didactics was set up within the framework of the Accreditation Committee of the Czech Republic which in February 2012 initiated a meeting of history didacticians in Prague. The following were stipulated as the most pressing strategic goals: the holding of discussion panels, reconstruction of the branch didactics of history as an academic discipline, the advancement of historical education, the determination of conditions for the transformation of branch didactics into a higher doctorate field, affiliation with other fields and in particular the creation of interdisciplinary didactics with the participation of related fields (such as civics and geography), monitoring the development of history didactics abroad and communication with branch didacticians abroad, and the creation of specialised publication activities (periodicals, editorial series, a system of colloquia and conferences). We might give a proud mention to our own mutual Polish-Czech (Czech-Polish) History Days, which are now in their sixteenth year, in respect of the last of these.

## Higher Education Reform in Poland. An Example of Training for Candidates for the Teaching Profession

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*This article presents the main directions of reforms in the contemporary higher education system in Poland, focusing especially on the model of training for candidates for the teaching profession. The author highlights various changes in Polish universities, which were grounded on reflections on the constant development of didactics at the university level and on ways of understanding this, as well possible concepts of academic education. The paper discusses the most important stages in the implementation of the Bologna Process in Poland, with the resulting consequences for the higher education system. The last part of the article is devoted to a detailed presentation of the ongoing implementation of training standards for teachers, where the author draws critical attention to the increasing importance of psychological and pedagogical features.*

Key words: *didactics of higher education; higher education in Poland; teacher training; higher education reform*

Different changes in the contemporary world (political, social, cultural etc.) determine new challenges for the educational system. The society of information and knowledge, which is forming under the influence of the development of information and communication technologies, requires modern forms of education, methods of interactive work and new evaluation tools. In this process of necessary change, universities in Poland are also involved. They are adapting the model of studies to the requirements of European integration, the labour market, and social expectations. Therefore, we undertake the task of rebuilding the entire system of student education, trying to combine tradition with modernity, and developing new educational solutions. In the academic environment, these changes are accompanied by an increased interest in the didactics of higher education, the task of which is to elaborate upon the effective ways of intensifying students' educational processes and advancing their effectiveness.

## Polish didactics in higher education

The didactics of higher education (also called the „pedagogy of higher education”, or less often “academic didactics”), is one of the domains of general didactics, or in a broader sense, one of the pedagogical disciplines<sup>1</sup>. Polish didactics in universities as well as in elementary schools or high schools has been differentiated in the education system by the criterion of organization. The object of its research, as Teresa Bauman wrote recently, are “[...] issues related to the functioning of academic education [...] and educational process in universities”<sup>2</sup>. In the early seventies, the Polish educator, Wincenty Okoń, defined this domain very significantly as “university didactics”, however, he treated it in relatively narrow terms as “teaching and learning in universities”<sup>3</sup>. It is worth noting that many authors use the term “didactics of higher education”, though they are referring to education at the university level without defining its notion<sup>4</sup>.

Interest in the didactics of higher education in Poland began to develop in the interwar period. Then, several works were published which were directly linked with reflections on the education of university students as well as scientific articles on this topic in the journal „Nauka Polska”<sup>5</sup>. In the second half of the XXth century, the educational problems of higher education were much more intensively explored,<sup>6</sup> which was manifested not only in studies conducted in various research centres (e.g. in Krakow, Warsaw, Katowice, or Poznań), but also in efforts to publish specialized scientific journals dealing with this issue. In the years 1968–1991 the quarterly “Dydaktyka Szkoły Wyższej” was published by the Intercollegiate Department of Higher Education Research, and then

1 Okoń, W. (1998). *Nowy słownik pedagogiczny*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie ŻAK, p. 79.

2 Bauman, T. (2003). *Dydaktyka szkoły wyższej*. In Pilch, T. (Ed.), *Encyklopedia Pedagogiczna XXI wieku*, Vol. 1. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie ŻAK, p. 807.

3 Okoń, W. (1971). *Elementy dydaktyki szkoły wyższej*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, p. 26.

4 See e.g.: Domagała-Kręcioch, A., Wyżga O. (2009) (Eds.), *Współczesne wyzwania dydaktyki szkoły wyższej*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego; Schrade, U. (2010) (Ed.), *Dydaktyka szkoły wyższej*, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Warszawskiej; Bereźnicki, F. (2009). *Zagadnienia dydaktyki szkoły wyższej*, Szczecin: „Pedagogium” Wydawnictwo OR TWP w Szczecinie.

5 More on this topic: Okoń, W. *Elementy...*, pp. 27–28; and Czerniewski, W. (1963) *Rozwój dydaktyki polskiej w latach 1918–1954*. Warszawa: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, pp. 104–105.

6 Okoń, W. *Nowy słownik*, p. 79; and Czerniewski, W. *Rozwój*, p. 154 and pp. 420–428.

by the Institute of Policy for Science and Higher Education. In the years 1953–1991, on behalf of the Ministry of Higher Education in cooperation with the Association of Polish Teachers, the monthly journal “*Życie Szkoły Wyższej*” was issued. Since 1991 the periodical “*Pedagogika Szkoły Wyższej*” has been issued at Szczecin University (currently it is available as a biannual online-journal)<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, the Faculty of Educational Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań issues the periodical “*Neodidagmata*”, which has been present on the publishing market since 1970; although the journal was initially devoted mainly to teaching in colleges, today it has a much broader thematic scope<sup>8</sup>.

According to Teresa Bauman, we can understand the didactics of higher education in two different ways: in its broader meaning, it is understood as a reflection both on the conditions of the educational process carried out in universities and on the educational objectives at this level of teaching as well as on its tasks and its place in the whole educational system; whereas in its narrower meaning, the didactics of higher education is treated as a kind of „didactic instrument for academic teachers”<sup>9</sup>. The broader understanding of the didactics of higher education is closely linked with the acknowledged concept of studies where the methods of work with the student are the consequence of this concept. Thus, it primarily responds to the following question: who is served by the educational process at the university level and what lies at its root? To a lesser extent, it serves the normative feature which is critically focused on the effects of theoretical assumptions and practical solutions. It is rather an analysis of the process of studying and learning in universities and its general conditions and socio-cultural context than a reflection on the practical didactic competences of academic teachers and on the methods of work with students. Whereas in its narrower meaning, the didactics of higher education is focused not so much on objectives and conditions, but primarily on the question of how the learning process should be conducted in universities. Its main concerns are effective ways of transferring knowledge to students, of allowing them to acquire skills by themselves and improving the educational experience of academic teachers<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, we would call it a „methodology of higher education”, analogically to the used distinction in particular subjects or educational domains between didactics and methodology.

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<sup>7</sup> See: <http://psw.whus.pl> [access: 6. 11. 2015].

<sup>8</sup> See: <http://neodidagmata.amu.edu.pl> [access: 6. 11. 2015].

<sup>9</sup> Bauman, T. *Dydaktyka*, p. 807.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 807–808.

However, the very best seems to be a variant of the third approach to the didactics of higher education, which was not singled out by T. Bauman, but which combines the two aforementioned variants. It is difficult to imagine an effective methodological tool which were not based on multi-faceted scientific reflection, and, vice versa, there is no valuable theory which is detached from practical solutions. Thus, the modern didactics of higher education should not only undertake tasks related to the scientific basis of education at the academic level, but also their practical dimension and an evaluation of effectiveness in the teaching process carried out therein.

The issue of the didactics of higher education is also related to the question of understanding the objectives of education at the academic level. Herein, too, there are two opposing approaches. The first one, which we would define as the traditional approach, assumes that the essence of the educational process at this level does not differ significantly from lower levels of education, and considers this process as a transfer of core curriculum content related to a control of its assimilation by students. It attaches great importance to the knowledge which a student must learn and to the content which together is supposed to provide education but not a professional qualification. Here, the student appears as a reliant and uniform object of the didactic-educational measures of academic teachers. They are those who, within the faculty's scientific council, decide on the purposes of the learning process and the obligatory contents of the core curriculum. In this approach, the corresponding large number of class hours and direct contact with the teacher is very important. The student's subjectivity in the selection of subjects and the contents of education as well as the possibility of individual choices in shaping the student's own learning profile are limited to a minimum. An important features of this approach is also the predominance of lectures over other methods of activating students, authoritarian relationships between students and academic staff, prevalence of course lectures over monographic ones, with classes as merely a complement to the content of lectures<sup>11</sup>.

On the other hand, the opposing approach to higher education didactics, which we define as the modern one, treats the teaching process in universities as a way of creating conditions for independent studies, and which is primarily focused on the needs of students, their interests, abilities and self-realization. It assumes that the aim of study is

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<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 808; and Schrader, U. *Dydaktyka szkoły wyższej*, In Schrader, U. *Dydaktyka*, p. 42.

not the acquisition of knowledge under the guidance of an academic teacher, but a spiritual exercise which is leading the student to the acquisition of a particular competence. The student is treated as an adult who is able to bear the consequences of his or her decisions. Thus, the academic teacher is primarily an adviser and a tutor who provides students with the opportunities for learning. Therefore, studies are treated as an independent process of acquiring knowledge and beliefs, for instance, in ways of investigating answers to questions which have been posed by the teacher or which have occurred in the course of the student's own afterthoughts. In this approach, more important is the form of classes rather than their content, as well as the student's activity and independence, a wide variety of learning paths, development of a critical attitude, and applying proper techniques to motivation<sup>12</sup>.

It is difficult to assess which one of those two models actually prevails in the modern didactics of higher education. It seems that Polish universities are definitely moving in the direction of education defined as a modern, which emphasises the self-reliance of students and tries to prepare them in the best way for the challenges of a changing world. However, the advocates of the traditional model criticise this approach which, according to them, could lead to a situation where graduate students from Polish universities will be superficial, ignorant and irresponsible.

### **The reform of higher education in Poland**

In 1999, Poland signed the Bologna Declaration which constituted the beginning of the long-term process of higher education reform in our country. Then, in order to align the higher education systems of European countries, it was decided to establish by 2010 a European Higher Education Area. In the Polish context this has been manifested, among other ways, in the recognition of comparable academic degrees and titles system (implementation of the Diploma Supplement), adoption of a higher education system based on three levels (bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees), application of the system of credit points (ECTS – European Credit Transfer System), development of mobility among students and academic teachers (the Lifelong Learning programs, Erasmus, bilateral international contracts, *etc.*), growth of the quality level of higher education (e.g. with the establishment of the Polish Accreditation Committee).

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<sup>12</sup> Bauman, T. *Dydaktyka szkoły*, pp. 808–809; Schrade, U. *Dydaktyka*, pp. 42–43.

The next stage of the implementation of the Bologna Process in the Polish higher education system was the establishment of the National Qualifications Framework. On the one hand, it allows for the development of various educational forms, programs and institutions, and on the other, it also makes possible a comparison of students' achievements and qualifications in different countries. According to the regulation of 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2011, the Minister of Science and Higher Education in Poland defined the National Qualifications Framework, pointing out the issue of description of learning outcomes for particular disciplines (humanities, social studies, physics, technical sciences, medicine, agriculture and arts)<sup>13</sup>. Besides the possibility of referring the level of skills acquired in the Polish education system to the level of qualifications in the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), as well as the continuity of education from the perspective of learning throughout life, this reform has also created a real chance for improvement of the quality of education at the university level as well as for changes in the current thinking about the didactics of higher education.

Further regulation of the law in Poland (i.e. amendment of the "Law on Higher Education" and related ministerial regulations) have increased the autonomy of the core curricula of universities, providing the freedom for their primary organizational units to create entirely new fields of studies that could be better adapted to labor market needs and the educational aspirations of today's youth<sup>14</sup>. In turn, the new courses of studies have necessitated definition, particularly in an education program consisting of two parts: description of the intended learning outcomes (at the level of knowledge, skills and so-called social competences) and description of the process of education, the aim of which is to achieve these effects. In addition, an obligation was introduced to account in the program for at least 30% of ECTS points to be obtained from elective courses, which should be chosen individually by the student. Thus, Polish universities were somehow forced not only to carefully rethink and describe the intended learning outcomes for particular studying programs, but also to create a suitable flexible learning program, which enables students to

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<sup>13</sup> See Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dnia 2 listopada 2011 r. w sprawie Krajowych Ram Kwalifikacji dla Szkolnictwa Wyższego 2011, in: *Dziennik Ustaw*, nr. 253, poz. 1520.

<sup>14</sup> See Ustawa z dnia 11 lipca 2014 r. o zmianie ustawy – Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym oraz niektórych innych ustaw 2014, in *Dziennik Ustaw*, poz. 1198 oraz Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dnia 3 października 2014 r. w sprawie warunków prowadzenia studiów na określonym kierunku i poziomie kształcenia 2014, in *Dziennik Ustaw*, poz. 1370.



achieve these educational effects (depending on individual predispositions) in as many different ways as possible.

These changes have also triggered the need for a reconstruction of the higher education system in Poland. For instance, it has become necessary to establish Internal Education Quality Assurance Systems, the of aim which is to ensure the effective implementation of planned learning outcomes and, if the need occurs, to make the necessary corrections in the educational process. As an integral part of the teacher's work, an academic education plan was adopted, which was based not only on the design of classes, allowing for the achievement of learning outcomes, or for the selection of appropriate forms and methods of work with students, but also on reflection on effective methods of evaluation, which ensure a confirmation of their actual achievements. The empowerment of students, which enables them to decide on their own development path has resulted in the practice of academics' work with a greater emphasis on the use of active methods of education, differentiation of tasks and forms of evaluation (shaping, summarizing, continuous assessment) and techniques of confirming achievements (written, oral, observational, practical, *etc.*). Therefore, it has changed the role of teacher, who cannot be any longer a transmitter of knowledge and source of information, but more and more like a mentor-tutor supporting the student's learning. Thus, this requires a completely different approach to the teaching process at the university level, where the only constant is the learning outcome, and where the other components of this process (content, teaching methods and evaluation approaches) should be flexibly suited in the learning process to the specificities and needs of students<sup>15</sup>.

There is no doubt that the real reconstruction of the entire system of higher education in the spirit of the assumptions described above requires proper time. While the implementation of specific regulations at the university level requires specific and relatively imminent procedures, a possible change in the philosophy of education requires a whole range of long-term actions and necessitates the overcoming of many barriers and prejudices – both in the case of students and teachers.

### **The model of teacher education in universities**

Simultaneously, with the reform of higher education in Poland, there have also taken place changes in the scope of training candidates for the

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<sup>15</sup> Chmielecka, E. (2010) (ed.), *Autonomia programowa uczelni. Ramy kwalifikacji szkolnictwa wyższego*. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego, pp. 103–104.

teaching profession at the academic level. Besides the general regulations applied to all types of faculties and courses of studies, there have also been established new standards for students' preparation for work in schools. Since the beginning of the 2000's, the current model of teacher training has been adapted in stages, focusing on the search for an optimal solution which would take into account a number of factors (long-term traditions, adaption to European standards, labor market needs, technological innovations, problems of contemporary schools, etc.). Various concepts for the preparation of candidates for the teaching profession were then considered: whether we need to maintain the existing educational model of the teacher-specialist with a deep but narrow general education, or whether we should move towards the concept of overall education, in which the teacher in a course of study gains multifaceted knowledge, good erudition skills and a general preparation for the job. Pedagogists and psychologists have argued, first of all, that it is important in teachers' education to prepare them for solving educational problems, hence they maintained that the emphasis should be put on the psychological-pedagogical competences of candidates for this profession. To counter allegations about the excessive theoretical knowledge gained by the students of the teaching specialization, voices were also raised for focusing more on education in different practical competences, but with the assumption that the ability of applying them is a guarantee of a teacher's professional success<sup>16</sup>.

These considerations were also accompanied by a discussion between particular research centers about the question of who this training of teachers in universities should be entrusted to: whether teachers should be instructed by the employees of research institutes focused on the particular scope of didactics which are located in different institutions or faculties, or whether they should create inter-departmental or inter-university centers of teacher training focused on education of students from all courses. In this context, external conditions were favorable, such as a diminution of the total number of students, lower interest in studies with a teaching specialization, a decreasing scientific community of educators, and changes in the financing of higher education. In fact, the basis of this discussion was determined by the idea of the modern teacher applied in Polish schools: whether he/she should be, above all, a good teacher and educator who specializes in

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<sup>16</sup> Koźmian, D. (2004). Współczesne tendencje i poszukiwania koncepcji edukacji nauczycielskiej. In Baran, B., Horyń, L. (2004). (Eds.), *Kształcenie nauczycieli w systemie studiów uniwersyteckich*. Szczecin: PPH Zapol Dmochowski-Sobczyk, p. 20.

teaching a particular subject, or a specialist in a particular subject/field who has the appropriate psychological-pedagogical preparation.

Another catalyst for change in the system of teacher training in Polish higher education were the guidelines of the European Union in this respect. According to the proposal of the European Commission in the EU, the teacher should, among other things, be able to work in multicultural and socially diverse groups, create favorable conditions for students' learning, incorporate communication technology into their everyday life, cooperate in a team, know how to elaborate the curricula and educational programs, collaborate with the local community, recognize and solve problems, constantly widen his/her knowledge and improve his/her skills. He also should be able to augment students' citizenship and positive social attitudes, preparing them to live in a society of knowledge. And at the very least, all the aforementioned competences must be optimally linked with the ability to teach a particular subject<sup>17</sup>. What can be seen in this set of European teacher's competences is the dominance of universal skills over specific ones with limited domains. As a result, the teacher in the EU is not recognized merely as a specialist-empiricist, but first and foremost as a teacher-educator. The European Commission has also proposed common rules for a teacher's work and optimal features expected from members of this profession. It was ascertained by the Commission that all teachers should graduate with a university degree of studies, also including knowledge about their subject, pedagogical knowledge, the ability to guide and support students, and an understanding of the social and cultural dimensions of education. A teacher's professional development, his/her training and improvement should last a lifetime, and be linked to mobility with the other European countries. They paid attention to the need for greater emphasis not only on involving candidates for the teaching profession in their research, but also on preparation of practical training<sup>18</sup>.

Then, the process of implementation of these recommendations in universities began in 2003 with the regulations of the Ministry of National Education and Sport regarding teachers' training standards, and a defining of the scope of academic preparation for the teaching profession in three areas: direct education (in the scope of subject or

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<sup>17</sup> Sielatycki, M. (2008). Kompetencje nauczyciela w Unii Europejskiej, In Krystyna Sujak-Lesz, K. (Ed.), *Kształcenie nauczycieli w szkole wyższej. Wybrane zagadnienia*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut, pp. 16–17.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, pp. 18–19.

educational work), teacher's education (in the scope of psychology, pedagogy, subject didactics, use of information and communication technologies in teaching), and pedagogical practices. However, this document shows that the teacher training model settled upon then has primarily assumed a preparation for teaching only one subject (thus, it was focused on specialized education), associated with the respective competences of teaching, and merely subsequently with the preparation in educational, social, creative, praxeological, communication and information-media focus<sup>19</sup>. Further changes in the Polish higher education system (implemented in the following academic year) were dictated directly by introducing a two-step system of studies: three years of bachelor's studies and two years of supplementary master's studies. Incidentally, this made the seemingly small but significant change in the concept of teacher training by introducing obligatory two-subject education (a so-called main and additional specialization), language knowledge (one foreign language at the advanced level B2 and B2+), and more and more presence of information technology. Towards the need for students' preparation to teach two school subjects, the number of hours devoted to psycho-pedagogical preparation was slightly reduced (from 150 to 120 hours per year) and the number of hours for teaching the subject in the scope of both specialties was increased (from 120 to 150 hours per year). The competences of candidates for the teaching profession were also divided according to two levels of studying: bachelor's studies allow for the preparation of work in primary and secondary schools, master's studies allow for work in secondary schools<sup>20</sup>. In the following years, two further attempts have been made to change teacher education standards in universities, but none of these measures materialized. Only from 2012 has there been performed a thorough reconstruction of the educational model for candidates for the teaching profession, then adapted to the requirements of the National Qualifications Framework and to the new conditions of studying programs in universities. According to the recommendations of the European Commission, greater emphasis was put on the universal competences of teachers and on their practical training (for instance, the obligatory

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<sup>19</sup> Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu z dnia 23 września 2003 r. w sprawie standardów kształcenia nauczycieli (2003). In *Dziennik Ustaw*, nr. 170, poz. 1655.

<sup>20</sup> Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu z dnia 7 września 2004 r. w sprawie standardów kształcenia nauczycieli (2004). In *Dziennik Ustaw*, nr. 207, poz. 2110.

psychological and pedagogical practices as well subject practices were introduced). The scope of psychological-pedagogical preparation was distinctly broadened, both at the level of general learning outcomes and in the way of approach of subject didactics, divided from this moment into general didactics and „subject didactics”. Finally, the allocation of time for the implementation of particular modules of teacher education was changed: by increasing the psycho-pedagogical part (from 120 to 150 hours of classes + 30 hours of practices thereof) and by decreasing the didactic part (from 150 to 120 hours + 120 hours of subject practices). Obligatory two-subject education has also been given up, and preparation for the teaching of a second subject has been transferred to an optional module of elective courses, so the range of teacher competences has become very limited (a bachelor's degree allows merely for teaching in primary schools, while a master's degree allows one to work in middle schools and secondary schools)<sup>21</sup>.

However, the process of developing an optimal model of teacher education in Poland at the academic level did not end with the implementation of the presented concepts. The constantly changing conditions of higher education and its functioning and financing have once again revived the debate about the direction of changes: the clash of tradition and modernity, the conflict between personal experiences and ideas born in other universities in our country and abroad. Therefore, there still remain valid questions: Who should we educate in studies with a teaching specialization (whether all those interested, or just selected in accordance with the obligatory principle e.g. in Germany and Sweden, which is focused on an elite education of very well-prepared candidates for the profession)? Where should we educate future teachers (in universities, research institutes, or pedagogical academies)? How should we educate them (by providing knowledge and skills for solving problems, or practicing the solving of problems with them by seeking for knowledge and acquiring skills)? What is the aim of the education (is it understood as a traditional way of education and upbringing, or rather as a way of arranging conditions for learning which is promoted in the constructivist spirit)<sup>22</sup>?

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<sup>21</sup> Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dnia 17 stycznia 2012 r. w sprawie standardów kształcenia przygotowującego do wykonywania zawodu nauczyciela (2012). In *Dziennik Ustaw*, poz. 131.

<sup>22</sup> Czerepaniak-Walczak, M. O stawianiu się nauczycielem; niektóre pytania o kształcenie i doskonalenie nauczycieli. In Baran, B., Horyń, L. (Eds.), *Kształcenie nauczycieli*, p. 15.

## Conclusion

In recent years, the ongoing process of higher education reform has led to an increased interest in university didactics. It is difficult to imagine a project of profound change and its implementation in the academic education system without proper theoretical reflection and discussion of different concepts of teaching or the presenting of good practices. In the era of European integration and construction of an open system of higher education, allowing for free movement of students, especially important becomes the exchange of experience, not only within the university of a given country but also abroad. Without that we have no chance of developing optimal solutions.

## Political and Social Reflections of the Soviet Bloc in Didacticised Media and History Teaching

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*This paper analyses didactic and methodical aspects of the application of visual and audio-visual media in the educational process. It making selective use of media reflecting politico-social phenomena in the Soviet Bloc. It also focuses on posters, postage stamps and television production as historical sources reflecting modern history in particular. On the basis of an the analysis of the topics covered by these media from the Cold War Era, the paper recommends the explanation of both historical phenomena and the mechanisms of propaganda and anti-propaganda in history teaching. The paper also mentions ideological, socialisation and propagandist contexts. The described approach gives rise to an effective alternative educational medium that, first and foremost, reinforces interdisciplinary co-operation between school history and media studies.*

Key words: *history teaching; didactics of history; postage stamps; historical film; Soviet Bloc; Cold War; propaganda; media studies*

### Introduction

The Cold War – the mutual displays of power in third countries and the building up of atomic arsenals were not the only battlegrounds of the superpowers. The media sphere was not restricted merely to images working explicitly with the tactics of deterrence, since a relatively widespread view prevailed that held that a similar effect could also be achieved in another way. For example, the ambitious economic programme announced in the Soviet Bloc at the end of the nineteen fifties promised to rapidly overtake the USA. It came to be seen, however, that this was mere form without any substance. Nevertheless, the subject matter reflecting this and its staggering abundance in the visual media (posters, postage stamps, etc.) of these uneasy times show the great importance placed on the propaganda of the time on this additional front in the Cold War. Another perspective on politico-social conditions is offered by audio-visual production, and by television in particular.

Attention is focused in the individual sections of this paper on the possible implementation of these communication sources, in particular posters, stamps and television serials, in history teaching no matter whether their theme was a process of integration within the Soviet Bloc, the propaganda of ideas, economic strategy, or models of social structure.

### Visual media

The subject matter of the posters or stamps of the Cold War era cannot, of course, be considered a systematic weapon employed by the competing blocs. Nevertheless, their analysis, particularly concerning historical implementation, can provide an untraditional source of information for receptive and productive work in the final year of primary education or at secondary school, for example. The didactic goals of the text argue principally in favour of the use of commemorative postage stamps, although these do not necessarily represent a direct reflection of the events of their time.

The following arguments can be used to support the usefulness of the description and application in teaching work of motifs of the Cold War found in these image media. First and foremost, they give an impression of the official ideology and its interpretation through the mass media. Their analysis can give schoolchildren an insight into the history of the Cold War that they miss out on when examining official (usually text) documents. They can find out for themselves what images of the enemy and what stereotypes in the mass media were intended to shape the attitudes of the population. This approach is even more effective if the children have already come into contact with other visual media with which they can make a comparison. Exposure to new materials can be motivated by the use of the most attractive images, with more active work continuing in group form. Pupils can also come up with their own hypotheses and questions relating to the given motifs, or be led by a system of questions to a the recognition of the stereotypical features of the representation of the enemy – how the enemy is generally defined in pictorial communication, what symbols and characteristics are used to mark him, how “we” and “they” are differentiated, etc.

Areas that do not explicitly express the threat of war have been loosely defined to support thematic teaching work. We will endeavour to consider on a selective basis the attempts at economic integration mentioned in the introduction, linked to economic priorities, the ideological battle and propaganda in the society run by the Communists in the Soviet Bloc. The



blurring of boundaries and frequent intermingling of individual themes cannot be entirely ruled out as they represent typical features of the subject matter under consideration here.

The principal source of iconographic material, in addition to the author's own collection, is comprised of stamp catalogues and posters available on the Internet. This text does not aim to be a complete summary of suitable motifs and their interpretation, but rather a pilot study of didactic interest in the forms of media reflection of a topic of modern historiography as fundamental as the Cold War certainly was.

Interpretation of media motifs can be based on the literature given in the cited study<sup>1</sup>, while other titles providing an insight and understanding of the reflected topics may also be recommended<sup>2</sup>.

After the Second World War, a new phenomenon known as integration appeared in the world that was perhaps seen most markedly in Europe. Its causes and individual stages are well described, analysed and interpreted in the extensive specialist literature, and the commensurate attention is also paid to them in history teaching. Certain facts and contexts must, however, be noted when annotating propagandist media production.

The post-war economic isolation of the individual Eastern European countries caused by their non-participation in the Marshall Plan was intended to be compensated for by co-operation with other Communist regimes. It is, nevertheless, no secret that the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance established in Moscow in 1949 represented a centralistic tool used by the Soviet Union to control its satellites. The differences between the two groupings were further intensified by the formation of the EEC in 1957. While the western community formed a common market that was managed ever more freely, Comecon took the path of restricting independence and increased planning. Economic stagnation followed which, in Czechoslovakia for example, was further

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<sup>1</sup> Nálevka, V. (2003). *Studená válka*. Praha; Nálevka, V. (2000). *Světová politika ve 20. století (Vol. II.)*. Praha; Libionka, D. (2005). Poselství poštovních známek. *Dějiny a současnost*, No. 1, p. 21–24; Pandel, H. J., Scheiner, G. (eds.) (2007). *Handbuch Medien im Geschichtsunterricht*. Schwalbach; Stradling, R. (2003). *Multiperspektivita ve vyučování dějepisu: příručka pro učitele*. Praha; Labischová, D., Hudecová, D. (2009). *Nebojme se výuky moderních dějin: Nejnovější a soudobé dějiny v současném dějepisném vyučování*. Praha.

<sup>2</sup> Kovář, M. (2006). *Dějiny evropské integrace I*. Praha; Horčíčka, V., Kovář, M. (2006). *Dějiny evropské integrace II*. Praha; Hobsbawm, E. (2010). *Věk extrémů. Krátké dějiny 20. století 1914–1991*. Praha; Litera, B., Tejchman, M., Vykoukal, J. (2004). *Východ. Vznik, vývoj a rozpad sovětského bloku 1944–1989*. Praha.

intensified by an orientation towards heavy industry (amply reflected in the topics of national stamp issues) subordinated to the military. A further decline was ensured by the absence of new technology, obsolescence and loss of competitiveness in entire branches of production, and the lack of productivity of production centrally planned with no view to the market. As will be shown below, we can find implicit or even explicit criticism of social and economic conditions among the deluge of acclamatory motifs on the stamps of Comecon member states during the period of Soviet Perestroika.

There are many posters, postage stamps and other visual media from the Cold War period that promoted values and a way of life (either supported by the population of the individual blocs or forced onto them) by depicting model behaviour, the joy arising from it and attitudes worth copying. These images are addressed not merely at the domestic audience, but at the whole world. Just like Soviet stamps, American stamps also display a pronounced didactic accent. American stamps present young Americans in particular with working paragons of farmers, labourers and engineers as a means of promoting the work ethic that are surprisingly similar to their eastern counterparts. There are even stamps drawing attention to the low level of physical fitness or showing a woman as the mother of the family. Others promote peace, tolerance and freedom. Soviet posters and stamps from the Perestroika period are interesting for their open criticism of negative social phenomena that the Soviet leadership was attempting to combat, such as alcoholism (“Be Sober – A Normal Life, USSR Post Office 1985”).

The Soviet Communist programme of 1961 talked of the creation of the material and technical foundations of Communism on the basis of which the principles of a “classless” society were to be realised within Soviet society within twenty years<sup>3</sup>. Then First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev also gave assurances that the Soviet Union would catch up with and overtake the most developed economies in the world in short time. The visual media of the time, as reflected in the party congresses, sparkle with ideological self-confidence. The propagandist motifs employed are characterised by the use of the colour red, waving flags, hammers and sickles, and busts of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. They are full of five-pointed stars, frequently metamorphosing into the form of rockets rising steeply upwards into space with the initials KSSS (The Communist Party of the Soviet Union). Experiments of enormous dimensions focused above all on agriculture and, although obligingly reflected in and glorified

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<sup>3</sup> XXII. sjezd KSSS (1961). Praha: Rudé právo.

by contemporary visual media, proved entirely ineffective. The posters and stamps of the nineteen eighties are characterised by a rapid decline in the use of these unconvincing motifs in the face of the reality in the Soviet Union and its satellites.

The Soviet Union issued a considerable quantity of propagandist material (including a series of postage stamps) under the title *The True Peace Programme – The Peace-building Existence of the Socialist System* in the second half of the nineteen seventies (1979) in a spirit of strategies of persuasion and ideological engagement. Stamps were issued, for example, in connection with the missions undertaken by Leonid Brezhnev to selected countries and motifs taken from his speeches. At the same time, however, the Soviet Army went into Afghanistan.

The Communist Bloc established a centrally planned economy contrasting with the common market of the western community built on the principles of the free movement of people, labour, goods, services and finances. The competitive stimuli of a market economy were to be replaced by the initiative of party and youth organisations. Practically the entire post-war propagandist media, which understandably set the tone in this respect for “brother” nations, is therefore suffused with ideologised agitation associated with labour and patriotic enthusiasm.

The series of stamps issued in the USSR in 1983 under the motto “*Food Programme – A Universal Concern (Продовольственная программа – всенародное дело)*” gave an indication of which products were in short supply and why. In all probability, they had no influence on improving the situation with a view of long-term economic development.

Mikhail Gorbachev first used the word *Perestroika* in 1986. Attempts to correct “certain shortcomings” of the politico-economic system followed and led, in addition to administrative action, to media campaigns that also featured the use of posters and postage stamps. At the beginning of *Perestroika*, we find posters and stamps featuring topics promoting the rapid development of the national economy, the campaign against alcoholism and the fight against corruption. A weakening of censorship in civil life occurred – *Glasnost*. It was, however, clear that after the initial euphoria, the Communist camp would not stand the test without fundamental and deep reforms.

Partial private enterprise and the opportunity of creating companies with foreign participation were passed into law. The doctrine of a new thinking characterised by a retreat from the class principle in diplomacy and a striving for improved relations with the West gained ground in international politics. Nevertheless, it proved impossible to improve the

economic situation, and separatist tendencies were added to the growing dissatisfaction. The final stage of Perestroika (1989–1991) is judged to be economic and political destabilisation – the conflict between the Communists and the newly emerging democratic groupings. Empty shelves in the shops and disappointment and distrust among the population forced the decision to move towards democracy and a market economy<sup>4</sup>.

An examination of the iconographic material has confirmed a wealth of poster and stamp production in the given states that cannot be properly represented merely by a subjective selection conceived in this way. The topic of the Cold War, however, offers the frequent promotion of political, social and economic ideas, in addition to images of means of nuclear deterrent. In spite of the above-mentioned fragmentary nature of the examples gathered, let us hope that even such a concise annotated selection of pictorial material has, given an indication of its potential for testimony, motivation and education. It shows the contemporary reflection of one of the competing blocs defined by power and ideology on the visual media in the areas they demonstratively proclaimed as peaceful. The use of short texts in the main European languages, the deliberate communicativeness of the image, the chronology, the map evocations and the basic emblems create rewarding material from the subject matter of these media for simple analytic methods of a cross-disciplinary nature for the higher years of primary school.

### Audio-visual media

Schoolchildren can also realise the character of politico-social conditions in the Soviet Bloc more easily by means of analytic work associated with didacticised examples of audio-visual media. Film and television production, controlled by the censors of the time and shaped by Communist ideology, represent suitable sources. The beginnings of television serials, and family serials in particular, can be dated back to 1959 in Communist Czechoslovakia. This kind of television programming soon became predominant, a position it has retained to this day. The first generation of television did not, as yet, fulfil consistently propagandist or ideological requirements, and was even uncensored for a short time. The largest number of television serials were, however, created in the nineteen eighties<sup>5</sup>. The television serial in the final twenty years of the

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<sup>4</sup> Gorbačov, M. (2014). *Vzpomínky a zamyšlení*. Praha.

<sup>5</sup> Moc, J. (2009). *Seriály od A do Z*. Praha: Albatros.

Soviet Bloc can be characterised as a closed art form subordinate to ideological rules, while also serving a significant function in educating and socialising the population. The viewer could watch how a society run by Communists should function properly and how he or she should function within it. Serials of this kind also shaped the population's value system and served as a guide as to how to behave both at work and within the party, and in one's private and family life.

They emphasised the importance of labour professions, manual work, pay corresponding to this importance, and the solvency of the families of labourers in comparison to intellectual professions. In the nineteen seventies, in particular, there was an evident effort to reflect the policy of families with larger numbers of children, copying the demographic interests of the state, and support for housing construction, maternity grants and child benefits in serial storylines.

The focal point of these serials is usually an ideal happy family, though these serial families are nevertheless confronted with the hardships of life. The triggers of their family crises are usually forms of drug addiction, domestic violence, infertility and mental problems.

These serials also reflect efforts on the part of their characters to further their careers, while giving a critical mention to the prevailing nepotism (the acceptance of children for study, etc.). In the case of fathers trying to further their professional managerial careers, however, they state the necessity of membership of the Communist Party and checks on the political past of job applicants. Women trying to further their careers are seen as the cause of the disruption of family relationships.

The ever-present ideological framework of these serials serves to legitimise and support the regime and to justify the necessity and correctness of the social structure. Critical references are entirely absent in this regard. Other viewpoints regarding the world or the political structure are not shown. In serials depicting the more distant past, the accent is placed on the attitudes of the workers that were appropriated by the Communist regime as the roots of its own existence.

By means of analytical work connected with suitable clips from these television serials, schoolchildren can form a better understanding of the nature of television production controlled by censorship and shaped by Communist ideology. No matter whether these were strongly propagandist serials or entertaining ones, what the given serial was to depict was always determined in advance and strict checks were made to ensure that this was adhered to. By identifying the characteristic features of serial production, we lead the pupil to an awareness of who

and what they were about, the purpose for which they were made, and the environment in which they played out. Communist ideologists were well aware of the fact that the views of the public and television viewers are shaped in a decisive manner by the mass media. Watching television serials became something of an attraction, and this is what they remain to some extent to this day. Pupils should, under the guidance of the teacher, come to the conclusion that the Communist Party had a need to shape the attitudes of the citizen through the means of propaganda and to promote approval of the leading figure of the Communist Party and its policy within society. For example, society in Czechoslovakia occupied by the Soviet Army can be characterised for the purposes of history teaching as being resigned and as not rejecting television propaganda. The regime's media co-operated in the targeted manipulation and education of the citizen through the means of the family serial. Television production found support in the newspaper and magazine mass media presented as constructive criticism. The result was coordinated pressure on the citizen.

One goal of the educational activities with media products from the given period is to familiarise the pupil with the strategies of persuasion used by the ruling Communist Party to try to convince citizens of the correctness of the imposed value system and their subsequent voluntary sharing of it. Family serials, popular family comedies, television variety shows, etc. served as an effective tool. Some of the given serials can be called historical, in addition to being described as family serials, though not because they necessarily reflected historical reality. They can be labelled historical in view of the timeline on which their plot takes place, consisting of an interval of at least one generation in respect of the time at which they were made.

If we want to develop the pupil's ability to read and interpret correctly the stories conceived in this way in the next stage of the educational process, it is necessary to draw attention to the necessity of understanding timelines. When watching a film set in the past, viewers are generally exposed to the relatively specific (though typical for the given medium and genre) action of a number of overlapping temporal dimensions<sup>6</sup>. It is, for this reason, extremely important for the pupil to develop the skill of differentiating these levels. This problem can be demonstrated, in part,

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<sup>6</sup> Klimeš, I., Rak, J. (1988). Film a historie I. *Film a doba*, No. 3, pp. 140–145; Klimeš, I., Rak, J. (1988). Film a historie II. *Film a doba*, No. 6, pp. 333–337; Klimeš, I., Rak, J. (1988). Film a historie III. *Film a doba*, No. 9, pp. 516–521; Klimeš, I., Rak, J. (1988). Film a historie IV. *Film a doba*, No. 12, pp. 637–642.

with the example of the family chronicle *The Sons and Daughters of Jakub the Glassblower* (1985). The story describes the fortunes of the head of the family and his seven children. In addition to the timeline of the story itself, however, it also reflects the atmosphere of the inception of the film reconstruction, i.e. "normalisation", although it was not finished until the time of Gorbachev's Perestroika. The properties of reconstruction necessarily reflect the period in which the series was made. Another timeline can generally be clarified by the experience which tells us that the majority of feature films are based on a piece of literature. It is quite usual, however, for a considerable period of time to elapse between the writing of a piece of literature and its film adaptation. And the situation is complicated still further by a fourth characteristic consisting of the attitude and value models of the time in which we watch the film or in which it is used by the teacher for the purposes of an educational activity. Today's school pupils, like their predecessors, associate their own expectations, ideas and fashion influences and the acceptance of what they want to see with their reception of a film – aspects that may, and generally will, differ from the expectations of pupils living two or three generations ago in a different social, cultural and political climate.

## Conclusion

The analysis and interpretation of visual media (postage stamps and posters) in Czech school history education remains something of an unknown quantity. Any form and level of practical application would, however, correspond more with the desired research trends of history education and media studies in line with the way in which they have long been developing to the west of our borders<sup>7</sup>.

Fragments of audio-visual media (film scenes) are, however, frequently used in teaching. Nevertheless, we are not promoting them here for the purpose of mere illustration of frontal education. Their being accompanied by other sources of information and teaching aids should go without saying for teachers. The serious question remains as to whether the teacher will prove capable of providing fitting interpretation of a fragment from a television serial and what other sources of information need to be provided for this media product to be understood by the pupil in the context of the age.

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<sup>7</sup> Pandel, H. J., Schneider, G. (eds.) (2007). *Handbuch Medien im Geschichtsunterricht*. Schwalbach.

It is, however, clear from the above that the socio-political images of the age in pop culture can be reconstructed in teaching in many ways, for example the analysis of many and various structure elements of a society run by Communists and the method of its depiction – the relationship to compulsory military service, labour versus intellectual occupations, the depiction of the ideal happy family, relationships between parents and children, models of behaviour, the economic position of individual professions, relationships to a consumer way of life, the ideological vocabulary, the demonstrated housing culture, gender aspects, moral values, fashion, humour, collective life, etc. An important part of the educational process is surely the given dimension of the current expectations of the pupil before the screening of a serial. After watching appropriate sequences, we recommend a reflective moderated discussion. The topic can then be enriched by the generation of parents sharing their memories of the “normalisation” period.

The pupil should, at the end of the educational process, be capable of understanding the period context of human action, handling this specific information in a critical and responsible manner, and formulating his or her own attitudes. On the basis of his or her prior knowledge, the pupil may consider the deeper causes or roots of the phenomena propagated in the analysed media. The result may be not merely the development of the ability of historical thinking, a deeper historical awareness and a perception of historical culture, but also heightened media literacy.



# Who was Jeremias Joseph Knechtel?

## A few Remarks about an Unknown Baroque Painter from Bohemia<sup>1</sup>

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*Jeremias Joseph Knechtel came from Česká Kamenice. Having moved to Legnica around 1700, Knechtel obtained city rights and became the guild member there. When he applied for the post of the court painter in Prague in 1730, he hoped his career would blossom closer the center of the Habsburg monarchy. In 1735 Christian Müller got the honored title and Knechtel's dream was never fulfilled.*

*Nowadays there are 180 known works by the Master from Legnica. The paintings executed during the "baroquisation" of the Jesuit church in Świdnica (1700–1720) are typical for Knechtel's early work and illustrate the Prague inspirations in his style. In the Knechtel's later works the dynamic narration and the analogies to Czech art are reduced at the expense of the devotional depictions of individual saints or the subtle scenes illustrating the Life of Mary.*

*Knechtel worked for Jesuits, Franciscans, Benedictines, Cistercians and Augustinians. Cistercian abbot Geyer was one of the most important patrons of the artist. Knechtel executed the cycle of the Fictional Portraits of the Piast Dukes of Silesia (1720) for him.*

*The master from Legnica was also inspired by the works of the Michael Leopold Willmann. Two cycles of the Stations of the Cross by Knechtel's workshop are based on the copperplates designed by Willmann. The painter worked for the noble families. Most of them were Habsburg-oriented Catholics, with one exception: August von Uechteritz. In 1735 he commissioned works by Knechtel for the protestant church in Giebuttów.*

Key words: *Jeremias Joseph Knechtel; Baroque Painter; Bohemia*

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<sup>1</sup> This article is the summary of the few years' research about life and work of Jeremias Joseph Knechtel. The research was carried mainly by the Institute of Art History at the Wrocław University and it was crowned by the exhibition of painter's works in the Muzeum Miedzi in Legnica. The publication accompanying the exhibition contains the Master's biography, articles about his technique and milieu and complete catalogue of his paintings. Koziat, A., Kłoda, E. (Eds.) (2012). *Jeremias Joseph Knechtel* (exh. cat.). Legnica, Muzeum Miedzi. At the moment the research about the painter is supported by the project *The Baroque Painting in Silesia* financed by The Ministry of Science and Higher Education through The National Programme for the Development of Humanities. The research is also co-financed by EU within The European Social Fund.

When the court painter of Prague, Petr Keck, died in 1730, artists started to apply for the prestigious post. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1730 the court writer Johann Heinrich Dieneber had been asked to prepare an evaluation of the candidates. Among the nominees there was a painter called Knechtel, who had boasted about his portraits and numerous commissions from the Czech nobility. Dieneber criticized Knechtel's paintings, but he also admitted that he "saw almost nothing of his art-pieces apart from a few copies" and "master showed us a little of his work."<sup>2</sup> Knechtel wasn't the only one applying for the court position. The other candidates were: Frantz Anton Müller, an apprentice from Venzel Lorentz Reiner's workshop, Paul Friedrich Fahrenschohn (1677–1740), an artist from Chomutov, and Johann Cajetan Mons. Dieneber favourably rated Müller's paintings saying "from what I saw, Müller is greater than Knechtel in artistry, and he also invents and creates beautiful landscapes and narrative scenes by himself (...) and he paints them with fair composition using the fine brush."<sup>3</sup> Müller was also the student of Reiner, who was considered the best artist in Prague at that time. His knowledge about cleaning the old paintings was another important advantage. Fahrenschohn was described by the court writer as "a good, honest man, painter as well as an architect of Illuminations and Castor Doloris."<sup>4</sup> Dieneber ranked Mons last among the artists because he had never seen any of his paintings. The evaluation prepared in May 1730 was not the ultimate judgement. There were new candidates: Jan Jindřich Schégl and Antonín František Hampisch. The court officials could not make the final decision, and the prestigious post of court painter in Prague remained vacant.<sup>5</sup>

Even though Dieneber used in his evaluation the name Johann, the painter Knechtel can be identified as the Master Jeremias Joseph Knechtel (1679–1650). He was born in Bohemia and lived in Legnica in Silesia. During the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was no other painter called

<sup>2</sup> "Hr: Knechtel aber (...) nur ein paar Copien / von Seine Kunst sehen Lassen"; "Von Knechtel aber hab. / nichts als ein paar Copeyen gesehen". – The archive of the Prague Castle, Dvorní stavební úřad collection, sign: HBA 502 (letter of 7 March 1730).

<sup>3</sup> "so viel ich gesehen so guth d Erste Nahmens Frantz Muller dem 2te Johan Knechtel in der Kunst wirth uber treffen, auch Inventirt und machet d selbe hubste Landschafft und Historien Bield (...) und fuhret solcher auch selbsten eine hubste stellung und feine freune Pinsell". – *Ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> "ein gutter ehrlich man, welcher sich auch shon vormacher bey ferichtung von schadener Castrum Dolorid und Illuminationen". – *Ibidem*.

<sup>5</sup> Kunešová, J. (2007). *Život a dílo dvorního malíře Františka Antonína Müllera (1693–1753)* (MA thesis). Olomouc: UP, pp. 11–12; Novotný, A. (1947). *Z Prahy doznívajícího baroka 1730–1740*. Praha: Atlas, pp. 91–92.

Knechtel, whose position was high enough, to have had such aspirations. Moreover, among scholars there is no agreement about the Knechtel's first name. The 19<sup>th</sup> century chronicles and historical descriptions of Silesian sacral buildings give only the surname of the painter. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the scholars started to use names Jeremias, Johann, Ignaz or the ambiguous initials J. J. The explanation for that situation is the existence of many artists from the Knechtel family. The scholars assigned some paintings by the master from Legnica as the work of other members of Knechtel's family. Jeremias Josephs's nephew Johann Ignaz is a good example of this. He was born in Żagań, where he probably studied in his uncle's workshop in Legnica and in 1729 he started an independent carrier in nearby town Świdnica. Many scholars attribute Jeremias Josephs's works to him.<sup>6</sup>

All misleading information could be corrected thanks to existing documents from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. Jeremias Joseph Knechtel was baptised on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1679 in Šelty near Česká Kamenice. His father Georg Anton was also a painter.<sup>7</sup> Having moved to Legnica around 1700, Jeremias Joseph Knechtel obtained city rights and became the guild member there in 1703. A year later he got married with the Burgomaster's daughter Maria Eleonora Blancke.<sup>8</sup> The wedding took place in Żagań, but the married couple settled down in Legnica, where the painter led his workshop. The newcomer from Bohemia had no problems with adjusting to the society in Legnica. The godparents of his children were high officials and the city elite representatives.<sup>9</sup> The artist became the grandmaster and the guild's jury very quickly. Knechtel was an active burgher as one of the twelve members of the municipal council (*Zwölfer*).<sup>10</sup> However, the Master was aware of the fact, that Legnica was a small provincial city in Silesia.

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<sup>6</sup> Kłoda, E. (2012). Zamiast wstępu: odkrywanie Jeremiasa Josepha Knechtla. In Koziół, A., Kłoda, E. (see note 1), pp. 9–14.

<sup>7</sup> "George Knechtel Richtter undt Mahler in Schelt. sein Weib Eva ein sohnlein getauft: Jeremias, Pathen: George Zuncke Ober. Tobias Zuncke. Eva George Heydin". – State Regional Archives Litoměřice, Sbirka matrik Severočeského kraje collection, sign. L67/2 (Římskokatolický farní úřad Kamenický Šenov, Matriky, 2, 1671–1714).

<sup>8</sup> "Haben sich aussgebitten lassen der kunstlichen hh. Jeremias Knechtel Mahler allhier der hh. Georgy Antony Knechtel Oberichtes zu Schelten in Böhmen hhl. Sohn mit der edlÿ jungfl. Maria Eleonora der hh. Joh Jacobi von Blanckes Burgermeister zu Sagan elh. Tochte. Diese sindl zu Sagan getraut worden". – The Archdiocesan Archive in Wrocław, Księgi metrykalne collection, sign. 23 (Liegnitz, kathol. Pfarrei: Trauungsbuch, 1, 1659–1718).

<sup>9</sup> The Archdiocesan Archive in Wrocław, Księgi metrykalne collection, sign. 23 (Liegnitz, kathol. Pfarrei: Taufersbuch, 1, 1659–1718).

<sup>10</sup> The State Archive in Wrocław – Legnica branch, Akta miasta Legnicy, before Prussia collection, sign. 4 (Denkwürdigkeiten der Stadt Liegnitz).

When he wrote the letter to the Prague court in 1730, he hoped that his career would further blossom closer the centre of the Habsburg monarchy. In 1735 the Prague officials finally reached an agreement and Christian Müller got the honoured title of the court painter.<sup>11</sup> Knechtel's dream of Prague was never fulfilled. Nevertheless, the court writer Dieneber was right, when he wrote, that it was impossible to evaluate the painter's oeuvre after seeing a few works. Knechtel was an uncommonly fruitful artist. Apart from portraits he executed many works for the nobility, Catholic Church, Silesian cities and even Protestants. His successful career ended with his death in 1750. How did the newcomer adjust to the local community and painter's guild in such a short time? Why was his career so quick and fortunate? What was the reason for the constant and enormous interest in his work in Silesia? Was his position high enough to allow him to candidate for the post of the Prague court painter? Let the paintings themselves answer all those questions.

Nowadays there are 160 known and preserved works by the Master from Legnica and there are at least 20 paintings that are considered lost or destroyed. As Andrzej Kozieł noted, Knechtel was one of the most productive baroque painters in Silesia. It seems probable the artist achieved such effectiveness by applying Michael Willman's production methods in his workshop in Legnica. Just like the "Silesian Apelles" in Lubiąż, Knechtel used graphic prototypes or repeated his own compositions; hence the conceptual phase was much shortened.<sup>12</sup> It is hard to say to what extent the apprentices were involved in the work. Judging from the unequal quality of the signed pieces one can assume, that the Master often relied on his apprentices. This article describes a few Knechtel's paintings which are perfect examples of his working methods, his style and its origins.

The works executed during the "baroquisation" of the Jesuit St. Stanislaus and St. Wenceslaus church in Świdnica around 1700 are the earliest of Knechtel's commissions in Silesia.<sup>13</sup> The transformation of the gothic church into the pompous baroque spectacle was an important element of the counter-reformatory Jesuit strategy. The majority of the artists working in Świdnica came from Bohemia. They were church servitors (craftsmen with special privileges, working legally for the Church

<sup>11</sup> Kunešová, S. (see note 5), p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Kozieł, A. Jeremias Joseph Knechtel a malarstwo barokowe na Śląsku. In Kozieł, A., Kłoda, E. (see note 1), pp. 109–110.

<sup>13</sup> Hoffmann, H. (1930). *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz. Zur schlesischen Kirchengeschichte*, 3, p. 154.

officials without any obligations to the city guilds) or artist-monks, who worked only for their own order.<sup>14</sup> It is possible, that Knechtel came to Silesia as a Jesuit servitor, devoted to the counter-reformation. He worked for that monastic order all his life, preparing paintings and frescoes for the abbeys in Głogów, Otyń, Twardocice and Żagań.

Within the years 1700–1720 Knechtel created many canvases for the Jesuit church in Świdnica.<sup>15</sup> The *Saint Wenceslaus has pagan idols destroyed to build Christian churches* (1720) is one of them [1]. It hangs in the main nave along with the other scenes from the lives of the church patrons: St. Stanislaus and St. Wenceslaus. The art-piece is typical for Knechtel's early work and illustrates the Prague inspirations in his style. The picture is influenced by a painting by Karl Škréta the Elder, the greatest Czech painter in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (1641, The Archdiocesan Museum, Olomouc). The inverted composition indicates that Knechtel used the engraving based on the original painting by the Master from Prague.<sup>16</sup> The artist from Legnica didn't copy Škréta's work without adding his own ideas and changes. For example, moving the scene of demolishing the pagan idols from the far background to the front made the whole piece more dramatic and interesting. The painter added the heavenly clouds with cherubs and the new church under construction. On one hand *Saint Wenceslas has pagan idols destroyed to build Christian churches* repeats the composition by Škréta, while on the other hand it exemplifies Knechtel's reliance on the style of his probable teacher – Johann Georg Heinsch even though no written documents from Heinsch's workshop were found to prove this hypothesis. Sufficient evidence exists, however, to argue that there is a connection between those two artists. They are both known for their predilection for overcrowded scenes with painstaking study of details and highly expressive, theatrical gestures that are derived from the Rudolphine

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<sup>14</sup> Galewski, D. (2007). Kościół Jezuitów w Świdnicy. In Kapustka, M., Kozieł, A., Oszczański, P. (eds.) *Śląsk i Czechy. Wspólne drogi sztuki. Materiały konferencji naukowej dedykowane Profesorowi Janowi Wrabecowi*. Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia Sztuki, 24, pp. 249–266.

<sup>15</sup> Kozieł, A., Kłoda, E. (see note 1), pp. 190–198.

<sup>16</sup> The Škréta's painting was a part of the larger cycle intended for the cloister of the Augustinian Monastery in Zderaz. The graphic prototype was created by the Augustinian Henricus a Sancto Petro. It comes from the *Life of St. Wenceslaus* (1643–1644) written by Aegidius a S. Joanne Baptista, the Abbot of the Augustinian Monastery in Prague. Dobalová, S. (2010). The St. Wenceslas Cycle and Other Paintings for the Zderaz Monastery. In Stolarová, L., Vlnas, V. (eds.). *Karel Škréta. His work and his era* (exh. cat.). Praha: Národní galerie, pp. 156–163.

Mannerism.<sup>17</sup> There are also similarities in their painting methods, for example the clear contours, sharp, contrasting colours and smooth, glossy surface.<sup>18</sup>

It is evident, that the commissions for Świdnica Abbey differ from the Knechtel's later work. The dynamic narration and the visible analogies to Czech art are reduced at the expense of the devotional depictions of individual saints or the calm, subtle scenes illustrating the Life of Mary. The piece *St. Ann teaching St. Mary* (The side altar in the Franciscan Church in Złotoryja) is a good example of that kind of composition. The Master from Legnica signed the painting in the bottom left corner (*Jer: Jos: Knechtel Pinxit / Liegnitz Tempore 1724.*). The elements such as the gentle, girlish figure of Mary reading and the caring gesture of St. Anna hugging her daughter create the atmosphere of familial warmth and lovingness. Compared with the painting *Saint Wenceslaus has pagan idols destroyed to build Christian churches*, the piece from Złotoryja is less dynamic both in structure and colouring. The reddish bole from underpainting, visible through thin upper layer, underlines the warm hues in the composition. Nevertheless, one can still find resemblances to Heinch's work. The way Knechtel depicted the strings of pearls in the hair and on the hands of St. Mary (as if each pearl was an individual spark of reflected light) is remarkably similar in structure to the necklaces painted by the Prague Master. The pearls as well as the roses falling from the sky and the fruits on the table have something in common: due to the perfectly smooth surface of the painting they all look like scintillating, polished jewellery. In some paintings this effect is emphasized by the relief of metal applications in the shape of the crown, enriched with gold-plating and gems. Knechtel created many similar compositions with the lyrical, cloying atmosphere.<sup>19</sup> It seems probable, that the Master from Legnica gained the patron's trust by the repetitiousness of his works and his glossy, highly finished style.

The paintings in Złotoryja were commissioned by a Franciscans Monastery. It should also be noted, that Knechtel worked not only for Jesuits, but also for Franciscans, Benedictines, Cistercians and

<sup>17</sup> Šroněk, M. (2006). *Jan Jiří Heinsch. Malíř barokní zbožnosti (1674–1712)*. Praha: ÚDU AV Ř, pp. 143–148.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 108–109.

<sup>19</sup> The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne in the filial St. Nicholas church in Stanów and the filial St. Bartholomew church in Uciechów, *St. Ann teaching St. Mary* in the parish St. Nicholas church in Jelenin and the parish Assumption of Mary church in Słup, The Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish St. John the Baptist church in Legnica.

Augustinians. Cistercian abbot Dominicus Geyer (1662–1726) was one of the most important patrons of the artist. Knechtel executed the cycle of the Fictional Portraits of the Piast Dukes of Silesia dated to about 1720 for him.<sup>20</sup> The paintings were probably hanging in one of the representative chambers in the monastery and they all are characteristic for Knechtel's painting style. The portraits are based on the same compositional scheme, which will here be demonstrated on the one painting *Henry II The Pious*. The Piast Duke (1196/1202–1241) is often described in the historical documents as the *miles christianus* – the defender of the Christian religion. In the picture, Henry the Pious is shown full-length, as he spears the Tatar and tramples on him victoriously. Under the portrait there is a cartouche describing his life and his death during the battle of Legnica (9 IV 1241).<sup>21</sup> The scene behind the Duke depicts legendary rain of fire that had plagued the Mongolian army camp near Wrocław. It was believed that the Blessed Ceslaus's prayers brought the rain on the infidels.<sup>22</sup> The composition and the use of colours reflect Knechtel's Prague inspirations. The flexuous, unnatural pose of the figure and the cool, metallic blue in the centre are derived from the Bartholomeus Spranger painting *The triumph of Wisdom* (around 1595, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna). Knechtel's works generally combine strange colour contrasts with disproportional figures and complex poses, and for that reason Knechtel can be considered the heir to Rudolphine Mannerism. The striking similarity to the Spranger colour palette is a satisfying indication to argue that the artist was educated in Prague, where he saw the original Spranger paintings there.

The master from Legnica was also inspired by the works of the best Silesian baroque painter, Michael Leopold Willmann. Two cycles of the Stations of the Cross executed in Knechtel's workshop are based on the copperplates designed by Willmann. Bernhard Rosa, an abbot from Krzeszów, commissioned the engravings, which were published in 1682 in Kłodzko, as the illustrations for the Passion Prayer Book. At the same

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<sup>20</sup> Of at least 11 paintings, only 10 survive today: 8 portraits of the Dukes and 2 portraits of the Duchesses. The cycle chronologically starts with Władystaw II the Exile, the originator of the Silesian Dukes line (1105–1159), and ends with Bolko II the Small – the last independent Piast Duke of Silesia (1309/1312–1368).

<sup>21</sup> *Henricus Pius Dux Liegnic: Avus Fundatoris. / Uxor Anna Ottocari I. Regis Boëmiæ Fillia. / [...]is a Tartaris ... Aprilis 9.*

<sup>22</sup> Sebzda, B., Kłoda, E. (2012). Barokowy cykl portretów Piastów śląskich z dawnego klasztoru Cystersów w Krzeszowie. In *Wokół Karkonoszy i Gór Izerskich. Sztuka baroku na śląsko-czesko-lużyckim pograniczu*. Edited by Andrzej Kozieł. Jelenia Góra: Muzeum Karkonoszkie, pp. 157–169.

time the complex of chapels containing Stations of the Cross were built near the Krzeszów Abbey. The Prayer book was created as a spiritual guide in the Passion of the Christ. The Willmann's engravings were also released separately, which led to their enormous popularity. The compositions designed by "Silesian Apelles" were frequently used by other artists (Knechtel among them) and they became the most common way to depict the Passion of the Christ in Silesia.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the Master from Legnica strongly modified the original compositions; hence his *The Stations of the Christ* are remarkable. The master from Legnica selected separate figures, scenes and gestures from the copperplates and combined them anew, using his own, slick manner, utterly different from the rough, impasto style of "Silesian Apelles". The eighth Station of the Cross from the St. Jacob the Elder Church in Sobótka (1721) is a good example of that procedure.<sup>24</sup> The painting illustrates the moment, when Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem. In general the composition repeats Willman's engraving. Jesus is depicted in the middle, as he bears the Cross and turns to the women on the left. There is also the landscape with Golgotha, but the painter reduced it to the top right corner. The figure of the Roman soldier in the foreground however is derived from Spranger's *Resurrection of Jesus* (1575–1580, Strahov Premonstratensian Monastery, Prague). One can find another interesting detail on Knechtel's eighth Station of the Cross. At the bottom of the canvas, beside the artist's signature, there is a coat of arms revealing the commissioner's identity. Knechtel executed his work for the family Flad von Ehrenschild. Considering that the family had no lands or interests near Sobótka, one can assume, that the whole cycle was intended for some other church.<sup>25</sup>

The Master from Legnica worked not only for the family Flad von Ehrenschild, but also for many other noblemen such as Hans Anton von Schaffgotsch, Anton Wilhelm von Almesloe, August von Uechtritz, Maria Eleonora von Schweidnitz and the families von Nostitz, von Hatzfeld and von Reibnitz. Most of them were Silesian, Habsbourg-oriented Catholics, with one exception: August von Uechteritz. He was a member of

<sup>23</sup> In the Prayer Book there are 32 copperplates designed by Melchior Küssel, Georg Andreas Wolfgang The Elder and Johann Jacob von Sandart. Kozieł, A. (2006). Angelus Silesius, Bernhard Rosa i Michael Willmann, czyli sztuka i mistyka na Śląsku w czasach baroku. *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, 2872, *Historia Sztuki*, 23, pp. 203–214.

<sup>24</sup> Kozieł, A., Kłoda, E. (see note 1), pp. 173–179.

<sup>25</sup> Sękowski, R. (2003). *Herbarz szlachty śląskiej. Informator genealogiczno-heraldyczny*, II: D–G. Katowice, p. 172; Blažek, C. (1977). Der abgestorbene Adel der preußischen Provinz Schlesien und der Oberlausitz. In *J. Siebmacher's grosses Wappenbuch*, XVII: *Die Wappen des schlesischen Adels*. Neustadt an der Aish, pp. 79–80.



a protestant family, which had lands in Upper Lusatia, beyond the borders of Silesia. In 1735 he commissioned two works by Knechtel for the main altar in the protestant church in Giebuttów (now the catholic Michael Archangel church).<sup>26</sup> The paintings in Giebuttów (*The Resurrection* and *The Ascension of Jesus*) are unique in the artist's oeuvre. It is the only existing evidence that he worked for Protestants. What is even more interesting is that the canvases are placed in the monumental architectonic altar, which reflects the baroque forms created by the artists working for the counter-reformation. The paintings themselves do not differ from the works executed for the catholic churches. In *The Resurrection* Jesus is depicted in the middle as he rises from the tomb. The vivid red of his robe dominates the composition. His dynamic, flexuous pose reminds the Mannerist flamboyant figures. Around the Christ there is a heavy mass of swirling clouds. An almost identical Jesus figure can be seen in the Knechtel's painting *The Holy Trinity* commissioned by the Jesuits (1732, the main altar in the St. Peter and St. Paul Church in Twardocice). It is astonishing that the artist used the same composition and painting methods in art-pieces of such different theories and intentions.

Undoubtedly Knechtel could adjust for the particular commissions. He never limited his work to one field and his workshop was very enterprising. But why are there just a few works which can prove that? When one narrows the analysis to the still existing paintings, it would seem that Knechtel was only a counter-reformatory artist. According to the archival documents, the painter executed many works for profane interiors, including many portraits. His workshop took part in decorating the Knight Academy in Legnica and town halls in Legnica and Bolestawiec. Dieneber's note from the Prague archive is one of many pieces of evidence that Knechtel was a portraitist. Unfortunately, all described art-pieces are missing or destroyed. The engraving *Portrait of the Pastor Gottfried Kleiner* by Florian Bertholomaeus Comaeus Strachowsky, based on the Knechtel's painting, is the only work that gives us the notion of how those portraits could look like.<sup>27</sup> The explanation for this is simple. The sacral buildings were less devastated throughout the centuries and the sacral paintings in churches remain untouched. The portraits and profane pictures, usually smaller and thus easier to

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<sup>26</sup> *Słownik geografii turystycznej Sudetów II. Pogórze Izerskie (2003)*. Edited by Marek Staffa. Wrocław: I-BiS, p. 200; Brzezicki, S., Nielsen, Ch., Grajewski, G., Popp, D. (Eds.) (2006). *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce. Śląsk*. Warszawa: DiG, p. 258.

<sup>27</sup> Koziół, A., Kłoda, E. (see note 1), pp. 236–237.

transport, changed places and owners. During the Second World War lots of art-pieces were destroyed or transferred abroad. Hence, it is hard to verify what had happened to them.

The majority of surviving paintings were executed for the monasteries. In the last decade of his life, Knechtel worked for the Augustinian Monastery in Żagań. He created art-pieces for the Żagań Abbey and for the smaller churches under the Augustinian jurisdiction.<sup>28</sup> Among them there is one outstanding hagiographic cycle painted on the choir stalls in the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Żagań. The 18 scenes from the life of St. Augustine were commissioned by Simon Thaddeus Rihl, the Augustinian Abbot. The painter put signatures (*Jeremias Jose: Knech... / pinxit 1747*) on two paintings from the cycle: *The Baptism* and *The Death of St. Augustine*.<sup>29</sup> The painted decoration of the choir stalls is one Knechtel's best works. It combines a perfect dynamic narration with a slight change in the painting method. The intricate story of life and work of St. Augustine is based on the autobiographical *Confessions* and *The Golden Legend* by Jacob de Voragine. The compositions are partially derived from the graphic cycle *Vita S. Norberti canonicorum praemonstratensium patriarchæ* by Theodore Galle published in Antwerp in 1622. Although Knechtel used some figures and elements from Galle's copperplates, his works remain original ideas permeated by his specific painting method. Knechtel's figures are in characteristically complex, theatrical poses that overfill the small canvases. The fictional architecture painted in brown and grey tones creates the monochromatic background for the narrations. The vivid red and blue clothes of St. Augustine build the contrast which dominates almost every composition. The Żagań cycle is an interesting example of the late artist's style. The slick, scintillating manner seems to evolve into a freer style with the visible brushwork. The paintings on the choir stalls are viewed at close range; hence one can fully admire the artistry and beauty of the cycle. The thin brush-strokes,

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, pp. 182–187.

<sup>29</sup> The canvases are placed on the stalls in the chronological order: 1. *Birth of St. Augustine*, 2. *Education of St. Augustine*, 3. *Augustine leaves the church* 4. *His Mother St. Monica drives him away from her table*, 5. *St. Monica prays for her son*, 6. *St. Augustine becomes an advocate*, 7. *St. Augustine becomes a teacher*, 8. *St. Augustine listens to the St. Ambrose's homily in Milan*, 9. *St. Monica follows her son to Milan*, 10. *St. Augustine meditates and regrets his sinful life*, 11. *The Baptism of St. Augustine*, 12. *St. Augustine travels to Africa*. *St. Monica dies in Ostia*, 13. *St. Augustine is ordained as priest*, 14. *St. Augustine becomes a bishop*, 15. *St. Augustine fights with the heresy* 16. *St. Augustine establishes the Augustinian Order*, 17. *St. Augustine writes his testament*, 18. *Death of St. Augustine*. Only 16 canvases are original. The paintings number 16 and 17 were 16 and 17 were replaced with 19<sup>th</sup> century copies.

the subtle hues of grey, brown and violet and the carefully applied gleams create the finest art-piece in the Knechtel's oeuvre.<sup>30</sup>

In the last decade of his life, the Master from Legnica created nothing comparable to the Scenes from the life of St. Augustine. Moreover, the paintings dating to 1740s alter in quality. Some works are executed in the interesting freer manner with visible brushwork and refined hues. Many paintings however, contain disproportional figures, incorrect composition and distasteful colour contrasts. Both kinds are often signed with the same name, but those of poor quality seem to be executed by the mediocre members of the workshop, without the master's touch. It is probable, that in the late 1740s Knechtel was too old and sick to paint and the apprentices finished all his art-pieces alone. Among them was the artist's granddaughter, Antonia della Vigna. Apparently she helped her old grandfather and organized the production in the workshop. After Knechtel's death she wanted to continue her career as a painter, but she wasn't accepted by the painter's guild in Legnica. She finished the basic education in her grandfather's workshop. After his death, she worked with the Master from Wrocław, Johann Heinrich Kynast, who came to Legnica to paint for the Benedictine Sisters. Still, the painters could not admit the woman into the guild because she couldn't become a wandering journeyman as the rules required. Antonia della Vigna tried to avoid the strict regulations by writing letters to King Friedrich and asking for his protection. Despite that, she never became a guild member. The Masters from Legnica criticised her efforts as inappropriate. A woman in the guild was something unacceptable and compromising.<sup>31</sup> Eventually she gained the right to work outside the guild and to execute narrative paintings and portraits. In Silesia there was one known work by Vigna, but it has been missing since 2004. It hung in the small church in Jaskotle near Wrocław. It had Vigna's signature dated with the year 1756. The only existing documentation of the painting is a small black-and-white photograph from the Provincial Heritage Monuments Protection Office in Wrocław. Nevertheless it can easily be seen, that Vigna never achieved her grandfather's artistry and she could be responsible for the mediocre quality of the late paintings created in his workshop.

The exact date of Knechtel's death is known from the he funeral record in the parish register: "1750 25 August † 28 August begraben Liegnitz

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<sup>30</sup> Koziel, A., Kłoda, E. (see note 1), pp. 220–226.

<sup>31</sup> Arnold Zum Winkel, Ernstes und heiteres aus dem Leben einer Liegnitzer Innung. *Wir Schlesier* VII, 1926/1927, No 21, pp. 647–648.

Herr Jeremias Knechtel Historien=und Kunst Maler wie auch wohl verordneter Zwolfer und der lubl. Mittels der Maler und Bildhauer Geschworener (...) ist zu dem Franciscanen begraben wurden.”<sup>32</sup> The artist is described as a guild’s judge, a member of the city council and, above all, a great painter. The Master from Legnica was a respectable burgher, and an honourable member of the guild. He was appreciated by the wealthy patrons and his workshop became popular in all of Silesia. His rapid career was built on the active membership in the painter’s guild combined with individual commissions for the monasteries. As a guild member, Knechtel executed works for the council and burghers from Legnica – the portraits or the decoration in the Knight Academy and the town hall. The city contracts and portraits helped him to enter the protestant and noble circles. At the same time, Knechtel worked for Jesuits, Benedictines, Cistercians and Augustinians. His career as a counter-reformatory painter could develop quickly, because the Silesian Monasteries were closely connected and often recommended to each other the reliable artists. His workshop produced many large altarpieces with strong ideological content, such as *The Holy Trinity* in the Jesuit church in Twardocice. However it should be noted that Knechtel’s most interesting paintings were intended for the intimate, private devotion, like the canvases on the chair stalls in Żagań or the cycle of the fictional portraits of the Piast Dukes in Krzeszów. The artist’s success was also based on the well-functioning workshop. Knechtel achieved almost everything in Silesia, but his ambition was higher than that. His application for the title of the court-painter in Prague demonstrated his hopes and aspirations. The Master from Legnica dreamt of a great career in Prague, the Capital city of the Bohemian Crown. His candidature was rejected and he stayed in Silesia till the end of his life.

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<sup>32</sup> The Archive of the National Museum in Wrocław. Erwin Hintze Card Index collection (Silesian Painters), fol. 455.

## Ukrainian Cultural-educational Life in Lemkovina from the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the 1930s

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*Thus, national self-awareness of the Lemkos was combined with the cultural-national elation of the whole Ukrainian nation. The destructive political influences could not destroy the Lemkos and their national originality. Some communities in the Diasporas and in cultural associations (founded in the independent Ukraine) still cherish historical memory, art, and cultural values of Lemkovina.*

*The biggest west ethnographic group of the Ukrainian was the Lemkos, which played an important role in the history of the formation of the Ukrainian ethnos. In spite of unfavorable social-political conditions from the end of 19<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were numerous processes of national revival. Public associations and famous figures became the guides of national awareness and the initiators of cultural-educational work. The most active in the sphere of revival in Lemkovina were the following associations: 'Prosvita', 'Native School', 'Rural Master', 'Ukrainian revisionary union', 'commission of Lemkos', etc. Thanks to their active work, educational institutions of different levels, help funds, educational nuclea, museums and art centers were founded; periodicals were published and expanded, 'strolling libraries' were set up.*

*Difficult historical and socio-cultural conditions and in particular the purposeful destructive political influences in 1940s could not destroy the Lemkos and their national originality.*

Key words: *Lemkovina; national upbringing; cultural-educational life; ethnic self-awareness; national-cultural assimilation*

The *Lemkos* are the furthest western ethnographical group of the Ukrainians, inhabiting both slopes of West Carpathians (Beskids) between the rivers San and Poprad. They made a great contribution to the diversity of Ukrainian ethnicity. Scientists believe that the East-Slavic tribe of White Croats, who settled this territory in the 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries, were the ancient ancestors of the *Lemkos*. At the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century the West Carpathians were territorially united with the Kievan Rus' and then it belonged to the Galician and Galician-Volhynian principality. This

territory was under the power of other countries during over a long period of time: from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century – was under Poland's control, then after the first partition of Poland in 1771 it was under Austria's control, and then from 1918 again within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The politics of these countries were directed at the assimilation and denationalization of the indigenous population.

The distant location of the region, the absence of Ukrainian towns and national intelligentsia resulted in a weak national-cultural connection between Lemkovina and other ethnic Ukrainian lands, especially with Galicia. It rendered the distribution of progressive social-political thought inconvenient. The dominant social current in the turn of 19<sup>th</sup> – a 20<sup>th</sup> century was Moscow filiation, the ideology of which was based on the conception of the history of Galician and Sub-Carpathian Rus' as a part of Russian history and local Rusyns as a part of 'All Russian' nation.<sup>1</sup> The existence of a separate Ukrainian nation was questioned, the Ukrainian literary language was treated inimically, the use of the national language during religious services was not allowed, and the Greek-Catholic church was blamed. After losing its influence in the main centres of Galicia, the representatives of this conservative camp, especially orthodox priests, began their activity in Lemkovina. Russophiles concentrated on building up a network of credit unions as well as reading halls societies named after M. Kachkovskij which included more than one hundred members before the beginning of the World War I in 300 villages in Lemkovina.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of unfavourable social-political conditions, Ukrainian national life in Lemkovina did not cease. In the turn of 19<sup>th</sup> a 20<sup>th</sup> century active processes of national revival of the Ukrainian identity, which developed at that time on the West-Ukrainian lands, especially in Galicia, had a connection with the Lemkovina region. Having made some educational-cultural achievements progressive Ukrainian intelligentsia of Galicia assumed the aim to give all the possible assistance to the Ukrainians in Lemkovina.

The union 'Prosvita' (in Lviv) was the first public organisation which strove for national awareness of the *Lemkos*. However, it took some time for the results of this effort to be seen. At the end of 1892 (quarter of a century after the association's establishment) in a big village in Lemkovina and with the help of a native priest Vasyl Lavrivskij the first reading hall of 'Prosvita' was established in counterbalance to the Russophiles' reading halls.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Андрусак, М. (1935). *Нариси з історії галицького москвофільства*. Львів, р. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Мицьо, К. (1979). Лемківщина в роках 1918–1919. *Ін Лемківщина 1*. Нью-Йорк, рр. 4–5.

<sup>3</sup> Красовський, І. (2010). Діяльність "Прогвіти" на Лемківщині. *Ін Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність 19*. Львів, р. 322.

The union 'Prosvita' activated its cultural-educational work among the Ukrainian *Lemkos* at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. That was because of the fact that there were searches of local enthusiasts and leaders of public life. Organizing actions reached a success in 1902, when the first branch of 'Prosvita' was established in Nowy Sącz. Petro Linynskij and Vasyl Yavorskyj were its first famous public-cultural figures. They both were the graduating students of the Lviv University, where they studied law, later they held different administrative posts in judicial and financial agencies of Galicia; they were chosen as ambassadors to the Parliament of Galicia and the Viennese parliament. In 1890s because of the conflicts with governmental circles they were transferred to the districts of Lemkovina, where they began a great cultural-educational work.<sup>4</sup> V. Yavorskyj became the head of the new branch and was at that position to the end of his life. The members-founders of this cultural-educational nucleus were teachers. This branch of 'Prosvita' was successful from the beginning, because in two years it had 118 members.

On August 15, 1906 the general conference of this organizations branch and the reading hall of 'Prosvita' took place in Nowy Sącz. The newspaper 'Dilo' called this event 'a big and majestic celebration for the whole Lemkovina'. It published a big note about the run of that national-cultural event.<sup>5</sup> The importance of that event is the participation of the famous cultural-educational figures, such as I. Bryk, A. Chajkivskij, O. Kolessa, I. Rakovskij, Z. Kuzel, F. Vovk, etc. in the session of a delegation of representatives from the association 'Prosvita'.

From the report it may be inferred that in spite of the 'unfavourable conditions' the activity of this organizations branch was 'earnest and bride'. The opening of a theological seminary was a special merit of the educational nucleus in Nowy Sącz, where more than 50 pupils lived. Six pupils were completely deprived of payment, the others had major privileges. V. Yavorskyj gave a patron's help in the maintenance of this establishment. He also submitted half of the income from the publication of his brochure 'Ukrainian deal in European lightening' (The collection of articles of European scientists and politicians about the Russian-Ukrainian question, published in Vienna in 1905).<sup>6</sup> The all local intelligentsia and workers were attracted to the active cultural-educational work in this branch. They organized theatrical performances, supervised

<sup>4</sup> Діячі науки і культури Лемківщини; <http://lemko.org/history/krasovskiy/diyache/6.html>

<sup>5</sup> Загальні Збори філії й читальні "Просвіта" в Новім Санчі. (1906): In *Діло* 168, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Загайкевич, Б. (1961). Освіта і школи в Перемишлі. In *Перемишль – Західний Бастіон України*. Нью-Йорк, p. 239.

the building of churches, and organised courses for the illiterate. Among the further priorities of this branch's activities was the necessity for the bride attraction of the peasants in Lemkovina and the local clergy to the work. Other positive developments in the sphere of national awareness were the appearance of the political educational-scientific and economical weekly paper 'Pidgirskij Dzvin' at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in 1902 in Nowy Sącz (the first Ukrainian newspaper in Lemkovina), the establishment of new branches of 'Prosvita' in Sanok and Jaslo as well as the branches of 'Sil'skyj Hospodar' and 'Lemkivskij bank' in Sanoc and Nowy Sącz.

The First World War deepened the polarization of *Lemkos* into the pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian groups. This division was confirmed by the establishment of two republics in 1918: the Komancza Republic strove for the addition to the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR), and the Lemko-Rusyn Republic – for the addition to Russia. The liquidation of these political organisations by the Polish forces resulted in anti-Polish moods among the *Lemkos*, their ideological connection with the people of Galicia, and greater support of the Rusyns of the Carpathian region for the Ukrainian national idea.<sup>7</sup>

However, the difficult war years favored the consolidation of Ukrainian national ideas in the consciousness of *Lemkos*. This was influenced by the relationships of *Lemkos* with Ukrainian fighters and soldiers of the Austrian and Russian armies, military service of *Lemkos*, their participation in the legion Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USS) and Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA), and particularly the continuing the Russian enthrallment of the Ukraine<sup>8</sup>. Moreover, after the decline of ZUNR a number of Ukrainian intelligentsia, mostly from the eastern regions of Galicia, appeared in Lemkovina. They became teachers and started to renew different organisations from before 1914. Young Greek-Catholic priests also arrived in Lemkovina and they actively worked in the sphere of national revival.

Cultural-educational activity of 'Prosvita' (in Lemkovina) was particularly prominent in 1920s. In 1923 there were almost 30 organizations. From over ten to some tens of members might be counted in one reading hall. Teachers or Greek-Catholic priests were their leaders<sup>9</sup>. Lemkos delegated their representatives to all congresses which

<sup>7</sup> Бучацький, В. (1959). *Лемківщина. Історично-побутова розвідка*. Торонто; <http://www.lemko.org/books/buczackyj/index.html>

<sup>8</sup> Мицьо, К. (1979). Лемківщина в роках 1918–1919. In *Лемківщина 1*. Нью-Йорк, р. 4–5.

<sup>9</sup> Шафран, П. (2004). Український національний рух на Лемківщині після першої світової війни. In *Лемківщина 2*, р. 7–12.



took place in Lviv with the aim to join actively all cultural-educational initiatives and to develop the work of public societies and cooperative movements in their region. At the same time the association 'Prosvita' in Lviv tried in every possible way to support the national-selfless movement of *Lemkos*. In 1906 a special expedition of the Schevchenko Scientific Society from Lviv visited Lemkovina with the aim to learn more about the history, ethnography, anthropology and folklore of *Lemkos*. The famous Ukrainian scientist F. Kolessa worked in Lemkovina from 1911 to 1913. He wrote down more than 800 songs of *Lemkos* in 18 villages which were published in a separate collected volume.<sup>10</sup>

With the aim of combining the work of public societies and organisations in the sphere of national revival of *Lemkos* the official people of the association 'Prosvita' organised the first conference concerning Lemkovina in Sanok in 1926.

Fifteen representatives of local and central economical and cultural-educational Ukrainian organisations of Galicia raised a question about the foundation of the organisational centre in Sanok with the aim to coordinate the work of all organisations in Lemkovina. For instance, Revisionary Union of Ukrainian Cooperative Societies had to coordinate all the work and provide the organisations with necessary literature; the union 'Rural Master' had to provide agronomical help in Lemkovina, organize farming courses; 'Public commerce' and 'Centrosojuz' were responsible for creating a warehouse of goods for Ukrainian cooperatives and shops; "Maslosoyuz" had to be responsible for the opening of dairies and production centres of dairy products; 'Centrobank' and the union 'Dnister' had an obligation to provide credit in Lemkovina; the union 'Native School' was responsible for opening schools, theological seminaries, sewing courses as well as training teachers in Lemkovina.<sup>11</sup>

The second conference on the problems of Lemkovina, which took place in December, 1932 in Lviv, confirmed the great intentions of 'Prosvita' to continue the purposeful and systematic work in different spheres of cultural-educational and economic life of Lemkovina. The result of the conference was the adoption of an extensive resolution sent to the Central Economical and Cultural-Educational, Ukrainian deputys in the Polish lower house of parliament. It was stated there that the 'cause

<sup>10</sup> "Просвіта" на Лемківщині в XIX–XX ст.; <http://lemky.com/history/zagalne/151-prosvta-na-lemkivshhini>

<sup>11</sup> Вавричин, М. (2010). Архів Лемківської комісії товариства "Просвіта". In *Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність* 19, p. 632.

of Lemkovina is the cause of the whole Ukraine' and that only 'immediate and attentive help of the whole Ukrainian nation will save Lemkovina'.<sup>12</sup>

The commission for Lemkos became the executive organ for the organisation of this work at the Main Department of the association 'Prosvita', while the committees in the districts were local working organs. The personal complement of commissions was confirmed. It included the following famous figures: N. Dzerovych, I. Bryk, I. Hyzha, A. Havrylko, V. Zubrytskyj, S. Mahalyas, V. Brylynskyj, V. Kobiv, etc. They sent letters and addresses to many cultural-educational institutions, financial organisations, Ukrainian parties, youth companies, editorial offices of the Ukrainian newspapers, publishing houses and bookshops with a pressing demand to help the Lemkovina. These letters had a bride response among peoples.

Throughout the year 1933 eighteen new reading halls of 'Prosvita' were established; the union 'Rural Master' organized its nucleus, delegated instructors; cooperative societies were founded, which united 6300 people. The action of collecting books (initiated by the commission for Lemkos) under the slogan 'Book for the West' was particularly successful. As a result, the *Lemkos* of the Carpathians received some periodicals such as 'Sunday', 'Aim', 'Rural Master', 'The World of a Child', 'Bell' free of charge. Fourteen strolling libraries (the price of each was 25 000 zlotys) were sent to Lemkovina.<sup>13</sup> The newspaper 'Matter' in 1933 suggested to the Lemkivska commission the circulation of the works of S. Belej, O. Konyskyj, and M. Voznjak. The publisher 'National Cause' published 50 books with the aim of the distribution of Ukrainian books in Lemkovina. The association 'Rural master' was the most productive one in this area. It provided 3114 books of rural-economical content and 1100 calendars for the needs of national awareness of the local people.<sup>14</sup>

In 1932 the publisher V. Tyktor started to print the periodical 'Our Lemko' financed by 'Prosvita'. In the first article of the newspaper 'To our readers' the following hope is expressed: 'this magazine will arrive in every village of Lemkovina, under each roof of Lemkovina, to every reading hall and cooperative, everywhere, where there is a native word... it will be our hearty tutor, sincere defender, clever adviser'.<sup>15</sup> The magazine, which was being published up to 1939, was one of the most

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 632.

<sup>13</sup> Люзняка, М. (1999). Поширення української книги Товариством "Просвіта" на Лемківщині у 30-х рр. XX ст. In *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична* 34, p. 492.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 492.

<sup>15</sup> До наших читачів. (1934): In *Наш лемко* 1, p. 2.

important periodicals and it made a great contribution to the national awareness of Lemkovina.

With the help of the commission for Lemkos, connections with the *Lemkos* abroad were established. For this aim, the officials person of 'Prosvita' gave to the student M. Dudra, who was moving to the USA, the mandate to work for the sake of 'Prosvita' and the commission for Lemkos. This work had positive results – the *Lemkos* – emigrants in the USA formed the 'Organisation of the Protection of Lemkovina' (OOL) and started to publish the periodical 'The Bell of Lemkovina'. In June, 1936 there were 26 departments of OOL and nearly 750 thousand zlotys were collected for the help for Lemkovina; 'a strolling library' of Lemkovina was bought<sup>16</sup>. Thanks to this help, the youth of Lemkovina had a possibility to reside and to study in Ukrainian schools outside their native land, to acquire new knowledge and experience of useful public work. For instance, 14 capable pupils from the families of the *Lemkos* in 1933 studied in gymnasium in Przemyśl, three pupils acquired practical skills in the professional school of Cogregation of St. Basil in Lviv, 8 pupils – *Lemkos* received disposable help in gymnasium in Yavoriv.<sup>17</sup>

The pupils of Ukrainian nationality who studied in the gymnasium of Sanok, (it was the only Polish-speaking school) also received help. There was one hour per week for studying Ukrainian language and literature in all their forms as well as two hours of religion, where the Greek-Catholic catechism was taught. However, pupils of the *Lemkos* wanted to get more well-grounded education, to master their native language and history perfectly and that is why they set up a self-education circle. It became the nucleus of national education and an environment of the formation of intellectual elite. Pupils compiled a library, prepared thematic reports and discussed national issues. Discussions, which were arising in the process of discussing speeches, caused the conditions for the consolidation of beliefs, formation of national ideals, and gathering of the youth.<sup>18</sup>

The notable centre of conservation and development of the culture of Lemkovina was the ethnographic museum in Sanok, founded in 1930 in an ancient stone castle. The opening of the museum was a great impulse for the investigation of material and spiritual culture of the *Lemkos*, which kept very ancient forms.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Нарис історії "Просвіти"* (1993). Львів-Краків-Париж, р. 59.

<sup>17</sup> Щербя, Г. (2000). Розвиток освіти в Північній Лемківщині ХУІІ-ХХ ст. In *Визвольний шлях*, pp. 37–41.

<sup>18</sup> Стебнович, Я. (1938). Студенський кружок в Сяноці. In *Наш Лемко* 13, р. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Добрянська, І. (1972). Про матеріальну і духовну культуру лемків. In *Лемківський календар*, р. 81.

The museum association 'Lemkovina' was founded in 1931 with the aim of the development of a museum project in Sanok. The work of the union had a historic character and a character of regional ethnography. The members of the society investigated the history and culture of the villages of Lemkovina and gathered exhibits. The research work of F. Kokovskiy 'History of the cultural movement in Lemkovina' was also published with the help of the association. Within three years of the museum's existence 4065 models of national art and monuments of the past of Lemkovina were collected. Among them there were valuable icons, flint axes and, books.

Different collections were registered in the museum: 292 books, 74 icons, 90 documents of the Ukrainian national republic, 1442 of ancient documents, 351 items of numismatics, 127 embroidered shirts, 100 painted Easter eggs, 30 medals, 30 Ukrainian notes. Improvised scientific library of the museum was enriched with valuable presents from the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, a Ukrainian institution in Warsaw and the editorial office 'Chronicle of Guelder Rose'.<sup>20</sup>

One of the important events in the cultural life of Lemkovina were the tours of the Ukrainian national theatre. One performance which took place in a rural locality on a workday attracted an audience of 300. For the reason that there was not a suitable building in Sjanok where all spectators could find a place, the new idea arose to build a Ukrainian national house.<sup>21</sup> At the same time it was decided to set up the 'Ukrainian National Theatre' under the leadership of P. Karabinevych for the reason of high interest of people in art and the absence of theatres in this region. All amateur circles and choirs were invited to collaborate. It was planned to make it possible to hire costumes and decorations which could be used by amateurs, as well as to organise courses for stage-directors that could raise the artistic level of actors and the staging of plays.<sup>22</sup>

The association 'Native school' in Sanok played a particular role in the processes of national-cultural revival in Lemkovina. The circle of this association was founded in 1926 through the initiative of V. Chajkivskiy (professor of local gymnasium). Its first members were S. Mentsinskij, S. Vengrynovych, V. Konstantynovych, B. Shuljakevych, V. Mykula, S. Tsar, etc. The circle of 'Native school' in Sanok had a status of a district and it became the tutorial body for all other circles of this association. It managed all tasks concerning the development of Ukrainian schools and national upbringing of the youth in Lemkovina.

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<sup>20</sup> Лемківський музей в Сяноці розростається. (1934): In *Наш лемко* 11, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Вражіння з театральної подорожі по Лемківщині. (1935): In *Наш Лемко* 4, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> До українського громадянства Лемківщини. (1935): In *Наш Лемко* 16, p. 2.

One of the important educational initiatives of the circles of 'Native school' in Lemkovina was the foundation of kindergartens working for the national cause. There were children from age 4 to 14. These kindergartens organized their work during school holidays when parents worked in fields. Their aim was to add new knowledge and to educate children on national matters, because it was not made by state school for obvious reasons.

The appeals for the opening kindergartens in every village appeared from time to time in periodicals. The weight of such activity was emphasized as well as its creative character. 'If there were kindergartens in each village, then our people would be regenerated in some years, they would become a nation that does not have to rely on any help, and no one would write our history, but we would become its creators'.<sup>23</sup>

Since the local poverty captiously treated such Ukrainian initiations, the district circle of 'Native school' in Sanok had to meet a number of demands (selection of qualified teachers, finding suitable buildings, etc.) in order to receive the permission to open kindergartens. For conducting lessons different buildings were used, for instance reading halls, public institutions, churches, even the houses of the authorities.

Children in kindergartens were supplied with nourishment and medical service. The local committees of guardianship over kindergartens worked on this. They gathered money and organized special funds. Payment was made by children's relatives, members of cultural-educational associations. The *Lemkos* who emigrated to the USA also contributed. For this purpose informational papers were published (there were 600 copies of such papers in 1932) with proclamation about the support of this important national action. The work of kindergartens ended after summer. A big celebration for the whole Ukrainian community was organized. Children sang songs, danced, recited poems and in such a way confirmed their love for the Ukrainian history and culture.

A lot of effort was made to prepare suitable staff for the work in kindergartens. The female pedagogues who had special certificates of teachers' seminaries were attracted to the work. The circle of 'Native school' in Sanok in 1936 organized a special course for teachers with the aim of broadening the knowledge of kindergarten teachers. They could enrich themselves here in theoretical facts and practical skills of working with children. There were 20 Ukrainian kindergartens in Lemkovina in 1936, where almost 500 children.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> «Гать будуймо!» (1934): In *Наш лемко* 7, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Ванчицький, С. (1969). Лемківщина – самоцвіт України. Огляд українського суспільного життя на Лемкіщині 1918–1944. In *Лемківський календар на Божий 1969 рік*. Торонто, p. 51.

The activists of 'Native school' also took care of primary schools. The condition of Ukrainian schools was actively discussed at the meetings of the circles of 'Native school' and at special meetings. Professor M. Halushchynskyy, who was the director of the union 'Native school', visited Lemkovina in 1936. This event caused the conducting of many meetings of community in Sanok, other Ukrainian local communities of Lemkovina.

Taking into consideration the unsatisfactory state of education and upbringing of Ukrainian children, the absence of schools in some places, the lack of teachers, etc. with the help of the district circle of 'Native school' Ukrainian private schools were founded in two villages of Lemkovina. Such teachers as P. Ikalovych, P. Sterpak, O. Chaban began their work here. They 'directed their work in the direction of the national upbringing of the youth'.<sup>25</sup> These schools existed for a short time, since the Polish government found reasons (the lack of suitable buildings, foundation of a state school) to make their actions impossible. However, the very fact of the schools' foundation emphasized the desire of the Ukrainians in Lemkovina to have native schools.

The circle of 'Native School' in Sanok together with other associations, for instance with the branch of 'Rural Master', also initiated the conducting of educational courses for the youth in villages. From 1935 to 1938 a chain of 6-weeks-courses was organized. They combined obtaining practical skills, particularly skills of knitting (sweaters, caps, mittens), with the information from Ukrainian history, literature, preparation for theatre performances, ETA.<sup>26</sup>

The foundation of the library for the youth and adults in Sanok by the circle of 'Native school' was an important action for cherishing the national spirit. In 1935 the circle took care of 23 libraries, one of which was stationary, while the others were 'strolling'. The last ones were an interesting phenomenon in the history of Lemkos culture. They were small wooden boxes, full of books. When the books from the box were read, the community received a different box. As a result these 'boxes of knowledge' were travelling in Lemkovina. In general there were 1738 books. On the basis of libraries there were readings on economical Themis.<sup>27</sup>

The process of cultural-educational revival and formation of national identity in Lemkovina was subject to severe politics of national discrimination, which were originated during 1930s. The aim of the state

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<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, p. 50.

<sup>26</sup> Господарський курс трикотарства. (1936): In *Наш лемко* 5, pp. 4–5.

<sup>27</sup> Сяніцька хроніка. (1935): In *Наш лемко* 23, p. 8.

action in Lemkovina was to separate the *Lemkos* from any outside influences and to put them under the influence of Polish culture which would ultimately result in their national assimilation. For the weakening of Ukrainian society a number of associations and committees was founded, the activity of which was directed for the polonization of the Ukrainian nation, and the politics of western Ukrainian Rusophiles was also supported. For this purpose the influence of the church was used. In 1934 Apostols administration for Lemkovina was founded, which became a nucleus of russification<sup>28</sup>. All of these measures were directed for the weakening of influence of Ukrainian cultural-educational and economic institutions in Lemkovina.

In spite of the fact that that the *Lemkos* started their Ukrainian national revival (which grew in strenght there very slowly under the influence of different anti-national moods) later than other ethnic groups, it may be claimed about the increasing Ukrainian national influences among them.

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<sup>28</sup> Прах, Б. (2014). Апостольська адміністрація Лемківщини: соціокультурні передумови і канонічне підґрунтя. In *Наукові записки Національного університету «Острозька академія»*. Серія Історична 22, pp. 260–275.

## The Phenomenon of a Polish Kresy Town on the Lithuanian-Belarusian Territory in the 1<sup>st</sup> Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

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*Kresy towns at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century represented an important element of the Polish history. The Lithuanian-Belarusian territory was covered mainly with small towns and most of them belonged to Polish owners. After 1795, this land was annexed by Russia, which gradually made the area dependent on its political and cultural influences and started a slow russification process. The town of Świsłocz in the Grodzieńska county met the same fate. However, the urban-economical and cultural involvement of count Wincenty Tyszkiewicz, as well as his feeling of responsibility for the inhabitants, allowed him to create the phenomenon of a Kresy town in the first decades of the post-partition period despite difficulties. Perfect architectural foundations, magnificent marketplace and an amazing gymnasium were characteristic of the town. After the fall of the November Uprising, the uniqueness of the town started to wane and, with the loss of its Polishness, it lost its unique character.*

Key words: town; Kresy; Świsłocz; Wincenty Tyszkiewicz; 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century

Kresy towns at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century represented an important element of the Polish history. Each one of them was unique because of its history, tradition, culture and religion. By fulfilling many functions (cultural, educational, administrative, economical), they shaped the life of its inhabitants, especially after the fall of 1<sup>st</sup> Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Their uniqueness stemmed from, above all, their cultural-geographical location characterized as “borderlands.” It meant that Kresy towns acted as conduits between the civilization of the cities and civilization of the countryside by connecting the lives of their inhabitants, as well as connecting different nationalities, religions and languages. In particular, the north east territories of the Commonwealth, which were inhabited by many cultures (mainly Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian and Jewish, with the addition of Russian, German, Tatar and Armenian cultures), had an amazing social and cultural environment.



Historians point out to the specific structure of the contemporary towns that takes into consideration, for example, the dominant type of economy and the populace size. The inhabitants of towns were traders and craftsmen. However, the majority of them were farmers. When it comes to populace size, the settlement conditions need to be taken into consideration. However, it is hard to cite any concrete numbers as the settlement conditions were tied to the historical period, location and size of the town (the covered area, the number of houses and outbuildings).<sup>1</sup>

Ina Sorkina points out to the main characteristics of towns on the Lithuanian-Belarusian from the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, stressing that the rights to trade, craft and marketplace activity differed towns from villages. When it comes to the differences that set towns apart from cities, the towns lacked a municipal administration rights and its populace were not assigned city rights.<sup>2</sup>

At that time, different types of towns existed and they can be characterized by:

- a) being a subject to a particular rule
- b) size
- c) the proximity of cities (urban character)
- d) the dominant economic and cultural function
- e) trade routes
- f) architecture<sup>3</sup>

When taking into consideration the division of towns on former Polish lands (Lithuanian-Belarusian), they can be divided on state-owned (belonging to the crown and treasury), privately-owned and church-owned towns. Most of these town were in the hands of private owners (212 towns, around 77 percent of all towns) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1807, out of 86 towns of the Grodzińska governorate, 78 towns were privately-owned (92 percent), 9 towns belonged to the treasury and 3 to the church.

After taking into consideration the populace size, towns could be divided on four groups:

- towns-villages, with up to 500 inhabitants
- small towns, with at least 500 and at most 2000 inhabitants

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<sup>1</sup> Ochmański, J. (1958). *W kwestii agrarnego charakteru miast Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI w.*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, p. 294; Aleksandrowicz, S. (1961). *Miasteczka Białorusi i Litwy jako ośrodki handlu w XVI – I połowie XVII w. Rocznik Białostocki*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Sorkina, I. (2010). *Miasteczki Białorusi u kancy XVIII – pierszaj palowie XIX st.* Wilnia: Eurapijski gumanitarny universitet. p. 37–51.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, p. 56.

- large towns, with 2000–5000 inhabitants
- fast-developing towns, with over 5000 inhabitants

In the urban towns (of urban character), the number of inhabitants that made a living by doing mainly non-agricultural work needed to surpass 500 individuals. The economy of these towns could represent one of three routes: industrial, trade-industrial or trade-agricultural.

The Lithuanian-Belarusian territories were dominated by small towns (up to 1000 inhabitants). However, at the end of the twenties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century on the lands of Grodzieńska governorate, there were towns with nearly 3000 inhabitants (e.g. Kamieniec Litewski) as well as towns that did not surpass 100 inhabitants.<sup>4</sup>

Towns were usually important communication nodes and trade routes dictated their creation. Each town had an original architectural design and the location of buildings was often decided using urban planning techniques. In the case of Grodzieńska governorate, it incorporated the west-european style of cities in the designs. The marketplace was considered a central point of a town, similar to the european cities of 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century. Other similarities include a network of streets converging on the marketplace and the close proximity of buildings like the church, shop, town hall, school, tavern, inn, workshops and houses.<sup>5</sup>

The administrative division of the Commonwealth, which was introduced during the Union of Lublin period (1569), that divided the nation into the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was quite unique because of its stability. It survived in its fundamental form until the end of the Partitions of Poland. The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were divided into voivodships that were further divided into counties. Over the years, the affiliation of towns with voivodships changed more often than that of counties.<sup>6</sup>

After the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, the eastern part of Grodzieńszczyzna territory, along with other Lithuanian-Belarusian lands, was added to the Russian Empire. For the next few dozen years it resisted russification. Only after the 1832, it started to slowly but surely become dependent on the Russian policy and cultural influences. The partitioner intended to make the social and legal situation of the forcefully annexed territories more in line with the situation on other areas controlled by the

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<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 56–65.

<sup>5</sup> Łakotka, A. I. (1999). *Nacynalnyja rysy bielaruskoj architektury*. Minsk: Bielaruskaja navuka, p. 137.

<sup>6</sup> Kukliński, A., Swianiewicz, P. (1990). *Polskie województwo. Doświadczenia i perspektywy*. Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski, p. 10.

Empire. To facilitate that change, a new administrative division was introduced on the former Polish lands that replaced voivodeships with governorates, along with Russian weights and measures, Russian monetary system, the Julian calendar, privilege for the Orthodox church or the new rules for mandatory service in the Russian Army. Over time, the rule of Russian law and Tsar's ukase were implemented.<sup>7</sup>

The first thirty years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not reveal the negative impact of this situation on the towns of Grodzieńszczyzna and the life of their inhabitants. What is more, an increase in the number of those towns and their development could be observed since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

One of the many towns functioning on the territory of the former Commonwealth was Świsłocz. From 1793 to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it changed its administrative affiliation several times (Grodzieńskie voivodeship, Słonimska governorate, Lithuanian governorate) to be finally added to the Wołkowyski county in the Grodzieńska governorate in 1801. This state would last for over 100 years. The town was located on the so called Świsłocz trade route, which connected towns belonging to four counties: Grodzieński, Wołkowyski, Prużański and Brzeski. However, it was not located on a postal route, which, in some situations, complicated its existence. The routes leading from and to the town were classified as 2<sup>nd</sup> class. This meant that local administration was responsible for the maintenance of the roads, which usually resulted in poor quality of the roads. In spite of that, Leon Potocki described the roads placed "within the Świsłocz area" as one of the best in the contemporary Europe in his memoirs from the end of 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup>

Świsłocz was a privately-owned town belonging to Wincenty Tyszkiewicz since 1778 and was classified as small (up to 1000 inhabitants). The populace made a living from pottery, carpentry, ironworking, tailoring, coopering, farming and horticulture. The most advanced in terms of industry was the paper industry.<sup>9</sup>

Świsłocz was typical for its times and the area where it was located. However, from a modern perspective, it was very unique, especially considering the immense involvement and responsibility displayed by the

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<sup>7</sup> Stankiewicz, Z. (1981). Sytuacja prawna Polaków na Litwie, Białorusi i Ukrainie w latach 1772–1863. In *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, t. III. Ed. J. Bardach, M. Senkowska-Gluck. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, p. 833–860.

<sup>8</sup> Potocki, L. (1910). Wspomnienia o Świsłoczcy Tyszkiewiczowskiej, Dereczynie i Różanie. *Kwartalnik Litewski*, t. 2. p. 139–140.

owner in relation to the development of the town and the quality of life of its inhabitants. Additionally, its characteristic architecture, the annual fair and exemplary gymnasium could be considered a phenomenon.

Count Wincenty Tyszkiewicz inherited Świsłocz from his father (Antoni Kazimierz Tyszkiewicz) when he was 21 and the town was considered a "small, shapeless and dirty."<sup>10</sup>

The new owner prepared and implemented a plan for the development of the town. He surrounded the town with a rampart, marked out streets leading to the marketplace and, at the end of three of those streets, he placed stone gates resembling triumphal arches. When planning houses, he introduced unified designs that were to be used by all inhabitants. Even the color of the houses or the fences was chosen and maintained according to the design. Although the owners were allowed to make some changes to the buildings, they could not change the way the building looked from the front side.<sup>11</sup> The building permits for these kinds of changes were issued especially for houses located near the marketplace to facilitate the use of the front rooms as shops.

In the very center of the town, Tyszkiewicz placed a square with a 30-meter pyramid topped with a gilded spire. Five inns, a pharmacy and a restaurant with a pool table were located near the marketplace. On the marketplace itself, a rectangular building of the trade hall was located. One of the biggest fairs of the Grodzieński governorate (and 2<sup>nd</sup> after the Zelwie fair), the so-called Uspień fairs (08.25–09.25) took place in the hall. Tyszkiewicz was granted a special right to organize the fair by king Stanisław August in 1783. Once a year, the inhabitants of the nearby towns and bordering governorates, traders and peasants from Russian, Ukraine, merchants from the Kingdom of Poland, Austria, Prussia, France, Italy, Denmark and Turkey all came to Świsłocz because of the fair. The size and importance of the fair could be measured in the number of trade transactions involving a plethora of wares of different value. For example, wares valued at 200,000 rubles in silver were traded on the Świsłocz marketplace in 1829. Due to the considerable value of the wares, Tyszkiewicz created a special firefighting team.

The trade hall had a remarkable architectural composition. Built at the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century in the classical style, it had four ground floor wings, covered with pitched shingle roofs, that enclosed a central square.

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<sup>9</sup> Bolbas, M. F. (1966). *Razvitie promyshlennosti w Bielorusii (1795–1861 gg.)*, Minsk: Bielarus 1966, p. 253.

<sup>10</sup> Potocki, L. (1910). *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>11</sup> Sorkina, I. (2010). *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

The selling stations consisted of 48 identical fenced kiosks that were opened only during fairs, as well as three warehouses placed on the corners. Two entrances to the marketplace were placed in the middle of the two longer wings. Above one of them, there was a trade chamber with a gallery from a wooden railing placed on brick columns. Tyszkiewicz also built a theater hall in the building, which hosted performances during fairs.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from the economical role, the fairs were also used to complete political goals. During various political unrests and uprisings, Poles could use fairs to gather and organize without drawing too much attention.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, the annual *świsłocz* fair also stimulated the local populace and those arriving to the town. It was not only a chance for trade or to earn money but it also offered specially prepared for the occasion entertainment: dancing evenings, performances prepared by theater groups from Grodno and Warsaw, who were invited and sponsored by Tyszkiewicz, as well as various bands and circus artists. The local nobility used the fairs as an occasion to plan and organize visits, horse riding, dinners, balls, masquerades, trips to the theater.<sup>14</sup>

Building a second theater hall near the marketplace on the ground floor of a 200 square meters wooden building, as well as the creation of a public garden with swings, carousel and a shooting range, were also Tyszkiewicz's achievements. The manor of the owner of *Świsłocz* was especially unique. The manor garden had hedges, an orangery, a swan pond with an island in the middle and a drawbridge. The garden was also a home for over 100 fallow deer and a few dozens other deer. Tyszkiewicz decided everything should be accessible to the public, which made the garden into an additional attraction and drew visitors during fairs.

Although the fair operated only during a specific, relatively short period of time, it had a large impact on the town and for the economic well-being of its inhabitants that lasted nearly for the whole year. However, the role of *Świsłocz* as an educator of the *kresy* youth was more important for the locals. The gymnasium was key for that role. It had a profound impact not only on the local populace but also reached far beyond the borders of the town, county or even governorate.

The Grodzieński Gymnasium of *Świsłocz* (as it was officially called) began its work in 1806 thanks to the initiative of the owner of the

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<sup>12</sup> Sorkina, I. (2010). *Op. cit.*, p. 311.

<sup>13</sup> A delation of a Jewish trader from Białystok aimed at Poles who organized secret meetings during the *Świsłocz* fair when the September Uprising was still in effect: Sorkina, I. (2010). *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> Potocki, L. (1910). *Op. cit.*, p. 145–148.

town: Count Wincenty Tyszkiewicz. It was the first and only secular high school in the Grodzieński governorate<sup>15</sup> under the direct control of the Imperial University of Vilna. Because of the high level of education, qualified teaching staff and well-prepared teaching facilities, it was very popular among the Polish public. It was attended by not only the Grodzieński governorate's youth but also by the Mińsk's and Wołyń's youth.

In the case of this gymnasium, a rule, prepared by Tsar Aleksandr the 1<sup>st</sup> in the *Temporary regulations for the public enlightenment* (1803), stating that school of this level should be located in the capital of the governorate, or in this case in Grodno, was not enforced. There were a lot of arguments that made it possible to circumvent this rule but the direct involvement and plans of the count Wincenty Tyszkiewicz were decisive in this case. Thanks to his intervention in Petersburg, in 1804 he was not only granted the right to create a gymnasium, but also ensured its future by adding an appropriate entry in his will. The central location of Świsłocz in the Grodzieński governorate, and the important route joining Grodno and Brześć Litewski going through the town were one of the contributing factors that made this educational project possible. The argument that the youth should receive high quality education was also not without merit. This also meant that the school should also be placed in a place optimal from a health perspective (the proximity of the Białowież forest), it should not be too close to the governorate capital Grodno and its attractions and that the school was secular in nature, which was in line with the contemporary educational trends.

The fact that most of the Świsłocz populace was comprised of gymnasium students and teachers was beneficial for the town. On one side, they had a positive impact on the economic and cultural level of the town. On the other, thanks to those students and teachers Świsłocz was able to get the status of a town. Data from 1816 to 1818, when 53 percent out of the 614 inhabitants were teachers and students (328 individuals), seems to support this claim. In the school year of 1822/23, the size of the school community was 332 individuals (320 students and 12 teachers).<sup>16</sup>

For the locals, the gymnasium students proved to be an excellent source of income that lasted for the entire school year. Students coming

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<sup>15</sup> The two nearest gymnasiums located in Białystok and Grodno were monastic schools organized by the Basilian and Dominican Order monks.

<sup>16</sup> In 1837, a plan to transform Świsłocz into a city was drafted, but the civil governor did not back that idea: Litewskie Państwowe Archiwum Historyczne w Wilnie [LVIA], f. 567, ap. 2, b. 1275, k. 38–48; Sorkina, I. (2010). Op. cit. p. 260.

to Świsłocz (as well as most of the teachers) provided a steady stream of income by renting rooms from September to July and by buying other services and products.

Another important factor that allowed the town to function uninterrupted was getting an agreement, arranged by Tyszkiewicz, stating that no standing troops will camp in Świsłocz. Despite the fact that the local lost some business opportunities because of this, the lack of a garnison meant that, in case of war, there was little chance that the city will come under armed threat. In addition, this arrangement ensured a calm and stabilized existence for the locals, keeping indecency to a minimum (prostitutes, gambling, alcohol) and stopped the spread of venereal diseases. Tyszkiewicz was able to get the agreement because of the location of the gymnasium in the town, which was crucial to the education of young men. It was beneficial for the educational process as it allowed for greater control over the students, made it easier to keep discipline as well as removed distractions and allowed students to focus on their studies instead of on the appeal of military service.

The Świsłocz gymnasium produced good teaching results. Good grades and the opinions of inspectors who visited the school twice a year support this. They commended the school for "diligence" and "progress" as well as the "manners" of the students.<sup>17</sup> The excellent teaching staff, among whom were the graduates of the Vilna University as well as foreign universities, was largely responsible for the success of the school. Additionally, the Świsłocz gymnasium had a well-developed library as well specially-prepared classrooms (physics, mineralogy).<sup>18</sup> The educational programs and school textbooks, many of which were prepared in the times of the Commission of National Education, had also a large impact on the educational process. They reminded the youth about their responsibility for the nation, its people, the necessity to act for their benefit and about the importance of the rule of law. The Vilna University authorities made sure that it would stay that way for as long as

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<sup>17</sup> In the National History Archive of Vilna, there are documents written during school visitations in the area of Vilna Scientific District in the years from 1803 to 1832, including documents about the Świsłocz gymnasium: F. 567, ab. 2.

<sup>18</sup> The summaries of the school visitations point to the lists of items gifted to the gymnasium by civilian and military citizens, including former students and Wincenty Tyszkiewicz. E.g. in the report to the University of Vilna from the 20<sup>th</sup> of March, 1815, the principal of the gymnasium lists the following items: Homer's "Iliad," 23 copper medals depicting Polish kings, a golden ring with an engraved bust of the kings Stanisław August, a map atlas from 1752, with a total value of 64 silver rubles: LVIA, f.567, ap. 2, b. 509, k. 90–92.

possible.<sup>19</sup> All these factors had a strong influence on the students, who not only learned about the Polish history, literature, natural law, political law and national law, but also about the national heroes and ideas key for every nation and its people: the concepts of motherland, freedom, constitution, patriotism.<sup>20</sup> The creation and existence of two illegal societies (the Moral and Scientific societies) in 1819–1820, which were shaped after the Philomaths and Philarets, was a testament of the political consciousness of the students. Later on (1822–1825), a patriotic group called *Zorzanie* set up a branch in the gymnasium. The branch was later on transformed into The Society of Military Friends (which was organized as a military-civilian conspiracy of Russian Decembrists).<sup>21</sup> At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, to curb any attempts of disobedience by young Polish conspirators, an anonymous Russian publicist described the activities of Świsłocz school societies from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of 19<sup>th</sup> century in the following way: “In all of them, a spirit hostile to the authority was discovered. Only preposterous children stories were spread among them to incite hatred against the authority. All of them were punished. [...]”<sup>22</sup>

The involvement of count Tyszkiewicz in the continuous existence of the Gymnasium was tremendous. Not only did he built the first two wooden buildings of the school but also financed its most crucial needs: firewood and the necessary maintenance. He started the school library by donating a considerable collection of his own books. He rented and paid for the rooms for teachers to use until the construction of a building that could house them was finished. In a similar manner, he took care of the poorer students. He rented the rooms for them and the poorest were provided for using his own assets. He was keen on what was happening in the gymnasium. He raised the profile of the school ceremonies held at the start and at the end of the school by attending and handing out awards for the brightest students.<sup>23</sup> When students got sick, he sent out for a doctor who came from Grodno and was paid by Tyszkiewicz for his services. He started a tradition of inviting students and teachers to visit

<sup>19</sup> Beauvois, D. (1991). *Szkolnictwo polskie na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich 1803–1832*, t. 2, Rzym – Lublin: Fundacja Jana Pawła II – KUL, p. 307.

<sup>20</sup> Jędrychowska, B. (2007). Wychowanie patriotyczne i obywatelskie w szkolnictwie polskim pod zaborem rosyjskim. In *Historyczne konteksty edukacji obywatelskiej w społeczeństwach wielokulturowych*, A. Szerląg (Ed.). Kraków: Impuls, pp. 35–48.

<sup>21</sup> Skowronek, J. (1994). *Młodzież polska i jej organizacje w ruchu narodowym 1795–1864*, Warszawa: Neriton, p. 42, 53–56.

<sup>22</sup> M. Svisłocz-Volkovyskaja (Istoriczeskij oczerk), (1895). *Grodnienskije Gubernskije Wiedomosti*, nr 5–9.

<sup>23</sup> LVIA, f. 567, ap. 2, b. 239, k. 106 ( 2. VII. 1810).



him in his manor on Sundays. He invited the principal, two professors (each week someone else), and, during exams, also the best-performing students.<sup>24</sup> All students were allowed to use his garden and pond boats. However, the most important contribution to education and to the development of the city he made was the entry in his will that granted the funds necessary to build a new school building. Thanks to this entry, it was possible to build a new, modern, bricked, storeyed gymnasium hall after Tyszkiewicz's death. The opening of this new building took place in 1827.<sup>25</sup>

The phenomenon of Świstocz started to wane since the thirties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After the failure of the 1830 uprising, the Tyszkiewicz fortune was confiscated by the Russians and it was assigned to the Ministry of National Goods for over 30 years. The manor was transferred into a nursing home for peasants belonging to the government and, in 1845, into a primary school (the so called palace school), which was funded by the treasury. After 1863, the whole estate was sold to a Russian official.

The process of degradation of the gymnasium started in 1832, when Russian was introduced as the primary teaching language. After 3 years, the status of the school was lowered from a governorate to a county school. In 1845, only a progymnasium (with the first four school years) was functioning in Świstocz, while the gymnasium was transferred to Szawel in the Kowieński governorate (from 1851). Finally, the participation of students in the January Uprising and its failure sealed the fate of the school which was closed in 1865. The apartments of the teaching staff were assigned to officials and allocated to a 2-year people's school. Since 1876, the Tyszkiewicz's gymnasium was used as a Russian seminar for teachers studying to work in people's schools. This state of affairs continued until the outbreak of the 1<sup>st</sup> World War. After Poland regained its independence, a Teaching Seminar started operating there in the school year of 1923/24. In 1935, the Seminar named Romuald Traugutt as its patron. Traugutt was the director and hero of the 1863 uprising and a student of the Świstocz gymnasium. He attended the school from 1836 to 1842 and graduated with a silver medal. Only one building and a statue of Traugutt lasted through the USSR era.

Along with the slow demise of the gymnasium and the waning Polish influences since the thirties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Świstocz fairs also

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<sup>24</sup> Potocki, L. (1910), *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>25</sup> In 1806, the gymnasium had 2 wooden buildings that housed 7 classes, a library, a mineralogy and physics classes, exam hall and 7 teacher apartments: LVIA, F. 567, ap. 2, b. 107, k. 49–50.

became less important. Their amazing history ends with a fire of the trade hall in 1872, which completely destroyed the building funded by Wincenty Tyszkiewicz. There was an attempt to replace them with an Orthodox church at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Great Friday fire of 1886 wiped away most of the Tyszkiewicz's Świsłocz. Brick houses took the place of burned down wooden buildings with little regard to the old town plan.<sup>26</sup>

Never has Świsłocz regained its uniqueness and former glory. Without its Polish owner, who was a guardian of the Polish spirit, it forever lost its unusual character.

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<sup>26</sup> Wasilenko, M. (2015). Świsłocz: dziejowe blaski i cienie:  
[www: kresy24.pl/69356/swislocz-dziejowe-blaski-i-cienie/](http://www.kresy24.pl/69356/swislocz-dziejowe-blaski-i-cienie/)

## Andrey Sheptytsky – an Educator and a Caretaker of the Ukrainian Youth

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*Metropolitan of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC), a prominent public figure Andrey Sheptytsky made a great contribution to the development of the spiritual and cultural heritage. Metropolitan Andrey was a charismatic personality who devoted his life to the service of God and Ukrainian people. Upbringing and caring of the youth occupied a significant place among his vital interests. He considered the young people the driving force and the great hope of the Ukrainian society to have bright future in the native Fatherland. Metropolitan's upbringing mission is seen as the forming of the harmonious person on the Christian principles. He paid a great attention to the family, emphasized the role of education and teachers. He also concentrated on the problems of the poor people and orphans. Sheptytsky developed all aspects of the national and educational system. He established different educational institutions and supported the patriotic youth organizations activity. He also was a patron and an inspirator of a great deal of good events where the Ukrainian youth took part.*

Key words: *Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky; educator; caretaker; Ukrainian youth; national and Christian upbringing*

In the history of every nation there are prominent personalities who matter for its formation, self-identity and creation of a culture. Ukrainians lived in statelessness, fought for their rights and the national education for centuries. Bright figures played an invaluable role in this struggle.

Among the names of the outstanding personalities of the Ukrainian culture, who have left an everlasting mark in the history of the Ukrainian people, implicitly, multi-faceted person of Andrey Sheptytsky (1865–1944) occupies the pride of place. In this context it should be noted that Sheptytsky was a descendant of two famous families. On the Ukrainian side, it is his father's family, who came from the ancient Prince's period, and its roots reach the thirteenth century. On the mother's side, Metropolitan belongs to the well-known Polish family. His mother Sofiia Fredro was the daughter of a prominent playwright Aleksandr Fredro. Neither the noble origin, nor belonging to the elite of the society and

a great financial status, which guaranteed a prosperous life, kept Sheptytsky from serving of God. He chose a hard way of life, which allowed him to bring important benefits to Ukrainian people thanks to his serving.

Andrey Sheptytsky's name was prohibited at the time of the Soviet system domination. Metropolitan's religious and national beliefs were alien to the repressive system of education. Only in the independent Ukrainian state it was possible to research Sheptytsky's rich heritage, including the pedagogical one. Despite that fact, a certain tradition of disregard of some church figures, who were involved in the problem of the upbringing, remains in the pedagogical science. It is obvious of the fact that the surname "Sheptytsky" is missing in the largest manual consisting of two books "Ukrainian pedagogy in personalities", published by Kyiv Publishing House "Lybid" in 2005. Taking into consideration that in western-Ukrainian lands of the end of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century there was not more influential and authoritative man than Metropolitan Sheptytsky. His upbringing process influenced the adults, the youth and children and, without exaggeration, the whole nation. That is why, it is necessary to expand the scientific search of the cultural and educational heritage of this outstanding Ukrainian religious, cultural and public figure, the Head of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky is a prominent figure who will forever remain in the memory of the grateful descendants as a person who has devoted himself to the service of the Church and the salvation of souls of millions of Ukrainians to the last drop of his blood. The spectrum of the great Ukrainian activity is impressive because being a religious figure, he touched upon all aspects of the human life, mainly, he worried about the material side, protected people from denationalization and assimilation, cared about the Ukrainian art development and acted as a patron and a benefactor. For the Ukrainian people Metropolitan Sheptytsky was a pastor, a theologian, a preacher and a great educator. "A characteristic feature of the Metropolitan's theological thinking was the connection with the life of the Ukrainian people"<sup>1</sup> whom he devoted his life, full of a great faith and work.

One of the Metropolitan's vital interests is his attitude towards the young people as the driving force and the great hope of the Ukrainian

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<sup>1</sup> Мизак, Н. (2012). Митрополит Андрей Шептицький про антропологічний аспект Божої і земної мудрості. *Релігія та соціум*, №1 (7). Чернівці, р. 37.

society. In Metropolitan Andrey's pastoral letter to the clergy and people "Our state" he writes: "The ideal of our national life is our native all-national Hut-Fatherland. ... The situation is such that Divine Providence will enable the Ukrainian people to fulfill their natural right that is to choose and set up the control form of their Native Hut and that is why we need to work with people in order to give them an opportunity to take their right wisely and in a Christian way."<sup>2</sup> A great attention is paid to the Ukrainian young people in this blessed work. All his life he urged the youth to work inspiringly hard towards building the Ukrainian state, taught the young people not to be afraid of difficulties on this way, appealed to act according to God's laws and to be patient and persistent: "... sometimes it is easier to spill blood of enthusiasm minutes than long years to fulfill duties hard, withstanding the heat of the day and the sun, people's anger, enemies' hatred, a lack of trust and help from the closest people and thus among such work to finish your task not waiting for laurels before the victory and reward!"<sup>3</sup>

Metropolitan worried about the problems of the upbringing of the young people all his life. He pondered over the real upbringing, addressed to people with his thoughts and strong convictions. "The purpose of the upbringing is such development of the child to become an adult man with the advanced and carefully cherished abilities of mind, will and heart... The upbringing must make the man the holy citizen of the heaven, a friend of angels and all saints in the heaven."<sup>4</sup> However, Sheptytsky stresses that the very upbringing can do it. The people's will and work on themselves are extremely important. The actual task of upbringing is to get people interested in the work, to cultivate love for this work as well as to enrich the mind with the knowledge of everything required for this creative work.

Metropolitan stresses the importance of a Christian upbringing of all Ukrainian young people. He thinks that church has been and is the greatest upbringing power.<sup>5</sup> Applying to believers of the diocese, he encourages parents to keep them from the sin and pseudoscience in the same way as from the death. He also reminds people that the Christian

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<sup>2</sup> Шептицький, А. (2015). Пастирське послання Митрополита Андрія до духовенства та народу *Наша державність* (1941). In *Вибране: 365 днів з Великим Митрополитом. Роздуми на щодень* (Вид. трет.). Жовква: Місіонер, р. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Шептицький, А. (1965). Слово до української молоді. Твори. Т. 2. Торонто, р. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Шептицький, А. (2015). Декрет Митрополита Андрія "Про виховання" (1942). *Вибране: 365 днів з Великим Митрополитом. Роздуми на щодень* (Вид. трет.). Жовква: Місіонер, р. 474.

<sup>5</sup> Шептицький, А. (1999). *Як будувати Рідну Хату?* Львів: Свічадо, р. 48.

upbringing is better goodness of all world goodness and calls to set up village reading rooms and kindergartens and care of children's visiting schools.

Andrey Sheptytsky paid a special attention to the upbringing in the family, taking into account that the family's house is "the first and the most important school, where children... have to learn to love God and people"<sup>6</sup> and the family is the main link towards person's socialization. "The nations are powerful and healthy only if they have healthy Christian families because the family is the cell of which the whole organism (we call the nation in such way) consists of. When the disease infection poisons this cell then the whole organism is exposed to the illness. Holy, pure, healthy and happy family life is the most powerful force of every state as well as the biggest and, perhaps, the only happiness of a human."<sup>7</sup>

Metropolitan emphasized that the family is the first school where the child is taught about goodness, mercy, love and diligence. Parents and relatives who managed to create a comfortable atmosphere for children's development, cultivated Christian principles and taught to live in peace and harmony, made a major contribution in the child's upbringing. He believed that parent's sacred duty to God is the work on the good upbringing of their children and their studying at school.

Sheptytsky desired to cultivate honesty for children from the early years. He considered that the father should occupy the significant place in the family as it was in his situation. In addition brothers and sisters have to take part in family actions. A wise man and Bible-Christian Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky dealt with the eternal problem "parents and children". He urged the young people to respect older adult's opinion, not to consider themselves wiser than the elderly but to rely on their decisions.<sup>8</sup>

Metropolitan constantly worried about the fate of the Ukrainian young people and wished them Christian spirit and courage because "one needs courage in order to tolerate poverty, courage – to lean temptations, Christian courage – to overcome enemies' plans. Let God Almighty give these people the spirit of this courage as well as the spirit of prudence

<sup>6</sup> Шептицький, А. (1965). Християнська родина. Пастирський лист до духовенства і вірних Станіславівської єпархії. In *Твори Слуги Божого Митрополита Андрія Шептицького. Пастирські листи. Том 1*. Торонто, р. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Шептицький, А. (2015). Пастирське послання Митрополита Андрія на Великдень (1943). In *Вибране: 365 днів з Великим Митрополитом. Роздуми на щодень. Вид. трет.* Жовква: Місіонер, р. 175.

<sup>8</sup> Шептицький, А. (2007). Пастирське послання Єпископа Андрія ... Перше слово Пастиря. In *Документи і матеріали 1899–1944 рр. в 3 т. Т. 1*. Львів, р. 13.

and wisdom so that they at least consult the older adults on important issues and respect the authority of the people and Church.”<sup>9</sup>

Sheptytsky also emphasizes the vast responsibility of the educator in the upbringing of the youth. He calls for caring not only of the enlightenment of young peoples minds but also of the improvement of their hearts. In his opinion, it is necessary to provide the youth with such education which consists not only of theory but the practice as well. One must teach small children to love own land and own Fatherland. One should cultivate self-determination, individuality, initiative, ability to work hard in young people for the sake of benefit and glory of their nation. As for the training and upbringing, Metropolitan underlines that teachers should be the people to be followed in Christian behavior: “give a good example of own behavior for the youth. Example ... is also teaching ... is more important than words.”<sup>10</sup>

Andrey Sheptytsky attached a particular importance to education. He stresses the importance of one of the best features of the Ukrainian people, that is, love of knowledge and education: “All Ukrainians value the science and education. Both children who study at school with zeal and want to learn and their relatives and older adults consider science, education knowledge as the first and the most influential need for people.”<sup>11</sup>

The focus of Metropolitan’s attention is on all parts of the national educational system from kindergartens to higher educational institutions.<sup>12</sup> His particular attention was paid to poor people and orphans. After World War I the number of orphans dramatically increased in Galicia. Sheptytsky established Ukrainian Diocesan Committee in order to care of those children. To expand the network of institutions that provided assistance to orphans and war victims, the head of the church purchased the land parcels to organize the building of new orphanages. In 1916 he presented one of those parcels to the orphanage in the village

<sup>9</sup> Шептицький, А. (2015). Пастирське послання Митрополита Андрея до духовенства і вірних на Великдень (1936). In *Вибране: 365 днів з Великим Митрополитом. Роздуми на щодень*. Вид. трет. Жовква: Місіонер, р. 179.

<sup>10</sup> Шептицький, А. (2007). Пастирське послання Єпископа Андрея ... Перше слово Пастиря. In *Документи і матеріали 1899–1944 рр. в 3 т. Т. 1*. Львів, р.13.

<sup>11</sup> Шептицький, А. (2015). Божя мудрість. In *Вибране: 365 днів з Великим Митрополитом. Роздуми на щодень*. Вид. трет. Жовква: Місіонер, р. 472.

<sup>12</sup> Мицишин, І. (2011). Внесок митрополита Андрея Шептицького у розвиток української освіти та культури. In *Rozwój polskiej i ukraińskiej myśli pedagogicznej na przestrzeni XIX–XX wieku: zb. prac*; [pod red. Anny Haratyk]. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT – Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe, p. 103.

of Zarvanytsia. He also donated a significant amount of money to Lviv orphans.<sup>13</sup>

Children-orphans are mentioned to treat his patron in a kind way. Young children address to him pathetically, calling him as the dearest father. Kids asked Metropolitan to give them coats, necklaces and candies. They also invited Metropolitan Andrey to visit them in different ways. For example, one child wrote in a letter: "Lviv is a big city and Saint Nicholas can get lost in it. Come to us because we have got a lot of presents and want to share with you."<sup>14</sup>

He provided them with the material assistance, founded orphanages and helped different schools, associations "Prosvita" ("Enlightenment") and "Ridna Shkola" ("Native school"). In addition Sheptytsky set up shelters and kindergartens. He also supported associations "Luh" ("Meadow"), "Sokil-Batko" ("Falcon-Father") and children's patriotic organization "Plast". "Plast" is the Ukrainian National Scout Organization, which was founded in 1911. Its aim was the patriotic self-education of the Ukrainian youth based on the principles of Christian morality in order to become responsible and conscious citizens of local, national and world communities as well as the leaders of the Ukrainian society. "Plast" members took part in the development and protection of their state. They also were active participants of the liberation movement and wars for the independence of Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and West Ukrainian National Republic (WUNR). Metropolitan Andrey was a spiritual shepherd and a sincere friend for "Plast" members. Sheptytsky helped to build "Plast" structures. He presented some parts of his property in the Carpathians for establishing "Plast" camps, provided wood, assigned funds to sew uniforms, paid trips for "Plast" youth. That is why Ukrainian Plast Ulad gave Metropolitan Andrey the highest award – the title of Gentleman of "Plast."<sup>14</sup>

Sheptytsky gave his property in Pidliute for the organization of summer camps of "Plast". He also established Hrinchenko Ukrainian Folk School for poor children in Lviv. To add more, he built the secondary school, situated on Zamknena Street (today it is Markiiian Shashkevych secondary school 34) at his own expense. Students were receiving national and patriotic as well as religious upbringing.

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<sup>13</sup> Цегельський, Л. (1995). *Митрополит Андрій Шептицький*. Львів: Видавництво Отців Василіян "Місіонер", р. 42.

<sup>14</sup> Перун, М. (2012). *Митрополит Андрій Шептицький та Пласт*. Retrieved from <http://100krokiv.info/2012/08/mytropolyt-andrej-sheptytskyj-ta-plast/>

<sup>15</sup> Лаба, В. (1990). *Митрополит Андрій Шептицький: його життя і заслуги*. Люблін, р. 62.



Andrey Sheptytsky maintained 20 poor boys and 20 poor girls at his own expense. That is why they had an opportunity to get an education. Many of them mastered the craft profession. For this purpose he found the craft school, situated on Horodotska Street, boys' craft vocational school, girls' tailoring school "Trud" ("Labor"). He was also the founder of the first Ukrainian agricultural school of the association "Prosvita" ("Enlightenment") in the village of Mylovani near Halych and the first agricultural school for rural housewives in the village of Korshiv of Kolomyiia County. Thus Metropolitan tried to promote the development of the craft, agricultural and technical education development.

Sheptytsky purchased the house for the association "Buduchnist" ("The Future") that cared of Ukrainian girls who worked as maids in the houses of wealthy Poles and Jews. He gave possessions to craft schools to make them work on self-governmental principles. Metropolitan was involved in the establishment of the first Ukrainian gymnasium of Basilian sisters in Galicia. He presented a big house to this educational institution. Firstly he financed the gymnasium and later the teaching Seminary.<sup>15</sup>

In 1919 Metropolitan found boys' gymnasium of the classical type "small Seminary" with the boarding school where future students of theology were brought up in a Christian way. Many graduates wanted to study abroad and they could do it by virtue of the scholarships, provided by Metropolitan. Sheptytsky found the second "small Seminary" in Rohatyn. All exiles from the public schools because of political reasons as well as Orthodox believers from Volyn region, who were treated with tolerance, could find shelter there.<sup>16</sup>

Taking care of the development of all education stages under Ukrainian people's statelessness conditions, Sheptytsky found Lviv Theological Academy (LTA) where there were philosophical and theological faculties that laid the foundation of the future Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU). In 1928 it was the only Ukrainian higher educational institution at the time of Poland domination, which had to follow the traditions of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In several years the Theological Academy became not only the center of the theological sciences but also the scientific and research center of the studying Ukrainian History and Culture.<sup>17</sup> Sheptytsky also petitioned the Czech government for the economic academy in Podebrady and thus saved it.

<sup>16</sup> Кекош, О. (2012). Просвітницька діяльність митрополита Андрія Шептицького. *Молодь і ринок*, №1 (84), р. 63.

<sup>17</sup> Гринчишин, К. (1995). Митрополит Андрей – пастир христового стада. In *Календар світла*. Торонто: Вид-во О.О. Василян, р. 45.

People know about Metropolitan's famous caring and maintenance of the gifted young people whom he helped in studying and professional development. The priest funded their scholarships abroad in the best educational establishments of Europe, purchased building for young talented artists, paid for their works of art and copyrights. The house of the further location of Oleksa Novakivskyi Art School was bought for his money. Sheptytsky also provided help to artists Modest Sosenko and Osyp Kurylas as well as the future opera singer Mykhailo Popel.

Taking into consideration that Metropolitan cared about the health of young people and promoted the organization of a healthy rest close to nature, he gave landed property in the village of Mylovani to the association "Prosvita" ("Enlightenment") where poor children could relax in the summer as well as presented some his landed properties in the Carpathians to "Plast" camps. In 1905 "Vakatsiina Oselia" ("Vacation dwelling") was created where hundreds of children rested. The routine of the dwelling was the following: children woke up at eight o'clock in the morning and after a common prayer they had breakfast. They ate five times a day. During the day they were engaged in hiking, games and songs, various types of fine arts, reading and entertainment. Children of 7-14 years could rest there. A special attention was paid to orphans and children from poor families. The types of "Vakatsiina Oselia" ("Vacation dwelling") were very important and were created throughout Galicia. Children could visit "Vakatsiina Oselia" ("Vacation dwelling") in the village of Mylovani annually. Even when Metropolitan sold the property sold to "Prosvita" ("Enlightenment") for professional school, he put condition to save the dwelling.<sup>18</sup>

After the prohibition of "Plast" by the Polish authorities Sheptytsky opened Catholic Association of Ukrainian Youth "Orly" ("Eagles") which conducted the summer camps in the village of Krylos near Halych, on Sokol Mountain, in the village of Stradch and in the village of Mykhailintsi near Rohatyn. Leisure time amongst wonderful nature was useful and full of religious and patriotic education.

"Metropolitan of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church Andrey Sheptytsky has not given a penny to Vatican for all forty-some years. All earnings from the parishes were spent on the construction of the National Museum in Lviv, building of hospitals, orphanages and schools as well as the printing of books for Ukrainian people."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Комар, І. (2013). Роль української греко-католицької церкви в організації охорони здоров'я дітей у Галичині на початку ХХ століття. *Ін Гірська школа українських Карпат* (8–9), p. 214.

<sup>19</sup> Горбаль, М. (2015). *Повернення*. (Упор. І Калинець). Львів, p. 21.

Andrey Sheptytsky paid a great attention to the Ukrainian printed word for the youth. He supported the publishing of magazines "Nash pryiatel" ("Our friend") for children, "Postup" ("Progress") for young people of secondary school age and "Ukrainske yunatstvo" ("Ukrainian youth"), series of books "Biblioteka "Nashoho pryiatelia" ("Library of our friend"), "Tsikavi opovidannia" ("Interesting stories").

On Metropolitan's initiative an inspiring meeting of thousands "Ukrainska Molod Khrystovi" ("Ukrainian Youth for Christ") was held. The program of the event was quite broad. It included the field Liturgy with the pledge of allegiance to Christ, the campaign to St. George Hill and others. Everything was significant to unite young people around Christian ideas. The Great Shepherd of Church gave bishop's blessing to the participants of the campaign.<sup>20</sup>

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky realized the Ukrainian youth is the future of the nation and the very future will depend on moral principles of the young citizens and their noble goals. That is why the figure made great efforts to educate the youth and create the maximum conditions for the potential creative development.

The world view of the outstanding Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky is impressive in the sense that the service to the Fatherland and the people and the service of God are harmoniously combined.

The personality of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky is an example of the dedicated service to the people as well as the real, not just verbal, activity towards making the world kinder. The Ukrainian education owes to this prominent personality because of his great humanistic contribution to the upbringing which is still actual one.

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<sup>20</sup> Сениця, П. (1983). У 50-ліття великого Здвигу Молоді. In *Церковний Календар-Альманах*, Чикаго pp. 128–139.

## Travelling within the Communist Period in the Awareness of Today's Youth<sup>1</sup>

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*I subjected to a content analysis six Polish and six Czech history textbooks designed especially for secondary school students. Based on the results of that analysis, I compiled a questionnaire that included 15 questions. Empirical research was attended by three Polish lyceums (Cieszyn, Pszczyna, Wista), three Czech grammar schools (Český Těšín, Havířov, Orlová) and the Polish language grammar school in Czech Republic (Český Těšín). The 499 students were engaged in that research, the ages of respondents ranged from 15 to 19 years. The main purpose of that empirical research was to determine the awareness among today's studying youth of the socialist period, specifically about the former daily life of population. The questions concerned issues such as store supplying, home furnishings, anti-regime opposition, etc. In this article I would like to approach the topic of travelling in the period of communism, first as presented in textbooks, and secondly what awareness have today's students of this issue.*

Key words: *period of socialism; travelling; students; education*

### Travelling on pages of Polish and Czech history textbooks<sup>2</sup>

On the pages of textbooks no special chapters or paragraphs deal with travelling, most of information is included in texts, in which their authors try

<sup>1</sup> The article has been written as a part of project of students grant competition on Ostrava University SGS19/FF/2015–2016.

<sup>2</sup> Bělina, P. (1995). *Dějiny země Koruny české II*. Praha: Litomyšl: Paseka; Brzozowski, A., Szczeptański, G. (2012). *Ku współczesności*. Warszawa: Stentor; Burda, B., Halczak, B., Józefiak, R. M., Szyczak, M. (2004). *Historia 3*. Gdynia: Operon; Harna, J., Fišer, R. (1998). *Dějiny českých zemí II*. Praha: Fortuna; Kuklík, J., Kuklík, J. (2002). *Dějepis 4*. Praha: SPN; Kvaček, R. (2002). *České dějiny II*. Praha: SPL – Práce; Kłaczek, J., Roszak, S. (2011). *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX*. Warszawa: Nowa era; Parkan, F., Mikeska, T., Parkanová, M. (2011). *Dějepis, učebnice pro základní školy a víceletá gymnázia*. Plzeň: Fraus; Sierpowski, S. (1998). *Historia najnowsza 1918–1997*. Kraków: Graf punkt; Śniegocki, R. (2004). *Historia burzliwy wiek XX*. Warszawa: Nowa era. WSIP;

to bring pupils to every lives of population. It is often only a reference related to another theme. For example, Válková mentioned spending holidays in connection with the Revolution Trade Union Movement (ROH) saying, it was a trade union, but for most people the ROH is identified with weekend houses, vouchers for holiday abroad and organizing various parties.<sup>3</sup> The SPN textbook (The State pedagogical publishing house) tried to characterize the changes occurred at the end of the fifties, and especially in the sixties, in the subchapter named Daily Life, in this context, the students learn about going on holiday to the eastern bloc countries, from which Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia were apparently the most popular, the phenomenon of weekend cottages was recorded in this textbook and also by authors of the Fraus series.<sup>4</sup> In Polish textbooks the development of sports and tourism, the fact that parents could choose from the camps for their children and from subsidized domestic holidays for themselves were emphasized.<sup>5</sup> Authors of these textbooks dealt with the travelling topic much more in the seventies. They wrote that the state borders were partly open at that time, textbooks pointed to the fact that it was more easier than ever before to get a passport and go abroad. But they specified that people could travel mainly to other socialist countries, although at that time trips to the West were not as impossible as in previous decades.<sup>6</sup> More specific information on travelling in the socialist period, however, was not included in textbooks. Pupils cannot learn what documents were needed for departure, what were the rules for obtaining the consent of departure, what restrictions were there, and so on. Because at present many young people cannot imagine life without almost unrestricted movements of persons, I included the topic of travelling in the empirical research to find out, what awareness has the youth of today of that issue under the previous regime.

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Szelągowska, G.: *Ludzie, społeczeństwa, cywilizacje*. Warszawa: WSIP; Válková, V. (2009). *Dějepis pro základní školy, nejnovější dějiny*. Praha: SPN.

<sup>3</sup> Válková, V. (2009). *Dějepis 9 pro základní školy, nejnovější dějiny*. Praha: SPN, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Parkan, F., Mikeska, T., Parkanová, M. (2011). *Dějepis, učebnice pro základní školy a víceletá gymnázia*. Plzeň: Fraus, p. 124; Válková, V. (2009). *Dějepis 9 pro základní školy, nejnovější dějiny*. Praha: SPN, p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> Śniegocki, R. (2004). *Historia burzliwy wiek XX*. Warszawa: Nowa era, p. 253; Sierpowski, S. (1998). *Historia najnowsza 1918–1997*. Kraków: Graf punkt, pp. 253–254; Brzozowski, A., Szczepański, G. (2012). *Ku współczesności*. Warszawa: Stentor, pp. 238–239.

<sup>6</sup> Śniegocki, R. (2004). *Historia burzliwy wiek XX*. Warszawa: Nowa era, pp. 284–286; Szelągowska, G. (2003). *Ludzie, społeczeństwa, cywilizacje*. Warszawa: WSIP; Brzozowski, A., Szczepański, G. (2012). *Ku współczesności*. Warszawa: Stentor, pp. 242, 250.

## Awareness of today's students of travelling during the socialist period

Today, people of the region under study (Těšín region) are citizens of countries that both joined the European Union on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004. That fact was also associated with the entry into the Schengen area in the year 2007. Border checks among all Member States were called off, passenger cars and freight car trucks have not been already waiting in long queues for several hours and days, and we can meet custom officers only in very exceptional cases. Nowadays we do not need any special documents for transit or departure to many other countries, even at airports our identity card or passport are sufficient for departure to some countries.

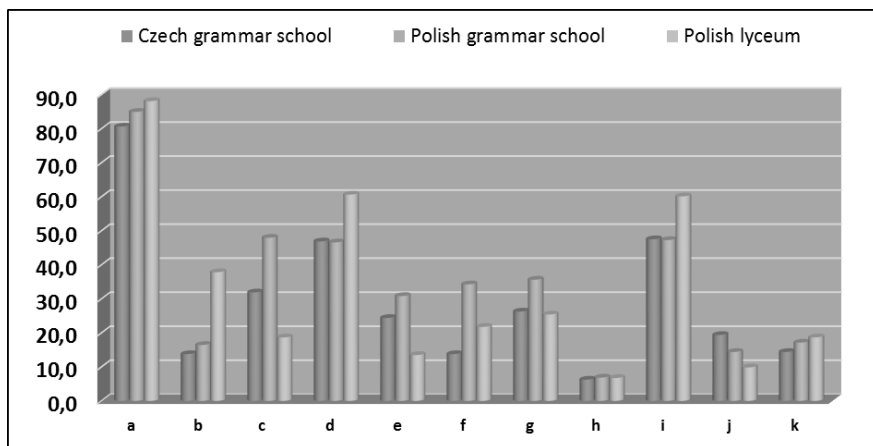
During the communist period, it was completely different. Travelling to western countries was very limited, and in those cases when it was possible, it was necessary to undergo a series of procedures, errands, completing countless forms before departure and after returning home, gaining all necessary documents and dealt with many other tasks still waiting for you. Also travelling to other communist countries was not as simple, as some people might suppose. People could leave for so-called friendly countries only under certain conditions, as well. On the border, there were barbed wires and border guards guarded single sections of the frontier zone.

The school youth of today cannot remember that situation, these children may only vaguely remember from their early childhood the existing customs and checks on the border after the fall of the communist regime. When entering the Schengen area, respondents were aged from eight to twelve years. But at that time checks of cars on the borders, particularly on the closest border, that is between Cieszyn and Český Těšín, became a mere formality. So if those pupils did not travel to more remote regions, and also in this case today's travelling to such remote regions is much easier than in that time, I may suppose, that they have none or only vicarious experience with complicated errands of vacations and travelling.

Because today's children grew up in entirely different conditions than their parents, grandparents and other family friends, I wondered if they could imagine what was travelling like in the days before their birth. Therefore, I compiled a set of three closed questions in which students chose among the options offered. In the first question I focused on problems with travelling to Western countries in the communist period. By means of the second question I tried to find out whether the today's pupils could know where their family members travelled most frequently or how they spent their vacations. The last task then should examine whether the youth realizes that even travelling within the Eastern Bloc had some limitations.

**What was needed to enable you to visit your own family living  
in Western Europe, e.g. in West Germany?**

- a) valid passport
- b) as for men: a confirmation of their military identity cards handing-over
- c) obtaining a written consent from ROH/Związków Zawodowych
- d) exit visa permit
- e) obtaining a written consent from the employer
- f) official invitation certified by a notary
- g) stamp customs and currency declaration
- h) bank certificate about allotment of foreign currency
- i) valid visa
- j) consent of the military administration
- k) copy of your criminal record



In the first question, which is related to travelling, I focused on visits to Western countries. Its aim was to find out whether students could know, e.g. through story-telling, what was needed to enable a person to travel legally to the West. I modified the question to a form of an exemplary situation that should help students to imagine better the task. So I asked what was needed to enable you to visit your relatives to the West, I mentioned West Germany as a concrete example. I offered eleven options to students. All items were correct and you really needed all those papers, documents and certificates to traveling to the West.

Nowadays, it is common that different family members leave abroad for work or a temporary job or for studies. During the socialist period,

however, visiting relatives living behind the “iron curtain” was considerably more difficult. Often, if you received all necessary permits and you were allowed to leaving for the given country, that permit was given to only one member of the family. Other family members, for example, your wife and children were not allowed to leave the homeland giving a guarantee for your return. Thus the departure of people of working age was particularly restricted. If you already got to a senior age, obtaining necessary documents and subsequent going abroad was a little easier.

Only three students chose all the answers offered and estimated that obtaining all eleven documents offered was needed for a departure. As for items circled by most students, according to the results, it seems that most of respondents were sure of their answers. As for other alternatives is considered, it seems that students merely guessed and they were not sure of their answers. Actually, the pupils chose e.g .pasport or visa, and a few other options. But those options were not repeated periodically, so the most likely explanation is that some of those young people estimated that even some more of the offered answers must be correct. Most pupils chose most often among three to six answers. Three of options that were marked by most students in all groups, seemed to be clear for all respondents. Most students probably know that for a departure to western countries it was necessary to hold a passport, and to obtain a valid visa and the exit visa permit.

On the basis of individual results of this question, it can be stated that the students are well informed that the passport was necessary for a departure. In all groups, more than 80 % of respondents knew it. The need of obtaining a valid visa and a valid exit permit are other facts about which it is possible to say that they are very well known.

Students of the Polish language grammar school have the greatest awareness of the necessity of obtaining a written consent of the Czechoslovak Trade Union, because nearly half of them marked that answer, while only 32 % of students of the Czech grammar school answered like that. The need to obtain the consent of the Polish Trade Union was chosen by the fifth of the lyceum students. The Polish language grammar students had also the greatest awareness of the need to obtain a written consent of the employer. In the questionnaires from the Polish language grammar school there are two more entries in which they surpass students of other secondary schools with number of well responses marked. They know that an official invitation certified by a notary and a stamp customs and currency declaration were needed for a departure to the West. The third of the Polish language grammar school students compared to one fifth of the Czech grammar students and

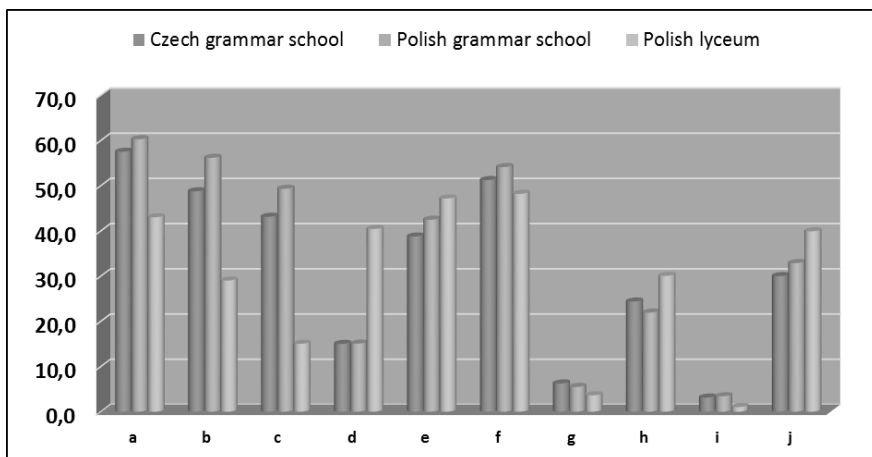


a quarter of Polish lyceum students were aware of those facts. And vice versa, most of the lyceum students understood the requirement to handing-over military identity cards before a departure. The third of them circled that possibility in comparison with 15 % of grammar school students.

Approximately 15 % of pupils knew the fact that it was also necessary to obtain the consent of the military administration and the copy of criminal record. Students had the slightest awareness of the fact that it was also necessary to gain the certificate about allotment of foreign currency in the bank.

**Do you remember parents or grandparents tellings, where they spent their holidays in the socialism era?**

- a) in their own cottage or vacation home / house in the village
- b) they travelled around Czechoslovakia / Poland
- c) they travelled to other socialist countries
- d) they used advantages of package tours offering by the ROH / wczasny pracownicze
- e) camped
- f) at pioneer / harcnerski camps
- g) they travelled to western countries
- h) they hiked (tramped)
- i) they travelled with travel agencies
- j) they stayed at home, did not travel



The aim of that question was to determine whether the youth suspects, where or how their parents, grandparents or other relatives spent their holiday or summer vacation. In many families in the so-called family stories recall various moments of the holidays, trips and tours. We assumed that it was the same in homes of our respondents.

Pupils had ten options from which they chose. The answers were differed on the language variants in the first item. For the Czech questionnaires, we chose a typical Czech holiday phenomenon of the second houses, very much popular in communist times. In Poland, there was the same phenomenon of spending holidays in the villages, while staying at cottages was not usual.

Many students marked more than one answer. The fact that some of students circled also the item that their family members did not travel and stayed at home together with other options was an interesting phenomenon. This fact can be explained that students had in mind for example that grandparents went to the cottage one year, then they did not travel for two following years anywhere and stayed at home and went to Bulgaria in the fourth year. It follows that those students circled also the item "did not travel", because they dealt with that question concretely not generally.

59% of students from the Czech Republic, in accordance with our assumption, responded that most family members rest in weekend houses or cottages. In the Polish version that possibility was replaced with a departure to a village, which was chosen by 43 % of respondents. Also travelling around their own country was apparently very popular, too. In the opinion of the students, the beauties of their homeland admired about a half of the family members of the grammar school students and the third of lyceum students.

The item, in which the responses of all groups approached most of all, became a possibility of spending free time at pioneer camps, or *harcerski* camps in the Polish version. A half of all students agreed that their close relatives spent their holidays very often there. According to the respondents a very popular way of spending holiday was also camping that was even more popular in Poland than in Czechoslovakia, by the results. More than two-thirds of the families of pupils had extensive experience in this. Also hiking (tramping) was very popular, a fourth of families were engaged in it in total.

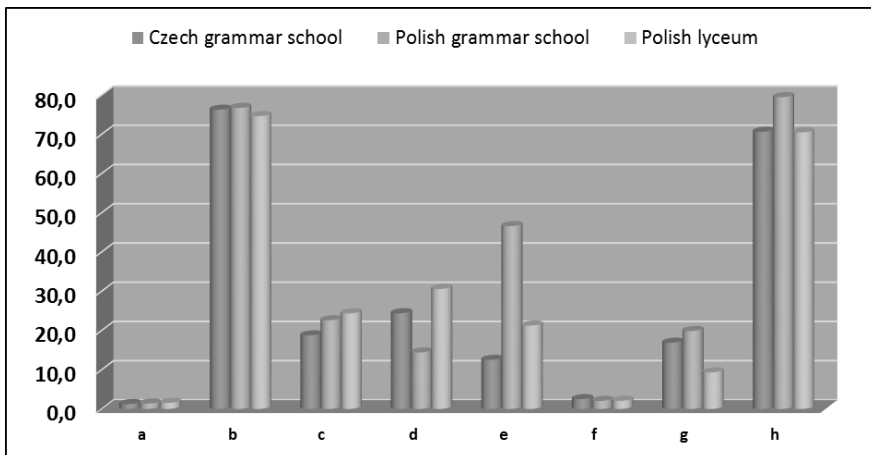
The results of the questionnaires of both grammar school groups are almost identical in all entries, differing only by a few percent. In contrast, the response of the Polish lyceum students diverge considerably at some points. I recorded the biggest differences in two items between pupils

from the Czech Republic and Poland. The family members of the grammar school students liked going on holiday to other communist countries, some students written that the most popular holiday destinations were Bulgaria or Yugoslavia. That option was indicated by approximately 45% of the grammar school students. In contrast, only 15 % of family members of the Polish lyceum students travel to other countries of the Eastern Bloc on vacation. A similar difference was recorded with the possibility of departures organized by individual workplaces. Both groups of the grammar school pupils responded that 15 % of their close relatives used the opportunity of going to trips offering by the Czechoslovak Trade Union, which many students may also know from movies. In Poland the possibility to spend their free time on the so-called. "wczasy pracownicze" was used by 40 % of the family members of the lyceum students.

The least number of families went on holidays with a travel agency, because that answer was chosen by only 3% of the grammar school students and by only 1 % of students from Poland. Only a very small number of people succeeded in going on holiday to Western countries. According to the answers of respondents only 6 % relatives of the grammar school students and 4% of relatives of lyceum students could travel to western countries. A third of pupils indicated that their family members did not travelled and spent their vacation at home. As I mentioned above, most of the respondents chose that option in conjunction with another option.

**Were there any restrictions when travelling on holiday to other socialist countries?**

- a) no, there were no restrictions
- b) it was necessary to have a valid passport
- c) for travelling to some areas it was necessary to have a special gray passport
- d) for travelling to socialist countries the valid visas were necessary
- e) if you wanted to go privately e.g. to Poland / Czechoslovakia, you had to receive written invitations
- f) only identity cards were required for ensuring holiday services by travel agencies
- g) bank certificate about allotment of foreign currency was needed
- h) it was necessary to pass through customs passenger and luggage checks



In that question I focused on possibilities of travelling to other countries belonging to the Eastern Bloc. I wondered how students imagine cooperation between those countries in the field of tourism. Whether they believe that a sort of duty-free area without any borders was created among them or whether they consider that the rules for the departure for communist countries were identical to those for western countries. I put again a closed question, to which I created a menu of eight possible answers from which students could select any number.

Students correctly evaluated that two of the options offered there were improbable, and therefore they were chosen by a tiny minority of respondents. Pupils in all groups came to a conclusion that the least real statement was, that the movement of people among the socialist countries was not restricted and regulated. They found somewhat more likely the alternative, that a trip organized by a travel agency was possible only upon presentation of the identity card

Conversely, most students were aware of the fact that it was possible to travel to other socialist countries only with a valid passport. Three quarters of those questioned in all groups, answered correctly. About 20% of students were also familiar with the fact that travelling to certain countries was possible only with a special gray passport. Thus people travelled mainly to Yugoslavia. Approximately three quarters of the students are of the opinion that at customs people went through a personal and luggage control. Thus we may conclude that most of the pupils were able to recognize two essential features that characterized the passage from one state to another one (not only among communist countries).

A quarter of Czech grammar school students, 14% of the Polish language grammar school students and 31% of lyceum students believes that visas were required even for travelling to other socialist countries. However, citizens of communist countries needed visas to almost all countries, except those belonging to the Eastern Bloc. Thus it can be stated that many of the students were wrong as for that point is considered. Their ancestors did not need visas for travelling to other communist countries. Of course, the citizens of communist countries who wanted to travel to the Western countries and the citizens of Western countries, who in turn wanted to visit the countries of the Eastern Bloc had to travel with valid visa. Also the bank certificate about allotment of foreign currency was required only for travelling to the West, for a trip to allied countries it was possible to exchange foreign currency in the bank. The State Bank of Czechoslovakia possessed a certain amount of cash currencies of other socialist countries, e.g. Hungarian forint and Polish zloty, as well as the Polish bank did. Although the exchange of foreign currency was not always easily, it was possible to obtain the necessary amount of foreign currency when travelling to other socialist countries, which was mostly declared at the customs declaration, the bank certificate about allotment of foreign currency was not therefore required. However, a fifth of the Polish language grammar school students, 17% of the Czech grammar school students and 9% of lyceum students were sure, that their families needed the bank certificate about allotment of foreign currency for their travelling to other communist country.

The last offered answer of the questionnaire concerned the relationship between both countries and the possibility of Czechoslovak citizens to visit Poland privately in the eighties, and the possibility of Poles to visit privately the Czechoslovakia. Due to fears of shopping tourism of Poles, and of spreading liberal ideas and influence of the Polish independent trade union "Solidarity" to the Czechoslovak citizens, the Czechoslovak government introduced some restrictive measures. These Regulations restricted travelling between those two countries in December 1981. Since then Czechoslovak citizens could travel to Poland only on the basis of a verified written invitation of their close relatives. That regulation also concerned the Polish citizens who wanted to come to Czechoslovakia, they had to submit a written invitation, too. Since the year 1985, that regulation was abated, but not canceled.<sup>7</sup> Students'

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<sup>7</sup> Rychlík, J. (2012). *Devizové přísliby a cestování do zahraničí v období normalizace*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, pp. 44–45.

responses to that question varied in different groups of schools. Almost 47% of Polish language grammar school students were aware of that limitation. I suppose that that knowledge comes from the fact that these students come from families of the Polish minority in the Czech Republic and many of them have close relatives in Poland. Therefore, it is likely that those families visited each other in the period of communism, and that the measure affected them deeply and today's students know about the limitations thanks to colourful narratives. But even one fifth of Polish pupils and 13% of Czech pupils also knew about the necessity to have a written invitation for a private visit.

### **Conclusion**

In this article, I tried to show awareness of the today's youth of traveling within the socialist period. As it is evident from the results of empirical research, the family members talk most frequently about spending their holiday in own country, about travelling to western countries and about any trips to other countries of the Eastern Bloc they are talking less. Students have a basic knowledge of what had to be arranged for such a journey, but they were not provided with more detailed information, whether by their families or through textbooks that deal with travelling only marginally.

## II. Pedagogy

### Group Coaching as a Form of Support for Minority Group Leaders

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*In the present study, the reader can get acquainted with the issue of group coaching as a form of support for minority group leaders. The author reflects on the reasons for the growing popularity of coaching as a support for the development. He also draws attention to minority groups, their characteristics and their individual types. Worth noticing are also the chapters devoted to the issue of minority group leaders, their roles and competencies. Finally, the author also mentions the need for education and training of leaders, he deals with the existing programs, approaches and expected effects.*

Key words: *education; coaching; leaders; minority*

#### Coaching in Furthering the Development of Adults

The popularity of coaching as a form of supporting development is constantly growing in adult learning contexts. This rise in popularity is explained not only by a current vogue but also by the increasingly often experienced efficacy of coaching interventions, which rely extensively on the learner's experience and skills and, thereby, best meet adults' expectations toward the learning process: "*Adults come into an educational activity with both a greater volume and a different quality of experience from that of youths.*"<sup>1</sup> The qualitatively distinct nature of adults' resources overlaps with their deep need of self-constitution and self-direction in life (therein also learning processes). Finally, adults display a greater readiness to learn: "*They learn new knowledge, understandings, skills, values and attitudes most effectively when they*

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<sup>1</sup> Knowles, M. – Holton, E. – Swanson, R. (2011). *The Adult Learner*. 7<sup>th</sup> edition. Oxford and Burlington: Elsevier, p. 64.

are presented in the context of application to real-life situations.”<sup>2</sup> These observations sketch an image of the adult learner which diverges considerably from what we commonly perceive in child learners. Emphatically, the adult learner focuses on his/her situation in life and grounds education processes on it, in formulating expectations, setting goals, envisaging forms of work and, finally, investing in education. These considerations have rather straightforward implications for adult educators, who are obliged to search for such didactic methods which adequately respond to the adult learners’ expectations outlined above.

These expectations seem to be suitably met by coaching, which is distinctive for its strong emphasis on the freedom of the learning subject and the value it sets on the clients’ resources. The two characteristics are key components of most coaching definitions.<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of our argument, we may define coaching as a process that targets the client’s personal and/or vocational goals and releases his/her potential through reflectivity training (self-reflection and reflection on the world) and acquisition of new skills and new behaviors. Such interventions addressed to adult learners best correspond to their needs and expectations, which consequently translates into enhanced effectiveness of the education process.

### Selected Issues in Minority Groups

A minority group (a subordinated cultural minority) is a social collective which the society it lives in perceives as strange and different because of some of its features, including for example, racial, ethnic or cultural characteristics. Members of a minority group feel distinct from the majority and often suffer various kinds of majority-inflicted discrimination.<sup>4</sup>

L. Wirth distinguishes the following minority types:

- Pluralistic minorities to be found in multicultural societies, seeking peaceful coexistence,
- Assimilationist minorities desiring assimilation into the dominant group (immigrants),
- Secessionist minorities manifesting their difference and aspirations to autonomy or independent statehood; militant minorities engaging in fight for their rights.

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Podgórný, M. (2010). Coaching – nowa przestrzeń w edukacji dorosłych. In *Kultura jako przestrzeń edukacyjna*. Kraków, pp. 66–68.

<sup>4</sup> Olechnicki, K. – Załęcki, P. (1997). *Słownik socjologiczny*. Toruń: Graffiti BC, p. 73.



Social minorities are rarely singled out as a separate theme in handbooks of sociology or general introduction to sociological thought. However, the theme is, partly at least, addressed in discussions on such sociological categories as “a minority group,” “a cultural group,” or “an ethnic group” and “an ethnic (or national) minority.”

The fundamental questions in this research field are: How does a minority group perceive its difference? How does it define its social and cultural positioning? In what ways does it communicate with the social and cultural environment?

A group’s alterity does not have to consistently connote alienness (and, consequently, antagonism). The notions of “alterity” and “alienness” make sense only in a particular context in which relationships and interactions among groups are framed in particular ways. Before any conclusions are suggested, a series of questions must be investigated, including: How are minority groups perceived in society? What opportunities are there for a minority group to engage in activities for the good of the whole society? In what circumstances does “alterity” mutate into “alienness” and in what conditions does “different” not connote “strange”? What position does a leader take in such a group and, consequently, what is his/her role in it?

A minority group is always singled out on the basis of its peculiar features, predominantly racial, ethnic and cultural characteristics. Addressing particular details, we could point at appearance, behavior patterns, lifestyle, language, religion, organizational affiliations or historical legacy.

### **Role and Competencies of the Minority Group Leader**

Engaging in any action whatsoever, we perform attributions and formulate expectations, based on our self-image and ideas we have about our capacities and limitations. The system of beliefs and intimations about who we are and what we strive for is formed in the space of the public discourse. The public discourse not only creates our notions of the social world, defines problems and shapes normative structures, but also produces a belief that the assumptions are common to all (or at least most) members of the community. The belief importantly, if not crucially, grounds interactions in the real social space. Essentially, group images are generated much more powerfully by inter-group relationships than by inter-individual ones. *“Contrary to popular belief, intercultural contact among groups does not automatically breed mutual understanding. It usually confirms each group in its own identity. Members of the other*

*group are not perceived as individuals, but rather in a stereotyped fashion.(...) autosterotypes are fostered about members of one's own group."*<sup>5</sup>

Abundant experience of everyday social practice proves that if in our actions we are guided by stereotypes, rather than by understanding or trust, the actions always turn counterproductive. This seems unrelated to whether a given group lives in a collectivistic society or an individualistic one, all the more so as individual people may easily diverge from mean individualism indexes for given countries reported in statistics.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the responsibilities of a minority group leader include: independent view on and identification of the group's actual image, combating stereotypes and autosterotypes, and training the group members in effective social communication both on the inter-group level and on the inter-individual one. The tasks demand that a minority group leader be equipped with a set of competencies. The term competencies, simply speaking, denotes "*everything that a given person understands and can do relative to a particular situation.*"<sup>7</sup> Currently, the notion refers both to "soft" skills (behavioral competencies) and "hard" skills (functional competencies). The former describe *how people should behave* in order to perform a task effectively while the latter designate *what people must know* to do so. Reflection on competencies received a considerable boost from the concepts developed by Richard Boyatzis. Analyzing factors that determine successful performance on the job, Boyatzis distinguished the following personality qualities: motives, experience and behavioral characteristics. He also proposed to distinguish *threshold competencies*, that is basic competencies required in a given position, and *differentiating competencies*, that is competencies that differentiate between people who achieve better results and people who perform worse.<sup>8</sup>

As far as minority group leaders are concerned, we would certainly concentrate on such threshold competencies as:

- Ability to unite people
- Ability to set goals appealing to the group
- Ability to motivate and inspire others

<sup>5</sup> Hofstede, G. J. (2010). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, pp. 387–388.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 94.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.krk.org.pl/slownik-pojec>

<sup>8</sup> Armstrong, M. (2006). *A Handbook of Human Resources Management Practice*. 10<sup>th</sup> ed. London and Philadelphia: Kogan Page, p. 160.

- Ability to manage the group's image
- Ability to manage communication within and outside the group.

Of course, in particular individual or contextual conditions the competence catalogue can be modified and/or expanded, but research on the leaders' function in groups implies that the above competencies are key to successful management of group processes.<sup>9</sup>

### Coaching for Leaders

Another important issue is education and training of leaders. The Polish program of education for leaders devised and implemented in 2004-2007 by Stowarzyszenie Szkoła Liderów ["School for Leaders" Society], was preceded by comparative analyses of equivalent projects in Europe and the USA. The analyses indicated that one feature all the programs shared was individualization of developmental processes grounded on the individual's self-awareness. They also had in common the situational focus, that is adjustment of curricula to particular learners' needs, and practical orientation, that is embedding development processes in real action.<sup>10</sup> Leaders' individual development, thus, is linked with personalized education. It means tailoring education forms to fit individual learning styles, which facilitates leaders' learning. This involves selecting suitable curriculum content and adjusting teaching methods and styles to leaders' individual needs and aptitudes. The personalized teaching, or rather education, process entails adaptation of the sender to the recipient and not the other way round – the recipient to the sender – which has been the prevalent practice so far.

In this approach, the central and leading role is ascribed to the learner. The learner defines the goals and sets the pace of work in compliance with his/her individual needs and prior experience both in leadership and in educational engagement. Learning is closely interwoven with analytical insights into and creative reflection on prior experience (knowledge and skills). As a result of such critical introspection, new ideas are developed, new plans are devised and new behavioral strategies are adopted. The methods of group work seem to be conducive to particularly enhanced outcomes. One reason for that is that they provide opportunities for sharing experience and having one's

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<sup>9</sup> Kaczorowska, B. (ed.) (2007). *Tutoring. W poszukiwaniu metody kształcenia liderów*. Warszawa, pp. 22–23.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24.

ideas discussed from various points of view. We could legitimately assume that group coaching for leaders will be one of very interesting methods in this respect. Executed as a process aimed to support the group members in making changes in ways best suited to their needs and expectations and combined with help in achieving the desired effectiveness, group coaching will best foster the atmosphere of trust and satisfy individual educational needs.

Drawing on my observations and experience of running a Coaching for Students Program at the Institute of Pedagogy, University of Wrocław, over the last four years, I believe that the method can be expected to bring about the following effects:

- Acquisition and improvement of group leaders' social competencies,
- Exchange of experience and ideas among leaders,
- Meeting leaders' individual developmental and educational needs,
- Development of motivating and self-motivating methods,
- Upgrading of skills involved in constructing attractive group goals.

Coaching for leaders, which responds to their authentic needs, may effectively promote the development of their individual resources and leadership competencies.

## Programmes of Supporting the Educational Needs of Romani Pupils in the Czech Republic

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*This study presents relevant information collected during practical work and research findings related to forms of work with children, young people and adult members of the Romani ethnic group focusing on improving their educational attainment. The paper reflects selected findings obtained during the work of the Centre of Multicultural Education at the Department of Social Education at the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University in Brno over a period of more than ten years.*

*Key words: the Romani ethnic group; social segregation; social integration; research findings; educational support programmes; active remedial teaching, teacher's assistant*

### General basis of the issue

The Romani people, of whom there are almost twelve million living in Europe, belong to an ethnic group that bears the brunt of all the consequences of segregation from majority society. There are also specific manifestations of the segregation of the Romani people in the Czech Republic, taking in a wide spectrum of phenomena such as brutal attacks with a racial subtext, the creation of modern-day ghettos, various manifestations of professional discrimination and the superficial presentation of the Romani issue in the media. Efforts are, however, also being made to search for the causes of these phenomena and, by extension, solutions to this bleak situation. The focus of this study is not to put forward a description or discourse relating to the complex interdisciplinary aspects of this process. This is a matter for researchers in a large number of fields such as sociologists, political scientists, ethnographers, economists and other specialists. Some of the current research findings provide us with support in the realisation of

programmes aimed at promoting educational attainment among the Romani ethnic group.<sup>1</sup>

One of the principal reasons for the bleak position facing the Romani people in the hierarchy of social relations is their low educational attainment. Educational attainment is, meanwhile, an essential condition to career opportunities; having an occupation is a source of economic security for the individual and his or her family, etc. These indisputable facts are also a general starting point for our efforts to overcome the barriers that stand in the way of the Romani people's access to education. One of these barriers is the low standing of education in the hierarchy of values of a not insignificant number of Romani families. This is indicated in a number of investigations.<sup>2</sup> This handicap, in connection with other factors of a bleak socio-economic nature, is one of the causes (and consequences) of a "vicious circle" leading to the undesirable position of "maladjusted" Romani people.

At the pan-European conference held in Bratislava in 2008 devoted to issues in the education of the Romani ethnic group,<sup>3</sup> a critical voice was raised towards Europe's government structures calling on them to take responsibility for improving the Romani people's complicated educational situation. Efforts to resolve this situation are, indeed, often made with the initiation of expensive projects, though without significant long-term strategies or long-term effects. The principal agencies on the path from social segregation to the integration of the Romani into majority society thus are only more or less isolated groups and individual institutions engaged in such work. One example of efforts made over the longer term and based on programme continuity and an institutional foundation is the initiative of the Department of Social Education at the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University in Brno which culminated in the establishment of the Centre of Multicultural Education. In the year 2002, the centre began preparing and implementing programmes aimed at meeting the needs of Romani pupils. Now, when the centre has been operating for more than

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Klenková, J., Vítková, M. (Eds). (2008). *Vzdělávání žáků s narušenou komunikační schopností. Vzdělávání žáků se speciálními vzdělávacími potřebami*. Anthology from an international conference. Brno: Paido; Němec, J., Vojtová, V. et al. (2009). *Vzdělávání žáků se sociálním znevýhodněním*. Brno: Paido, MU.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Gulová, L. et al. (2010). *Analýza vzdělávacích potřeb romských žáků*. Brno: Masaryk University; Štěpařová, E. (2009). *Sociálně-pedagogické faktory ovlivňující edukaci romských dětí*: Dissertation. Brno: Masaryk University; Němec, J. et al. (2010). *Edukace romských žáků v zrcadle výzkumných šetření*. Brno: Masaryk University.

<sup>3</sup> *Conférence européenne sur l'éducation de Roms*, 8–9 April 2008. Bratislava.

ten years, is a good time to take stock of this work against the background of research and factographic data on multidirectional forms of work with children, young people and adult members of the Romani ethnic group. It must be stated that the Department of Social Education (and with it the Centre of Multicultural Education) at the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University has, in recent years, found methodological and, perhaps most importantly, financial support in the shape of projects from the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic, European Union structural funds and the Operational Programmes Education for Competitiveness. The majority of these programmes are not intended exclusively for the Romani population, though there has been certain development in this area. A few years ago programmes were conceived as grant programmes for the integration of the Romani community and migrant foreigners into majority society; such programmes are now identified as support programmes for socially disadvantaged children, pupils and students. We also present here a selection of the most momentous of these programmes and those with which the centre has had the most experience. The following brief characteristics also include expert conclusions and recommendations based on both experience and the research having been conducted.

### **The teacher's assistant**

The Centre of Multicultural Education at the Department of Social Education at the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University held Teacher's Assistant Courses from 2000 to 2009. These courses were part of the Life-long Education Programme at Masaryk University and were later extended from six months to one year (two semesters). The course participants received 408 hours of instruction in the form of compulsory seminars, lectures, exercises and practical experience at schools and other institutions. The aim was to prepare the students for the demands of teaching children and young people in the conditions found at schools and other institutions. The course participants gained basic knowledge in the areas of education and psychology to better understand the structure and peculiarities of child personality and to focus their teaching efforts accordingly. The students also acquired a number of skills in practical teaching, including a methodology for preparing activities at school and in the family. Emphasis was also placed on the issue of homework in relation to Romani pupils, teaching preparation and methods of co-operation between the school and the family, etc. An important part of the course consisted of visits to institutions working with children and young

people (e.g. The Museum of Romani Culture, The Romani Society in Moravia, The Romani Centre DROM and selected primary schools in Brno).

The course finished with a final exam in pedagogy and psychology and successful participants received a certificate of graduation from the programme. Over the course of nine years, 142 assistants of Romani origin from all over the country successfully completed the teacher's assistant course, the majority of whom now work at primary schools and in pre-school preparatory classes. Other course graduates have found work in social services; a number of them have completed the necessary secondary school and university education over the course of time and now work for various authorities and not-for-profit organisations in the social sphere.

Teacher's assistants may, according to the existing legislative regulations,<sup>4</sup> work in schools and in preparatory classes where they help pupils with specific educational needs. They try to create "bridges of communication" between teachers on one side and pupils and parents on the other. A teacher's assistant should act as a mediator of comprehension between the majority culture and minority culture and acquaint both groups with the values, rules of behaviour and peculiarities of communication of the other. Their role is also to prepare opportunities for bringing the Romani community and the school closer together.

Teacher's assistants frequently state that playing the role of mediator between the teacher and a Romani pupil is extremely mentally demanding for them, though they try to meet their obligations and maintain their loyalty with respect to the teachers. Below is an opinion of one of the assistants:

*"The presence of an assistant at the school has a calming effect on a large number of children... The assistant represents a great promise that a child will continue to attend primary school with success, particularly for children starting year one whose Czech is extremely poor. Communicating in the Czech language can cause the children considerable problems at the beginning, for which reason the chance of using the Romani language can be extremely helpful until they get used to the Czech language and learn to use it actively. Another important point is the fact that the children feel that the assistant understands them better as they come from the same background. The*

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<sup>4</sup> Act 561/2004 Sb., Section 16, para. 9 and Ministry of Education Decree 73, Section 7 (teacher's assistant). See The Decree on the Education of Children, Pupils and Students with Special Educational Needs and Especially Talented Children, Pupils and Students.



*same goes for the children's parents, who often know the assistant from elsewhere than the school environment. If problems do occur, the parents know that the assistant is not unfamiliar with their environment and that they do not need to enter into any complicated explanations. They are also confident that the assistant will stand up for the children in school and will let the parents know in good time if any serious problems arise.*"<sup>5</sup>

The teacher's assistant has an invaluable role to play in teaching and presentation of new material, and works with the pupils on an individual basis right in the classroom. There may, for example, be many terms and concepts that Romani children do not understand and they may sometimes not understand what is meant or are unfamiliar with new words. The teacher's assistant's task is to explain such terms clearly and, where possible, to convey them intuitively in a way that the children can understand. In this context, the assistant plays the role of "interpreter". His or her role is, however, often much wider in scope and is not restricted merely to the mediation of schoolwork, but also takes in pupil motivation as well.

Romani teacher's assistants working in schools with large numbers of Romani pupils represent a highly specific group in that they may not have the kind of education that teachers have but their intuitive and sensitive approach to the pupils and their learning difficulties enable them to create strategies of education and mediation that help Romani pupils get an education and live with the other children in the class in a natural symbiosis. A teacher's assistant from the Romani community generally knows the parents of the children at the school and can naturally avoid the kind of problems that generally accompany the adaptation of Romani pupils to systematic education.

Teacher's assistants are also becoming increasingly aware of the need for their own further education. Since 2010, the team at the Department of Social Education has been concentrating on further education for teacher's assistants. A number of courses providing targeted support for co-operation between teacher's assistants and teachers have been opened within the framework of projects aimed at improving the study prospects of children from socially disadvantaged environments.

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<sup>5</sup> Pompa, A. (2005). *Asistent pedagoga pro děti ze sociokulturně znevýhodňujícího prostředí, jeho funkce ve škole*. Bachelor thesis. Brno: Department of Social Education, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, pp. 45–46.

### **A programme of active remedial tutoring for Romani children in their family**

Another programme aimed at socially disadvantaged children is active remedial tutoring in the family. This programme has been operated by the Faculty of Teaching of Masaryk University for almost fifteen years. It began with a small group of volunteers among the faculty's students who went to Romani families to work with school pupils. The programme developed over the years thanks to the interest seen from parents, schools, social workers and (most importantly) the faculty's students into an entire system run with sophisticated coordination in which as many as three hundred university students provide active remedial tutoring to more than three hundred Romani schoolchildren at home and, to no small extent, in schools and drop-in centres. Children faced with difficult living conditions (for example children living in shelters, children from homes with more than one family living in a single apartment) are taught outside their home. The whole programme is coordinated by one pedagogy specialist from the Department of Social Education who connects families with students and communicates with parents, schools, social workers and staff in the not-for-profit sector, etc. This coordination is conducted in part with the use of e-mail, Facebook and an e-learning course. Another member of staff at the department is responsible for administrative work.

The faculty's students can provide remedial tutoring within the framework of the project or as an optional subject. In view of the enormous interest seen from the students, the team at the Department of Social Education also tries to integrate this interesting work experience into compulsory subjects for trainee teachers. Active remedial teaching has a number of rules that must be obeyed by the family, the student and the school. The tutor communicates with the teacher of the pupil whom he or she is tutoring.

Communicating with tutors and parents using a closed Facebook group, currently visited by 324 participants, has recently proved extremely successful. The group is made up by the students providing remedial tutoring, the schoolchildren they teach and their parents. Sometimes the parents themselves write requests for help teaching their children, while the students share useful advice and post interesting suggestions for events of various kinds, conferences, seminars, educational portals, teaching aids, etc. Most importantly, the group provides extremely rapid communication between the programme's organiser, students and parents with the option of rapid feedback.

This is an important programme for the students (tutors) taking part. They get the chance of experiencing for themselves the environment in

which socially disadvantaged families live and Romani culture, can try out and master new approaches to teaching Romani children, re-evaluate their opinions and build a relationship with and respect to the Romani community. These remedial teachers hand in a written account of their teaching each semester to the programme supervisor, while the summary results of regular evaluations and supervision are also made available to them.

### **Preparing adults for further studies**

The supplementary education programmes also include a preliminary year preparing the adult population for further education. This programme has also been running for more than ten years now, during which time more than a hundred and fifty Romani people interested in studying have applied to take part. More than a hundred of them have been accepted to study social education, and forty-six successfully completed their bachelor or master's studies. One graduate has received a Ph.D., works at Ostrava University and is now preparing for a higher doctorate. At the present time, ten of these students are studying social education. We currently have twenty students in the preliminary preparatory course, of which some are Romani and others are students from other ethnic groups.

### **Support programmes focusing on the Czech language, mathematics, the English language and computer literacy**

In past years, short-term courses have also been opened focusing on the Czech language, mathematics, the English language and computer literacy. These were one-semester courses and were attended by ten to fifteen participants. There is currently no interest in these support programmes. This is, to an extent, evidence of the fact that the situation regarding access to education for the Romani population is gradually changing and those with a serious interest in studying are now regular students at secondary schools and universities.

### **The Romani language and Romani studies as part of education for teachers**

A useful supplement to the above mentioned programmes comes in the form of teaching of the Romani language and Romani studies that is seeing great popularity among students at Masaryk University as a whole.

This programme has also been running for more than ten years, and there has been increasing interest in Romani studies and the Romani language recently. This includes both students who are actively engaged in remedial tutoring and those taking combined forms of study who are working as social workers or teachers and whose work focuses on the Romani population. Courses in the Romani language and the basics of Romani studies have been opened under the leadership of experienced instructors, including both Romani people and instructors from majority society. In this regard, we take advantage of co-operation with the Museum of Romani Culture and other organisations. These courses are currently designed as optional subjects, and attract more applicants than we can accept. More than seventy students have taken the Romani language and almost twenty students have taken Romani studies.

### **A few notes in conclusion**

We can state that systematic work over a number of years with relatively large groups of Romani people in the university environment has resulted in certain changes in every one of us, and particularly to our prejudices and deep-rooted ideas about the Romani people as difficult people who cannot be educated. Our new positive knowledge has enriched not only those of us who take part in these programmes as university teachers. It has also led to changes in the attitudes held by the university students involved who have gradually come to realise during the course of their educational activities that the situation among the Romani ethnic group is not so unambiguous as it is depicted in the media, for example, but takes in a complex range of problems, and that educational support programmes are just one way (though an extremely important way) of effecting long-term change.

The tempting vision of an increasing number of educated members of the Romani ethnic group playing a part in this process is one that is justified, though still rather remote. At the present time, the Romani people need our sympathy and co-operation. What cannot be doubted, however, is the fact that education is the most important element leading to positive change in the lives of the Romani people in respect to their prospects in life and career opportunities. Francis Bacon's famous adage that "knowledge is power"<sup>6</sup>, which implies that those who do not have information and knowledge cannot generally take part in society's

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<sup>6</sup> The distinguished English philosopher, scientist, historian and politician Francis Bacon (1561–1626), founder of empiricism and originator of new scientific methods.

decision-making processes and cannot, therefore, influence events that would benefit them, still applies to the entire population.

In spite of all the positive trends, the process of integrating the Romani people into majority society is progressing slowly. This process cannot, of course, be halted, but it is sometimes slowed down by the barrier of xenophobia that is encountered in everyday situations. There are still cases of modern-day migration of Romani people, some of whom seem to have ceased believing in the democratic principles of society, for example the slow, but continuing, migration of Romani people to countries that provide more succinct guarantees of an atmosphere of tolerance and the observance of human rights. Many of these Czech Roma requesting asylum testify to the fact that it is far from simple to live in a country, i.e. the Czech Republic, where people hold onto their belongings more tightly when you get on the tram, where people take a sceptical approach to your child's education, and where employers won't hire you because they don't trust you because of the colour of your skin. It is important, therefore, to accompany every programme of integration with multicultural education that works with the majority population, raises the issue of tolerance and stands up against the intolerance that deepens prejudice and xenophobia and fuels racist tendencies among both extremists and the silent majority.

Romani children and children from other cultures can be expected to have the same potential as children from majority society. Their handicaps lie in social disadvantages that are further aggravated by a lack of awareness of the Romani culture, language, ethnolect, etc. among majority society. In the last few years, the situation has been turning in favour of Romani children who now have a greater chance of education in mainstream education which is a significant precondition to further study. People being socially disadvantaged can, of course, be reflected in their chance of study success, though we believe that the path towards inclusion is a far more significant mechanism than the exclusion that leads to Romani children being put into special schools.<sup>7</sup>

Multicultural dialogue opens up a number of topics, some of which are merely the subject of long discussion, while others are already bringing specific results. A hopeful step in this direction is the initiative from the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic introducing programmes of Ethics in Schools – multicultural teaching aimed at preventing

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<sup>7</sup> Gulová, L. (2010). *Integrace a segregace v závěrečné reflexi*. In Němec, J. et al. *Edukace romských žáků v zrcadle výzkumných šetření*. Brno: Masaryk University, pp. 114–117.

homophobia and extremism in schools, etc. The research results we refer to in this study give an indication of just how difficult the situation is for the Romani population in the Czech Republic. The Romani population itself certainly contributes to many of these problems. Romani parents do not devote sufficient attention to the education and prospects of their children. These children lack a stimulating environment and the educational support. On the other hand, many Roma have to overcome barriers connected with society's prejudices and xenophobia. Such situations can have an extremely negative effect on majority society, though first and foremost on the Romani people themselves as it has the effect of discouraging them from attempting to improve their life prospects.

Quite evident efforts at inclusion and support are being made in the area of education. Over the last ten years or more, developments have been seen here in the perception of Romani pupils and their needs. Disciplines aiming to level the playing field for the socially disadvantaged, such as social education, social work, special education, multicultural education, etc., have been developed. What more can be suggested in the context of these facts? The following suggestions are clear to individuals and groups engaged in educating socially disadvantaged groups, though we mention them nevertheless:

- The creation of a comprehensive conception for education of socially disadvantaged groups; support for the profession of teacher's assistant, reinforcing the position of teacher's assistants in the school environment and enabling their further education by supporting organisations that can provide such education.
- Support for education for children and adolescents from socially disadvantaged environments accompanied by support for education for the adult Romani population.
- Continued development of early care with, for example, pre-school preparatory classes.
- Support for the creation of new professions in the school environment, in particular the professions social educator and free-time and social education worker which can be of enormous importance in activating social disadvantaged groups.
- Support for the development of multicultural education in schools.
- Enabling education for present and future teachers in the area of multicultural education and Romani studies. Working to overcome the prejudices of teachers and social workers.
- Protecting minorities against the consequences of discrimination, segregation and xenophobia.

- Working more actively with majority society through, for example, the media, presentations of good practice, etc.

Many of these proposals require considerable financial means, but it is certainly worth for society to invest in prevention rather than to pay the financial cost of the impacts of social pathology affecting socially disadvantaged groups, including the Romani population. It is extremely important for the Romani people themselves to become more engaged in decision-making processes in the position of experts in various areas with the support of majority society.

## Multicultural Career Counselling: Helping Minority Groups

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*The article deals with multicultural career counselling. It introduces the situation of minorities in a globalized world and the consequences of the migration process. The author mainly focuses on the concept and principle of career counselling. She also pays great attention to the issue of multicultural counselling, which belongs among the three main categories of counselling interventions.*

Key words: *career counselling; multiculturality; minority groups*

### Minorities in the global world

The contemporary world distinctly abounds in cultural differences, which does not mean, of course, that multiculturality is a novel phenomenon. In a sense, multiculturality has always been there; today, however, the fact that many cultures cohabit side by side, has accrued particular relevance due to globalisation processes. Globalisation designates processes which lead to a greater interdependence and integration of various regions of the world, which results in the emergence of a global society. Roland Robertson defines globalisation as “a set of processes which yields a single world.”<sup>1</sup> The ways in which the world economy and politics are organised make globalisation, in a sense, inevitable. Information and communication technologies accelerate and expand the scope of human interactions and “facilitate the compression of time and space,” as Anthony Giddens puts it.<sup>2</sup> Beneficial effects of globalisation, including elimination of barriers to international commerce,

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<sup>1</sup> Robertson, R. (1992). *Globality, global culture and images of world order*. In Haferkamp, H., Smelser, N. J. (Eds.), *Social Change and Modernity*. Berkeley: California University Press, pp. 395–411.

<sup>2</sup> Giddens, A. (2009). *Sociology*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Sztompka, P. (2002). *Socjologia. Analiza społeczeństwa*, Kraków: Znak, p. 584.

<sup>4</sup> Cf.: Giddens, A. *op. cit.*, p. 631.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



growth of tourism and free flow of information, do not offset, unfortunately, its detrimental consequences, such as the domination of Western culture (Westernisation, Americanisation, McDonaldisation), the overall uniformisation and homogenisation of culture,<sup>3</sup> globally resonant financial crises, emergence of new risk zones and exacerbation of social inequality and inequity both globally and nationally.

One consequence of dynamic changes is increased migration, which makes societies blend and diversify while the already existing contrasts are becoming ever more enhanced. In this way, societies are formed in which a minority group is subordinated to a dominant majority group. Minorities are groups of people which differ from the majority of the citizens of the country in nationality, race, religious denomination, language, traditions, customs and beliefs. In its sociological usage, the term designates not so much the size of the group (as they tend to be very populous) as rather its low standing in the society.<sup>4</sup> “[M]embers of the minority are disadvantaged [...] and have some sense of group solidarity, of belonging together. The experience of being the subject of prejudice and discrimination tends to heighten feelings of common loyalty and interests.”<sup>5</sup>

Speaking of minorities, we usually have ethnic and national minority groups in mind. The biggest ethnic and cultural minority in Europe are Roma – twelve million people scattered across, chiefly, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Russia, Poland and the Balkan states. But minorities are also groups excluded for reasons of gender, age, sexual orientation and/or disability. The criteria underpinning exclusion are derived both from biological differences and from cultural otherness. We must even face up to new cultural racism as “hierarchies of superiority and inferiority are constructed according to the values of the majority culture.”<sup>6</sup>

Although migrations contribute to cultural and ethnic augmentation of many societies and “help to shape demographic, economic and social dynamics,”<sup>7</sup> constructive coexistence of differences is very difficult to foster, and to build societies which would include various cultural groups on equal footing is an extremely challenging task.

In 2000, the European Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia launched a study into Europeans’ attitudes to ethnic minorities. Based on the research findings, four categories of attitudes were distinguished: actively tolerant, intolerant, passively tolerant and ambivalent. The *actively tolerant* people believe that ethnic minorities enrich society and,

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<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 635.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 653.

hence, should be allowed to cultivate their traditions, without being coerced into assimilation to the dominant culture. They support policies which encourage such developments. The *passively tolerant* people have, basically, positive attitudes to minority groups but do not support pro-minority policies. The *ambivalent* ones expect minority groups to assimilate and do not see their otherness and specificity as adding in any way to society's resources. The *intolerant* ones find the very fact that minority groups exist a threat to the social order. The study revealed that, somewhat contrary to expectations, the passively tolerant rather than the intolerant ones were the biggest respondent group (39% and 14%, respectively). The actively tolerant people made up 21% and the ambivalent people 26% of the respondents.

When these issues are considered in the context of vocational activity, even graver problems and divisions come to light. By facilitating free international trade, globalisation triggered changes in the occupational structure. Some jobs and whole occupations have declined, making unemployment rates soar.<sup>8</sup> The labour market is not homogeneous, but comprised of various segments with limited access to employment. The primary sector offers advantageous employment conditions (attractive jobs and good pay), while the secondary sector offers only so-called "junk" contracts and low wages. It is to that secondary labour market that people from defavoured, marginalised and discriminated groups find themselves consigned as a rule. They include the elderly, women who return to employment after breaks caused by post-natal and early child-care, young school-leavers without graduation credentials or vocational certifications, people with disabilities, members of ethnic minorities and immigrants. Even when such people do make their way to the primary sector, their promotion to senior positions is constrained by "the glass ceiling." These tendencies might subside in the course of time, but currently discriminatory practices are still very powerfully in place. One of the relevant factors in combating multilayered discrimination is career counselling – professional help for people who seek support in solving problems related to their unfavourable positioning.

### Career counselling

Over a hundred-plus years of its history, career counselling has dynamically developed, shifting from the directive model (vocational

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<sup>8</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, s. 85.

guidance) to liberal support and is now defined as an interpersonal process aimed to assist the individual in career development.<sup>9</sup> Clearly, it is not limited to helping choose a vocation but evolves toward lifelong or biographical counselling, which targets both youth and adults. It covers various dimensions of life and various roles that people perform, attending to their socio-economic and cultural contexts as well as the individuals' specific situation in life.

In compliance with recommendations of the European Commission, career counselling is regarded as a priority area for national and European policy making and implementation because it promotes equal opportunities through disseminating lifelong education and furthers the development and upgrading of competencies necessary in vocational life.<sup>10</sup> It designates "a range of activities that enables citizens of any age and at any point in their lives to identify their capacities, competences and interests, to make training, educational and vocational decisions and to manage their individual life paths in learning, work and other settings (...). Guidance throughout life contributes to the achievement of the European Union goals of economic development, labour market efficiency, and occupational and geographical mobility by enhancing the efficiency of investment in education and vocational training, lifelong learning and human capital and workforce development."<sup>11</sup> In this way, career counselling may contribute to improving the position minority groups hold on the labour market.

Today's counsellors provide both individual and group counselling interventions, they work in face-to-face settings and also use new technologies which enable virtual counselling, making counselling more widely accessible, particularly to those people who are prevented (by disability, for example) from meeting a counsellor in person. Counselling methods range from applications of the re-interpreted classic repertoire (e.g. based on J. Holland's concepts) to models underpinned by

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Brown, D., Brooks, L. (1990). *Career Counselling Techniques*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

<sup>10</sup> Communication of the European Commission, *Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality* – Brussels, 21. 11. 2001 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2001:0678:FIN:EN:PDF> (retrieved: 15. 09. 2014).

<sup>11</sup> Guidance throughout life in Europe. Całozyciowe poradnictwo zawodowe w Europie (2007). In *Poradnictwo zawodowe w oficjalnych dokumentach oraz opracowaniach o zasięgu międzynarodowym*. Warszawa, Euroguidance, p. 120.

constructivist (M. Savickas, J. Guichard) and socio-dynamic (V. Peavy) frameworks.<sup>12</sup>

A. Bańka believes that contemporary career counselling should aim to “discover life scenarios which make it possible to cross borders, adapt to various environments and assimilate models stimulating mental mobility; to show opportunities of life and development in permanent change and help people cope with negative effects of change; and to support sustained renewal of personal potential.”<sup>13</sup> Given the complexity of the contemporary world, career counselling must address multicultural coexistence of various social groups, especially minority groups. It seems, thus, that multicultural counselling should be developed to respond to these needs.

### Multicultural counselling

There is no consensus in the literature on how multicultural counselling and cross-cultural counselling should be defined or where exactly the line between them runs. Frequently, the two terms are used interchangeably. However, some scholars insist that they denote two different, though related, things and, therefore, must be kept apart carefully. A. Bańka claims that multicultural counselling seeks to achieve the goals which share the concerns of equality of cultural/ethnic groups, that is, to obliterate differences between them. Cross-cultural counselling, in turn, aims to highlight differences between cultures and show possible advantages as well as constraints inherent in the coexistence of differences.<sup>14</sup> The former of these notions is also a chronologically earlier one, as it developed in the United States in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The then counsellors attempted to oppose discrimination against minorities. In the 1960s, ethnicity counselling developed, but it was only in the 1970s that multicultural concerns attracted increased interest. Today, they actually lie at the very centre of reflection on the responsibilities of professional helping services.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Guichard, J., Huteau, M. (2005). *Psychologia orientacji i poradnictwa zawodowego*. Kraków: Impuls; cf. Savickas, M. L. (2011). *Career Counseling*. Washington: American Psychological Association; Peavy, V. (2014). *Poradnictwo socjodynamiczne. Praktyczne podejście do nadawania znaczeń*, Taos Institut.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Bańka, A. (2007). *Psychologiczne doradztwo karier*. Poznań: Print-B, p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> Bańka A. (2006). *Poradnictwo transnarodowe. Cele i metody międzykulturowego doradztwa karier*. Warszawa: MPiPS, Departament rynku pracy, p. 44.

<sup>15</sup> Højer B., Launikari, M., Pukari, S. (2007). Droga do ‘czwartego nurtu’ w poradnictwie – historyczne i aktualne perspektywy rozwoju poradnictwa multikulturowego. In Launikari, M. – Pukari, S. (Eds.), *Poradnictwo i doradztwo multikulturowe. Podstawy teoretyczne i najlepsze praktyki w Europie*. Warszawa: MPiPS, Departament Rynku Pracy, pp. 80–81.

The issues of coexistence or intersection of many cultures are tackled in several counselling contexts. There are three major categories of counselling interventions in this field. Firstly, we could distinguish *multicultural counselling*, in the broad sense of diversity counselling. Here, all counselling relationships are viewed as multicultural in a way because each meeting is in fact a meeting of members of different cultures. The counsellor and the client could be said to form two separate worlds, as each of them brings into the counselling relationship his/her environment, social class, race, values, motivations, sensitivity, empathy, meanings, anxieties, fitness and health status.

Another, narrower sense of multicultural counselling pertains only to the situations in which members of different national or ethnic groups meet. Mutual perceptions of otherness tend to lead to stigmatisation. According to E. Goffmana, the stigma is "an attribute that is deeply discrediting."<sup>16</sup> It may be related to appearance, behaviours, creed, beliefs and outlooks, to name but a few. In the case of minorities, the very membership in another culture becomes the attribute that sets one apart, distinguishing one from the rest of the community and making the other group less socially desirable, so to say, which produces isolation and prompts discrimination. *Cross-cultural counselling*, called also cross-cultural counselling, inter-cultural counselling and trans-cultural counselling, is counselling that "recognizes diversity and embraces approaches that support the worth, dignity, potential and uniqueness of individuals within their historical, cultural, economic, political, and psychosocial contexts."<sup>17</sup> In keeping with this definition, its task is to combat social exclusion and foster a good climate for mutual understanding and beneficial use of cultural diversity.

The third framework for multicultural concerns is *transnational counselling*. It is a specific form of help provision which takes place in a culturally different setting (outside of the homeland) but involves the client and the counsellor who do not differ in terms of culture. Transnational counselling is informed by "the idea of helping people who leave their countries but intend to return home at some point."<sup>18</sup> Transnational counselling aims to help in problem-solving at various points in life when decisions are made to relocate, work or study abroad

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<sup>16</sup> Goffman, E. (1986). *Sigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Touchstone, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *The ACA Code of Ethics (2014)*. American Counseling Association, p. 20, [www.counseling.org](http://www.counseling.org) (retrieved: 15. 09. 2014).

<sup>18</sup> Bańka A. *Poradnictwo transnarodowe...*, p. 30.

for a period of time.<sup>19</sup> Its point is to make the clients aware of exigencies involved in living in a country which is foreign to them, help them handle these challenges and prevent the identity disintegration in people who, admittedly, willingly decide to leave but are not always able to envisage the ramifications of the act. One of the essential problems many people are forced to face up to is stigmatisation of immigrants. That is why one of the goals set by and for transnational counselling is to combat discrimination.<sup>20</sup> In transnational counselling, a supportive climate is created which facilitates migrant problem-solving, fosters individual growth and helps create career plans in the context of cultural diversity. This kind of counselling, however, does not aim to assimilate immigrants to the living conditions in the host country, to balance their deficits or to target those who intend to make the host country their permanent home and integrate with its culture.<sup>21</sup>

### Competences for diversity career counselling

Irrespective of what counselling model is adopted, counsellors need specific competences in order to effectively help people in culturally diversified environments. Besides specialist knowledge, emotional maturity, active listening skills, empathy and congruence (C. Rogers's famous triad), which are considered central to any counselling model, diversity-focused counsellors need also cultural sensitivity to sustain the meeting with a client from a minority group.<sup>22</sup>

Multicultural/diversity competence can be best and succinctly defined as "the counselors' cultural and diversity awareness and knowledge about self and others, and how this awareness and knowledge are applied effectively in practice with clients and client groups."<sup>23</sup> It comprises awareness of one's own value system and limitations consequent upon it (stereotypes, aversions, resistance) and knowledge of minority groups, their language and values, social, political and cultural conditions in which they function and barriers to be encountered in individual biographies.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Collins, S., Arthur, N., Brown, C., Kennedy, B. (2013). Counsellor and Supervisor Views of Multicultural and Social Justice Education. *Journal of Counsellogy*, no. 2, pp. 279–295.

<sup>23</sup> *Code of Ethics*. American Counseling Association, p. 20, [www.counseling.org](http://www.counseling.org) (retrieved: 15. 09. 2014).

<sup>24</sup> Paszkowska-Rogacz, A. (1989). *Kompetencje międzykulturowe w doradztwie*. Aneks A, p. 107–110.

A key skill is also grasping the broader social processes and factors involved in them as well as learning about strategies for combating discrimination, which often takes place on multiple levels. Intersectionality (study of intersections) usefully illuminates how various socially produced categories overlap and reinforce each other, which helps refine analyses of coexistence of culturally diverse groups.<sup>25</sup> To understand, with tolerable precision, the situation a person is in, we must consider many overlapping, intersecting factors. An insight into links between social class, nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, disability, etc. reveals the interpenetration and mutual buttressing of various manifestations of discrimination.<sup>26</sup>

To adequately comprehend a client in counselling, we must analyse his/her situation from multiple perspectives, attending to ethnic and cultural difference (not only religious practices, but also customs as well as verbal and non-verbal behaviour patterns), sex and gender difference, age difference and concomitant specific educational and developmental needs, class and socio-economic position, health status and disability, sexual orientation, education and competence level.<sup>27</sup>

E. Torrey in his superb book *Witchdoctors and Psychiatrists* comprehensively compared Western therapists with therapists from other cultures of the world. His cultural-anthropological analysis led him to conclude that there are four major factors which, irrespective of differences among communities, affect the course of help provision and determine its efficacy. They are: a common worldview that the psychotherapist and the patient share (owing to which problems can be defined in the same terms), the psychotherapist's personal qualities, the patient's expectations for therapy and the therapeutic techniques applied.<sup>28</sup> That is why helping strategies in diversity career counselling require the command of foreign languages and that not only for effective communication, but primarily for understanding the meanings invested in experiences, causes of the unfolding events and their outcomes. Respect for otherness requires also finding out about diverse helping theories and diagnostic tools

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<sup>25</sup> For intersectionality, see Crenshaw, K. (1989). *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Legal Forum, p. 139.

<sup>26</sup> *Doradztwo zawodowe dla osób zagrożonych wykluczeniem społecznym*. Handbook at [http://www.link-project.eu/content\\_files/pages/files/LINK\\_Handbook\\_PL.pdf](http://www.link-project.eu/content_files/pages/files/LINK_Handbook_PL.pdf), p. 76.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Torrey, E. F. (1981). *Czarownicy i psychiatrzy*, Warszawa: PiW.

they underpin as well as skilful adaptation to particular client groups.<sup>29</sup>

Another competence relevant to diversity counselling is readiness to engage in active advocacy for effecting changes in social scales. This takes a determination to interrogate and transform institutional practices which mount barriers to various groups – working toward this aim in one's own organisation as well as sensitising employers, policy-makers and politicians to these barriers.<sup>30</sup>

In conclusion, we could say that the counsellor in multicultural counselling is a person who is responsible for promoting the idea of equal opportunity and creating an axiological space which fosters coexistence, dialogue and understanding amidst cultural diversity.

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<sup>29</sup> Cf: Paszkowska-Rogacz, A. (2006). Praktyczne umiejętności międzykulturowe. In Paszkowska-Rogacz, A., Olczak, E., Kownacka, E., Cieślukowska, D. (Eds.): *Doradztwo zawodowe a wyzwania międzykulturowe*, Warszawa: KOWEZ, pp. 100–104.

<sup>30</sup> *Doradztwo zawodowe dla osób zagrożonych wykluczeniem społecznym...*, *op. cit.*, p. 80.



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