WB1 Research on EDC in Poland
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Introduction
Four explanatory comments are necessary:
(1) historical;

The following account concerns only the post-WWII period. The “pre-history” of adult education in Poland, as well as the progressive traditions of educational provisions for adults will not be discussed here. The same applies to pre-WWII traditions of academic research within adult education; even those that were relevant for EDC;

(2) linguistic;

In any Slavic language there are two words which are usually translated into English as ‘education.’ However, there is a significant difference between them. One is *wychowanie* (German equivalent: Erziehung, Swedish equivalent: uppfostran), *i.e.* building up a value system, attitudes, motivation, in short: influencing personality development. The other word is *ksztalcenie* (Swedish equivalent: utbildning), which can be understood as teaching. The notion of *wychowanie* is much broader than child rearing; there was for instance an academic textbook entitled *Wychowanie doroslych* (Adults’ upbringing).

'Civic education' was a compulsory school subject (one or two classes per week, both in primary and secondary schools). Usually they were called *wychowanie obywatelskie* (literally: civic upbringing) sometimes *wiedza o spoleczenstwie* (knowledge on society). Even during the communist regime, the whole concept of civic education had been blemished and stigmatised. However, in May 2006, a newly appointed Minister of Education announced his plan to introduce an obligatory school subject entitled *wychowanie patriotyczne* (patriotic upbringing).

In the following text, an English word, *educational* (adjective form), will be written in inverted commas when denoting the Polish word *wychowawczy* (upbringing-wise);

(3) political;

In the years 1945–1989, literally everything was political; every sphere of life had – according to the State – *funkcje wychowawcze* ("educational" functions): work places and allotments, theatres and army, trade unions and hobby clubs, party and sport clubs; and every individual school subject, every individual class had an “educational function” to play.

Adult education and its role can be differently perceived – as an instrument of reproduction of the given social system or as an agent of modernisation.

In the system of real socialism adult education was understood as a network of state-run educational institutions which performed tasks under the state license with an aim to satisfying the state's macro needs and interests. The participants of adult education were treated as raw material, which because of the mentioned needs, had to be processed by means of informational shaping (Bron Jr & Malewski 1995:11).

Vocational training was coupled with "society oriented activism." Any events organized by authorities required compulsory attendance. Participation in May 1 and July 22 demonstrations (communist Poland’s ‘National Day’) was obligatory not only for pupils.
marching together classroom by classroom, school by school, but also for adults, marching workplace by workplace. Attendance was checked – both among children and adults. This is an example how "imposed consensus" was practiced;
(4) academic;

Pedagogy in Poland belongs to the humanities, thus it is rooted in philosophy, unlike in many Western European countries, where it belongs to the social sciences and was closely associated with psychology. This origin explains why adult educationalists seek to answer how pedagogy should be, how to teach and shape adults, rather than determine adults’ reality or how they learn. Adult education, especially in its post-WWII form, was markedly a normative discipline, thus was not usually entrusted as a possible agent of change. This also explains why normative and conceptual texts dominate among Polish publications on adult education.

**Points of departure**

**Selection of research studies for WB 1**

- research on EDC through adult education is practically a non-existing phenomenon in Poland
- the few existing empirical research studies carried out by adult educationists, focussing on civil society issues, will be presented in this report¹
- EDC-related issues could be *extracted* from some research undertaken by scholars from other academic disciplines

**Exception from agreed sample(s)**

- some studies from the 1990's focussing on civic attitudes among school leavers and university students will be presented in this report with the hope that those attitudes can be *projected* on younger adults of the mid-2000's.
- rationale for including research on university students: they belong to a generation whose personal firsthand experience is unaffected by real socialism, the command economy, central planning, policies of the welfare state, and other socio-political phenomena of the previous era… Their coming of age coincided with the initial years of transformation characterized by specific social and cultural processes… (Solarczyk-Ambrozik, Ewa 2003:73).
- selection of research is based mainly on studies' relevance to EDC through adult education. Thus, even publications exceeding agreed upon time-scopes have been considered in the Polish country report.

**State of (a democratic citizen’s) mind**

For an adult educator it is natural to focus on adult educational needs and to expect that they will obtain much deserved attention. After all, with all the political, social and economic changes that Polish society has undergone, it is "the adult citizens who must go through the learning process" (Janowski 1999:473). However, this "must" is not necessarily obvious to many. While in old E-U member-states the 'revival of a citizen' is being debated, Polish (adult) educationists worry about a 'citizenry deficit' or scarcity of civic competencies' (Przyszczypkowski 1999, Rutkowiak 2000).

¹ Research on various aspects of civil society is the closest to EDC that "I could get."
Several authors point to the fact that in order to understand the current situation and why adults act as they do, one needs to remember conditions under which those people where brought up, educated and socialized. Kurantowicz (1995) refers to Hankiss’ (1986)2 studies on how social groups occur and function. According to Hankiss, people who live under authoritarian regimes lose their incentive and potential to "form communities (groups) which would merge by means of horizontal bonds" (Kurantowicz 1995:133). All social groups, clubs, associations which were sanctioned by the government had to be organized vertically, with local chapters subordinated to regional ones, which in turn, were run and controlled by headquarters. Membership in some of them was even made compulsory. As a result, people veiled their beliefs through social mimicry or apathy. The concept of the so-called 'internal emigration' was coined. Families and their closest peer groups were the only fora kept away from society, organized along vertical, hierarchical bonds and dependencies. A phenomenon called 'family-centrism' or 'familial egoism' (see below in: Skapska, 1997) became a refuge for many Polish citizens.

How adult educational practitioners are dealing with this problem will be discussed in WB 3 – country report on practices. Here, in WB 1 – country report on research – the little that has been undertaken by researchers will be presented.

**EDC tradition and the current state of affairs**

Through 1945–1989 there had always been a school subject taught which, in English, could be called civic education. In Polish, the name shifted from time to time, though its over-ideologized content remained unchallenged. In the last decade of communist ruling, primary schools were given classes in wychowanie obywatelskie (civic upbringing), while in secondary schools, the course was entitled wiedza o spoleczenstwie (knowledge of society). The content taught was decided upon centrally and had to be followed by all the schools and only one textbook for each subject was to be used.

These subjects received no respect and were considered to be unnecessary and unimportant for further educational advancement … no sound knowledge of social life could in fact be gleaned from these lessons. Their sole aim was to stimulate approval of the ‘leading power’, namely the communist party. For both teachers and students, ‘knowledge of society’ had become a set of ritualised catchwords (Janowski 1999:466)3.

'Civic education' carried out in the "socialist school" aimed at securing an acceptance of the ruling political system rather than aimed at providing students with adequate knowledge on the variety of existing political systems.

The school system’s total submission to ideological demands and the propagandistic curricula that flowed from them has had a long-lasting impact on how people see and regard the educational system today. Understanding adult education’s societal role might be facilitated by recognizing that in the years 1949–1989, adult education in Poland was an important agent of political socialisation within a political culture that differed significantly from political cultures found in democratic countries.

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2 Hankiss, Elemér 1986: *Pulapki społeczne* [Social Traps], Warszawa

3 The author was a Deputy Minister of Education in the first non-communist Polish government through the period from autumn 1989 to January 1992.
In his article, Janowski also discusses the socio-psychological impact of the past. He stresses several ‘educational gaps’ haunting post-war generations of Polish citizens. One ‘gap’ was:

an obvious shortage of knowledge on the functioning of democratic society… This knowledge gap covered such concerns as how elections should be organized, how legislative, executive and judicial institutions should function, what citizen participation in regional government involves, what forms democracy takes in different countries… There was no opportunity for young people to acquire this knowledge in the process of spontaneous socialization (Janowski 1999:467).

In the last ten years, social scientists turned their attention to the concept and phenomenon of ‘trust’ – as an important, sometimes decisive, agent influencing the social fibre. However, in societies governed for years by communist regimes the dominating phenomenon was the opposite, namely distrust and a diluted sense of citizen’s responsibility.

During the four decades of the Marxist regime in Poland, citizens were discouraged from undertaking or even showing any initiative, especially in their social and political lives. In particular, the school system was under constant surveillance of State authorities. Teachers within all spheres and at all levels of the education system were actively discouraged from taking individual initiatives. Many citizens found it safer to stick to their own business and stay away from other issues.

Features and characteristic for Polish society were, i.a.:

• unwillingness (effectively inculcated by the regime) to self-organize in the name of shared group interests, accompanied by lack of organizational skills;
• a suspicious approach to ‘grand’ words, frequently used and abused in propaganda;
• a belief that if someone is encouraging people to do something, he or she must have some cryptic motive and that it would be naïve to give credence to their actions (Janowski 1999:468).

Thus, the purpose of ‘civic education’ as thought in Polish schools was about knowledge that had to be remembered rather than skills that should be obtained and values internalised.

If we exclude provisions and documents related to primary and secondary schools, there are no other attempts to organize civic education courses for adults.

As far as a scope and spectrum of educational provisions for adults, the dominating interest among the population and providers is on various courses raising employability and mobility on the labour market. The second most popular content of these provisions are various organizational forms of spending free time (Universities of the 3rd Age being one of the most popular providers).


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Even today, almost twenty years after the collapse of the communist regime, for many Poles those ‘grand’ words (e.g. solidarity, common good, help) bear its stigma.
The above-mentioned document, *Strategy of Support of Civil Society Development for Years 2007–2013*, identifies four basic functions. While three of those functions centred on economic issues, the first of its objectives was an educational one; affecting citizens’ consciousness and attitudes.

As far as adult EDC is concerned, there is no legal document written. Officially, the Ministry of Education is responsible for adult educational provisions as well as the implementation of lifelong learning solutions. In practice however, the Ministry plays quite an insignificant role in the field of EDC:

7.3. Specific Legislative Framework

The following legal regulations define main tasks of continuing education: The School Education Act of September 7, 1991, with subsequent amendments, together with executive regulations, defines that continuing education can be provided on daily, extra-mural, and distance-learning basis. These tasks are carried out by centres for continuing education, practical training centres, and other institutions for in-service training. Institutions providing continuing education in out-of school forms can be run by e.g. associations, foundations and religious organisations. Folk universities are also considered to be providers of out-of-school type of continuing education.5

As seen, there is no mention of issues related to EDC.

Research tradition

It is rather impossible to speak of a Polish ‘academic research tradition’ within adult EDC.6 Five remarks are necessary in order to understand Polish circumstances:

- many published research studies were not of high academic quality; often their main objective was to corroborate (to give scientific legitimating for) the Communist Party’s standpoints of the day;
- empirical studies on adult education were usually undertaken for the purposes of M.A. or Ph.D. dissertations. However, a very negligible number of them ever appeared in print;
- EDC, wychowanie obywatelskie, was a unique phenomenon, as this kind of educational work was obviously extremely ideologically-tainted. While it was often possible to freely choose research methods, such a freedom was not given in a choice of theory. There was only one theory that was to be implemented, namely Marxism (from time to time followed by a hyphen and a noun; ‘Leninism’). Thus, many scientists chose less ideologically contaminated topics for their investigation;7
- the exception were articles published in the only scholarly monthly journal *Oświata Dorosłych* (Adult Education). Browsing through volumes from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, one can find several texts, sometimes based on empirical studies, investigating the “educational functions of …” (*funkcje wychowawcze …*). The “…” being Danish folk high schools, or factory workshops, or allotments;

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6 Research undertaken in the late 19th century and up to WWII has not been considered here.
7 This may, to some extent, explain why ‘didactics’ dominated educational research in Poland for decades.
yet another reason for lack of serious studies on adult EDC might be the result of a traditionally school-like understanding of education. It is school that teaches civics and adult citizens have passed this schooling phase of their lives.

The three main Polish centres of academic research in adult education and adult learning are as follows:

**Dolnoslaska Szkola Wyzsza Edukacji** (University of Lower Silesia), Wroclaw
(http://www.english.dswe.pl)
- a long-term commitment to research on EDC (Ewa Kurantowicz),
- a couple of research projects (one of them concerning alternative social movements and attitudes, values, personality development processes of activists),
- a seminar series for post-graduate students on *Democracy and Education* [wychowanie]. The University is active in several international (EU and other) research projects as well as other activities.

**Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza** (Adam Mickiewicz University), Poznan
(www.uam.edu.pl)
- two professors of adult education are working on EDC issues, though with very different approaches:
  (a) carrying empirical (Kazimierz Przyszczypkowski – KP) *versus* conceptual (Ewa Solarczyk-Ambrozik – ESA) research
  (b) oriented on individual citizens (KP) *versus* collectives (ESA),
  (c) focusing on citizen competence (KP) *versus* employment skills (ESA).

Within the Faculty of Educational Studies there are such departments as that of Lifelong Teaching (ESA), Adult Education, Educational Policy and Civic Education (KP), Sociology of Education as well as Laboratory of Environmental Education.

**Uniwersytet Warszawski** (Warsaw University), Warsaw: www.uw.edu.pl; www.pedagog.uw.edu.pl
- two researchers at the Social Pedagogy Unit work on issues concerning EDC:
  (a) a professor of Social Pedagogy and historian of Education (Wieslaw Theiss) is studying a phenomenon called (in German) *heimat*,
  (b) an assistant professor (Agneszka Ciesiolkiewicz) comprehensively studies NGOs as a forum for education and training.

The Department of Andragogy and Lifelong Education that exists within the same Faculty, does not deal with issues of EDC.

**State of the art of adult education research in Poland 2000–2006**

Solid evidence corroborating the above assessments consist of contents of recently published anthologies and programmes of nation-wide research conferences organized in recent years.

Ten years after the collapse of the authoritarian Marxist regime and a turn to representative democracy and market economy, Polish adult educators gathered to discuss the state of their discipline. This meeting resulted in a publication entitled "Adult Education. Theory and practice in time of changes" (*Edukacja doroslych. Teoria i praktyka w okresie przemian*, 2000), edited by Jan Saran, an adult educator from Lublin University. Oddly, Wroclaw and Poznan, known as the two strongest academic centres in adult education, did not contribute significantly. Among 44 texts only three could, at best, be qualified as dealing with EDC issues. One, authored by Stanislaw Kaczor, was entitled "The functions of voluntary organizations in adult education". This was not about NGOs working in the realm of adult
education, but about the role such organizations could play in educational work with adults. The second text concentrated on educational work carried out by various women's organizations. Its authors were merely interested in "economic courses" conducted by these associations. The only text which dealt with EDC remains irrelevant, as it was a simple description of... politische Bildung in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In 2002, the Department of Adult Education of Opole University presented its academic output in book form: "Problems of Adult Education and Culture in the Opole Region" (Problem y edukacji i kultury doros ł ych na opolszczyznie, 2002). Eight articles dealt with topics such as adult learners, education and the elderly, amateur theatre, and university students and their parents. A certain (German) significant minority lives in the Opole region. Despite this fact, social scientists/adult educationists from Opole University have not conducted research on this phenomenon. Instead, the focus has been on research interests as stated above.

Also, researchers at the Department of Social Pedagogy and Andragogy of Jagiellonian University, Krakow, have produced a book, presenting their studies and other scholarly outputs. It is entitled "Educational Milieus and Adult Education in Time of Changes" (Srodowiska wychowawcze i edukacja dorosłych w dobie przemian, 2003) and consists of 16 contributions. Those "educational milieus" were family, theatre, and Catholic youth organization. Several chapters focused on vocational training, unemployment, drug abuse and attractiveness of a married life. The only text which dealt with EDC issues was entitled "Education for Democracy From a Social Pedagogy Perspective" (Wychowanie do demokracji w swietle zalozen pedagogiki spolecznej), however, it only concentrated on children and youth and was more elusive than concrete.

"The State and Perspectives of the Development of Reflections on Adult Education" (Stan i perspektywy rozwoju refleksji nad edukacja dorosłych) is the title of a conference held in Krakow, April 24-25, 2006. It attracted 73 papers presented by a broad spectrum of Polish adult education researchers – from the “dons” of this discipline (professors, retired since several years back) to post-graduate students. Among submitted papers only one (sic!) dealt with EDC issues. It was entitled "On the need for reflection and action in the field of adult civic upbringing " (O potrzebie refleksji i dzialan na polu wychowania obywatelskiego dorosłych) and was authored by Stanislaw Kaczor. This sole contribution was neither empirical nor really conceptual.

The above account corroborates the claim that there is an almost non-existent interest in EDC issues among Polish adult educators.

Selected research studies

In the WB 1 country report (Poland) two types of publications will be examined; the first type is called 'empirical studies', and the second, 'conceptual-analytical.' In Polish adult educational publications, yet another type dominates, namely 'conceptual-normative.' A sample of this kind of publication is presented in an Appendix to the WB 1 country report.

In 1994, Mieczyslaw Malewski, adult educationist from Wroclaw University, undertook a research project on how adults perceive the ongoing political and economic changes, as well

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8 For some remarks on this article see section Conclusions and comments below.
* Note: publications discussed in this section are presented in chronological order.
as their expectations. He was interested in learning what adults knew about democracy and the democratic state; what their visions were of a 'good state' and what role adult education should play. The very EDC relevant question posed by the author was concerning: the role played by the school and the teacher in the process of forming attitudes typical of true citizenship (Malewski 1995:86).

A notion 'vision' suggests emotions, intuition and one's convictions. Thus, it was defined by the author as:

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\text{[the] cognitive emotional projects of man or a group of people that express the relationship … between those subjects [which are] important for their spheres of reality… [placing] emphasis on the fact that visions are alternatives opposed to the current state of affairs (Malewski 1995:78).}
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The study was carried out in a typical adult educational institution called Centre of Continuing Education. It was one of several similar centres in the city of Wroclaw (South-West Poland). The research sample consisted of 180 adult students attending three evening or extramural classes of a secondary general school and three similar classes of a secondary technical school. Twenty teachers were also included in the study.

To obtain necessary information and data, several methods were applied:

- personal questionnaire,
- test of ideological orientation – to determine ideological preferences of adult students and, to some extent, see how they understand ideological concepts (liberalism, socialism, conservatism) in three dimensions: political, economic and social (data from the test were analysed quantitatively),
- planned and registered group discussions – to determine students' vision of a 'good state'10
- interviews with teachers – to learn how they perceive their role as teachers in civic adult education.

At the time of the research project, civic education was actually taught at adult schools. Students attending evening classes were assigned 20 hours to this subject, while students registered in extramural classes were assigned to only 10 hours. Curriculum consisted of a very general survey of types of political systems in the modern world and to the study of key chapters of the Polish Constitution. Oddly,

Interviews carried out with 20 teachers revealed the fact that the problem of civic education is most often brought up between classes [during breaks] than during them (Malewski 1995:87).

During the breaks teachers used to stay with their students, thus, could listen to their discussions, even taking part in them. Most teachers said in interviews that students were often ignorant of political events occurring in the country, nevertheless expressed regularly prejudiced opinions on political issues. Nonetheless, as much as 80 per cent of teachers "take no attitude towards them nor do they try to correct them" (Malewski 1995:88). They justified their standpoint, giving the following five reasons:

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9 To my knowledge this was the very first empirical study in Poland after the collapse of communist regime that took up issues of EDC from the adult education perspective. This research project was carried out to then be presented at the ESREA Network on Active Democratic Citizenship and Adult Learning seminar held in Wroclaw in September 1994.

10 "… the method of group discussion, apart from its cognitive purposes, appeared to be a peculiar form of civic education" (Malewski 1995:80).
the role of an adult educator is to be an expert, *whose task is to convey the maximum of knowledge in relation to a given [school] subject and then to make students internalise this knowledge*,

there is a burden of the communist past during which all schools served ideological and propaganda purposes, thus teachers should *assume non-political attitudes*,

Adults’ viewpoints should be respected: *They are adult and they have the same right to hold their own views as anyone else*,

the respect for pluralism: *We are inclined towards pluralism and that is why my students should exercise the right to various political views. I came to terms with this reality and I have no intention of fighting against it*,

the need to follow a curriculum\(^{11}\) (Malewski 1995:88f).

The author's conclusion is that:

civic education is virtually absent from schools for adults. It is present in the curriculum as a symbol, so to say… schools as such show little interest in those matters and teachers try to keep themselves detached from them (Malewski 1995:89).

Ewa Kurantowicz, an adult educationist from Wroclaw, conducted several investigations in the 1990s where the common denominator was education in the public sphere. The term 'public sphere' was understood as an:

area of social qualities and behaviour which is defined by civic 'social forces'… the idea of the public sphere is strictly connected with democracy because only such a social system affords possibilities for a real, as opposed to apparent, public sphere (Kurantowicz 1995:131).

According to the author, the public sphere is "an immanent feature of a democratic system" because:

- citizens are granted an opportunity to express their individual and group interests which, in turn, can "transform them into broader social matters";
- it is a forum in which social integration takes place;
- without it, local governments and state agencies would not be accountable (Kurantowicz 1995:131).

With this understanding, 'public sphere' is almost equivocated to the notion of civil society. And it is, undoubtedly, an arena of learning. Through being active in the public sphere (e.g. by working in a non-governmental organization) one acquires knowledge, skills and sensitivity to work with others as well as for others. The ultimate goal would be to develop and accept "the triad I-YOU-WE" (Kurantowicz 1995:132).\(^{12}\)

In 1990 and 1993/94 Kurantowicz studied the emergence and the strengthening of the so-called third sector in Poland. The author interviewed leaders and observed then a lack of willingness, and possibly a lack in ability for them to seek partners among NGOs with similar agendas. This inability to co-operate was deemed to have originated in previous NGOs

\(^{11}\) While the number of hours allocated for the subject of 'civic education' in adult schools is only a fraction of those used in ordinary schools, the actual examination requirements are almost identical. Thus, teachers are keen to 'economize' their time with adult students and do not wish to be "distracted".

\(^{12}\) In her later study, see below, Kurantowicz went a step further to study an extension towards US-OTHERS relationships.
activists’ educational experiences. The school they attended "has always been the place where knowledge is transmitted but not sought together" (Kurantowicz 1995:134).

65 "mutual-aid groups," active in the city of Wroclaw were selected for the 1993/94 research. Four sub-groups were identified, namely: (a) focusing on addiction problems (alcohol, drugs), (b) dealing with problems linked to incurable mental and physical diseases, (c) working with value-oriented issues (suicide threat, children's rights, conscientious objectives), and (d) seeking to solve local problems (housing, safety, infrastructure). Particularly from the two latter groups, activists were found to engage more in learning activities. They organised several internal courses for their own members. They raised awareness, learned the structure and forms of how a local government is organised and operates, and they acquired "communicative and negotiating skills" (Kurantowicz 1995:137).

In conclusion, the author calls those small but vibrant NGOs "islands of integration" in a sea of a rather passive population. 'Islands' rather than 'nets' of groups or associations that are linked together or co-operate with each other (Kurantowicz 1998:49).

Kurantowicz continued her work within the project "Education in small groups of the public sphere" and focused on NGOs leaders. She wanted to know:

Who are the people engaged in works of the contemporary non-governmental groups and organisations? Who are those who despite the common [image] of a social leader as the one who is fanatic or bent on making a career, still take up for social activity? (Kurantowicz 1998:52).

She interviewed 75 NGO leaders active in several fields, in the city of Wroclaw, e.g. mutual aid, charity, culture, local citizens' initiatives.

General opinion (confirmed by Kurantowicz' university students in an ad hoc survey) was that NGO leaders are usually women, with a secondary education, unemployed, rather single and "oldish." Research carried out in Wroclaw revealed that a "typical" NGO leader is a man, middle aged, with a university degree, gainfully employed, having his own family. Only three interviewed leaders were active in yet another NGO; only two were members of a political party. Thus;

there is a significant border line between a social participation and political participation (Kurantowicz 1998:53).

There were usually two factors that drove these persons to action. One was a fact that there was a problem to be solved; the second was apathy and the indifference of others. Both are summarized in her following statement:

Hardly anyone was interested in these problems, somebody had to take them up, therefore I did it (Kurantowicz 1998:57).

Most of the interviewees stressed that they did not have any example to lean on, from either family traditions, among peer groups, and definitely not from school education. The two exceptions were the experiences of membership at young age in a scout movement (even if of a Soviet rather than Baden Powell's type) or participation in activities run by parishes. Interestingly, at least for a Polish reader, is the fact that those NGO leaders did not identify themselves with any historical personality known to them or derived from literature on Warsaw’s Positivism.

Kurantowicz was also interested in identifying educational experiences which come with being active in, or leading an NGO. Interviews with NGO leaders gave here a clear picture of the benefits of social engagement; beneficial both to their personal and professional lives. Through their social activism, these people developed positive attitudes, and acquired new social skills, in relationship ME-US-OTHERS: tolerance, responsibility, and the understanding of others were the virtues most frequently mentioned:
First of all tolerance, accepting others the way they are, regardless of their appearance or origin...
Thanks to these people I am a more indulgent person, more tolerant. I understand much better why certain people do things the way they do (Kurantowicz 1998:58).

Persistence, consistency, and diplomacy – these were the social skills learned:
I have learnt to stand for my own [convictions]…
I have learnt to talk to people… a sort of negotiating, diplomacy… (Kurantowicz 1998:58).

They also acquired skills necessary to do their job properly and successfully. These skills required learning about law, economics, group dynamics, political system:
I have learnt how to stand up for our rights in various [governmental] institutions… (Kurantowicz 1998:58).

Many of the leaders felt a need for self-learning or to enrol in various courses:
I am working on myself; I am improving my knowledge attending extramural studies… (Kurantowicz 1998:58).

Being socially active turned out to be beneficial even for their professional work. Many leaders mentioned that they used newly acquired social skills at their salaried work.
The author concluded her article as follows:
… the research into non-government[al] groups and organizations proves that educational processes do play an important role in forming the social sphere (Kurantowicz 1998:59).

In 1995, a sociologist Grazyna Skapska, conducted research which eventually was presented in an article intriguingly entitled Learning to be a citizen. Cognitive and ethical aspects of post-communist society transformation (Skapska 1997). The focus of her study was local governments. Research was conducted a few years after a Statute on territorial self-government (1990) was introduced; although in 1995 it was still not fully completed. Local government, as the author assumed, was an institutional laboratory for the formation of civil society and citizenship ‘from below’, as one of those areas, in which democracy is actually ‘crafted’ [di Palma13] (Skapska 1997:146).

The author's point of departure was an assumption, that analysis of value structures, behavioural patterns and social strategies related to the functioning of local government will help us to discover the impediments and potentials for civic practical education (Skapska 1997:151).

To prove her assumption, Skapska conducted her study in two small cities and one district of a big city, namely:
• an old district of Krakow – typical for a big city, but also known for its inhabitants’ (mostly industry workers) participation in the ‘Solidarnosc’ movement.
• two municipalities close to Krakow; inhabitants being local farmers or workers coming from other parts of Poland (Skapska 1997:152). To gather necessary data, in-depth interviews lasting two or three hours were collected. Interviewees were inhabitants, councillors and mayors of local governments. There were 70 respondents.

As the theoretical foundations to her research, Skapska turned to the writings of diverse authors such as, Alexis de Tocqueville and Charles Taylor, as well as Antonio Gramsci and Jürgen Habermas.

Based on her research findings, Skapska could distinguish two strategies that “pose a serious impediment to the functioning of local government, and also an important cultural impediment for civil society formation” (Skapska 1997:153). The first strategy, a direct legacy of the past, she calls familial egoism:

- motivated by the consequences of economic shortage, and characterized by a lack of trust in the official institutions and the law… its characteristic thrift [was] often [an] unashamed fight for the wellbeing of one’s own family… (Skapska 1997:153).

People valued "first and foremost familial bonds which helped to limit the official, party-state intervention and control" (Skapska 1997:154). The most characteristic phenomenon of familial egoism was its:

- lack of any concept of the common, or public, good… [People] would fight in the name of their very narrow and particular interests, also against the decisions democratically undertaken… (Skapska 1997:154).

This strategy did not provide any room, or need, for learning.

The second strategy, also a legacy of the past, was an educational utopia of collective good. Actions organized by authorities:

- required sacrifice, but also had a festive character, which united people and emotionally engaged them… but did not require responsibility for outcomes (Skapska 1997:156).
- Such actions were intended to educate citizens in an ideology of ‘international solidarity with the oppressed,’ and the ideology of subordination of individual wellbeing to collective goals (Skapska 1997:153).

Two quotes from interviews describe well people's state of mind:

- [I] do not know what to do on May 1. Before, one had to take part in a demonstration, together with the whole factory (or office, or school). Now, it is just a free day.
- [Some would like to do something for the community but they] do not know what and how. Before, everything was organized and planned by the authorities (Skapska 1997:156).

Familial egoism not only resided in local officials but also in inhabitants: they were not willing to contribute to the costs of the new streetlights because they “do not go out at night;” they were refusing to share the cost of new telephone cables because they “do not own a phone” (Skapska 1997:155).

During their interviews, many inhabitants expressed their mistrust and even hostility toward local government. The fact that it was chosen by means of a democratic election did not change their minds. The knowledge on local government's authority, influence and its field of responsibility was quite limited among people. Coping with new, democratic governance "requires the development of new skills and new types of knowledge" (Skapska 1997:154).

In reading Skapska's report, one can only concur that "learning to be a citizen" is a long and demanding process.

In 1998, author Kazimierz Przyszczypkowski, an adult educationist from the university in Poznan, discussed citizen's competence and published the first of a series of articles.

According to Przyszczypkowski, civic competence points to:
cognitive and normative readiness to act for the common sake. Such civic competence manifests itself by the ability to articulate “I” and “we” in the perspective of mutual commitments. Moreover, civic competence is perceived as a dynamic category. This dynamism is expressed in “overcoming” one’s fate, crossing the imposed limitations, and participating (including the range and degree of this participation) in the process of transformation of the closer and further environment. Hence, citizenship understood in this way is an active attitude assumed deliberately and not as a result of any pressure or coercion (Przyszczypkowski 2001:117).

With this definition as a point of departure, and a knowledge based on his previous research, Przyszczypkowski assumed that an individual citizen's civic competence would differ according to two factors: his/her age (and consequently, life experience) as well as socio-economic position. Thus, two age groups of people were studied: (a) 639 senior students of comprehensive and vocational secondary schools and (b) 221 of their parents (a total of 859 persons). The study, using a diagnostic survey and an inquiry sheet, was carried out in October and November of 1996. The sites of research were two cities: Poznan (518 persons) and Koszalin (341 persons). These two cities are quite different: while Poznan is populated by people who have lived there for generations, the oldest inhabitants of Koszalin came to the town just after World War II at the earliest (prior to that, it was a German town). Also, the economic situation (an important factor in the research project) of these two sites of research differed: in Poznan there was a 2 per cent rate of unemployment in the mid-1990's while in Koszalin, the rate was as high as 22 per cent (Przyszczypkowski 2001:116).

Przyszczypkowski was interested in two main research questions:

• to what extent and degree does the biographical diversity differentiate civic competence
• does the necessity of choosing the “way of life” (the youth) in comparison with the change or preserving of the up-to-now “way of life” (adults) differentiate the type and nature of civic competence (Przyszczypkowski 2001:117).

In his theoretical considerations Przyszczypkowski refers to, among others, an American professor of education (Stanford University) – John Conrad Almack (1883–1953). In his 1924 book entitled, *Education for Citizenship* 14 he predicted that 'civic competence' would be a veritable challenge for educationist and for politicians.

Several answers obtained corroborated Przyszczypkowski's assumptions. For instance, while 56,8 per cent of all respondents "accepted the democratic system," as many as 35,9 per cent "did not have any established opinion on the system" (Przyszczypkowski 2001:118). The level of education of respondents played a significant role here.

Less important as a differentiating agent was biological age. For instance, when asked about their attitudes toward the enlargement of the European Union, a majority of youth shared similar opinions to adults’. Rather unexpectedly for the author, some "young people express[ed] greater concern than adults for the protection of Polish «exceptionality»" (Przyszczypkowski 2001:123).

The results clearly demonstrate that the level of education and age were the least important with respect to social activism. The very majority of respondents were quite passive, irrespective of age or level of education. 15 Less that a third (27,8 per cent) stated that

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14 In 1937 it was translated into Polish.
15 The author refers to an interesting concept of the so-called 'learned hopelessness'. It is a phenomenon "ascribed to some parts of society and encompassing cognitive, emotional and motivational deficiencies… [but also] resistance to the state" (Przyszczypkowski 2003:113f).
they were active in various associations (sport clubs – 10.5 per cent), organizations (trade unions – 4.9 per cent, denominational groups – 4.0 per cent) or political party (only 2.2 per cent of respondents).

The most important finding was the one showing a clear correlation between the level of educational and the degree of acceptance of democratic values. 72.9 per cent of adults with a university education in Poznan and 84.0 per cent of those in Koszalin gave their full support to the democratic system. The lowest number of those in favour of democratic systems were found among people with vocational education: 47.6 per cent in Poznan and as little as 25.0 per cent in Koszalin (Przyszczypkowski 2001:119). The author concluded that:

the way the democratic system is perceived has its educational conditions and consequence. There emerges a need for education of a significant part of society… for the sake of democracy (Przyszczypkowski 2001:120).

Even social status plays an important role in this respect. People with vocational education represent a large proportion of the population as a whole. A relatively low level of education combined with a low level of social status constitute a real challenge for any EDC initiatives.

A belief in a strong correlation between the level of education and civic competence was also a point of departure for another adult educator from Poznan, namely Ewa Solarczyk-Ambrozik (2003). She assumed that "a higher level of education makes it easier actively to participate [facilitates an active participation? – MBJr] in political life and increases the sense of a citizen’s responsibility" (Solorczyk-Ambrozik 2003:72).

This assumption was based on the following assertion:

better education brings concrete benefits – it helps create equal opportunity for persons of different social strata and material standing, allows people to make ‘better use’ of their potentials and take active control of their lives… A higher level of education translates into stronger adaptation skills… (Solarczyk-Ambrozik 2003:72).

To prove her point, Solarczyk-Ambrozik conducted a diagnostic survey of 162 persons in 2000, in order to examine university students’ (thus: young adults) attitudes towards active citizenship. In her research project she focussed on the following questions:

- are the students, “by virtue of their social position, prepared to play an active role in the civic [sic!] society?”;
- to what extent do their attitudes “reflect the experience of the previous system and to what degree are they a manifestation of new orientations?”;
- “what attitudes toward active citizenship are represented by university students and what psychological and social factors affect them?” (Solorczyk-Ambrozik 2003:73).

The actual article does not give answers to many of her questions. Her research revealed that the majority of students approved society’s transition to democracy:

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* Note: there is a risk that I misread Solarczyk-Ambrozik’s text due to its poor translation into English. For instance: Field literature paints the picture of very limited collective social involvement (Solarczyk-Ambrozik 2003:70), means, I think, the following: research results prove that Poles do not commit themselves to being socially active.

16 There is no information where the survey took place neither who participated in it. Most likely it was only one group of students from only one faculty of only one of Poznan’s higher education institutions, namely University, where the author is a professor of adult education.
The respondents were found to give the highest approval to such democratic institutions as freedom of expression, democratization of social relations and the expansion of the scope of citizen action… A separate category of change… is… ‘individualization’ of social life. They view it as a highly positive departure from collectivism… The free market too is perceived positively (Solarczyk-Ambrozik 2003:75).

The author was also interested in exploring students’ knowledge on the notion ‘active citizenship’:

The respondents presented differing interpretations of the term ‘active citizenship’. … 14.8 per cent of the surveyed were able to define, ‘active citizenship’, 77.8 per cent displayed medium knowledge, 7.4 per cent found it difficult to define, while a considerable 38.9 per cent knew of ways they could become more active as citizens and members of a civic society (Solarczyk-Ambrozik 2003:76).

Real social commitment of respondents was demonstrated as follows:

The key motive for most of the surveyed in undertaking social, political and economic action was to act in the common interest (23.5 per cent), and help others (20 per cent). Furthermore the students were motivated by the need to self-improve (17.93 per cent) or acted without a specific personal interest (8.97 per cent). As can be seen, pro-social orientation of the student is clearly what drives them to active citizenship (Solarczyk-Ambrozik, Ewa 2003:78).

Conclusions drawn by Solarczyk-Ambrozik were most likely based on her project’s total findings, of which only a part was presented in a quoted article (Solarczyk-Ambrozik 2003). Thus, what seems to be only an assumption could indeed be research-based, e.g.:

The social and political activeness of students is largely a function of students’ knowledge of the principles of functioning of the civic society acquired in the course of their (formal and informal) education (Solarczyk-Ambrozik 2003:74).

This might also be the reason why the author concludes that her study "confirmed the significance of adult education in forming citizens attitudes, both in formal and informal education" (Solarczyk-Ambrozik 2003:80), and it seems to be rather substantiated.

The last empirical study scrutinized here is a research report produced in 2005. This is a 240-pages book by an unknown author17, a very detailed report on NGOs working in a region called the Lower Silesia (in the South-East Poland). This is the same region where most of the Polish IRIs were studied.

The survey was carried out in September-October 2005. It is purely quantitative in nature; the data was collected through interviews (standardized questionnaire) with NGO leaders or activists, designated by them. A sample – randomly selected organizations from the regional database on active organizations; 300 NGOs were selected for the survey. Despite richness in details and a great number of tables and diagrams, the report’s actual relevance to the EDC project is very limited. This in fact, corroborates the overall impression that educational activity among adults, which is focused on democratic citizenship, is very poor.

The study was focused mainly on NGO mission statements, forms of activity as well as the scope of work and activities covered by these organisations. NGOs active in the Lower

17 This is the local government’s publication, commissioned by the Office for Co-operation with Non-governmental Organizations.
Silesia region were astonishingly diversified – the survey mentioned 22 categories of different areas in which they operated.

Among the most frequent spheres of work (more than one could be selected) the very majority (59.3 per cent) functioned within “education, teaching, upbringing,” 43 per cent provided “social assistance, self-reliance, charity,” 42 per cent – “health protection, rehabilitation, assisting handicapped,” 36.3 per cent – “art, culture, protection of historical monuments, tradition,” 35.7 per cent – “sport, tourism, leisure” (Raport 2005:31).

29 per cent of interviewees mentioned that their organization co-operated with a foreign NGO or was involved in European integration work; 28.7 per cent were focused on regional or local development, while 24.3 per cent were working in assisting other NGOs, and the same proportion (24 per cent) promoted hobbies. Human rights, protection of minorities’ rights and gender equality were issues on which 21.3 per cent of NGOs focussed, while ecology and protection of natural environment had a 20.3 per cent participation rate (Raport 2005:32).

The survey demonstrated that the majority of NGOs working in the Lower Silesia were involved in spheres where state agencies and institutions already existed. These are educational, social, health, and cultural spheres of public life. It might be suggested, on the one hand, that the State administration’s work is not adequate enough, yet on the other hand, one could also deduce that civil society is strong and resourceful.

The second type of study to be examined in the WB 1 country report (Poland) is called 'conceptual-analytical'.

Civic education for the sake of local community is, according to Przyszczypkowski, two-dimensional: firstly, it should focus on creating a sense of community; secondly, it should focus on training leaders for that community. It is crucial to be aware that to offer a number of vocational courses, though important for many individuals, does not help build local communities or help them flourish: “In education for local community there is a need of developing, apart from new vocational skills, new cultural patterns and systems of values” (Przyszczypkowski 1999:24).

To focus on building a new, modern, social capital is of special importance. The author's concern comes from the observation confirmed by other research indicating that "people migrating from country to town, in their new place, do not express any interest in participation in various forms of social activity" (Przyszczypkowski 1999:24).

Based on his own and other research findings, Przyszczypkowski draws a conclusion that the 1980s’ high level of societal mobilization is no longer sufficient to the successful building of a strong democratic state nor to the well functioning of civil society.

This conclusion helps clarify why so few adult education providers reject even an attempt at EDC initiatives for adult citizens.

The next 'conceptual-analytical' study was aimed at analysing the type and strength of NGOs' influence on people who are engaged in them. The author's assumption was that Polish NGOs play an important role in people's lives. They might help in dealing with a sense of destabilization and the lack of security felt by many. They are a forum in which people get involved and formulate principles and rules of the new social order (Ciesiolkiewicz 2001:52).

In her analysis, she relies on writings from Helena Radlinska, Aleksander Kaminski, Janina Lepalczyk, and Wieslaw Theiss – three generations of Polish scholars in social pedagogy.
Ciesiolkiewicz sees three reasons behind the development of the NGOs in Poland after 1989 – the weakening of the state system of social welfare, a growing autonomy of local governments and the emergent awareness of citizens.

In 1999 there were over 20,000 registered NGOs. They employed about 200,000 paid staff and about 2-3 million volunteers (Ciesiolkiewicz 2001:54). These NGOs had multiple roles:

- political – public interventions, building local democracy,
- socialization – community/social integration, learning social roles, developing a sense of responsibility,
- cognitive – learning to decision-make,
- autotelic – tolerance, common good, solidarity, agency of an individual,
- economic – cheaper services, and more suitable to the needs (Ciesiolkiewicz 2001:56-59).

In order to successfully fulfill these roles, many NGOs’ work consisted of directly educational (learning and training) functions and activities. In 1993, as much as 80 per cent of NGOs confirmed their involvement in conducting educational activities (Ciesiolkiewicz 2001:55).

The author presents a list of groups which voluntary organizations might educate:

(a) NGO's target group and/or recipients of assistance – on their rights, on opportunities to get support, offering a specific knowledge and skills, or creating attitudes of self-reliance;
(b) sponsors – on social problems, on existing support opportunities;
(c) NGO staff and volunteers – on methods of effective work;
(d) general public – on problems existing in a given region, on possible solutions (or lack thereof), on the need of action and cooperation (Ciesiolkiewicz 2001:59).

Summarizing her own studies and reflections (based on first-hand experiences) on educational roles played by NGOs, the author came to the following conclusions:

- a general trend is that the NGO's educational influence is twofold. In some cases it has an intentional effort, a goal-oriented action. It can also produce several forms of learning by virtue of its influence on groups;
- practically every individual NGO is a site of adult teaching and learning. They not only "educate" (see preceding paragraph), they also launch and facilitate learning. Experience, knowledge and skills acquired in working for the organization, change or strengthen competences and attitudes for those involved in NGO work;
- NGOs are also an excellent example of how the lifelong learning concept can be implemented. Expectations and requirements concerning competences of activists and volunteers are steadily growing. Goodwill and commitment are not sufficient in a longer perspective. Thus, NGOs are not only an educational environment, but also an educating one (Ciesiolkiewicz 2001:60-68).

Conclusions & comments

During the last fifteen years, the Polish adults education school system has undergone some positive changes, as for instance, in the areas of decentralisation of management, finance, and

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18 Cf. Kurantowicz' findings discussed above or a growing interest in social movements' educational impact.
curriculum control. With unified curricula, methods and forms, the previous system was found obsolete, as it could not address new needs. Institutions which have survived the first years of political and economic changes, and are part of the State’s school system, are now adjusting their education offer to new economic and social conditions. Old and newly established institutions are seeking ways to democratise decision-making within their structures. Apparently many of them are flexible and provide a wide spectrum of courses. Curricula and alternative examinations in more vocation-oriented programmes seem to give an increased opportunity for individual choices. Now more independent, adult education institutions are in a position to tailor their curricula. They work in co-operation with representatives from the labour market, employment agencies and various non-governmental organisations, all of which commission various courses.

Courses offered by various institutions and associations are organized in such a way that they can generate quick and substantial income for organisers. Typically, they are expensive courses in computer literacy and software applications, foreign languages (mostly English), bank telling, accountancy, marketing and advertising. Other courses cater to ex-servicemen or to unemployed adults.

One could believe that similar positive changes also affect liberal adult education (including initiatives which raise political culture for adult citizens). There is, for instance, a chance that teaching values of democracy will no longer be done using authoritarian methods of instruction, based on what has been presented in the overview of research findings. However, an analysis of interesting and relevant initiatives (see WB 3) gives reason for a more optimistic conclusion.

Very few could disagree with the assertion that civic education is especially needed in societies that have recently freed themselves from authoritarian regimes. Education, which would aim at raising citizens' understanding of constitutional democracy, i.e. rule of law, limited government, individual rights, political participation, social activism. The main task of which would be to inculcate in adults that it is necessary to combine liberty with order, majority rule with minority rights, private rights with the public good.

The question however, is how to overcome the communist legacy - that is, how to successfully combat indifference and distrust of citizens? The memory of the infamous 'political education' (wychowanie obywatelskie) is so strong that it still impedes many adults from attending any kind of non-vocational education. It also discourages many associations and institutions from including 'civics' in their educational offer. However, within the so-called third sector (and social economy) there is a number of NGOs that have been involved in training their own staff and volunteers.

According to the few accessible studies presented in this report, the majority of adult Poles declare their attachment to democratic and liberal values. However, the “need for a democratic society is recognize rather than understood” (Malewski 1995:89). Thus, adult citizens do not participate actively (through membership in political parties) or passively (through giving their votes in parliamentary elections) in the shaping of a democratic political system or in decision-making procedures.

People not only need to be given new options, but also new knowledge, social skills and reasons to become active. People who are interested in being active citizens should be able to learn new social skills in adult educational institutions. For the moment few of those institutions are capable of meeting new demands and new challenges. The most crucial being, enhancing citizen's agency: “civic (in)competence has its educational conditions. The higher the education … the higher the level of civic competence” (Przyszczypkowski 2001:128f).
As far as the research is concerned, general statements rather than actual research prevail in Polish academic publications. One can distinguish several reasons for that. As it was previously mentioned, education for democratic citizenship targeting adults is virtually non-existent in Poland. Thus, there is not much to be investigated. No purposeful, intentional courses in civics for adults are given – there are no interested providers or an interested public.

Practically the only sphere in which this kind of educational activity can be undertaken is the so-called third sector: non-governmental organisations, other social movements of varied size and scope, or in the educational work of churches. However, educational potential and significance of social movements is not obvious either for their leaders or for the general public. Some examples of disinterest or the rejection of individual NGO’s educational role expressed by their leaders will be presented and discussed in the Work Block 3 – country report Poland.

A well-organized third sector is a rather new development in Poland. Much time during the last 15 years was spent on building up its structure, networks, co-operation with other partners (state authorities, other NGOs), legislative and financial infrastructure. Not the least, campaigning for and explaining its importance for the society at large. After this long, initial phase, one can expect that NGO leaders will now work to raise their “value as a factor of educating people for action and through action” (Ciesiolkiewicz 2001:56).

Ten years ago a Wroclaw scholar Mieczyslaw Malewski observed, that:

> The need for civic education is a real need of the society which undergoes the transformation of the political system. Education, at least adult education, has not yet been able to grapple with this task (Malewski 1995:89).

Some researchers still wonder whether adult education can contribute to raising citizens' willingness to actively participate in the social and political life of the society. Can it play any role in changing people's minds? Studies undertaken in last fifteen years in Poland do not give answers to these questions.

Surveys conducted in Poland, as well as among citizens from Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and the Balkans, provide no reason for optimism. Many citizens in these countries perceive civic activism and engagement as being a private matter. It will take some more time before any commitment to the public good will be viewed as a norm in a civilized society.

Several authors stress that free, intuitive rich citizens are a precondition for a well functioning civil society. In relation to this, there are two ways to secure their existence, and required number. First, a system of civic education designed for all categories and age cohorts of the population; second, by ensuring the appropriate grounds (legal, financial, practical) for associative activities of the citizenry. Oddly enough, while the latter means has spread across the whole region, i.e. of Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the former is clearly absent. From the perspective of building and maintaining civil society, adult education in post-communist countries is offering irrelevant courses and contents.
Finally – four personal comments

(1) Theories applied and methods used
None of the publications presented in this country report are doctoral dissertation. Thus, none adhere to a standard format – they do not explicitly describe their theoretical approaches or their methodological choices. It is also very seldom that even basic information is provided, such as a description of the methods applied, samples selected or research tools used. Thus, not all requirements of Guidelines for WB 1 Analysis could be fulfilled.

This deficiency had particularly been sensed when analyzing the relevance for EDC studies published by Skapska and Przyszczypkowski.

(2) Titles of studies and their contents
Although it is not only a Polish phenomenon, many articles published in Poland bear relevant EDC-relevant titles, though their content is not always directly related to the topic. For instance, one of the interesting studies discussed above is entitled "Learning to be a citizen" (Skapska 1997). This is a very good title; there were, though, no teachings, no courses, no education involved in the research project. However, the studied phenomenon was quite correctly seen as an arena for learning!

Two studies on seemingly similar topics provide a good example on how misleading titles of apparently scholarly texts can be. Mentioned earlier, an article by S. Kaczor (2000), a professor of adult education, was published in one of the only two Polish adult education journals, entitled, “The functions of voluntary organizations in adult education”. It turned out to be a non-academic, very personal plea for raising awareness of “educational” (wychowawczy) potential on NGOs. It was, however, not clear whom this appeal was targeting. The second article by A. Ciesiolkiewicz (2001), was written by (then) a post-graduate student. It was published in a book (of rather limited circulation) devoted to local communities’ development. It was entitled, “Social organizations as an educational community.” Unlike a similarly entitled article by Kaczor, this one was one of the best analytical studies on educational capabilities and significance on various non-governmental organizations.

Yet another example of a promising title and irrelevant content is an article by Jozef Polturzycki (2000) entitled, "Directions and trends in transformations of present-day adult education" (Kierunki i tendencje przemian współczesnej edukacji dorosłych). It turns out that his text combined an overview of five world conferences on adult education (from Elsinore [Helsinør], Denmark, 1949 to Hamburg, Germany, 1997) and a lengthy, quite plain summary (item after item) of the so-called Hamburg Declaration. The author did not even attempt to see the relevance and relationship between the current state of adult education in Poland vis-à-vis the "transformations of present-day" in adult education.

(3) Adult education as an agent of change
All presented researchers believe in education as a means to bring about desirable changes. Explicitly or implicitly they expressed their trust in civic education if carried out in a democratic country, democratic school with democratically run educational provisions for adults. Such conditions are guaranteed in the so-called old E-U member-states. However, low levels of citizens; social and political activity in these countries, coupled with the constant search for 'active citizenship' in 'old democracies' proves that Polish researchers' trust in EDC's potential is too idealistic.
(4) A bright future?
A thorough appraisal of adult education research publications leads to the conclusion that EDC as a topic of research did not win interest within the Polish scholarly community. Only three adult educationists – Ewa Kurantowicz, Kazimierz Przyszczypkowski, Ewa Solarczyk-Ambrozik – conducted empirical research and published their results. One can only expect that the next generation of Polish adult educationists, free from prejudice towards wychowanie obywatelskie (civic education; education for democratic citizenship) will eventually undertake research on EDC through adult education.

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