EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES IN THE CULTURAL SPACE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Introduction

The challenges European Union faces today are numerous, interrelated, and complex. All member states feel the social consequences of the global financial and economic crisis. Also, the realization of the European Union aims within education is not optimistic.

One of the successes on the EU education level is the increased number of students at the departments of: mathematics, exact sciences, and technical ones. Despite implementing numerous educational programmes, the reading skills were not improved, we failed to limit the ratio of school early leaving, or to increase the number of students with secondary education as well as to increase the number of adults participating in education or trainings. According to the alarming data, one out of four students cannot read properly, and one in seven terminates education too early. Around half of the students finish education at the secondary level, which does not meet the demands of the labour market. Less than one third of people between 25 and 34 years of age has higher education, compared to 40% in the USA, and over 50% in Japan.

Member states and European Commission, having assumed that education systems are vital for meeting the economic and social demands, agreed to include education and training as a key element of "Europe 2020" programme. The document presenting the EU strategy for intelligent and balanced development sets ambitious goals: the percentage of people finishing education too early should not exceed 10%; the percentage of people with higher education between 30–34 should be at least 40%; 95% of children should participate in pre-school education; there should be improvement in reading skills and results in maths as well as exact sciences among 15-years olds. There should be a 15% increase of adults continuing education.

It will not be easy to meet those demands. Reforms within the education system require not only increased outlays of member states, and making education system reforms a priority of the state policy, but most

of all accurate diagnosis of the current condition and introduction of relevant mechanisms or institutions responsible for their performance. In such context, we need to be aware of the education system transformations and the obstacles that need to be overcome to meet the goals of 2020 Europe Strategy.

This work is an attempt to describe the educational challenges the United Europe faces.

Andrzej Chodubski presented *Vectors of transformation and global education*. Sylwia Mrozowska addressed the issue of the role which higher education plays in the processes of European transition. Further, the book presents the cultural aspect of the changes taking place in the primary and higher education. Attention has been drawn to the increasing multiethnic and multicultural tendency within the European society subject to dynamic changes. Migrants inhabiting EU states make a significant percentage of the population. For example, in 2010 year the number of people who lived in the EU, but were born outside their resident country was more than 47 million. This constitutes 9.4% of the total EU population. Of these, 31.4 million were born outside the EU and 16 million in another EU member state. Specific issues have been presented in the works of Natasza Kosakowska-Berezecka and Tomasz Besta – *Cultural sensitivity and intergroup conflicts – how to be culturally intelligent and nip the conflict in the bud?*, Adam Jagiełło-Rusiłowski – *Challenges of educating culturally competent young Europeans*, Lucyna Kopciewicz – *Mathematics education, democracy and social justice*, and Lubomiła Korzeniewska – *Creating diversity-friendly school environment*.

Maciej Boryń and Bartosz Duraj focused on presenting social and economic consequences of the growing number of NEET ("not in education, employment or traning") in EU states.

Authors of individual chapters, among others, deal with the consequences resulting from social changes to emphasise the need to develop intelligence and cultural sensitivity through education systems of EU members.

As the authors of such multi-spectrum work, we hope that this book will be not only a source of useful information, and will familiarize the reader with the most challenging aspects of contemporary unified Europe, but will also be an interesting and pleasant read.

Sylwia Mrozowska, Tomasz Besta, Aleksandra Zgrundo

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Vectors of Transformation
and Global Education

The contemporary world puts a special emphasis on the development of education (Komitet Prognoz, 1996, 1999; Świętochowska, 2000; Zacher, 2011), which is perceived as the driving force behind the major civilisation changes. Interdisciplinary education focused on innovation is seen as a challenge necessary for the cultural changes. The level of education becomes a more and more important factor shaping economic and political changes, social behaviour and value systems (Gajda, 1992; Schultz, 1992; Karpińska, 2010).

Currently, various subjects dealing with cultural life take interest in the challenges related to education. They draw attention to education models, institutional solutions, teaching programs, perception of teachers, form-tutors and students, teaching methods, extramural education forms, financial aspects, etc. Those issues stir a lot of discussion and even controversy both within political circles responsible for the shaping of educational policy and social opinion, including teachers and scholars, dealing with various aspects of education. On the one hand, there is a tendency to preserve tradition, foster models worked out throughout the course of history and enrich them with the challenges of civilization, on the other hand, though, the need of education fulfilling the civilization challenges is promoted, called modern-day education, which leaves behind old development models, and, moreover in the Polish cultural reality, the traditional teaching model is described as an institution "non-friendly" to both the teacher and the student.

The organisational model of education stresses the importance of de-massifying teaching, creating alternatives, abandoning the vertical (hierarchical) structure in favour of the horizontal structure (Toffler, 1996).

Educational de-massifying takes place through the decentralization of the educational systems. It consists in the idea that the state with its institutions does not hold monopoly within the educational activity. Group and individual needs generate schools coming into being. Subjects organising them may come from various social organisations, including sub-cultures, political and economic organisations, and individuals. Educational structures are established and terminated by such organisers. The main target behind them is satisfying of needs, innovation, while abandoning narrow specialisation in favour of cognitive interdiciplinariness.

The alternativeness of the subjects organising education is to allow for diversity of ideas, beliefs, models, and social behaviour, etc. Such alternativeness relates to teaching staff, students and parents, and even social environments as well (Naisbitt, 1997).

Within the organization of education, the IT base (Postman, 1995; Toffler, 1997; Polak & Leska-Ślęzak, 1999; Hofmaki, 2009; Betlej, 2011) plays a significant role. It is assumed, that with the current level of the development of the computer base, it is possible to perform educational activity with its help. Models which were not a long time ago perceived as futuristic visions are now reality, e.g. it is possible to get information, seek consultations with experts living in foreign countries with the help of the internet; or to procure library materials from various locations throughout the world.

While making use by educational institutions of information technology facilities, the learners have the possibility to take advantage of educational materials (presented during lessons at school) using extramural forms.

The performance of the model of education is dependant on the quality of civil life of given society, that is: material status, education level as a whole, social aspirations, among them professional ones.

Importance gains here the model of teaching: 1) traditional: patriotic and romantic, and 2) pragmatic and civilised. The first is oriented towards building local identity values, local patriotism, the latter is focused on the scientific and technological progress, behaviour and pro-future attitude. A controversial issue becomes the teaching of history, from which the elements dividing counters and nations take source. The model oriented towards creating global civil society ushers education which indicates: progress factors, optimism, friendship, and limiting

such contents which deepen negative stereotypes. An important role is given to fostering the values of tolerance towards various value systems, cultures and sub-cultures (Mojsiewicz, 1992; Denek, 1998; Nowak, 1999; Chodubski, 2011).

Within the education animation, a special role is played by teachers (Schultz, 1989; Polak, 1997; Duraj-Nowakowa, 2000; Karpińska, 2003). In general, they are people dedicated to children and teenagers. A special group make people teaching in the so-called young classes, as they build-in the students sensitiveness to the surrounding. Further at teaching, such roles are simultaneously played by various subjects of the cultural life, including media. Facing the changing civil reality, such questions appear: 1) should a teacher be an expert within a given discipline, curriculum? 2) or should he be a guide, coach, tutor, mentor? The question of partnership between the teacher and the student within the educational process remains an open issue. It is perceived that authority is gained through professionalism, and not through personal relations. Also, the age difference between the teacher and the students is of an importance. There are different expectations from teaching and shaping behaviours from the young-generation teachers and different from teachers with extensive experience.

Teachers are expected to present an attitude of authority. Their work is evaluated not only by students, but also by the parents and various social circles. Them holding the right professional qualifications is of key importance. Often, teachers are expected to play the role of cultural life animators, which reflects in the extramural teaching forms; among others they are expected to hold artistic (musical, drawing, literary, theatrical, sports) talents. They are expected to promote modernity.

Within the teaching programs, civilisation pragmatism becomes more and more popular. Attitudes and behavioural models typical for urban life are being adopted. The tendency of promoting anonymous life becomes frequent, which can be perceived through the application of the data protection policies. In the administration life, descriptive information is being replaced by digital ones, among others by PESEL (personal identification number) or NIP (tax identification number). Globalisation processes result in the decrease in the responsibility for the common good, and consequently in the reluctance to participate in various form of the social control. Principles of neighbours life are replaced by legislative norms. The principles of solving neighbours conflicts can serve as an

example. Direct negotiations are avoided, instead they are solved quick-ly through specialised institutions, using the norms of the law. Greater trust is put within the public order and safety institutions rather than traditional forms of solving conflicts.

The cultural life is characterised by big spatial mobility. Frequently individuals and families move from city centres to the city outskirts, from small communities to metropolises. In such a case, no special at-tention is put to the location of educational institutions, however trans-portation means are given importance. The location of an educational institution close to the place of domicile is of secondary importance. In the new places of domicile no attempt is being made to build relations through play or attending the same schools.

The effects of the pace of the civilisation changes are treated on the Polish ground dichotomously (Żebrowski, 2010); on one hand they are fully accepted, there is a tendency to adopt them in the everyday life, on the other hand, though, no high quality of such progress is obtained.

Making use of the scientific and technological progress is related to the increase of the education level of the community. Modern-day facili-ties require the skills of using them. They are mostly IT facilities, which require mastering the cutting-edge technology achievements, which in turn require constant training, adopting new principles of economic functioning, and the social cognition behind the use of specific civilisa-tion solutions, etc.

It is a civic duty in the shaping society to get familiar with the cata-logue of human rights and freedoms. The obedience to such rights is put above the commonness and tradition, and structures the relations within the community. Their observance guarantees the realisation of all aspirations and goals, and gives a sense of security within the micro- and macro-scale of the community.

Among the key global challenges, conditioning the attitudes, behav-iours, activity and social and political activity are such processes and phenomena as:

a) Shaping of participatory democracy (Król, 1989; King & Schnei-der, 1992; Dahl, 1995; Rittel, 1998; Marczewska-Rytko, 2001; Chodubski, 2006). Traditional democratic institutions, e.g. the parliament, represen-tations in micro and macro social and political structures are becoming frigid and do not fulfil the aims behind them. The society loses trust in them, which results in indifference, passiveness, lack of identification

with the processes taking place. There is less and less interest in election campaigns, low voters turnout. It is observed, that the so-called political representatives waste time on useless activity. Within the political picture, a central place is taken by political games (intrigues, co-intrigues, lies, vanity behaviour).

In the changing global reality, the representatives become less and less competent to take decisions (Pietraś, 1990; Chmaj & Żmigrodzki, 2002; Chodubski, 2002). It is observed, that the necessity to solve complex problems of everyday life carries out double risk, that is, on one hand, the lack of competence of the chosen representatives to take many decisions, on the other – giving excessive power to specialists and experts, whom the decision-makers are not able to evaluate and check. In such circumstances, preferably, the power is given to the mediocre, which in turn leads to the government of mediocrity. Such model does not foster the appearance of great leaders, outstanding masters of spiritual and social life.

The critical approach to the political reality within the aspect of holding power, creates participatory entity, that is directly solving social, political and economic problems. Such entity as subject directly participates in the political life, takes decisions, and thus has to have such skills as entrepreneurship, courage, and criticism towards the perception of reality. Such entity should oppose paternalistic attitudes (protectiveness, representation, advisory).

b) De-centralisation and de-concentration, which lead to empowerment of people, their autonomy towards central structures, creation and development of self-government institutions. The idea of liberating from hierarchical subordination becomes a political challenge. In such process, the role of the state is limited to minimum, that is to providing for safety and security of the interests of its citizens. The state loses the monopolistic power within the information control, and within the creation of the law. More and more it is regulated by international acts and treaties.

c) The process of holding power undergoes a transformation within its philosophy, from ruling to harmonious co-existence. The intellectual elites and many politicians strive at the departure from hierarchical subordination (vertical) in favour of horizontal agreements. It is noted that the hierarchical structure created privileged positions, while at the same time hindering people's activity and initiatives. Horizontal structure

results in the fact that the participatory society forms and solves problems based on the principles of cooperation, understanding, agreements which shape the values of tolerance, understanding and openness.

d) In the cultural life, the search for the signs of alternativeness towards tradition (Komitet Prognoz, 1994; Huntington, 1994; Zacher 2007; Mikułowski-Pomorski, 2010). A move away from the institutionalised participation of the social life in favour of the so-called privatisation is observed. People look on their own for signs, values, points for identification. Alternativeness is both a sign of the social and political life and the economic life as well. What is characteristic for this move, is the changeability and diversity of choices, and shortness of social contacts. People join together on principles of autonomy towards traditional organisational structures. Alternativeness is a sign of competitiveness, which is seen in particular on the market where producers reveal creativeness. Their products are characterised by short life, new products are replaced with "newer" ones.

e) Permanent education is given a key role. Know-how is treated as a good and the basic factor behind development. More and more attention is given to holding higher education. It is observed that education is one of the basic criteria for the social strata. There is a growing necessity for constant learning and updating knowledge. Narrow specialisation is being abandoned in favour of interdisciplinary humanistic education.

The IT technology progress results in the fact that teaching process becomes more individual, alternative teaching models come into being, which are adjusted to the needs and interests of specific groups and individuals. Their organizers may be various subjects: universities, schools, training institutions, religious organizations, etc. It is noted, that the more educated people become, the easier they adapt to the changing cultural reality, the easier approach diversities, compromise and co-existence.

f) Fostering tolerance towards various value systems is an important challenge (Sutor, 1994; Dyoniziak, Iwanicki, Karwińska, Nikolajew, & Pucek, 1997; Lipset, 1998; Chodubski, 2010). Constant choices of signs of cultural life shape a new type for human contacts, which is marked by the change of the place of domicile, profession, friends, and acquaintances. Tolerance is a freedom idea in the situation of deep cultural changes; it is also a value of desire. People's behaviour, especially in local communities, often shows social intolerance. The reason behind it is in the light of changing cultural reality, mostly difficult economic situation.

g) Migration is perceived as a value of civilisation (Chodubski, 1991, 1994, 1999, 2010). It is assumed that migration movements are a practical lesson for individuals and groups of adjusting to new civilisation reality, triggering entrepreneurship, activity, shaping attitudes of tolerance towards various cultures and value systems. The migration processes foster the realisation and redefinition of attitudes, behaviours, and aspirations. Immigrants need to overcome numerous obstacles to adjust to new social and economic roles. At the same time, such process reveals in people their individualism, brings about alternative, adaptive, and integration behaviours.

h) The new cultural reality assumes that achieving prosperity is the basic goal behind human activity. While producing goods or creating values, the marketing approach is applied. The aim of human activity is gaining maximum profit. Individual is perceived as *homo œconomicus*. The fundamental economic goal is strengthening the power of the institution of money. It conditions the progress of the civilisation, including the scientific and technological progress, and the shape of social and political relations, model of education, etc.

While shaping the new awareness of people, the intellectual thought of a historian of civilisation Feliks Koneczny deserves attention: "You cannot be civilised in two ways, one civilisation needs to be predominant, or else a downfall is inevitable" (Koneczny, 1996).

Global values are perceived in various ways in Europe. It is caused by both geographical and cultural conditions. By referring to the past, the fundament for the values is the ancient heritage of Greece and Rome. From the Greek legacy it is: a) criticism of the perception of reality, b) seeking truth about the perceived reality, c) recognition of intellectual freedom. From the Roman culture, a priority is given to: a) institutionalisation of social and political life, b) respect for the law, c) respect for the institution of the state and treaties, unions, compromises. The cultural life of Europe gives an important place to Christianity. Throughout over ten centuries, the identity of the continent was held through the ideas of the Middle Ages. Their fulfilment was achieved through the role of the Roman Catholic church. It organised the intellectual life, ran schools, gathered and shaped the intellectual elite, built spiritual identity. The culture of those times was cross-state and universal. Such values could be perceived both in the material form, among others in architecture, sculpture, paintings, as well as in the spiritual form, that is attitudes and

behaviour. Similar features could be perceived in the life of the French, Germans, English, and Poles.

In 15th century Euro-centrism started to take shape. Europe started to be perceived as the cultural centre of the world. The spatial mobility of its citizens brought about the broadening of the geographical cognition. New territories were being discovered and subordinated to Europe. Even the oldest civilisations were subjected to the European transformations. As a result of colonisation, they were exposed to destruction and cultural transformation. The American continent may serve as a classic example. Discovered by Europeans at the end of the 15th century and systematically forced to subdue, it transformed into a new quality of civilisation.

The French Revolution (1789–1799) marked a breakthrough in civilisation by introducing a new vision of the economic development: relations of the capitalist society, highly developed principles of liberalism, that is guaranteeing rights and defining the obligations of men, recognition of the values of socio-political and economic rights of the free market economy, limiting the role of the state to the protection of rights and interest of the individual, rejection of tradition in the social and political life and, in particular, the privileged position of certain social groups.

The late 19th and early 20th century saw the start of new values, which triggered the outbreak of the First World War. New tendencies came to the surface, such as: a) conquering new territories (colonialism), b) getting hold of natural resources, c) getting hold of markets, d) political dominance of states and nations on the international arena, e) predominance of individuals holding power in states, holding the status of superpower. The consequence of the war was a division of Europe within the economic sense, that is "group A" and "group B" states. "Europe A" comprised of the states of a high economic status, while "Europe B" of states whose economy was agriculture-based. As a result, the divisions were made in line with their political systems, civilisation progress, and consequently with their openness to global phenomena.

After the Second World War Europe was under the influence of two superpowers: the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The notion of "European unity", in terms of its values, political and economic aspects, was replaced with the category of *development duality*. The consequence of such dichotomy was the so-called Cold War; and its further consequence a kind of dethronement of Europe on the international fo-

rum. The American models began to dominate, starting from economic solutions through social and political attitudes, including culture; taking over such model started to be described as americanisation. It consists in the promotion of solutions which are easy, simple and pleasant in their reception, directed at the mass consumer (Beard, 1960; Kozłowski, 1996; Szymkowska-Bartyzel, 2012).

In the early 90s of the 20th century the idea of the European integration was highly promoted (Słownik instytucji i terminów Unii Europejskiej, 1997; Michałowska-Gorywoda, 1997; Chodubski, 2010).

In shaping the new cultural and civilization order, human, as *homo politicus*, occupies an important place. There are various reasons behind people's dealing with politics. It is often stressed out that currently it solves all life problems of the citizens. For some, "an escape into politics" becomes a life attitude, condescending all that is not related to politics. On the subconscious level, politics is often deemed as the basic condition for the fulfilment of any of life goals, both of an individual and groups.

Politically active individuals are often seen as persons with a strong *ego*, able to overcome any obstacles and adverse social, political, and economic conditions, even sociable, with a tendency to manifest their personality, "self-confidence" in order to prove their ability to handle the political reality. The following reflection supports this notion: "political life is not a hospitable place for insecure, shy and introvert people, who do not have great faith in their own ability to deal effectively with their own environment" (Wiatr, 1977).

In the cultural development of society, four classes of politically active individuals are often listed: a) "creators" – people who generate new ideas, concepts, organizational solutions, perfecting the infrastructure of civilization, b) "workers" – people who are not versed on the multiplication of cultural heritage, and care only about maintaining the status of this heritage, it is so-called professional "medium community", c) "not productive" – people unable to support themselves, who need care, including children, the sick, the handicapped, the elderly, d) "deviants" – people whose life activity often causes damage to the society.

In the contemporary social and political life one can observe a reluctance to participate in the collective organizational forms. It is characteristic for the process of election of authorities. Therefore, the choice more and more often does not depend on actual skills, abilities, experience,

but random circumstances. Increasingly, the election process is influenced by the mass media.

Tenure positions in the power apparatus does not raise public confidence. That is why individuals in power do not show interest in making decisions that will have long-term consequences, they do not want to incur the costs of long-term decisions. The consequence of this decision is temporariness and glamour of imperious behaviour.

Translocality and transnationality, etc., as the value of modern civilization, often reveal large dissonance in the public consciousness, and even dislikes and hostility in attitudes, behaviours and judgements to the effects of unification. This is mainly due to concerns about future, the risk of loss of previously occupied position. The societies of Western Europe reveal fears that integration (union) means the end of economic, national, historical and cultural identity. The position that the integration is a means to defend national interests against today's threats turned out to be insufficient. Overcoming fear, uncertainty, myths and stereotypes depends, to a large extent, on the understanding of new value systems, corresponding to the changing social relations. In the process of forming new value systems, education occupies a special place. We should pay attention to the need to indicate the importance of a collective effort for progress, the importance of raising the level of culture in breaking myths and stereotypes.

In the process of shaping of the global values, one should pay attention to the need for education oriented on phenomena and processes of the future. It is noted that thinking about the future is the civic duty of the individual. It is important to use a scientific approach in the forecasting process.

Modern education is becoming increasingly dependent on the mass media, especially on television. Transmission and dissemination of the news, opinion, promotion patterns, attitudes, and behaviour takes place through them. They create heroes, but also discredit and destroy them. It is noted that "they are stupefying the educated people and educate those who run the stultifying life". The information provided by the media has their own peculiarities. They are characterized by temporariness, rapid satisfying of curiosity, orientation on emotional response. There is no aspect of the reflectivity or arrangement connected with this. According to the assumption, each issue should be passed as light, easy, enjoyable entertainment, not forcing one to think too much.

Television has created a new type of human (*homo mediorum*). This is a consequence of locating TV in the central place of almost every home. It replaced the old furnace, then the table, where the family gathered; turned houses into theatre halls, where people sit for hours at the screen (the scene); watching TV programs for hours turns people into slaves to the TV; in case of its damage, they react worse than in the situation of e.g. receiving news of a disease of a loved person. *Homo mediorum* is an individual, who is being "detached" from the art of reading. He is satisfied with the dimensions of visibility and audibility. The process of reading requires intellectual and mental effort. Reading requires a certain organizational discipline; you can watch TV in passing. Media Man often absorbs uncritically images transferred to him, without analyzing their purpose, intent or significance. The consequence of this reality is the weakening of the semantic memory and cognitive reflection. TV often makes people stop thinking logically. Amount of lapping information makes people think using images. This phenomenon is used by the world of politics. The ability to find their way in front of the TV cameras increasingly determines the success in the election.

In general reflection, it can be concluded that: 1. Education is becoming one of the basic criteria of social stratification; 2. In the view of the diverse learning needs, the "horizontal" entities of education organization on different levels have become necessity; 3. The level of civilization development poses increasing challenges for teachers; they are expected to be creators and educators, guides in education process; 4. Far-reaching democratization is revealed in the educational process, expressed in relation of the teacher (master) and the pupil, the student, the listener; through computer devices the possibility of establishing direct contacts between the two sides is revealed, including quick fulfilling of the educational needs; 5. Computer education forms reveal a phenomenon known as a dangerous risk, among others, through the universalization of knowledge about the world, they cause shortness of patriotic, moral and local content.

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Higher Education in Europe: Principles, Stages, and Mechanisms of Reform

By observing the higher education reforms taking place in Europe in recent years (Kwiek, 2013; Maassen, 2008; Stensaker et al., 2007; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000), we come to the conclusion that we are still in the middle of discussion on the role of universities, how they should combine education and scientific research, how they should be financed and how they should build relation with the labour market. Despite the fact that the 19th century dispute on the model of university, deliberating the superiority of Humboldian model (focused on the needs of the academic staff) over the Anglo-Saxon model (focused on education and the students themselves) has not been settled yet, the so-called Bologna Process indicates the direction for the reform of the European higher education system.

Generally speaking, higher education has become to the supranational European agenda only slowly. Although some educational activities were developed at the European level during the 1970s, the education sector was for a long time "taboo" for European policy initiatives (Neave, 1984).

Education, like tax and immigration policy, has traditionally been considered to be one of the last bastions of national sovereignty in an increasingly integrated European Union (EU). Member states have resisted granting the EU a formal role in a policy area strongly national in control and orientation (Bache, 2006).

However, since 2001 the political view has developed that the European Union can contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging co-operation between member states through a wide range of actions, such as promoting the mobility of citizens, designing joint study programmes, establishing networks, exchanging information and

teaching languages for all EU citizens. The basic idea is that although legislative power for education in general and higher education in particular remains at the level of member states, the Union has a complementary role to play (Vught, 2009).

The initiative to create the European Area of Higher Education is mostly of a political nature. Inspired by the European Committee, it is an attempt to work out a common "European" reaction to the problems which were present in education system of most of the member states. It was, above all, meant to create the conditions for the mobility of citizens, tailor the education system to the needs of labour market, and most of all improve employability; enhance the attractiveness and competitiveness of the higher education system in Europe for it to correspond with the input of this geographic area into the development of civilization. Thus, the aim of the Bologna Process was not the standardization of higher education systems, but harmonisation and convergence, that is working out cooperation methods that would take into account the differences and autonomy of member states and universities (Kraśniewski, 2006, p. 3).

The members of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), who implement the assumptions from the Bologna process, believe that a European higher education area with strong, autonomous and effective higher education institutions, a keen sense of importance of quality and standards, good peer reviews, credible quality assurance agencies, an effective register, and increased co-operation with other stakeholders, such as employers is possible.

However, despite the strong belief in the success of such reform and the political support, the implementation of the Bologna Process in Europe meets a number of obstacles. The results of the research made by OECD (OECD Indicators, 2012) reveal a number of challenges European countries face when taking decisions regarding the directions of the changes within the higher education system.

Research made over the transformation within the higher education system in Europe in the last ten years leads to the conclusion that higher education institutions have been buffeted by a complex set of international pressures. Foremost among them is the growing importance of knowledge-led economies that have placed higher education at the centre of national competitiveness agendas. Higher education institutions are increasingly seen by policy makers as 'economic engines' and are considered essential for ensuring knowledge production through re-

search and innovation, and the education and continuous up-skilling of the workforce. Combined with increased globalisation – i.e., "the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness", the pressures to respond to regional and national economic agendas, offer new opportunities for institutions, or some units within them, to choose to become entrepreneurial, compete on the international or national stage, and contribute to their region, or – on a smaller scale – to their immediate surroundings. The competitive context that results from both the rise of knowledge-based societies and increased globalisation has multiplied and deepened the links of higher education. A decade of change in European Higher Education – context setting institutions to the world around them (EUA, 2010).

The aim of this article is not the assessment of the accuracy of applied directions for reforming higher education system in Europe, but to indicate major challenges related to the higher education system, that the European countries will face in the nearest future. The Bologna process has been treated as an aspect of Europeanization.

Europeanization of education can be perceived through the implementation of the Bologna Process by European education institutions as well as through the creation of common legal frameworks for primary and secondary education institutions in some aspects, resulting in the future in convergence of dissimilar educational systems. It is popular to create common handbooks. There is a growing tendency to highlight the concept of lifelong learning in the educational systems (Wach, 2009).

Europeanization

High diversity of definitions and ways of perception of Europeanization leads to utilizing various research approaches. The most recognized is the downloading approach (top–down) and the uploading approach (bottom–up). The popular concept of three types of Europeanization by K. Dyson and K.H. Goetz (2003) has been modified by Krzysztof Wach who suggested his own description of the Europeanization processes approaches (Table 1).

Table 1. Description of approaches

Criterion	Top–down	Bottom–up	Integration top–down and bottom–up
Direction of the impact	Impact from the EU level on member states	Impact of groups of interests represented in individual states on the EU operations	Dichotomic impact, both bottom–up and top–down, happening simultaneously
Role of harmonization and adaptation	Reactive and impulsive nature of the adaptation by the member states	Active and voluntary adaptation of the member states as reaction to the anticipation of changes in the environment	Bilateral approach to the adaptation of the member states, mutual process of learning
The nature of convergence and divergence	Anticipated higher convergence between member states	Regional diversification and disproportion trigger changes in the common Community policies	Higher anticipated convergence at recognition of needs resulting from disproportions and diversity
Adoption of institutions	Assumed disproportion between the Community and the national levels, with the priority of the first one	Assumed disproportion between the Community and the national levels, with the priority of the second one	Dynamic adoption of the national level to the European level and vice versa
Political perspective	Administrative and legislative policy prevails (policy and polity)	Political convictions dominate	Attempt to balance political convictions (polities) with politicians (policy)

Criterion	Top–down	Bottom–up	Integration top–down and bottom–up
Perception of the Europeanization process	Europeanization as a formal process leading to complex effects	Europeanization as a voluntary and evolving process of introducing changes, resulting in benefits	Europeanization as a process of broadly perceived harmonization striving to achieve various benefits by all its participants

Source: K. Wach, *Wymiary europeizacji i jej kontekst*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego w Krakowie", No. 852/2011.

Claudio M. Radaelli is an advocate of the top–down approach (Fig. 2). For him, Europeanization consists of processes of a) construction, b) diffusion, and c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, "ways of doing things", and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process, and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and sub-national) discourse, political structures and public policies (Radaelli, 2005, p. 4).

Domestic $\Longrightarrow$ EU

EU $\Longrightarrow$ Domestic

Domestic $\Longrightarrow$ Domestic

Actors
Problems
Resources
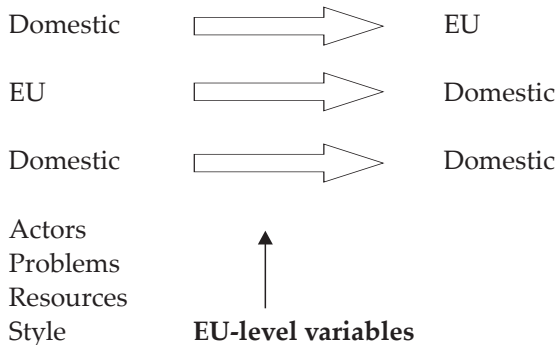Style   **EU-level variables**

Figure 1. Three approaches: European integration, top–down Europeanization, and bottom–up Europeanization

Source: C.M. Radaelli, *Europeanization: "Solution" or "Problem"?*, Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington 2005, p. 29 (own collection).

A practical tool for the examination of the Europeanization over the member states and its dimensions and levels was the suggestion made by Tanji A. Börzel and Thomasa Riese. The authors put an emphasis on the effects of Europeanization of processes, policies and institutions on the national levels and put them into three categories: policies, politics and polity.
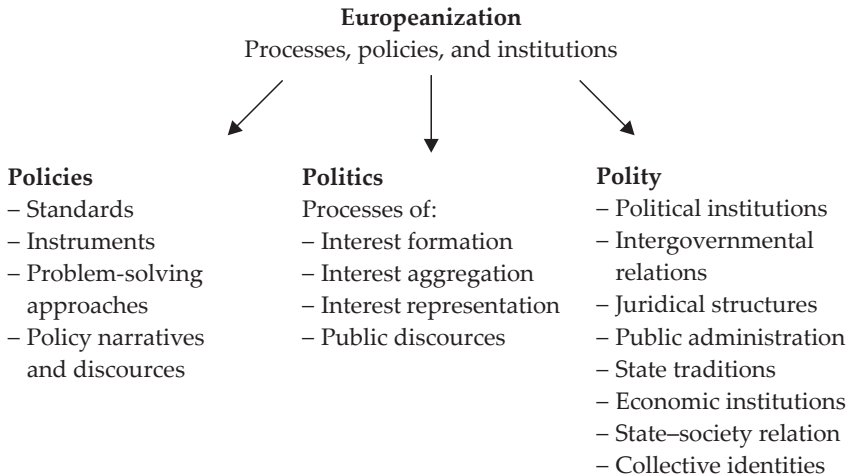
Europeanization
Processes, policies, and institutions

Policies
– Standards
– Instruments
– Problem-solving
  approaches
– Policy narratives
  and discources

Politics
Processes of:
– Interest formation
– Interest aggregation
– Interest representation
– Public discources

Polity
– Political institutions
– Intergovernmental
  relations
– Juridical structures
– Public administration
– State traditions
– Economic institutions
– State–society relation
– Collective identities

Figure 2. The domestic effect of Europeanization

Source: T.A. Börzel, T. Risse, "European Integration Online Paper",
http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2000–015a.htm.

Such distribution focused on how Central European states adopted European Union (EU) rules prior to becoming members of the EU. During the accession process – which lasted from 1998 to 2004 – all the prospective members were required to implement EU laws (the so-called *acquis communautaire)*, except for a small subset of policies for which they were able to obtain temporary exemptions. The legal alignment involved the transposition of a few thousand EU directives spanning almost the entire policy spectrum. Besides the directives, there were also many decisions and regulations that had to be rendered into domestic law to create conditions for the direct applicability of such EU measures after accession. The adoption of EU rules was an explicit condition for membership, and full compliance had to be achieved before accession (Zubek, 2008).

The main mechanisms steering Europeanization are: adaptation, competition and communication. Adaptation relates to EU assuming the redistributive function. It consists in the protection of the unified standards which are crucial for the smooth functioning of the Union as a whole. Competition means deregulation. Communication assumes that the network between various actors on various levels, mutual contacts, and processes of joint learning stimulate and promote innovative methods for solving problems, which become common methods.

The Commission shapes higher education reform and does this not by simply facilitating learning and emulation through fostering transnational linkages, as the open method of coordination (OMC) accounts suggest, nor by persuading national governments to adapt, but rather by directly intervening in the higher education sector itself. Any portrayal of the Commission as a subservient actor that merely "supports" the member states overlooks the leverage its financial instruments clearly afford the institution. The record of European model, and its predecessors like Erasmus, to date clearly attests to the skill and success with which the EU's main supranational organ exerts pressure on national actors. Moreover, the Commission has achieved this by utilizing financial resources that are, in comparison with other policy areas, relatively modest. The European Commission has played a greater role than it is usually credited for, and perhaps even greater than any other actor in this nominally intergovernmental policy area (Batory & Lindstrom, 2011).

Bologna Process

The Bologna Process clearly relates to the political aims behind the European integration (political context – see Table 2).

The strategy Europe 2020 clearly indicates the transformations within the higher education systems as some of the factors contributing to the success of the European project. Among the aims of the Europe 2020 strategy are a few connected directly with education. The key ones have been presented in Table 3.

Table 2. Official re-contextualising field as policy context

National specificities	Policies within Bologna reforms	Intended focus of Bologna reforms
Widening access Increasing the system's diversity Stimulating the regional relevance of Higher Education Social equity	Autonomy Quality Internationalisation	Administration Pedagogy Governance

Source: A. Veiga & A. Amaral (2009), p. 65.

The European Committee clearly manifests its stance on the directions for the reform of the higher education system in Europe, combined with the 2020 Strategy.

The Europe 2020 education headline target stipulates that, by 2020, 40% of young people should successfully complete higher education or equivalent studies. Attainment levels have grown significantly across most of European countries in the last decade, but they are still largely insufficient to meet the projected growth in knowledge-intensive jobs, reinforce Europe's capacity to benefit from globalisation, and sustain the European social model. Increasing higher education attainment must also be a catalyst for systemic change, to enhance quality and develop new ways to deliver education. Furthermore, while the impact of demographic ageing varies across Member States, the group of school leavers, from which higher education traditionally recruits, is shrinking. However, Europe needs more researchers to prepare the ground for the industries of tomorrow. To make our economies more research-intensive, reaching the 3% of GDP research investment target, the Union will need an estimated one million new research jobs, mainly in the private sector (COM, 2011).

In addition to improving the conditions for industry to invest in research and innovation, this calls for more doctoral candidates and equipping the existing workforce with research skills, and for better information on opportunities so that career paths outside academia become a genuine career prospect for early stage researchers. Tackling stereotyping and dismantling the barriers still faced by women in reaching the highest levels in post-graduate education and research – especially in certain disciplines and in leadership positions – can liberate untapped talent.

Table 3. A selection of aims within Europa 2020[1] strategy

EU/member states aims	Research and Development (% GDP)	Higher education (%)
EU main target	75	40
Assumptions at EU level[2]	73.70–74	37.50–38.0
AT	3.75	38
BE	3.0	47
BG	1.5	36
CY	0.5	46
CZ	1	32
DE	3	42
DK	3	At least 40
EE	3	40
EL	To be adjusted	32
ES	3	44
FI	4	42
FR	3	50
HU	1.8	30.3
IE	approx. 2	60
IT	1.53	26–27
LT	1.9	40
LU	2.3–2.6	40
LV	1.5	34–36
MT	0.67	33
NL	2,5	>40
PL	1.7	45
PT	2.7–3.3	40
RO	2	26.7
SE	4	40–45
SI	3	40
SK	1	40
UK	No domestic target in the reform programme	No domestic target in the reform programme

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/targets_pl.pdf (at: 12.02.2013).

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[1] Specified by member states in their reform programmes in April 2011.
[2] Adding domestic target.

The contribution of higher education to jobs and growth, and its international attractiveness, can be enhanced through close, effective links between education, research and business – the three sides of the "knowledge triangle". The recent shift towards open innovation has resulted in increased flows of knowledge and new types of co-operation between education institutions, research organisations and business. But the capacity of higher education institutions to integrate research results and innovative practice into the educational offer, and to exploit the potential for marketable products and services, remains weak.

Working across the boundaries of research, business and education requires in-depth scientific knowledge, entrepreneurial skills, creative and innovative attitudes and intensive interaction between stakeholders to disseminate and exploit knowledge generated to best effect. Public policies which encourage partnership between professional institutions, research universities, business and high-tech centres can anchor education in the knowledge triangle, improve the continuum between basic and applied research, and transfer knowledge to the market more effectively. Improved management of intellectual property will facilitate this process.

As centres of knowledge, expertise and learning, higher education institutions can drive economic development in the territories where they are located; they can bring talented people into innovative environments and harness regional strengths on a global scale; they can foster an open exchange of knowledge, staff and expertise. They can also act as the centre of a knowledge network or cluster serving the local economy and society if local and regional authorities implement smart specialisation strategies to concentrate resources on key priorities and maximize impact. Future co-operation in higher education within the EU should be part of a wider strategy to engage with partner countries across the world, to promote the EU values and expertise, and support higher education in developing countries as an integral part of the EU development policy and of a comprehensive approach to education sector development.

The Commission will promote consistency between EU and national actions for research through the Strategic Forum for International Scientific and Technological Cooperation. The internationalisation and openness of higher education systems requires a joint approach from a wide range of policy areas and stakeholders, to attract the best students, staff and researchers from around the world, to increase international out-

reach and visibility, and to foster international networks for excellence. The Commission will explore the possibility to design a specific strategy for the internationalisation of higher education (COM, 2011).

The beginnings of the Bologna Process date back to 19 June 1999, when the ministers responsible for higher education systems from 29 countries signed the Bologna Declaration, by which they undertook to create a common European Higher Educational Area – EHEA (Budapest-Vienna Declaration, 2010). Among the important goals agreed in Bologna are easily comparable degrees, a system based on two main degree cycles, a common European system of credits and mobility of students and teachers.

During subsequent meetings of ministers responsible for higher education, that is in Prague in 2001 and Berlin in 2003, specific targets were set (Table 4). Higher education systems were to become comparable and competitive.

During the Bergen meeting of May 2005, the European ministers of education adopted the "Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area". The Ministers committed themselves to introducing the proposed model for peer review of quality assurance agencies on a national basis. They also welcomed the principle of a European register of quality assurance agencies based on national review.

On 17–18 May 2007, the European ministers of education met in London. One of the most notable decisions was the agreement on setting up of a European Register for Quality Assurance Agencies (EQAR). The ministers emphasised the voluntary and independent nature of the EQAR. They endorsed the setting up of the Register as proposed by the E4 Group, with a report back to the ministers through the BFUG. The ministers recognised that there had been progress in the sector of quality assurance in higher education – and especially in the student involvement part of it.

An extraordinary Ministerial Anniversary Conference was held and co-hosted by Hungary and Austria on 11–12 March 2010 in Budapest and Vienna. The ministers of education participating in the Bologna Process (46 countries and a new member country, Kazakhstan) officially launched the European Higher Education Area. They assessed the progress made in the last decade and marked the achievements in implementing the objectives agreed since 1999. The Second Bologna Policy Forum,

Table 4. Bologna Process targets

Name	Target	Source
Bologna Declaration	− Introduction of a system of academic degrees that are comparable − Introduction of a system based on two cycles (Bachelor-Masters) − Introduction of a system of accumulation and transfer of credits (ECTS) − Development of mobility of students, teachers and researchers − Co-operation with regard to quality assurance − Enhancement of the European dimension in higher education	http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/bologna_declaration.pdf
Prague Communiqué	− Development of lifelong learning − Involvement of higher education institutions and students in the implementation of the Bologna Process − Promoting the attractiveness of the EHEA among students in other parts of the world	http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/010519PRAGUE_COMMUNIQUE.PDF
Berlin Communiqué	− Broadening the education system by PhD. studies − Synergy between the EHEA and the European Research Area (ERA)	http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Communique1.pdf
Bergen Communiqué	− Implementing references and guidelines to guarantee quality − Introducing national qualification frameworks	http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/050520_Bergen_Communique.pdf
London Communiqué	− Higher education focused on students	http://www.enqa.eu/files/London%20Communique%20-%2018–05–2007.pdf

Source: Self-study.

gathering ministers from the 47 Bologna countries and from countries across the world, was be convened on 12 March 2010. As concluded in the Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué of April 2009, and empha-

sised in the Budapest-Vienna Declaration of March 2010, the modernisation of higher education, including further implementation of the ESG, should be continued.

The 8th Bologna Ministerial Conference and 3rd Bologna Policy Forum were held in Bucharest, Romania on 26–27 April 2012. In the face of the financial and economic crisis, the ministers committed to invest in higher education for the future. They acknowledged that quality assurance systems contribute to building trust, higher education qualifications are more recognisable across borders and participation in higher education has widened. However, the implementation of the Bologna Process needs to be consolidated and built on progress. The ministers will strive for more coherence between their policies, such as the enhancement of quality assurance and the implementation of qualifications frameworks, including the definition and evaluation of learning outcomes. It was further agreed to widen overall access to quality HE, develop the social dimension of HE, promote student-centered learning in HE and open a dialogue on funding and governance of HE. The next EHEA Ministerial Conference will take place in Yerevan, Armenia in 2015, where the progress on the priorities set above will be reviewed. The following ministerial meetings will be held in 2018 and 2020 (ENQA, 2012).

Activities concerning the Bologna Process are performed on three levels: cooperation of the governments of the signatory countries, cooperation of higher education institutions and cooperation of students organisations.

On the cross-country level, ministers responsible for the higher education implement the Bologna Process. They meet every two years, take strategic decisions regarding the implementation of the Bologna Process, perform assessment of the results obtained, set priorities, publish documents in the form of declarations or communiqués. Ministers meetings are prepared by a follow-up team, which consists of representatives of all member states of the Bologna Process, European Committee, European Council, EUA, EURASHE, ESIB and UNESCO/CEPES as advisory members. On the national level it is the Ministry of Science and Higher Education that coordinates the implementation of the Bologna Process, adjusts the national legal acts regarding higher education to the decisions reached at the ministers' meetings, and runs the information campaign. Apart from this, there are other bodies in Poland working for the implementation of the Bologna Process, such as: Conference of

Academic Chancellors, RP Students Parliament, The State Accreditation Committee, Supreme Higher Education Council, Bureau for Academic Recognition and International Exchange, Higher Education Development Foundation (National Agency of SOCRATES/Erasmus), group of promotors of the Bologna Process.

OECD indicators present a credible source of accurate and useful information on the condition of educational systems worldwide. They provide with data on the structure, finances and accomplishments of the education systems in 34 member states of OECD as well as several countries of G20 group, outside OECD. The report from 2012 provides key data on the results of education systems, influence of learning in individual countries, financial and human resources designated for education, access, share and progress in education as well as the education environment and school organisation.

Education at a Glance features data on education from the 34 OECD member countries as well as Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, the Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, and South Africa. The EU average used below is calculated as the unweighted mean of the data values of the 21 OECD countries that are members of the European Union, for which data is available or can be estimated. These 21 countries are: Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

The 2012 edition of Education at a Glance highlights several areas where European countries have made noteworthy progress (e.g. earnings premiums and labour-market prospects for higher-educated workers, development of early childhood education, tertiary attainment, student mobility) and identifies others that are likely to require continued attention in the future (e.g. the shift towards private funding of education, inequalities between gender in education and employment, and the ageing of the teaching force) (OECD Indicators 2012).

The relative earnings premium for those with a tertiary education increased in most EU21 countries over the past ten years, indicating that the demand for more educated individuals still exceeds supply. On average, among EU21 countries, a 25–64-year-old with tertiary education earned 62% more in 2010 than an adult in the same age group with an upper secondary education, up by 9 percentage points from 2000. By

contrast, the tertiary earnings premium in the United States remained stable, but is still 14 percentage points higher than in the EU.

Higher levels of education generally lead to better prospects for employment across EU21 countries. In 2010, the average employment rate for individuals with a lower secondary qualification was 65.3% for men and 46.9% for women across EU21 countries, while the average employment rate for individuals with a tertiary-type A (largely theory-based) qualification was 88% for men and 81.1% for women.

The massive expansion of tertiary education has been accompanied by increases in public – and, to an even greater extent, private – investment, but many European countries still struggle to share the costs and benefits of higher education equitably between taxpayers and households. Among the European countries for which data is available, only public tertiary institutions in Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the United Kingdom (government-dependent private institutions) charge annual tuition fees of more than EUR 960 per full-time national student. By contrast, tuition fees are higher than EUR 1200 in one-third of the countries with available data, and they reach more than EUR 4000 in Korea and the United States. The data show no cross-country relationship between the share of private financing and social mobility, while there is a very clear relationship between social inequalities in school systems and social mobility in tertiary education, an area where many EU countries are not doing well.

In times of economic recession, structural and transitory adjustments of the production of goods and services typically prompt large changes in demand for labour. In 2009, the economies of the EU21 countries shrank by 4.9% on average, and most countries faced economic hardship. Despite the severe recession, in 2009 labour income growth among tertiary graduates increased in 9 out of 13 EU21 countries with available data. Economic activity in four of them (Denmark, Germany, Slovakia, and the United Kingdom) contracted by over 4.5% that year, yet, at the same time, labour income growth among adults with a tertiary education had a positive impact on GDP. In comparison, in two non-EU21 countries (Norway and Switzerland), labour income growth among tertiary graduates added over 1.5% to GDP, despite the overall contraction of economic activity (OECD Indicators, 2012).

In most OECD countries, the percentage of 25–34-year-olds who have completed the tertiary level of education is moderately to considerably

higher than the percentage of 55–64-year-olds with tertiary attainment. On average, across OECD countries, 38% of 25–34-year-olds have a tertiary education (35% for EU21 countries), compared with 23% (20% for EU21 countries) of 55–64-year-olds. However, Canada, Japan, Korea, and the Russian Federation are leaders among OECD and G20 countries in the proportion of 25–34-year-olds with a tertiary education, with 55% or more of this age group having reached this level of education (Chart A1.1). Among EU21 countries, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom meet or exceed the 40% benchmark set by the European Union when the 30–34-year-old age group is concerned. However, most countries are likely to achieve this goal by 2020 (OECD Indicators, 2012).

The summary of the changes taking place in the higher education during the last decade include the reports of European University Association (EUA). The European University Association, as the representative organisation of both European universities and national rectors' conferences, is the main voice of the higher education community in Europe. It consists of 655 individual members, 37 collective members and 11 affiliate members in 45 countries throughout Europe. EUA's mission is to promote the development of a coherent system of European higher education and research, through active support and guidance to its members, to enhance their contributions to society and the quality of their core activities.

The first report (EUA, 1999) produced for the ministerial meeting in Bologna described the state of European higher education and provided a rationale for the development of a European Higher Education Area. The second report (EUA, 2002) produced for the Prague Ministerial Conference in 2001 gave a further update of national developments and extended the geographical coverage in Europe. Trends III (EUA, 2003), prepared in 2003 for EUA's Higher Education Convention in Graz and for the Berlin Ministerial Conference, was the first report to introduce the perspective of higher education institutions into the analysis, following a questionnaire that gathered over 800 institutional replies. This report raised several questions and challenges regarding the nature of institutional implementation, many of which were explored in greater depth through a series of institutional site visits undertaken for both the Trends IV (EUA, 2005) and the Trends V (EUA, 2007) reports.

When presenting Poland as a case study of EU member state implementing the Bologna process, it needs to be mentioned that currently there are 470 higher education institutions, out of which 132 are public and 338 non-public, with almost 2 million undergraduates, which gives Poland one of the highest gross enrollment ratio in the world, and the highest number of higher education institutions in Europe.

The rapid increase in the number of higher education schools of the university level and in the number of undergraduates took place in Poland after 1989 and resulted from the coming into being of a number of non-public schools and the development of extramural studies at public schools. The increase in number of the higher education sector brought about some problems, however. In many areas it resulted in a decrease in the quality of teaching, and methodology started to replace research and development. The phenomena of 'multi-employment' of academic teachers took over, which on one hand allowed them to increase their income, but on the other hand distracted from running scientific research and lowered the quality of teaching.

Such strong quantitive development of the higher education institutions – also within the research and methodical scope – was not accompanied by any positive quality changes. The analysis of the current higher education system unearthed its numerous and serious weaknesses and flaws. The proportion between the number of undergraduates full-time course studies and extramural studies is not adjusted to the needs of the economy. Both curricula and teaching methods do not catch-up with the changing world. Within the cross-country rankings, Polish universities do not hold prestigious positions, and the statistics presenting the effects of Polish scientists are not satisfactory. There are more and more problems – Polish scientific staff shows little mobility, universities are not open to contacts with the surroundings as well as they are not efficient in procuring means for scientific research (The strategy for the development of higher education in Poland till 2020, 2010).

The strategy of the development of higher education system in Poland does not ignore Polish development conditions. The authors of the strategy identify those targets based on domestic and regional strategic documents, and then present a list of key challenges and operations for the higher education system in Poland.

Table 5. Challenges for the higher education system in Poland

Intellectual capital	− Providing for adequate number of educated workforce, whose strength will grow together with the development of the know-how-based economy; − Involvement in the lifelong learning process, which will be crucial not only for the fulfilment of the strategic aims of the country within the development of intellectual capital and promoting active living of seniors, but also because of the change in the demographic structure of the society.
Efficient state	− Fulfilment of aims resulting from the concept of the so-called efficient state, especially by the public section of higher education system, regardless of the level of involvement of the state in the management and means of financing; − Rendering high quality services within education, research and other public services (e.g. counselling, healthcare, veterinary services, spreading knowledge through the popularization of libraries, open lectures, etc.); − Higher education management leading to a cost-effective usage of public means; − Active participation of higher education in the fulfilment of the country/region development strategic aims.
Innovation economy	− Supporting the use of knowledge in economic and social operations by development of human resources, and creating foundations for distribution, accumulation and storing knowledge; − Reorientation of part of research and development activities carried out into more commercial use, and tightening cooperation by universities with entrepreneur and public sector within the running and financing of scientific research; − Providing for international level of scientific research carried out, supported by a high number of publications in foreign prestigious papers.
Infrastructure	− Participation in the creation of research and development infrastructure, including regional infrastructure for innovation; − Providing for the adequate supply of graduates having qualifications required for the creation and maintenance of infrastructure, not only within research and development, but also ICT, power, transport, etc.

| Cohesive regional development | – Support in the creation of the regional potential within intellectual and innovation capital, i.a. by creating and transfering of knowledge, filling the gaps in the supply of workforce, building trans-regional relations, building region and state recognition worldwide, attracting human and material capital, supporting the cultural development of the region;
– Offering a wide variety of public services tailored to local needs, e.g. legal counselling relating the labour market and entrepreneurship; rendering traditional services, e.g. relating to healthcare, spreading knowledge through libraries, open lectures, etc., as well as through the support of the local government within the development of infrastructure and environment protection (preparing expert opinions, spread of good practices, etc.) |

Source: Ernst&Young, The strategy for the development of higher education in Poland till 2020, p. 20.

Conclusions

The 2012 report from the implementation of the Bologna Process shows that, by quantity, the undergraduates population is diversified. In Russia undergraduates make 25% of the population of the whole EHEA and, combined with Turkey, Ukraine, Germany, and Great Britain, over half of the population. Such disproportion is, to a great extent, caused by demographic changes, which, though present in most of the countries, still, in case of some of them, may relate to a rapid increase of undergraduates, whereas somewhere else there is a decrease tendency expected. Such estimations should be accounted for while examining the progress in implementing reforms by countries.

Also the higher education financing systems show differences, starting from financing of higher education systems mostly from the public means, to financing mostly from private means. Huge disproportions can be perceived in relation to the outlays made on higher education, especially facing the economic crisis in Europe. After 2008, the reactions were extreme: while some of the countries significantly increased their budgets for higher education, others made drastic cuts. In general terms,

as a result of the crisis, there occurred a tendency to decrease public expenditures on the higher education (European Committee, 2012).

The reforms of the higher education systems in Europe clearly indicate its specific market nature. The idea of a university as an independent institution focused on the pursuit of "truth" has nothing to do with the "Bologna" university, which, at the end of the process, releases to the market a graduate who needs to fit such market.

The "Bologna" university meets the needs of many stakeholders.

Marek Kwiek forecasts, that "*in Europe the role of new university stakeholders will rapidly grow in the next decade. Facing the mass conditions of the higher education, universities will need to respond not only to the changing expectations of the state, but also to students, employers, industry and regions in which they are located (…) The relations between the stakeholders may be reformulated: probably the financial role of the state will be decreased while its supervisory role will increase, there should be also an increase of the role of undergraduates and the labour market within the sector of universities focused mostly on scientific research (which is those traditionally more prestigious universities). Finally, a key factor in the context of academic career attractiveness, the role of academic staff as a stockholder of a university will diminish: the staff will be more and more commonly treated as academic labour force representing either advanced knowledge industry, or less sophisticated and more diversified as to the level and training quality sector of teaching and training, to use the terminology showing the direction of the change taking place*" (Kwiek, 2010).

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Cultural Sensitivity and Intergroup Conflicts – How to Be Culturally Intelligent and Nip the Conflict in the Bud?

Contemporary Europe is becoming more and more diverse in terms of its ethnicity, and hence intergroup cross-cultural contacts are more commonplace. In order to make these interactions mutually fruitful and advantageous, they are worth to be embedded in the ideology of multiculturalism. The concept of multiculturalism fosters the perception of differences between groups as valuable and positively contributing to broader society. Here an individual notices and appreciates the social diversity and sees it as important in the growth of society (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011). Several studies indicate that experiencing the climate of multiculturalism in schools can have positive effects on both academic achievements of pupils and on level of their empathy towards ethnic out-groups. It is thus visible that the process of learning achieved within culturally diverse environment is profitable for pupils both academically and interpersonally (Konan, Chatard, Selimbegovi, & Mugny, 2010; Boisjoly, Duncan, Kremer, Levy, & Eccles, 2006; Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2006). What is more, studies concerning negative behavior among minority adolescents conducted in school settings indicate that ascribing high value to multiculturalism may reduce the number of intergroup conflicts between pupils (Tadmor, Hong, Chao, & Wen, 2012).

Intergroup contact seems to be one of the most effective interventions leading to stereotype reduction (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Just being exposed to multicultural experience can often lead to lower endorsement of negative stereotypes – in the study conducted among Asian American and Hispanic youth multicultural exposure not only led to a reduction of stereotype endorsement, but also symbolic racism and discriminatory hiring decisions were less visible among

students who were primed with multiculturalism (Tadmor, Hong, Chao & Wen, 2012). Highlighting the role of multicultural experience in strengthening social tolerance and appreciation of diversity seems to be important goal of education process in contemporary European schooling system. Nevertheless, there are also studies indicating that actually experiencing multiculturalism can, in certain contexts, strengthen in-group favoritism and negative attitudes towards out-groups such as minorities. This may be especially observable in the presence of realistic threat of a conflict, whose onset can be actually automatic when representatives of different groups interact (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011). The following article explores the issues of intergroup conflict in culturally diverse settings and highlights in what way fostering cultural competence of pupils and students can prevent severe consequences of cross-cultural miscommunication from taking over the profits of multiculturalism.

Roots of intergroup conflicts

Psychological basis of intergroup conflicts has long been studied and today we have good insight into the mechanisms responsible for out-group hostility. Cognitive ground for ethnocentrism and in-group favoritism can be found in people's tendency to act based on self-serving biases (Galinsky, 2002). On the individual level of decision making those biases are followed, for example, by regarding ourselves as smarter than others, over-attributing malevolent intention to others, memory distortions that help to maintain positive self-views, and more positive evaluation of people who are similar to us and distrust showed to those who are different (for more extended overview see for example: Baron, 2000; Greenwald, 1980; Miller & Ross, 1975; Schacter, 1999). On group level, individual's self-serving distortions are even intensified. One of the faces of this intensification has been known as discontinuity effect (Schopler & Insko, 1992). That is the tendency for the competitiveness between interacting groups to be out of proportion and significantly greater to the competitiveness displayed between interacting individuals. In addition, various studies on the ways people relate to groups (studies on development of collective and group identity, ethnocentrism, nationalism, group narcissism, identity fusion: Al Ramiah, Hewstone, & Schmid,

2011; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2013; Gómez et al., 2011; Hodson & Costello, 2007; Hogg & Smith, 2007; Pratto & Glasford, 2008) show that strong feeling of group membership can foster in-group favoritism and willingness to take radical actions on behalf of the group. Out-group members in these cases are viewed more negatively, are stereotyped, dehumanized (that is, viewed as less human than our fellow in-group members), and homogenized (that is, viewed as similar to one another).

The role of stereotypes in intergroup conflicts

But why does group membership drive us to think and behave in this manner? Stereotypes are the foundations of our perception of the world. We categorize events and people around us, label them and use certain heuristics in order to process information more effectively. Three guiding principles related to how we can define stereotypes can be applied: 1) stereotypes aid explanation, 2) stereotypes are energy-saving devices, and 3) stereotypes are shared group beliefs (McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears, 2002).

First point reassembles the notion that formation of stereotypes is based on people's attempt to understand the world around them. In this case stereotypes are the extension of basic categorization processes, which help us cluster pieces of information about people and physical and social events (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). We can have an impression about group only when we can describe it and tell the difference between one group and another – e.g. "those other pupils in our class are Turkish, and we are Polish". Second point highlights people's cognitive laziness and the need for mental energy savings that lead them to build simplistic models of the world. For example, when we treat all members of one group as they were very similar to one another, we can ignore differences between them ("Muslims in our school are similar to one another"), and thus we save time and our cognitive resources when it comes to decision making. As people have limited capacities to perform various cognitive tasks and are overloaded with pieces of information around them, development of stereotypes is a shortcut that helps people save their cognitive resources. Finally, third point reflects the social nature of stereotypes. Shared beliefs about social reality help in maintain-

ing the group cohesion and facilitate mutual understanding. When some stereotypes are prevalent in a group, in-group members could reassure one another about the nature of the social world and uncertainty could be reduced. And hence we know what behavior to expect from the "out-groups".

Stereotypes, although helpful in dealing with complexities, result in a simplistic and biased perception of the reality. We have a tendency to confirm our stereotypical views (process known as "self-fulfilling prophecies") and to overlook pieces of information that contradict them. We tend to see ambiguous behaviors in a stereotype-consistent way. In classic example of this phenomenon, it has been shown, that ambiguously aggressive behaviors were perceived as harmless play when performed by an in-group member (white male) and were regarded as an act of aggression when performed by an out-group member (black male) (Duncan, 1976). Similarly, many recent studies show how stereotypes influence social practices that discriminate out-group members. For example, people with Muslim first name were less likely to be enrolled in a job interview than candidate with French first name, even though they both had the same competences and work history. Similar result was visible when British men with names popular in the low social class were perceived by psychiatrists as more intentionally aggressive than their fellow Brits with name common in higher social class (for review see: Adida, Laitin, & Valfort, 2010; Fiske, 2000; Nelson, 2002).

The role of dehumanization of out-group members

In addition to this tendency to use stereotypes in everyday life, we also have a tendency to perceive the out-group members as less human than ourselves. This bias is supported by strong empirical data. In one of the most direct manifestations of people's easiness to dehumanize out-group members, researchers (Harris & Fiske, 2007) show, that watching pictures of homeless people, above eliciting the emotion of disgust, leads to lower activation in regions of the brain responsible for processing of social information. In other words: homeless people, who were clear examples of out-group members, were treated by brains of the participants more like things than persons (as opposed to other social groups, for

example college students and business people). But dehumanization is not only related to people that are viewed as extremely different from us. Despite their social status, out-group members are treated in a less humane manner. For example, we have a tendency to attribute less human-specific emotions, like love, guilt, pride, and shame, to the members of not-ours social groups (Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006; Demoulin et al., 2004; Haslam, Bain, Douge, Bastian, & Lee, 2005; Leyens et al., 2001; Vaes, Paladino, & Leyens, 2006). We see out-group members as less human than our fellow in-groups. This subtle, non-conscious mechanism can be strengthened when groups are conflicted. In extreme cases it could drive people to expel the members of different social or ethnic groups from the realm where moral and ethical standards apply (Bandura, 1999; Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996; Opotow & Weiss, 2000). When one takes away the humanity from group of people, he/she can be easily engaged in the justification of violence and prejudice against them. In his moral disengagement model, Bandura and his colleagues (McAlister, Bandura, & Owen, 2006) show, how various psychological mechanism are related to aggression against out-group members to whom moral and ethical norms do not apply, and how our self-sanctions can be disengaged from inhumane conduct. One of those psychological processes is moral justification, importance of which could not be overestimated, as most people do not engage in reprehensible behaviors until they have convinced themselves that their actions are right. As Bandura et al. stated: *"What is culpable, can be made righteous through cognitive reconstrual"* (Bandura et al., 1996, p. 365). Among other mechanisms related to moral disengagement are: euphemistic language, disregarding or distorting the consequences of actions, displacement and diffusion of responsibility and dehumanization. We are more prone to aggression and to harmful behaviors, and we show propensity to engage in derogation of out-group members when we speak about our misconducts of other groups in indirect, self-serving fashion (for example, we do not discriminate, but only "help them"); when we are blaming the victim; when we are not responsible for our actions and can displace responsibility to others ("just following the orders"); finally, when we dehumanize out-group members (either by direct comparison to the various animals, or by more subtle name-calling).

The role of intergroup threat in cross-cultural relations

Studies on intergroup conflicts and cross-cultural relations highlight the role of group anxiety and perceived threat from the migrants and out-groups in persistence of negative attitudes and prejudice. Recently, popularity was gained by the approach to intergroup conflicts based on the integrated threat theory (ITT) (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). When confronted with out-group members who engage in distinct cultural practices and base their lives on values that are unfamiliar to ours, we often feel uncertain and anxious. Integrated threat theory helps to explain why people from different cultural and ethnical background are viewed as a threat to us. Based on empirical evidence and previous conceptualizations of intergroup contacts, Walter G. Stephan and Cookie White Stephan propose, that there are four main sources of intergroup prejudice. Threats included in ITT are: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotypes.

Realistic threat emerges when two groups are in direct or indirect competition for scarce resources, where the potential success of one group threatens the well-being of the other, hence the rivalry is perceived as win–lose situation, which results in negative out-group attitudes. Realistic threat was extensively studied by Muzafer Sherif (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961). His theory of intergroup attitudes was based on rejection of individualistic views of prejudice. In classic Robber's Cave experiments, researchers demonstrated that prejudice is a group phenomenon. The dynamics between whole groups are important in understanding negative attitudes towards people who belong to other group than ours. This natural experiment that involved young boys divided into two teams during summer camp, showed that competition for limited and valued resources elicits hostile intergroup behavior. In broader sense, realistic threat could be related to material or political interests of groups. For example, perception that immigrants received jobs and positions that are threatening to the economic prosperity of in-group inhabitants could result in negative, anti-immigrant attitudes. When it comes to attitudes towards migrants and minorities, predictions based on realistic threat link negative attitudes to the number of migrants with whom citizens of host country are likely to compete. Namely, it is less likely that citizens will be threatened by migrants when there are only

few of them in the neighbourhood. Researchers indeed confirmed this hypothesis. Based on survey results on attitudes towards immigrants and racial minorities from Eurobarometer Survey, it was found that group threat explains most of the variation in average prejudice scores across the 12 European countries (Aberson & Gaffney, 1995). Similarly, more recent analysis conducted in 17 countries confirmed that realistic threat is related to willingness to expel immigrants (McLaren, 2003).

Symbolic threat is operationalized as a threat that arises from a conflict in values, norms, and beliefs between groups. The idea of symbolic threat is highlighted in many contemporary theories of inter-group relations; for example, in symbolic racism theory and social dominance theory (Pratto et al., 2000; Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sears & Henry, 2003; Tarman & Sears, 2005). Previous studies confirmed that people protect prescriptive and proscriptive norms of their groups and react with moral outrage when values they believe in are challenged. Moreover, when important values come under assault, people experience aversive emotional state, feel anger and contempt, and are more prone to support norm enforcement and punish norm violators (Fiske & Tetlock, 1997; Goldberg, Lerner, & Tetlock, 1999; Tetlock, 1998; Tetlock, 2003). In the integrated threat theory, dimensions of difference relevant to the symbolic threat include: morals, values, standards, beliefs, and attitudes (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001).

Intergroup anxiety involves feelings of uneasiness and awkwardness in the presence of out-group members because of the lack of knowledge and uncertainty about how to approach them, and how to behave towards them. Important to the integrated threat theory are feelings of social rejection from out-group members. Namely, feelings that could arise when people are concerned with being embarrassed or ridiculed by out-group members (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001).

Finally, authors (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) are aware that stereotypes are not usually conceptualized as threats, but they argue that stereotypes serve as a basis for expectations about out-groups and could be the roots of self-fulfilling prophecy. That is, when one holds negative stereotypes about an out-group (e.g. as lazy and untrustworthy), one expects out-group members to have negative and threatening characteristics. Meta-analysis from a total of 95 separate samples confirmed that all four sources of threat are related to negative out-group attitudes (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006), and this relation is not only significant when

it comes to explicit attitudes, but, to some degree, to implicit attitudes as well (Aberson & Gaffney, 2009).

In the realm of cross-cultural relations, researchers have tested the integrated threat theory and found that British students perceived threats to their academic success and group identity from the presence of international students (Harrison & Peacock, 2010). In the context of Hindu–Muslim relations in India (Tausch, Hewstone, & Roy, 2009), intergroup anxiety and realistic threat emerged as predictors of ethnic prejudice. Symbolic threat was a predictor of prejudice for Hindu, who constitute a majority in India, whereas realistic threat was a paramount predictor of prejudice for minority group of Muslims. Similarly, symbolic threat to one's values predicted prejudice towards Muslim minority in Holland among Dutch adolescents (Velasco, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). In other study conducted in the Netherlands this relationship was confirmed. Perceived symbolic threat was determinant of intolerance towards Muslims among both prejudiced and non-prejudiced participants. Additionally, threat to safety was one of the main determinants of political intolerance among people who scored higher on the measure of prejudice (Noll, Poppe, & Verkuyten, 2010). Results of the study conducted in Australia showed that both realistic and symbolic threats were significant predictors of prejudice towards refugees, but realistic threat was a stronger one (Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow, & Ryan, 2005). Yet another interesting study in Israel examined if people who strongly identify with their country will exhibit more realistic and symbolic threat and higher level of intergroup anxiety. Researchers collected data on prejudice of native Israelis towards Russian immigrants and their perception of the 4 types of threats proposed by the integrated threat theory (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). They found out that realistic threat was more influential in predicting prejudice against people who highly identify with their country. In terms of intergroup anxiety, it was more influential in predicting prejudice against people with lower level of identification. There were no differences in the predictive role of symbolic threat and negative stereotypes (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). Yet another study conducted in the USA on white males between the ages of 18 and 60 years show that attitudes towards the beneficiaries of affirmative action were predicted by all four threats proposed for the integrated threat theory (although realistic threat was only marginally significant; Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006).

To sum up, the above-cited studies confirmed the important role of four threats proposed and their relation to negative out-group attitudes. Here we presented only a few studies on ITT, but growing number of studies have shown that ITT theory is useful for better understanding intergroup conflicts and prejudice.

Complexity of reasoning and perspective taking as factors in out-group's behavior interpretation

If stereotyping, in-group favoritism, out-group derogation, and per-ceived intergroup threat are so common, than what can be done to en-courage intergroup cooperation? As Adam Galinsky noted in his paper (2002), one of the most powerful individual strategies for cognitively re-shaping of negative image of the out-group members is the mechanism of perspective taking, that is *"the active consideration of another's point of view and the situation that person faces"* (p. 97).

Many psychologists highlight ability to decentrate from one's own perspective as an important social skill (Piaget, 1997; Rosenberg, 1988; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). Decentration could be defined as the ability to pay attention to multiple attributes of a person or situation rather than seeing only one dimension of the problem. It also applies to the aware-ness that the same problem could be seen from different points of view. With more complex reasoning, ability to integrate and differentiate is developed. There are vivid individual differences in cognitive complex-ity that influence the way people think and behave in social context. For example, in the view of integrative complexity theory, the lower level of reasoning takes place when person shows neither differentiation nor integration. Low cognitively complex people are basing their opinions on one-dimensional, black and white perspective of the issue. Medium level of integrative complexity emerged when it is possible to notice me-dium or high differentiation, but there is no integration. The opinion is based on seeing at least two sides of the problem, but the individual sees no connection between the two dimensions. Medium-high level of inte-grative complexity is characterized by medium or high differentiation and medium level of integration. Then, the individual sees connections between different dimensions of a given issue. The connections can take

a number of different forms: identification of a superior category that connects the dimensions; concentration on common characteristics of different perspectives; presenting the reasons why different people see a problem from different perspectives; describing the effects of interaction between different dimensions, etc. Finally, high level of integrative complexity of thinking is prescribed to people's statements that show a high level of differentiation and integration. The response shows the issue in a wider context; describes specific relations and interactions between different perspectives; possible generalizations and their limitations (Besta, 2010; Suedfeld & Tetlock, 1977; Tetlock, 1985; Tetlock, 1986).

Most studies linking low level of integrative complexity with radicalization of attitudes found that low integrative complexity could serve as a useful predictor of intergroup conflicts and even of outbreaks of war and military actions (Conway III, Suedfeld, & Tetlock, 2001; Suedfeld, 2010). Studies show also that bicultural people (that is people who feel comfort and proficiency with both: one's heritage culture and the culture of the country or region in which one has settled), who presumably understand complexity of social problems better, are more integratively complex than either assimilated or separated individuals (Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009). We can see thus that exposure to second culture and knowledge about cultural and social basis of human behaviors results in increased complexity of reasoning and awareness of existence of points of view other than one's own. Moreover, bicultural persons present increased creative abilities, innovative capacity, and greater professional success. What is important, higher level of integrative complexity mediated relation between biculturalism and those positive outcomes. These results demonstrate that integrative complexity could be considered the underlying cognitive mechanism that facilitates success in culturally diverse environment (Tadmor, Galinsky, & Maddux, 2012).

Similarly to the ability to notice different sides of the problem, the aptitude to take the perspective of the other could influence the social relations by making our attributions and judgments less egocentric. Galinsky (2002) summarizing studies on perspective taking showed, that this ability helps in eliminating suspiciousness and distrust of any positive behaviors by the out-group, regardless of their genuineness. Moreover, taking the perspective of a person for whom our expectations are held could reduce a self-fulfilling prophecy, that is the tendency to selectively confirm one's expectations. Research shows also that perspective taking

is a useful strategy for controlling the activation of stereotypes. People who think about a day of life of an elderly man as if they were that person ("through his eyes" and "in his shoes"), exhibit stereotype inhibition or decreased accessibility of the stereotypes related to older age (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000).

In the next paragraph, based on the knowledge about perspective taking and complexity of reasoning, we highlight the role of the ability to function and "manage" oneself effectively in culturally diverse settings.

Cultural intelligence and its role in fostering cultural competence of pupils

"Culture is more often a source of conflict than of synergy. Cultural differences are a nuisance at best and often a disaster" (Hofstede, 2001).

So let's be mono-cultural? Taking literally this famous statement ascribed to Geert Hofstede (2001), one of the pioneers of cross-cultural psychology, cultural differences and cultural diversity should be by all means avoided. Having in mind also the above-cited studies on the mechanisms underlying intergroup conflicts, just noticing "the other group" as different from ours can lead to several stereotype-maintaining phenomena that can foster in-group favoritism, out-group derogation, and perceived intergroup threat, and as a result – strengthen ethnocentrism (Galinsky, 2002). Generally, interactions between representatives of different groups are often accompanied by more stress and inhibition than interactions between in-group members (Johnson, Olson, & Fazio, 2009; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). There are also studies indicating that actually experiencing multiculturalism can foster in-group favoritism, especially in the presence of realistic threat of a conflict, whose onset can be actually automatic, though untended in the culturally diverse setting (cf. Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011).

Interactions between individuals from different cultures often face natural problems that usually result from cross-cultural miscommunication and shallow, over-simplified and stereotypical knowledge about the other culture (Matsumoto & Juang, 2007; Thomas, Elron, Stahl, Ekelund, Ravlin et al. 2008). This is often caused by the wrong assumption that the representative of the other culture, although different, is still familiar

with the rules governing the social life of our own culture, which are in the same time thought to be universal. If we add to it the shared social orientation that one group is superior over the other (Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto, 2000), the status of interlocutors will influence the direction and the content of the stereotypical assumption – the group that has a higher status expects the other one to comply with the rules of his/her culture, and typically, the host culture sets the standard of behavior the guest culture should comply with.

In the view of the above, in environments where cross-cultural contacts are to be encountered on a daily basis (schools, universities, organizations), issues such as intercultural encounters and potential conflicts require special attention (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011). If not treated with proper sensitivity and care, they can often lead to social tensions resulting in general lack of eagerness to take the perspective of the other. Hence being able to communicate effectively in cross-cultural environment can be considered important competence for individuals, potentially reducing the probability of escalation of cross-cultural conflicts. However, this competence relies strongly on one's awareness that cultural differences exist and often override the assumed similarities – this, in fact, is the prerequisite of one's ability to adapt cognitively and behaviorally when interacting with representatives of other cultures. The second prerequisite is the eagerness to take the perspective of the other person – this is considered one of the universal and desired standards of behavior (cf. Gendolla & Wicklund, 2009). Hence, in order to fully achieve the state where cultural diversity is appreciated, one needs to: 1) see the differences between him/herself and the other person, 2) understand the roots underlying these differences, and 3) respect them (not necessarily approve of them) (Ang & Early, 2003; Bennett, 1993, 2004).

Putting cultural competence in broader and societal context, the notion of Participatory or Active Citizenship should be highlighted since it is understood as "*participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy*" (Hoskins, 2006, in: Hoskins, 2011, p. 4). Among important manifestations of developed citizenship are: ability to cooperate and to consider and appreciate the perspective of others in the society (Kerr, 1999). Hence multicultural Europe has been facing the challenge of equipping the citizens of different age with such competence. So far, several reports indicate certain success in that matter.

The Eurobarometer on Intercultural Dialogue (2007) firmly indicates that two-thirds of respondents have everyday interactions with people belonging to different cultures, and about three-quarters of EU citizens (both of young and old age) see that as enriching their own culture. However, this is accompanied by visible need to maintain one's own cultural background. Hence participatory citizenship (which, according to Hoskins, Abs, Han, Kerr, and Veugelers (2012), includes civic competence, political literacy and also intercultural competence) is necessary to be included in education process, as it fosters democracy. Intercultural competence, as mentioned by Hoskins et al. (2012), encompasses the ability to build effective relationship and grounds for mutual cooperation with representatives of different cultures, along with maintenance of one's own cultural heritage. However, the primary prerequisite to achieve it is to think in terms of cultural relativism rather than in terms of democratic rights for everybody.

Cultural sensitivity and cultural relativism are not considered to be natural state for any individual. The developmental path from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism, understood as the state of in-depth reflectiveness upon mutual relation between oneself and cultural diversity, requires active training and conscious and directed immersion into cross-cultural environment (Boski, Jarymowicz, & Malewska-Peyre 1992).

Development of cultural competence can be described by means of the Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity that encompasses 6 stages of development from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism (1993, 2004):

1. **Denial of differences** – this stage depicts the moment when individual rejects the very existence of differences. This is a simple result of having no contact with other cultures. Here no or only shallow cognitive categories have been developed concerning other culture since one has scarce interest in other cultures or has no reflections upon them.
2. **Defense against differences** – here cross-cultural differences are noticed and perceived as a threat. These defense mechanisms resemble nationalistic and imperial type of behavior, resulting from the feeling of superiority of one culture ("us") over the other one ("them").
3. **Minimization of differences** concerns the state where one underestimates the cross-cultural differences; here the basic assump-

tion states that people are more similar to one another, hence the differences observed might not be treated with enough care and attention and lead to conflicts when certain acts of behavior interpreted wrongly (avoiding eye-contact in individualistic cultures can be considered as an attempt to hide something and can be a symbol of dishonesty, whereas in certain cultures (e.g. Japan) this is an expected and appreciated signal of modesty and respect towards the interlocutor (c.f. Chybicka, Kosakowska-Berezecka, & Petrus, 2010).

4. **Acceptance of differences –** this stage depicts the moment where cultural differences are noticed, acknowledged and even understood in certain cultural contexts. The behavior which is incongruent with our culture is not evaluated positively or negatively, but is seen as a part of more complicated social world.

5. **Adaptation to differences** is achieved on both cognitive and behavioral level. This involves including cultural scripts of behavior from other culture into one's own repertoire of actions, thoughts and attitudes and using them according to the demands of the situation.

6. **Integration of differences**, which involves the internalization of bicultural or multicultural frames of reference. This stage (or process) is constantly undergoing changes, and hence every situation can evoke different reactions depending on the partners of the model.

One of the constructs explaining this ability to interact effectively with representatives of other cultures is cultural intelligence (CQ). This is multidimensional concept of intelligence derived from the definition created by Sternberg (1997). It is understood as one's ability to adapt to cross-cultural and diverse environment, different from one's country of origin (Thomas, Elron, Stahl, Ekelund, Ravlin et al., 2008; Ang & Earley, 2003). Behavioral indicators of CQ encompass the ability to differentiate cultural differences, interpret them correctly and use the new knowledge in overcoming the problems resulting from cultural diversity. Cultural intelligence is usually developed while having regular contacts with representatives of other cultures and it develops one's motivation to mingle with representatives of other cultures and prevents an individual from being biased towards other cultures by different stereotypes. The other result of developing cultural intelligence is lower propensity to treat

one's culture as better than the other one, and hence individual with high CQ adopt less hierarchical perception of the cultures.

According to Ang and Van Dyne (2003), Cultural Intelligence consists of four factors, which constitute a scale of CQ that is based on the extension of their earlier work. CQ-Strategy measures one's ability to be cognitively adapted to cross-cultural contacts when one thinks about effective strategies to verify the assumptions made about the other culture before and during an inter-cultural encounter. CQ-Knowledge depicts person's ability to name both similarities and differences between cultures, and it reflects the general knowledge about other cultures concerning their life style, values, language, etc. CQ-Motivation reflects person's eagerness to involve into cross-cultural contacts, and to acquire new knowledge and experience. Lastly, CQ-Behavior measures one's ability to adapt to culturally new environment by using varied behavioral responses that can be shifted into more appropriate and normative behavior in a given culture on both verbal and non-verbal level. Several studies show positive correlation between CQ and feeling of being well-adjusted to culturally diverse environments, and actually being more effective when working in such environments (Yi-chun, Song, & Chen, 2012; Ward, Wilson, & Fisher, 2011).

Cultural competences encompass three groups of abilities: perceptive, relational and adaptive. Hence being able to see the value in critical and often difficult cross-cultural experiences is connected with one's openness to experience, low uncertainty avoidance and low propensity to devalue others if they are different. Relational abilities concern one's flexibility and empathy, whereas adaptive abilities foster one's ability to learn new behavior quickly and to monitor it in culturally new setting. Here individual verifies if certain act of behavior (e.g. form of greeting the elderly) is still considered to be the norm in a given culture.

One of the ways of fostering cultural intelligence (apart from travelling) is cross-cultural adaptation training, that teaches others how to orientate yourself in new environment (Bhawuk & Brislin, 2000; Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Brislin & Yoshida, 1994). During such trainings or cross-cultural workshops, individuals familiarize themselves with cultural scripts concerning other cultures in the varied scope (family relations, gender relations, power, etc.) – they accumulate knowledge about other cultures and then analyze so called cultural assimilators (cf. Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, & Yong, 1986). These are descriptions of situations

where cross-cultural differences lead to certain critical incidents that can result in conflicts. Participants of cross-cultural trainings are supposed to "solve" them by finding the cultural reasons and roots of such incidents.

Such trainings are proved to strengthen the position of global companies in a global market – managers who took part in such trainings declare lower discomfort when encountering cross-cultural contacts, and hence they are well adapted to working in culturally diverse environments (Osman-Gani & Rockstuhl, 2009). Thus, cultural intelligence constitutes a certain competence that can be actively developed by individual, by frequent interactions with representatives of other cultures in order to gain knowledge on the very culture, their cultural scripts. In such a way, by developing cultural intelligence one fulfills the prominent condition to reduce the risk of escalation of potential cross-cultural conflicts – learn about the other cultures and you will be more willing to take the perspective of "the different".

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Mathematics Education, Democracy and Social Justice

This article explores relationships among power, learning and social justice in mathematics, to highlight ways in which people can be empowered as learners in mathematics schooling. The perspective taken here is a critical sociology of mathematics, in which mathematics is understood as a form of social action in the classroom, where people learn and construct shared meanings.

Paola Valero argues that it is astonishing for many people that mathematics can be thought in relation to something "social" or "human", such as power relations, inequalities, political affairs and actions, and democratic values. Mathematics is rather viewed as a set of numbers, rules and procedures which have no relation to power, democracy and everyday lives of people in society (Valero, 2005, p. 1). How mathematics is viewed, is significant on many levels. If mathematics is regarded as a body of objective knowledge, then it can bear no social responsibility. Thus, the underparticipation of certain sectors of populations, such as women; the sense of cultural alienation from mathematics felt by many groups of students; the relationship of mathematics to human affairs, such as the reproduction of social and political values; its role in the distributions of power – none of these issues are relevant to mathematics. If mathematics is viewed as a fallible social construct, then it is a process of inquiry, a constantly expanding field of human creation, not a finished product. Mathematics seen this way must be analyzed in living contexts which are meaningful to the learners, including their languages, cultures, everyday lives as well as their school-based experiences. Mathematics is seen here in more human way, as responsible for its uses and consequences (Ernest, 1991, p. XII). Thus, mathematics education, the curricula and teaching rest on philosophy of mathematics. Different

philosophies of mathematics have widely differing outcomes in terms of educational theory and practice. In order to analyze the philosophies that underpin mathematics curriculum and teaching, one needs to consider epistemological and ethical views embedded within the following educational ideologies:

1. Functionalism of modern industrial trainers

This ideology is representative for the conservative social groups close to the right-wing. Dualistic absolutism characterizes this view concerning knowledge, moral values and social relations. According to this perspective, mathematical knowledge is cut and dried, true or false, and established by the authority. Moral values are organized in dualities, such as good and evil. Industrial trainers not only value a narrowly utilitarian education, but expect of it teaching the required social character – habits of regularity, self-discipline, obedience and effort. Key principals are freedom, individualism, inequality and competition on the market. Society is viewed as strongly stratified into social classes, reflecting differences in virtues and natural abilities. All individuals have their place in society, which they can keep if they fulfill their social duties and responsibilities. However, the competition between individuals on the market ensures that those who fall below the standards of their position find a lower place in society. The child, like all humanity, is tainted by original sin, and slips easily into play, sloth, and evil unless controlled and disciplined. Strict authority is needed as a guide and one must be cruel to be kind. Competition is needed to bring out the best in individuals, for only through competition will they be motivated to excel (Ernest, 1991, p. 147).

Mathematics is defined as clear body of knowledge and techniques, made up from facts and skills as well as complicated and sophisticated concepts more appropriate to academic research. School mathematics is clearly demarcated from other areas of knowledge, and must be kept free from the trait of cross-cultural links and social values. Social issues have no place in mathematics, which is neutral, and concerns only such objective contents as numbers and computation. The intrusion of social issues such as multiculturalism, ethnicity, anti-sexism, anti-racism, peace and armaments is rejected outright. The aims of mathematics are

the acquisition of fundamental numeracy and the obedience. Learning, like success in life for the masses, depends on individual application, self-denial, and effort. Learning is represented by metaphor of work and hard labour which can be isolated and individualistic. Pencil, paper, drill and root learning are particularly important.

2. The Technological Pragmatism

In this perspective, mathematics as type of knowledge is seen as unproblematic and given, something which, as a tool, can be applied in practical application. In particular, mathematics is seen as fixed and absolute, but applicable in practical context (Ernest, 1991, p. 152). The values of this position consist of utility, expediency, pragmatism and self or group interest. These are perceived to be best served in modern society through industrial production and wealth creation. Scientific and technological progress are also valued as well as social development. Industrial and technical order is understood to be the engine of social development and progress, so science, technology and industry are perceived as heart of society. Existing social and political structures are accepted as an underlying reality. A hierarchical model of society is accepted, with experts, technocrats and bureaucrats in an elevated position. However, the social hierarchy is not seen as rigid and social mobility is possible. The child is seen as an empty vessel needing to be filled up with facts and skills. The child is also seen as a blunt tool, sharpened thought training, for use in the world of work.

The aim of this group for the teaching of mathematics is utilitarian. Students should learn it at the appropriate level to prepare themselves for the demands of adult employment. School mathematics is seen to have two parts. First are the pure mathematical knowledge, skills, procedures and facts. Second, there are the applications and uses of mathematics. This is a vital living part of mathematics, which justifies and motivates the study of the subject (Ernest, 1991, p. 162).

3. The Old Humanists

The mathematical old humanists regard mathematics as intrinsically valuable, a central element of culture. Mathematics is a supreme achieve-

ment of humankind, a perfect, crystalline body of absolute truth. It is the product of an elite, a small group of geniuses. Within mathematics rigour, logical proof, structure, abstraction, simplicity and elegance are valued. Based on this set of values, the aim for mathematics education is the communication of mathematics for its own sake (Ernest, 1991, p. 168). The Old Humanists focus on rules and principles. All reasoning is based on truth, fairness and blind justice, the impartial application of the rules of justice to all, without concern for individual human issues and concerns.

This position is essentially conservative and hierarchical in its theory of society. It values the knowledge and cultural tradition of the Western world. It is concerned with the pure elitist culture of middle and upper classes. Thus, the position aims to conserve existing cultural traditions and the associated social structures. The central educational goal of this position is the transmission of pure knowledge and high culture as well as its values. Thus, the aim of education is to produce the liberally educated person, with the appreciation of culture for its own sake. The educational aims for mathematics are to transmit pure mathematics, with an emphasis on the structure, conceptual level, and the rigour of the subject. School mathematics is understood as a pure, hierarchically structured, self-subsistent body of objective knowledge. Students are encouraged to climb up this hierarchy as far as possible, according to their mathematical ability (Ernest, 1991, p. 170).

4. The Progressive Educators

Ethically, this position is based on the connected values: the ethics of responsibility, human relationships, empathy, caring, and the human dimension of situations (Ernest, 1991, p. 181). This perspective parallels the romantic tradition in art and education, valuing expression, style, diversity, and experience, which represents a particularly individualistic and person-centred values. Knowledge is seen as innate, re-created by individuals as part of their process of development and unfolding. Children are regarded as individuals who have full rights. The needs for nurturing, protection, and enriching experiences help them to develop their full potential. The child is seen as an innocent savage and growing flower. The focus of this perspective on individual growth rather than on

social issues reinforces the statement that structural features of society are less important. According to this perspective, the goal of humanity is the self-development and personal fulfillment of each individual. The aim of education is to promote the self-realization by encouraging their growth through creativity, self-expression and wide-ranging experience.

Mathematics is seen as the subject that is a vehicle for developing the child as a whole, so the curricular emphasis is on mathematics as a language, and on the creative and human side of mathematical experience. The processes of mathematical problem solving and investigating, such as generalizing, conjecturing, abstracting, symbolizing, structuring and justifying figure more prominently than the specification of mathematical content (Ernest, 1991, p. 191). The mathematical aim is to contribute to the overall development of the growing human being, to develop creativity and self-realization through the experience of learning mathematics. This involves the development of the child as an autonomous inquirer and knower in mathematics as well as the fostering of the child's confidence, positive attitudes and self-esteem with regard to mathematics, and shielding the child from negative experiences which might undermine these attitudes.

5. The Public and Radical Educators

The moral values of this position are those of social justice. Knowledge is seen to be the key to action and power. This position promotes a respect for each individual rights, feelings and sense-making. Underpinning this concern are the principles of egalitarianism and the desire for caring social justice, which are based on three fundamental values: equality, freedom and fellowship. There are also two derived values: democratic participation and humanitarianism. These values are loosely identified with the political left.

The theory of the childhood is that of individuals who are born equal, with the equal rights and, in general, equal gifts and potential. These individuals develop within a social structures, especially class, and surrounding culture. Children are clay to be moulded by the powerful impact of social forces and cultures. They are seen as active and enquiring makers of meaning and knowledge (Ernest, 1991, p. 198).

The theory sees society as divided and structured by relation of power, culture, status, and the distribution of wealth, and acknowledges social inequalities in terms of rights, life chances, and freedom for the pursuit of happiness. This view sees the masses as disempowered, without the knowledge to assert their rights as citizens in a democratic society, and without the skills to win a good place in the employment market, with the remunerations it brings.

School mathematical knowledge must reflect the nature of mathematics as a social construction: tentative, growing by means of human creation and decision-making, and connected with other realms of knowledge, culture and social life. School mathematics must not be seen as externally imposed knowledge, from which students feel alienated. In this way, knowledge of mathematics is to provide a way of seeing as well as thinking tools. It provides an understanding of and power over both the abstract structures of knowledge and culture, and the mathematized institutions of social and political reality.

The supplementary aim of mathematics education is also the demystification (or even deconstruction) of socio-political role of school mathematics in promotion of "racism of abilities". The theory of social diversity reflects the underlying values and epistemology. Thus, the mathematics curriculum should reflect its diverse historical, cultural, and geographical locations and sources; its role in non-academic context and its embeddedness in all aspects of the social and political organizations of modern life. The mathematics curriculum must be friendly and inclusive to females, ethnic minorities, and other social groups, and positive action including anti-sexism, anti-racism are needed to enhance the mathematical education and the social outlook of all, not merely to counter the problems of disadvantaged groups (Ernest, 1991, p. 210). The curriculum must be screened in order to remove obstacles to the success for all, such as language, stereotypes or narrow pedagogy which limit the full engagement, participation or development of all social segments. Social diversity is recognized, accommodated, and celebrated as central to the nature of mathematics.

Mathematics and power

A dominant definition of mathematics education is that of the discipline "covering the practice of mathematics teaching and learning at all levels in the educational system in which it is embedded" (Sierpinska & Kilpatrick, 1998, p. 29). In this field, "*mathematics and its specificities are inherent in the research questions from the outset. One is looking at mathematics learning and one cannot ask these questions outside of mathematics*" (Sierpinska & Kilpatrick, 1998, p. 26). Authors stress that mathematics education covers all the activities revolving around teachers' instruction of a given mathematical content to some students who are engaged in learning of that content.

A number of authors emphasize the impact of "social turn" on mathematics education (Ernest, 1994, Lerman, 2000, Valero, 2005). They argue that the growing attention to the social aspects of mathematics education during the last 20 years is rooted in the political concerns of some researchers who saw that inequalities in society were reproduced by differential success in school mathematics (Lerman, 2000, p. 24). This societal reproductive potential is one aspect of what is described by Ole Skovsmose as the formatting power of mathematics, which has an invisible role in the structuration of society and the unequal distribution of wealth (Skovsmose, 1994, p. 199). The notions of societal structuring are a central concern for many sociologists. Pierre Bourdieu, who wrote extensively on the reproductive potential of education, recognized the unique power of school mathematics, particularly through the examination system: "*Often with a psychological brutality that nothing can attenuate, the school institution lays down its final judgements and its verdicts, from which there is no appeal, ranking all students in a unique hierarchy of all forms of excellence, nowadays dominated by a single discipline, mathematics*" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 28).

This set of arguments is not reinforced by Paola Valero, who claims that this particular political awareness does not necessarily lead to the constitution of a socio-political approach in research. One of the reasons for this is that the notion of power was not extensively and systematically analyzed, neither operationalized in research (Valero, 2005). Valero examines some of the existing literature in search of the meaning given to the notion of power in different mathematics education research dis-

courses. She has distinguished the following types of its conceptualization described below.

The first concept was found in Lyn English's *Handbook of International Research in Mathematics Education*. English invites contributing authors to think about the issue of access to powerful mathematical ideas. In her text, English provides meaning to this phrase and to the term *powerful*, in the following way: "*the lack of access to a quality education – in particular, a quality mathematics education – is likely to limit human potential and individual economic opportunity. Given the importance of mathematics in the changing global market, there will be increased demands for workers to possess more advanced and future-oriented mathematical and technological skills. Together with the rapid changes in the workplace and in daily living, the global market has alerted us to rethink the mathematical experiences we provide for our students in terms of content, approaches to learning, ways of assessing learning, and ways of increasing access to quality learning*" (English, 2000, p. 4). It is obvious that the "hidden curriculum" of English's mathematical discourse is the demands of the global economy to people's performance. Thus, *powerful mathematical ideas* are those that will allow people to think in ways that guarantee their success as working force in the 21st century, that is, in the global economy.

The second concept of power was found in the work of radical mathematics educators, such as Marilyn Frankenstein. In Frankenstein's discourse, "*mathematics education in general, and mathematics in particular, will become more equitable as the class structure in society becomes more equitable. Since I also contend that working-class consciousness is an important component in changing class inequities, developing that consciousness during teaching could contribute to the goal of ensuring equity in mathematics education. I think that mathematical disempowerment impedes an understanding of how our society is structured with respect to class interests*" (Frankenstein, 1995, p. 165). A first concern of Frankenstein is the existence of deep class inequalities in society that are also present in school, and that determines the way in which mathematics is taught. Students' awareness of the class inequalities is essential in a move towards a more equitable society. Thus, mathematics education can help students gaining class-consciousness since it can make visible the ways in which mathematical calculations are implicated themselves in the reproduction of inequalities. Mathematics education needs to empower students to gain this awareness. In other words, a lack of mathematical capacities, mathemat-

ical disempowerment, makes people powerless and blocks the gaining of class consciousness.

Another version of this perspective can be found in the political challenge posed by ethnomathematics to the Western, "white mathematics". A central aspect of critique by Ubiratan D'Ambrosio is the uncontested imposition of mathematics as the privileged form of thinking of human beings. Because of this high, culturally constructed status in the Western world, mathematics "*is positioned as a promoter of a certain model of exercising power through knowledge*" (D'Ambrosio, 1995, p. 24). In the historical development of the Western world, that has as well impacted the colonization and cultural domination, mathematics imposes the rationality of the dominant power over all other forms of mathematical thinking and expression in non-Western, colonized cultures. However, many histories of mathematics promote a simplified Eurocentric view of its development. In contrast to this view, a social constructivist history of mathematics shows how sociopolitical forces drive particular human creations and block others (Ernest, 1991, p. 261). This important narrative in social constructivism is reinforced by ethnomathematics which recognizes that human activities arising from counting, location, measuring, designing, playing and exploring have the cultural roots. Ethnomathematicians such as D'Ambrosio, Bishop, Zaslavsky agree that there is more than one traditional, white-Western academic mathematics (D'Ambrosio, 1993, Bishop, 1988, Zaslavsky, 1973). As a part of culture, mathematics belongs to people, not only to the socially privileged white elite. This ideological position focusing on multicultural roots of mathematics as well as social issues as racism in schools, social structures and cultural domination seeks the ways to use mathematics to empower learners, to ameliorate the conditions of non-white learners in mathematics schooling, to social justice and change.

The fourth concept of power was found in Thomas Popkewitz's work. Author points out that the mathematics curriculum is an ordering practice analogous to creating a uniform system of taxes, the development of uniform measurements, and urban planning. The mathematics curriculum embodies rules and standards of reason that order how judgments are made, conclusions drawn, rectification proposed, and the fields of existence made manageable and predictable. The author stresses: "*I consider mathematics education in this manner not only because mathematics education is one of the high priests of modernity. Mathematics*

education carries the salvation narrative of progress. The narratives are of the enlightened citizen who contributes to the global knowledge society. The story of progress is also told about a pluralism of the diverse people who come to school. Yet while the speech is about a universal child who is not left behind *and* all children will learn, *some children are never even brought to the table! How does that happen? What are the concrete cultural practices in the curriculum that produce the distinctions and divisions that qualify some and disqualify others*?" (Popkewitz, 2002, p. 35). Mathematics education is understood as a social practice which contributes to and establishes the surveillance of citizens. That surveillance is carried through the instauration of systems of reason, that is socially constructed and accepted forms of characterizing and organizing the world, which frame what is possible, desirable and appropriate and, therefore, constitute the basis of classification of individuals in a society. The mathematics curriculum and the teaching of mathematics are social practices that, through the transformation of knowledge from one field of practice to another field of practice, helps regulating the action of students, their thinking frames, and their possibilities of participation in the social world. Mathematics education operates as part of broader mechanisms which determine what is perceived as valued, right and normal in society. Mathematics education is also understood as practices through which norms, social power of classification, regulation and positioning of people are established. Popkewitz's perspective is highly inspired by Foucault's analysis of the microphysics of power in modern societies. In this view, power is a relational capacity of social actors to position themselves in different situations through the use of various resources. This definition implies that power is not an intrinsic and permanent characteristic of social actors; power is relational and in constant transformation. This transformation does not happen directly as a consequence of open struggle and resistance, but through the participation of actors in social practices and in the construction of discourses. In this sense, power is both a constructive and destructive force, and that duality is always present in any social situation. When power is defined in these terms, it becomes possible to enter into nuanced analysis of how mathematics and mathematics education are used in particular discourses, and of the effects of those discourses in people's lives (Valero, 2005, p. 10). In addition to these educational issues, the question of mathematical empowerment can be included in order to un-

derstand how learners create their own mathematical knowledge and their participation in society and culture.

The identified ways of defining power is not so popular among mathematics education researchers. However, this perspective is able to bring new insights in research, especially the concept of mathematical empowerment as a core of critical mathematics education.

What is empowerment?

Empowerment, as Paul Ernest stresses, can be defined as the gaining of power in particular domains of activity by individuals or groups, and the processes of giving power to them, or processes that foster and facilitate their taking of power (Ernest, 2002, p. 1). Discussion of mathematical empowerment concerns the aims of teaching mathematics and the objectives of learning mathematics. It also concerns the role of mathematics in the life of the individual learner and its impact on their school and wider social life, both in the present and in the future. Empowerment through mathematics necessitates a consideration of the development of the identity of learners and their potentions through the development of mathematical and related capacities. Ernest distinguishes three different domains of empowerment concerning mathematics and its uses. These three domains of empowerment may be described as mathematical, social, and epistemological (Ernest, 2002).

Mathematical empowerment concerns the gaining of power over the language, skills and practices of using and applying mathematics. This is the gaining of power over a relatively narrow domain of school mathematics. Social empowerment through mathematics concerns the ability to use mathematics to improve one's life chances in study and work, and to participate more fully in society through critical mathematical citizenship. It involves the gaining of power over a broader social domain, including the work, life and social affairs. As Ernest stresses, epistemological empowerment concerns the individual's growth of confidence not only in using mathematics, but also a personal sense of power over the creation and validation of knowledge. This is, as author stresses, a personal form of empowerment: the development of personal identity so as to become a more personally empowered person with growth of confi-

dence and potentially enhanced empowerment in both the mathematical and social senses. (Ernest, 1991, p. 206).

Mathematics can contribute to social empowerment from the utilitarian to the more politically radical "critical mathematical citizenship". At the one end of the social empowerment continuum is the statement that success at mathematics gives students power through enhanced life chances in study, further employment, and social affairs. Thus, developing capabilities in mathematics often benefits the student directly in these domains. The use of mathematical qualifications as a "critical filter" controlling entry into higher education and higher paid occupations was noted, especially by researchers in the area of gender and mathematics (Walkerdine, 1997). Although this is particularly important in occupations involving scientific and technological skills, it extends far beyond this domain to many other occupations, including education, the caring professions, financial services, and management positions in business and commerce. This has important implications for social equity, especially in the area of gender, race/ethnicity and mathematics. At the other end of the social empowerment continuum is critical mathematical citizenship. Paul Ernest stresses that this involves the development of mathematically-literate or socially-numerate citizens who are able to exercise independent critical judgments with regard to the mathematical underpinnings of crucial social and political decision-making, as well as the uses of mathematics in the mass-media, advertising, and in commercial, political and interest group pronouncements and propaganda (Ernest, 1991, p. 213). The idea of "being critical" is about engaging in a change; it means making critical judgments, using all available evidence, reasoning and balanced arguments to evaluate claims and to reach conclusions. It also means not taking explanations and views of tradition or authorities for granted but questioning them to see if they stand up to careful and challenging scrutiny. Above all, it means independent thinking, which draws upon the larger contexts and implications of the issue under consideration, as well as detailed knowledge, to make balanced judgments.

There is a tradition of critical mathematics education that is about this critical attitude of mind applied to mathematics and its teaching (Skovsmose, 1994), and there are two main sets of questions underpinning it. The first set of questions is about the nature of mathematics itself. What is mathematics really all about? Is it the objective and timeless certainty

consisting only of value-free knowledge? Or are there other ways of understanding mathematics in more human, cultural and historical ways? The second set of questions that a critical perspective poses, concerns the aims and purposes of teaching and learning mathematics. What are the aims of teaching and learning mathematics? Whose aims are these? Based on whose values? Who "gains" and who "loses" in mathematics schooling? How should mathematics teaching empower learners in their lives and in relation to society? (Ernest, 2002, p. 4).

According to the critical mathematics education perspective, students should be able to think mathematically, and to use their mathematical knowledge and skills in their lives to empower themselves both personally and as citizens, and through their broadened perspectives, to appreciate the role of mathematics in history, culture, and the contemporary world. As Paul Ernest stresses, a critical mathematics education would develop some of the following aspects of understanding and awareness:

a) critically understanding the uses of mathematics in society: to identify, interpret, evaluate and criticize the mathematics embedded in social, commercial and political systems and claims, from advertisements to government and interest-group pronouncements;

b) being aware of how and to what extent mathematical thinking permeates everyday life and current affairs;

c) having a sense of mathematics as a central element of culture, art and life, present and past, which underpins science, technology, and all aspects of human culture;

d) being aware of the historical development of mathematics, the social contexts of the origins of mathematical concepts, symbolism, theories and problems;

e) understanding that there are multiple views of the nature of mathematics and controversy over the philosophical foundations of its knowledge. (Ernest, 2002, p. 6)

Critical mathematics education should give learners an appreciation and awareness of the nature and value of mathematics and the uses to which it is put, as well as understanding and being able to critique its social uses. Authentic materials, social statistics, and other resources provide a basis for understanding how mathematics is used and applied in the world outside school. In particular, they can be used to teach students to identify, interpret, evaluate, and criticize the mathematics embedded

in social, commercial and political claims, and the uses made of them in advertisements and claims in the mass media to those of political parties as well as government claims (Ernest, 1991, p. 209).

In the development of critical mathematical literacy and citizenship through the appropriate use of authentic materials and a critical pedagogy, independent critical judgment is developed in a student, in a way that should be individually empowering (Ernest, 2002, p. 6). The empowered learner will not only be able to pose and solve mathematical questions (mathematical empowerment), but also will have the ability to understand and begin to answer important questions relating to a broad range of social uses and abuses of mathematics. Mathematics becomes a "thinking tool" for viewing the world critically and will be contributing to both the political and social empowerment of the learner, and to the promotion of social justice and a better life for all, especially for underprivileged groups. Thus, mathematics education understood as "mathematics for all" and "mathematics by all" bases on democratic, socialist principles and values.

The third sense of empowerment concerns the individual's growth of confidence not only in using mathematics, but also a personal sense of power over the creation and validation of one's knowledge. This is a personal form of empowerment: the development of personal identity so as to become a more personally empowered person with growth of confidence and potentially enhanced empowerment in both the mathematical and social senses. The epistemological empowerment implies many possible concepts.

One of them can be found in Ubiratan D'Ambrosio works. In *Cultural Framing of Mathematics Teaching and Learning*, he makes the following comment: "*In the last 100 years, we have seen enormous advances in our knowledge of nature and in the development of new technologies. And yet, this same century has shown us a despicable human behaviour. Unprecedented means of mass destruction, of insecurity, new terrible diseases, unjustified famine, drug abuse, and moral decay are matched only by an irreversible destruction of the environment. Much of this paradox has to do with an absence of reflections and considerations of values in academics, particularly in the scientific disciplines, both in research and in education. Most of the means to achieve these wonders and also these horrors of science and technology have to do with advances in mathematics*" (D'Ambrosio, 1994, p. 443). With this formulation we leave behind any assumption of mathematics representing a universal logic of

progress. Instead, D'Ambrosio points out that mathematics is part of not only the achievement of wonders, but the production of horrors as well: "*Survival with dignity is the most universal problem facing mankind. Mathematics, mathematicians and mathematics educators are deeply involved with all the issues affecting society nowadays. But we learn, through history, that the technological, industrial, military, economic and political complexes have developed thanks to mathematical instruments. And also that mathematics has been relying on these complexes as the material bases for its continuing progress. It is also widely recognized that mathematics is the most universal mode of thought. Are these two universals conflicting or are they complementary? It is sure, that mathematicians and math educators are concerned with the advancement of the most universal mode of thought, that is, mathematics. But it is also sure that, as human beings, they are equally concerned with the most universal problem facing mankind, that is, survival with dignity*" (D'Ambrosio, 2008, p. VII).

It is undeniable that mathematics provides an important instrument for social analysis. Western civilization relies entirely on data control and management. However, author argues that the emphasis on the "quantitative" cannot be detrimental to the equally important emphasis on the "qualitative". His own proposal of literacy, matheracy, and technoracy, discussed below, is an answer to his criticism of the lack of equilibrium in mathematics schooling. The three provide, in a critical way, the communicative, analytical and technological instruments necessary for life in the 21st century.

Literacy is the ability of processing information, such as the use of written and spoken language, of signs and gestures, codes and numbers. However, reading has a different meaning than simple familiarity with words. Reading includes also the competency of numeracy, the interpretation of graphs and tables, and other ways of acquiring information. Reading includes understanding the condensed language of codes. Thus, these competencies have much more to do with screens and buttons than with pencil and paper.

Matheracy is the capability of inferring, proposing hypotheses, and drawing conclusions from data. It is a first step toward an intellectual posture, which is almost completely absent in our school systems. According to D'Ambrosio, matheracy is closer to the way mathematics was present both in classical Greece and in indigenous cultures. The concern is not with counting and measuring, but much more with divination and

philosophy. Matheracy is conceived by D'Ambrosio as deeper reflection about man and society.

Technoracy means the critical familiarity with technology. The operative aspects of it are, in most cases, inaccessible to the lay individual. But the basic ideas behind technological devices, their abilities and dangers, values and ethics supporting the possible uses of technology, are essential issues to be raised among children at a very early age. According to D'Ambrosio, the three together constitute what is essential for citizenship in a world moving toward a planetary civilization (D'Ambrosio, 2008, pp. 37–50).

Another understanding of personal empowerment is rooted in area of gender and language. Many authors generally agree that mathematics is a masculine discourse. Mathematics valorizes abstract reasoning, objectivity, factuality, precision, rationality, perceived as a set of masculine values. As a school subject it is identified as cool, controllable, distinct, and unquestionably hegemonic (Davis, 1996, p. 214). This situation privileges many, but not all, boys in participation and performance in this area of learning. It is important to explore the gender language of the mathematics classroom to understand the ways in which masculine and feminine identities are constructed as unequal learners in the discursive practices of this subject; to understand the ways people talk and act in order to produce mathematical meaning (Chapman, 2001, p. 201). The assumptions here are that:

a) mathematics is a constructed discourse;
b) the language of mathematics is situated within the discursive practices that produce mathematical knowledge;
c) the rules of mathematical discourse prescribe particular kinds of roles for learners, and to take up the role it is necessary to speak and act according to these rules.

Anne Chapman research illustrates that learning mathematics involves learning its characteristically male patterns of language use: precise, concise, factual and authoritative way of speaking. As author stresses, doing mathematics is very much about talking a particular style of masculinity (Chapman, 2001, p. 200). Her analysis refers to the social semiotics as an important perspective focusing on the specificity of mathematics register. Author stresses that distinctive aspects of mathematical language are its minimal metaphoric content and high modality structure. If we consider learning as the processes of making the mathematical meanings,

we need to recognize how girls and boys make shifts from less mathematical to more mathematical register in mathematics schooling. In early primary years teachers introducing new mathematical topics use a lot of metaphorical content. However, at higher levels of schooling, they use much more abstract language and their mathematical communication tends to be definitive and factual. In the analysis of a transcript of classroom talk, Chapman shows how pupils languages are used to "strip away" and "suppress" the metaphoric content in favor of more abstract language. Transition to the highly metonymic form and high modality of mathematical language is felt by most learners as deep alienation. In contrast, the gender-inclusive approaches, considered as language-sensitive ones, allow learners to use language to express their ideas without the rigid concern for correct mathematical style (Walkerdine, 1988). Many successful learners who learn to "talk the talk" of school mathematics are boys. To be good at mathematics in terms of social semiotic means to take the dominant form of masculinity promoted in the school construction of gender identities.

The central aspect of epistemological disempowerment is linked with the elitist ideology of knowledge production that operates in students' awareness that source of knowledge is outside themselves, and that it is both created and sanctioned by external authorities. Students believe that only such authorities are legitimate epistemological agents, and that their own role as individuals is merely to receive knowledge, with the subsequent aim of reproducing or transmitting it as accurately as possible. Thus, despite being "knowers", most individuals are deeply disempowered as epistemological agents. In order to explore the dimension of epistemological empowerment, it is valuable to turn to models of the development of the individual knower. There is a number of such models, but that of Mary Belenky is the most relevant in the present context because of its direct focus on the developing epistemological powers of the individual (Belenky et al., 1986). Belenky provides a holistic model of the stages of empowerment of the knower, in which students develop as epistemological agents from a position of passivity dominated by authority to one of epistemological autonomy and empowerment, as they progress through the following stages:

Table 1. Stages of knowing

Silence knowing	Accepts authority's verdict as to what is true.
Received knowing	Learns by listening; returns words of authority. Speaker is not source of knowledge.
Subjective knowing	Inner voice says, "I only know what I feel in my gut." Assumes that there are right answers. "Male version": I have a right to my opinion. "Female version": It is just my opinion.
Procedural knowing	Voice of reason; begins to evaluate validity of argument. Separate knowing: looks to propositional logic; impersonal way of knowing. Connected knowing: looks to what circumstances lead to perception; what access to other people's knowledge.
Constructed knowing	Effort to integrate what is known intuitively and what other people know. Appreciates complexity of knowledge.

Source: Belenky et al., 1986.

This model, known as Women's Ways of Knowing, was originally developed as part of a feminist research project to describe the progress of adult women knowers. Belenky and her colleagues spent years interviewing 135 women of various ages and socio-cultural backgrounds (African-American, European American, and Hispanic), who were identified in formal sites of education as prestigious women's college, coeducational colleges, urban community colleges and high schools as well as in sites of informal education, such as human service agencies designed to support women in parenting. Basing on the empirical material collected from interviews and on Carol Gilligan's work (stages of moral development known as "different voice" theory), Belenky proposes stages in knowing that differ in some fundamental ways from how ungendered "universal learners" know.

In *Silence knowing stage*, knowing is subliminal; it does not belong to the individual and usually is not vocalized. All sources of knowing are external and come from authorities. The knower does not believe that she can learn from her own experience, and merely accepts or relies on an authority for all knowledge, which she does not question. Here the inner voice of the knower would express an awareness of base angels of

teacher's thinking are equal. In the *Received knowing stage* people learn by listening. Knowing comes from what authority say, and the student depends on authorities to hand down the truth. Knowledge is dependent upon an external source. Learners do not ask why a given rule is so, or wonder who gave their teacher the power to make such a decision. The authority that comes with being a teacher is all that is required for such students to accept the truth of a statement. The *Subjective knowing stage* is a powerful one for the knower and legitimizes women's intuition. Knowledge no longer comes from outside the knower, and an inner voice lets the individual know that she is on the right track. Belenky stresses that men and women handle this type of knowing differently. For *Procedural knowing* to occur, a person usually requires some formal instruction or presence of people who may serve as informal tutors and are able to model the process of providing evidence in support of an idea. At the procedural stage, the methodology used in providing evidence and presenting knowledge becomes important.

Belenky identified two types of procedural knowing: separate and connected. *Separate knowing* is based on the use of impersonal procedures to establish truths. At this stage, the idea of being correct (follow the rules) is particularly suspicious. The goal of separate knowing is to be absolutely certain of what is true. *Connected knowing*, as the second type of procedural knowing, builds on personal experience. It explores what actions and thoughts lead to the perception that something is known. Experiences are a major vehicle through which knowing something takes place. It is important to stress that authority derives from shared experiences, not from power or status. A creative process would be used to gain experiences from which a conclusion could be drawn.

The *Constructed knowing stage* means, as the name implies, that all knowledge is constructed by the knower. Answers are dependent on the context in which the questions are asked, and on the frame of reference of the asker. This type of knowledge is particularly relevant to mathematics. In this stage learner can integrate her rational and emotive thoughts as well as appreciate the complexity of knowledge formed from various perspectives. The knower can use the creative aspect, induction, together with the rules of discourse, deduction, in order to know something. This category of knowing fits very well with current constructivist view on mathematics teaching and learning (Becker, 1995 pp. 165–167). The idea of connected teaching addresses the issues identified by Belenky

and helps learners become mathematics knowledge constructors. Mathematics is taught as a process of discovering and experiencing acts of creation, not as a universal truth handed down by some disembodied, non-human spirit.

The mathematical educators continue to investigate ways to empower learners as epistemological agents. The idea of "mathematics for all and by all" integrates three of the different types of empowerment discussed by Paul Ernest. First aim involves development of personal confidence, the sense of mathematical self-efficacy as well as the sense of personal ownership of and power over mathematics. Second, there is the need to be socially empowered through mathematics as a critical citizen. Third, there is the need for learners to master some significant domain of school mathematics in order to increase their participation in mathematics, mathematics-related careers and examination successes (Ernest, 2002, p. 11). Much is already known about achieving these goals, although these proposals suggest an increased emphasis on social life of mathematics.

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Challenges of Educating Culturally Competent Young Europeans

Summary

This chapter presents theoretical analyses and empirical results related to challenges to development of cultural awareness and expression as key competence in education of young Europeans for innovation-based economy. Cultural awareness and expression is understood as defined in the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning, that is: "*appreciation of the importance of the creative expression of ideas, experiences and emotions in a range of media, including music, performing arts, literature, and the visual arts*". Research presented in this chapter integrated two distinctive but interconnected methodological realms: 1) based on quantative approach and analyses of the impact of educational drama and theatre interventions on youth competences, 2) belonging to research in action area and based on the method of Appreciative Inquiry.

Presented results allow identifying both the values of cultural awareness and expression as important outcome of transformational learning and the challenges to cultural education of Europeans. The challenges are analysed in terms of political decisions to include or exclude cultural awareness and expression in teaching curriculi in formal education. Moreover, challenges to cultural education are related to developing assessment and evaluation systems, which help to integrate personal and public goals. I present numerous benefits of participation in educational theatre and drama activities. Effects on the quality of life in general and on young people's engagement in a wide range of activities and social relations specifically are highlighted. The results also are discussed in relation to how educators or drama pedagogues use their specific tools to encourage discussion, and how they could act as mediators of activities and processes in which the participating students play an active role. Positive influence of drama and theatre on competence development and their role as agents of social change are discussed.

The Appreciative Inquiry results portray artists involved in educational projects as instructors with the mission to change any relations which breed social injustice and inhumanity. From interpretations of symbols used during the sessions with cultural education participants, it was clear that the educators concentrate on the excluded, discriminated, and the socially invisible. The challenges of cultural education of the excluded young Europeans are discussed also in both political and pragmatical terms, in relation to value given to cultural awareness and expression as learning outcomes in formal and non-formal education settings.

Cultural awareness and expression
as a key Lisbon competence in education

In 2000 in Lisbon, EU state leaders concluded that each European citizen would need a wide range of key competences in order to respond to the rapidly changing and highly interconnected world. Education, with its dual role of sustaining social and economic development, was assigned the mission of the vehicle to equip citizens of Europe with these competences. They were defined as a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes appropriate to a particular context. Key competences are those, which all individuals need for personal fulfilment and development, active citizenship, social inclusion, and employment. Council and the European Parliament adopted a recommendation of the EU working group on key competences for lifelong learning in December 2006 (European Council, 2006). It identified eight key competences:

1. **Communication in the mother tongue**, which is the ability to express and interpret concepts, thoughts, feelings, facts, and opinions in both oral and written form (listening, speaking, reading and writing), and to interact linguistically in an appropriate and creative way in a full range of societal and cultural contexts;
2. **Communication in foreign languages**, which involves, in addition to the main skill dimensions of communication in the mother tongue, mediation and intercultural understanding. The level of proficiency depends on several factors and the capacity for listening, speaking, reading and writing;
3. **Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology**. Mathematical competence is the ability to de-

velop and apply mathematical thinking in order to solve a range of problems in everyday situations, with the emphasis being placed on process, activity, and knowledge. Basic competences in science and technology refer to the mastery, use and application of knowledge and methodologies that explain the natural world. These involve an understanding of the changes caused by human activity and the responsibility of each individual as a citizen;

4. **Digital competence** involves the confident and critical use of information society technology (IST), and thus basic skills in information and communication technology (ICT);

5. **Learning to learn** is related to acquiring knowledge, the ability to pursue and organise one's own learning, either individually or in groups, in accordance with one's own needs, and awareness of methods and opportunities;

6. **Social and civic competences**. Social competence refers to personal, interpersonal, and intercultural competence, and all forms of behavior that equip individuals to participate in an effective and constructive way in social and working life. It is linked to personal and social well-being. An understanding of codes of conduct and customs in the different environments, in which individuals operate, is essential. Civic competence, and particularly knowledge of social and political concepts and structures (democracy, justice, equality, citizenship, and civil rights), equips individuals to engage in active and democratic participation;

7. **Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship** is the ability to turn ideas into action. It involves creativity, innovation and risk-taking as well as the ability to plan and manage projects in order to achieve objectives. The individual is aware of the context of his/her work and is able to seize opportunities that arise. It is the foundation for acquiring more specific skills and knowledge needed by those establishing or contributing to social or commercial activity. This should include awareness of ethical values and promote good governance;

8. **Cultural awareness and expression**, which involves appreciation of the importance of the creative expression of ideas, experiences and emotions in a range of media (music, performing arts, literature, and the visual arts).

These key competences are all interdependent, and the emphasis in each case is on critical thinking, creativity, initiative, problem solving, risk assessment, decision taking, and constructive management of feelings. The European Reference Framework described one of its main aims as to: "*Identify and define the key competences necessary for personal fulfilment, active citizenship, social cohesion and employability in a knowledge society*" (European Council, 2006, 394/13).

This aim identifies both 1) goals of personal and social fulfilment and 2) the current needs of the economy market in a widely interconnected society. Analysing the EU official documents, a critical reader should become aware of the two overarching narratives which frame the way the language of competence is used, and indeed the values which inform policy and practice in relation to monitoring and evaluation. On one hand, we follow a narrative of social cohesion and justice across and within the member states, with their particular globally significant histories and aspirations. On the other hand, however, we encounter the neoliberal narrative of salvation through economic progress and the need for the EU to be a key player in the changing global economy. These two narratives may be competing and mutually exclusive, or they may be interrelated elements of a delicate ecology for social sustainability (Deacon, 2008).

Listed last by European Council, but, hopefully, not least, is key competence of cultural expression. It is supposed to become a strategic competence of Europeans based on the value of the pedagogic interaction with art. This means that in the education process, the various art languages are seen as active experiences, open fields where opportunities and meaningful educational challenges for creative observation and composition merge. Literature, dance, painting, drama and theatre, music, visual arts, each with its own specific modes of communicating meaning, give rise to different learning methods, stimulate creativity and provide opportunities for encountering the unusual or for contributing to added value in the cultural heritage of Europeans. The broad Lisbon definition of cultural awareness and expression as one of the key competences clearly suggests that it is not about memorizing cultural "facts", but is about knowing how to ask the right questions and respond to people of divergent backgrounds in ways that elicit the information needed to develop appropriate ways of working relationships, which will sup-

port trusting, collaborative actions resulting in the growth of human, social, and creative capitals.

Cultural competence is above all about recognizing that every European citizen – political and educational leaders included – comes from specific cultural backgrounds (not necessarily from "Old Europe"), and diversity could be our strength or valuable resource for innovation.

The methods of learning of cultural competence are not simple forms of aesthetic education, but a way to construct some new knowledge about the world that surrounds the young Europeans, to develop skills and attitudes of elaborating and interpreting shared meanings in their relationships with other global community members. Transversal characteristics and a strong link with language development place educational activities related to cultural awareness at the centre of competencies critical for sustaining intercultural dialogue. This could be essential to the further development of European integration. Methods of developing cultural competencies are the strongest ways of creating synergy between educators and artists in the field of youth empowerment and prevention of social exclusion programs. Linking cultural activities with educational outcomes mobilizes new resources for learning, especially of those young people who do not benefit from mainstream schooling system. The use of information and communication technologies for cultural competency may become channels that favor meeting and interaction between distant cultural expressions, or accentuate the digital divide when such technologies are ignored by educational policy makers, or unavailable to the excluded groups of European youth.

New techniques, such as collaborative digital storytelling on mobile devices, have been applied successfully to cultural and creative education (Damiano & Lombardo, 2012). The importance of the researched approach proved to be in the emotional engagement of the youth. The results indicated the presence of aspects of embodied cognition on the one hand, on the other, the potential of mobile technologies to contribute to the establishment of social bonds among the members of diverse (e.g. immigrant) groups. Collaborative projects designed for sharing, such as digital storytelling, also open the possibility of creating educational venues for international learning, as stories are shared between and created across cultures.

Above all, in a Europe that brings together pluralistic populations as far as levels of culture and development are concerned, awareness

of the cultural heritage of one's own community helps each citizen develop knowledge and a sense of belonging, while simultaneously favoring tolerance, broadmindedness, and curiosity with regard to diversity. Cultural competence, therefore, makes individuals more open towards and accepting of others or of different cultural expressions (Tosi, 2007). Commitment to developing cultural awareness and expression is a decision to reconcile both the narrative of social cohesion and justice and the neo-liberal narrative of salvation through economic progress and competition with the rest of the world, because it contributes to building capitals essential for all kinds of innovation.

Defining 'competences' as educational outcomes for learners is a political and ideological act, because it defines validation of qualifications which will be promoted. In this way, the educational discourse will be constructed "*revealing not only a set of values but also to whom and to what we are prepared to listen when we seek evidence of learning*" (James, 2005).

Developing indicators and assessment tools to evaluate and measure competence is equally political in nature, as they constitute the technology of control. The act of creating and using assessment tools formalizes and structures what is valued in a broader community, and bestows value, success and status, or failure and exclusion, depending on how the tool is used (Harlen & Deakin, 2003).

The real challenge of educating culturally competent Europeans is not so much in choosing which competences to teach them at school, or whether to serve an economic or a social goal, but in devising assessment and evaluation systems for learning in formal settings, and the workplace which does justice to both the personal and the public pole of the spectrum, and does not favor one at the expense of the other. If policy makers assume that cultural awareness and expression competences facilitate and encourage the formation of identity, aspiration, and diversity, which in turn build the social foundation for economic growth, they have to make these competences formally recognizable in the public sphere. A competent business person needs the same cultural competences as a competent parent, or a competent citizen – though the domain of their application, and the skills, knowledge and understanding they deploy may be different. No matter then which educational field young European enter, they need the same quality of feedback on where they start from, which learning methods serve their growth, what their learning outcomes should be and, most importantly, how their success will manifest itself in terms of

validation both for economical and social value. Holding both ends of the "journey towards competence" spectrum in a creative tension is a key educational challenge in the complex living, networked society which Europeans agreed to share. Polarizing the debate between an economic or social world-view is an unhelpful way of looking at the issues of competence-based education of young Europeans (Deakin, 2008).

Despite the awareness of the impacts of assessment, educational polices in most member states still tend to focus only on a narrow part of key competences in spite of declarations to understand them as wide-ranging and holistic. If only some competences are assessed, but the rest is ignored, teachers and learners will tend to focus on the assessed competences, with the result that some Europeans will not receive a complete education. Furthermore, if only some aspects of each competence are assessed – such as knowledge – then the development of the other aspects – such as useable skills and attitudes – will be, at best, incidental, and may not happen at all. No matter how broad the intended learning outcomes are, if assessment is too narrowly defined, it will result in narrow teaching and learning.

The Figure 1 focuses on national tests that can be used for summative or formative purposes. It shows strikingly, how the key competences that are crucial for lifelong learning, innovation, and social and cultural development are not covered by national assessment regimes. In relation to certifying cultural awareness and expression as the foundation of capitals essential for innovation, none of European countries have established formal system to achieve this at any level of educational system. A considerable amount of generic skills assessment, therefore, is going unreported in those instances where those skills are being inferred but not recorded, reported, or certified. The lack of formal identification and validation system is largely due to the fact that there is neither European level, nor national policy to underpin the formal recognition and certification of performance-related generic competences as cultural awareness and expression. More importantly, there are quite significant administrative and financial disincentives working against the implementation of a formal reporting system. The first is the requirement to modify existing student information management systems to allow for the reporting of generic skills results, and the second is how additional enrolment requirements that might be required can be financed.

Competences	BE	BR	BG	CZ	DK	DE	EE	IE	EL	ES	FR	IT	CY	LV	LT	LU	HU	MT	NL	AT	PL	PT	RO	SI	SK	FI	SE	UK	NO
Mother tongue	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
Mathematics	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
Science	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X		X		X	X		X			X		X			X		X	X
Foreign language			X				X			X	X	X		X				X											
Civics																								X					
Cultural awareness																													
Entrepreneurship																													
Learning to learn																													
Digital																													

Fig. 1 Indication of carrying out national tests on key competences in EU and Norway

Cultural competences, as closely related to the social ones, are now seen as crucial factors affecting innovation in the workplace and in emerging styles of leadership. People with good social and intercultural skills are more likely to emerge at the top of organizations and to be able to lead them into the future, which may be uncertain (Robinson, 2011). Employers dependent on innovation are beginning to realise the need not just for effective recruitment of socially and culturally competent individuals to be integrated into their organizations, but more importantly their dependency on educational and validation systems to build mainstreaming culture of innovation (Mohanty, 2006). From the perspective of managing innovation, cultural competences of current creative workers have been validated as cumulative articulations of individuals or groups to create added value within organizational systems. In one of the empirical studies of validating competences crucial for innovation, indicators for cultural competences were established by corelating them with self-reported characteristics of managers and eco-system parameters (Waychal, Mohanty, & Verma, 2011). What the researchers argued, was the dependency of the ecosystem (described as culture promoting risk-taking, sharing and networking for added value creation, celebrating success) as well as some innovation behavioural traits on the competences in question. They even went on to offer determinants of innovation as a competence generic from individuals and the environment in which they are engaged (mainly educational background). Their methodology, however, allowed them only to see some associations between the different factors, which is a good illustration of the challenges to validation of cultural competences in the context of building innovation culture both at the level of a single business organization as well as the larger, e.g. national scale. Although the concept of intercultural competencies is used widely by management researchers, government agencies and other working life stakeholders in their drive for economic development, the core concept, its measurement and its relationship to entrepreneurial performance and actual innovations is still in urgent need of further rigorous research and development in practice (Mitchelmore & Rowley, 2010).

The methodological challenge to validating competences in general is just the top of the iceberg. The true barriers and challenges are more deeply rooted in on-going social debates on education of ideological, philosophical, and cultural nature. Since cultural along with social com-

petences are most simply defined in terms of somebody's judgement on how effective behaviour of an individual is for a performance of given tasks (McFall, 1982), the key questions arise:

1. Who is making the judgement and what interests are represented?
2. To what extent creative mental activities or autonomous critical insights could be demonstrated in specific output performance?

I argue that prevailing understanding of competence rooted in Skinnerian behaviourism is the main obstacle in promoting validation of capabilities like cultural awareness and collective creativity required for innovation, as it reduces complex human activity and agency to performance of measurable tasks by an individual (Le Deist & Winterton, 2005).

Behaviouristic approach is still dominant because the interests of industries recruiting workforce for very specific technical prevail in educational polices. Partnerships of stakeholders ready to invest in caring for social development of labour through nurturing, advancing qualities needed for innovation are far from reaching the tipping point needed for educational change (Coles & Oates, 2004).

Theoretical and methodological overview of the presented studies

The integrative framework for the presented study was adapted from theoretical underpinnings of transformational teaching (Slavich & Zimbardo, 2012). It stresses the importance of social interactions, which in turn is embedded in five major contemporary approaches to learning:

1. Social Constructivism (Bruner & Haste, 2010)
2. Social cognitive theory (Bandura, 2012)
3. Transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 2000)
4. Intentional change theory (Boyatzis & Akrivou, 2006)
5. Transformational leadership (Bass & Riggio, 2010)

The integration of above presented theories is based on the notion that a person's beliefs and worldviews are shaped to a significant degree by his or her historical, social, and cultural context. The interactions that occur within these contexts 1) enhance learning, as they teach an individual about the symbol systems (particularly language) that are necessary for learning about the world, but also 2) they expose an individual

to more knowledgeable community members (e.g. older peers, teachers, fictional or virtual constructs) who relate the symbols to social meaning.

Transformative learning is defined as "*a goal (explicitly expressed or not) to increase students' mastery of key concepts introduced during the courses and trainings, while transforming their learning-related attitudes, values, beliefs, and skills*". Such process involves creating dynamic relationships between teachers, students, learning environments, and a shared body of knowledge. This process is directed to promote student learning and personal growth. From this perspective, instructors are viewed as intellectual coaches who create teams of students who collaborate with each other and with their teachers or alternative (virtual) mentors to master the competences and to contribute to knowledge creation. Instructors assume the traditional role of facilitating students' acquisition of key concepts, but they do so while promoting students' social and cultural development and enhancing their disposition toward learning.

The idea central to transformational teaching is related to the fact that instructors guide students toward making self-discoveries that shape their fundamental beliefs about themselves and the world around them. Instructors are viewed as agents of social change who lead students in the process of collaborating with one another, using social networking, their teachers or other role models (including multicultural ones) to develop as learners and as people. This happens by engaging students in the process of interdependent discovery, and by giving them ample time and space to explore and reflect upon the strategies they use as well as the knowledge they generate. Transformational teaching is not just a method of classroom instruction, but a broad framework for understanding the overall instructional environment and how key players in that environment can interact to maximize students' intellectual social and personal growth (Slavich & Zimbardo, 2012).

The presented research project involves two distinctive but interconnected studies I was involved in during the period of 2008–2010. The central part of the project comprised of three Appreciative Inquires. Quantitative data were obtained from DICE (an international consortium) cross-cultural study on the effects of drama on five Lisbon Key Competences in 12 countries (DICE Consortium, 2010). As the basis for further analyses I choose the results of Appreciative Inquiry (Bushe & Kassam, 2005) on youth cultural competency in specific contexts of Poland, Lithuania, and Italy (Jagiełło-Rusiłowski, 2010).

In the first longitudinal cross-cultural study, data was collected from educational groups (4.475 teenagers) with three kinds of drama experiences (regular, one-occasion, and control groups). There were 8 different sources of data presented in Figure 2.
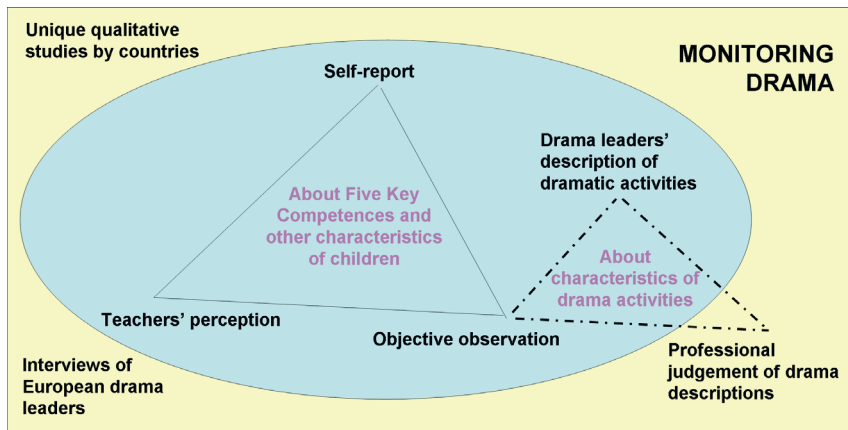
Fig. 2. Relationships between different types of data

Source: DICE Consortium, 2010.

The data on instructional environment which drama supports came from observation grids filled by two independent experts monitoring both main initiators of educational interactions as well as their quality and direction. Key activities and occurrences indicating the presence of social and civic competence were included in the coding system. One program tested included the interactions of teenagers with simple avatars, and then role-playing them in series of improvised dramas.

The second study used 4D model of Appreciative Inquiry (AI) presented in Figure 3. The three groups of participants consist of 1) young Europeans with specific artistic experiences; 2) educators and policy makers engaged in educational/social change initiatives. Their generative question was: "How can drama contribute to positive social change?". After the 4D cycle, Bushe's criteria for the transformational character of the inquiry were applied for each group.

Discovery

Appreciating

Dream

Innovating

Generative Question
as Positive Core

Destiny

Sustaining

Design

Co-constructing

Fig. 3. 4D AI cycle

Source: Cooperrider & Whitney, 1999.

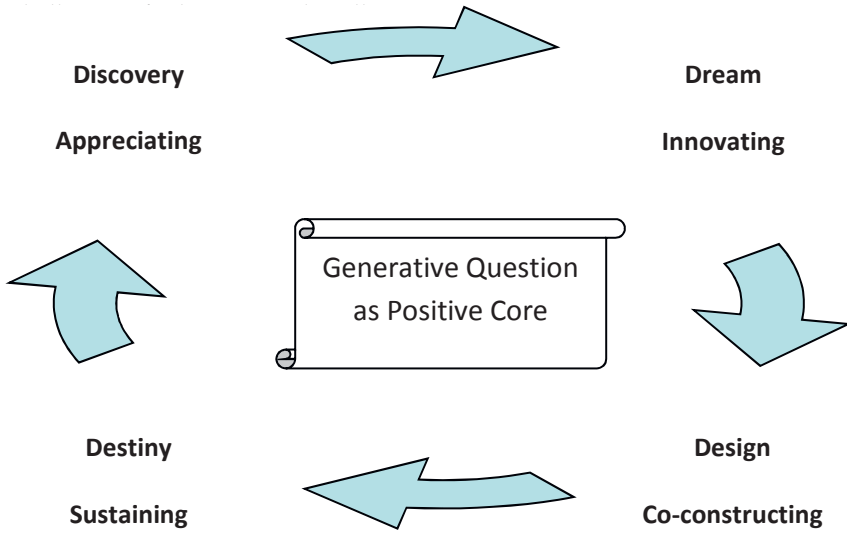From methodological perspective, Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is a qualitative method, developed from an action research understood as a "*participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview*". Action research is only possible with, for and by persons and communities – ideally involving all stakeholders that are engaged in sense-making (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). In education, action research is simply a "*form of self-reflective enquiry undertaken by teachers, parents, students and other stakeholders to improve the rationality and justice of their own practice, and the situations in which the practices are carried out*".

As an alternative to the problem-solving orientation of "traditional" research, AI openly celebrates success, achievement, and practices, which are already working for the local context. AI researches aim to find out what are good solutions in specific context and help enhance it or extend its use to new areas in the same cultural space. AI paradigm is based on five main principles: the constructionist principle (suggesting that organizational destiny is interwoven with social knowledge), the principle of simultaneity (recognizing that change occurs with every intervention and inquiry), the poetic principle (describing organizations metaphorically as books being coauthored and co-created by everyone

involved), the anticipatory principle (insisting that our collective imagination holds the highest potential for anticipating possibilities and positive outcomes), and the positive principle (explaining that momentum for lasting positive change requires momentum, social bonding, and meaningful experiences) (Cooperrider & Whitney, 1999).

Empirical evidence from DICE (2010) research on the impact of drama as a method of teaching "Cultural expression" as key Lisbon competence in education

Drama practitioners and theoreticians have believed that their method of teaching transforms learning-related attitudes, values, beliefs, and competences. They have described their activities as a process involving creating dynamic relationships between teachers, students, learning environments, and a shared body of knowledge in a way that promotes student personal and social growth. They assumed from the responses of young people in practice that drama impacts key competences in education, but in fact it had rarely been measured with quantitative scientific tools. In the DICE project, almost 100 educational theatre and drama experts from twelve countries with the widest theoretical and professional background allied forces with academics (psychologists and sociologists), and measured the impact of educational theatre and drama work. The research was conducted by independent scientists, with the participation of four universities throughout Europe. Almost 5000 young people, mostly Europeans, were included, a sample size rarely seen in educational researches. The project took 2 years, measured over one hundred different educational theatre and drama programmes, and involved the work of several hundred professionals.

The most general DICE results show that, compared with peers who had not been participating in any educational theatre and drama programmes, the theatre and drama young participants:

1. feel more confident in communication,
2. are more likely to feel that they are creative,
3. are better at problem solving,
4. are significantly more tolerant towards both minorities and foreigners,

5. are more active citizens,
6. show more interest in voting at any level,
7. show more interest in participating in public issues,
8. are more empathic: they have concern for others,
9. are more able to change their perspective,
10. are more innovative and entrepreneurial,
11. show more dedication towards their future and have more plans,
12. are much more willing to participate in any genre of arts and culture, and not just performing arts, but also writing, making music, films, handicrafts, and attending all sorts of arts and cultural activities,
13. spend more time in school, more time reading, doing housework, playing, talking, and spend more time with family members and taking care of younger brothers and sisters. In contrast, they spend less time watching TV or playing computer games,
14. do more for their families, are more likely to have a part-time job and spend more time being creative either alone or in a group. They more frequently go to the theatre, exhibitions and museums, and the cinema, and go hiking and biking more often,
15. are more likely to be a central character in the class,
16. have a better sense of humour.

The quantative results indicate most significant impact of drama on youth creative capabilities expressed in writing (16.44% difference in mean score between drama and control groups) or collective arts activities (13.17%) followed by social and civic competence (11.5%) and point to specific characteristics of instructional environment that teachers or non-formal educators create which coincide with principles of transformational teaching. Relationships among other key competences and variables characteristic for social and creative capital of the youth immediate environment were not examined in detail, but simple correlations suggest that the change of perceived self-efficacy in cultural expression strengthened by positive feedback from the instructor contributes to more optimistic self-reports on other key competences. Drama interventions appear to significantly decrease the time youth spend on "bedroom activism", vulnerability to on-line traps, and increase their critical thinking, initiative, entrepreneurship, and participation in creative activities. The effect is stronger in communities with lower social capital.

Analysing more closely, when those students who regularly participate in educational theatre and drama activities are compared with those who do not, significant differences are found on the couple scales (Table 2).

Attending educational theatre and drama activities, therefore, has a strong transfer effect to other genres of arts and culture, and not just performing arts, but also such active forms of cultural expression as writing, making music, films, handicrafts, and attending all sorts of arts and cultural activities. It is important to note that these results also underline educational theatre and drama's community-building effect: some of the largest differences are measured on cultural activities that are done in a group.

Participation in educational theatre and drama activities has an effect on the quality of life in general and on young people's engagement in a wide range of activities and social relations specifically. The table below shows how much time on average student spends on various activities. DICE compared those students who stated that they participate regularly in theatre and drama activities with those who did not. Where the difference between the two groups is significant (at least $p < 0.05$), it is marked in grey, clearly indicating which group had a higher mean.

Table 1. Students who regularly participate in educational theatre and drama activities compared with those who do not, according to key competence "Cultural expression"

Scale	Some typical questions from the scale "How often do you…"	Mean score of those who participate in drama	Mean score of those who do not participate in drama	Difference	Significance
attending classic cultural events	"watch/attend an exhibition" "watch/attend a theatre performance" "listen to a c oncert of classical music"	3.4078	2.9535	9.09%	p < 0.000
going to cinema	"watch films at the cinema"	4.4528	4.3727	1.6%	p < 0.014
attending popular culture events	"listen to a concert of popular music" "watch/attend a dance performance"	3.7875	3.4579	6.59%	p < 0.000
participation in arts activities	"attend a craft workshop?" "attend a film course?" "attend an orchestra?" "attend a youth theatre?" "create your own magazines?"	2.0668	1.4084	13.17%	p < 0.000
participation in new media and music	"mix music?" "make your own videos?" "make music together?" "make songs?"	2.2200	1.8714	7.00%	p < 0.000
writing	"write short stories/novels/poems/plays?" "write your own diary (daily journal)?"	2.6119	1.7901	16.44%	p < 0.000

Scale	Some typical questions from the scale "How often do you…"	Mean score of those who participate in drama	Mean score of those who do not participate in drama	Difference	Significance
participation in visual arts	"draw or paint?" "work with your hands (arts and crafts)?" "take photographs?" "make digital art?"	2.8861	2.4990	7.74%	$p < 0.000$
participation in performing arts	"dance?" "attend a dance group?" "put on plays?"	2.7005	1.9333	15.34%	$p < 0.000$
importance	"how important is culture for you?"	7.93	7.21	7.2%	$p < 0.000$

Source: DICE, 2010, p. 48.

Table 2. Comparison of daily activities of students who regularly participate in educational theatre and drama programmes and students who do not

Do you regularly participate in drama or theatre workshops or lessons? (input measurement)	NO		YES
IN A DAY / HOURS	hours		hours
sleeping	8.0083	>	7.9061
relaxing	1.712	>	1.704
eating	1.447	<	1.524
in school	6.317	<	6.403
learning outside of school	1.575	<	1.603
reading (not compulsory material)	0.760	<	0.971
watching TV	1.719	>	1.612
surfing the internet	1.797	>	1.770
playing computer games	0.898	>	0.773
doing housework	0.885	<	0.973
playing, talking, spending time with your family members	1.652	<	1.840
taking care of younger brother(s)/sister(s)	0.496	<	0.579
IN THE LAST WEEK / HOW MANY TIMES	occasions		occasions
meeting friends	4.34	<	4.48
doing sports	2.82	>	2.71
spending time with your hobby	3.35	<	3.40
watching, listening to or reading about the news	3.08	<	3.23
doing things for my family (e.g. the shopping, organising supplies, fixing things, making clothes)	2.48	<	2.70
doing a part-time job	0.28	<	0.39
being creative (e.g. making music, writing, acting, dancing, etc.)	1.95	<	3.00
IN THE LAST MONTH / HOW MANY TIMES	occasions		occasions
going to the cinema	1.01	<	1.26
going to the theatre, exhibitions or museums	0.50	<	0.96
visiting shopping centres/markets	4.59	<	5.06
going to pubs, discos, concerts	1.25	<	1.31
praying, going to church/mosque/synagogue	5.43	<	6.64
doing things on the street	6.61	<	6.62
hiking/going for walks/biking	5.92	<	6.46

Source: DICE, 2010, p. 53.

Young people who regularly participate in theatre and drama activities spend more time in activities which have a social dimension – both at home (e.g. with their families, taking care of younger siblings) and in the wider community (e.g. they are more likely to have a part-time job, to spend time with friends, and more frequently go to arts venues and events). In contrast, they spend less time watching TV or playing computer games.

Class teachers were requested to assess all students (research and control) along the five competences. Analysing the input measurement data, when the assessment of those students who regularly participate in educational theatre and drama activities are compared with those who do not, significant differences are found on the scales of all five competences (see: Table 3).

DICE results from observation of drama activities reveal how this method of teaching works. While traditional teaching methods, using frontal teaching techniques, do not create interactive learning environments, drama encourages the students to be in control of their own learning, and power and responsibility are the students' concern. Learning in this situation may be independent, collaborative, cooperative, and competitive. Educational theatre and drama, as a pedagogical method, is at the heart of the student-centred tradition. Instead of looking at youth as inactive entities, it tries to support their active creator role in the learning process. In order to achieve this goal during educational theatre and drama work, the educators use various pedagogical-methodological tools and work, forms, such as teacher presentation, student presentation, theatre performance, class discussion-debate, class drama work, small group discussion-debate, small group drama work, pair work, and individual work by students. Educators or drama pedagogues try to encourage discussion, and act as mediators of activities and processes in which the participating students play an active role.

The illustration chart demonstrates that the observed teacher used a wide variety of work forms, from pair work to class discussions, which build on the activity of students. There are rapid changes in the work forms, very few work forms are applied for longer than 10 minutes, most of the work forms are used for a few minutes only – so the programmes are much more dynamic than an "ordinary" lesson. Although the teachers control the programme, there is an almost equal number of initiatives from the students' side, which reveals a democratic way of operation.

Table 3. Students who regularly participate in educational theatre and drama activities compared with those who do not, according to the assessment of their teachers on five key competences

Scale	Some typical questions from the scale	Mean score of those who participate in drama	Mean score of those who do not participate in drama	Difference	Significance
Communication	S/he always dares to express her/his opinion. S/he talks a lot. S/he is shy about speaking to a big audience. (interpreted inversely) S/he can express her/his opinion clearly.	3.5790	3.4018	3.54%	p < 0.000
Learning to learn	S/he easily understands school textbooks. Her/his long term memory is good. His/her overall academic achievements. S/he recognises corelations and can draw conclusions. S/he can observe carefully. S/he spends a lot of time studying because s/he likes to study. S/he tends to try out different solutions. S/he is motivated and enthusiastic when s/he is working. S/he has lots of ideas of her/his own. S/he knows her/his own strengths.	3.6702	3.4892	3.62%	p < 0.000

Scale	Some typical questions from the scale	Mean score of those who participate in drama	Mean score of those who do not participate in drama	Difference	Significance
Social and civic competence	S/he accepts others' opinions. S/he is co-operative with adults. S/he manages conflicts well. S/he is patient and has the capacity to wait for something. S/he is helpful. S/he co-operates well with her/his fellow students. S/he is able to ask for help if s/he has a problem, and can express her/his problem.	3.8534	3.7175	2.72%	$p < 0.000$
Entrepreneurship	S/he is interested in the world of business. S/he is able to spot opportunities that peers miss. S/he is able to have her/his own dreams about improving the world. S/he is able to refine her/his ideas if that helps to persuade more people to work with her/him.	3.4809	3.3279	3.06%	$p < 0.000$

| Scale	Some typical questions from the scale	Mean score of those who participate in drama	Mean score of those who do not participate in drama	Difference	Significance
Cultural awareness	S/he likes to watch and participate in artistic activities. S/he likes to participate in drama activities. S/he is interested in visual culture and visual arts. S/he likes and enjoys music. Her/his way of self-expression is rich in emotion. S/he is open to personal, emotional, and aesthetic experiences. She expresses her/himself well non-verbally.	3.8580	3.4928	7.3%	p < 0.000

Source: DICE, 2012, p. 53.
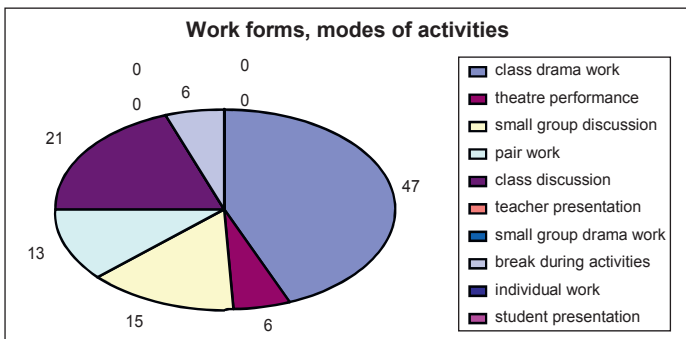
Chart 1. Frequency of the different types of educational theatre and drama activities according to independent observers; a programme from Palestine

Source: DICE, 2012, p. 56.

DICE project recommended drama as an ideal tool for educating culturally competent young Europeans and provided documented practice of specific techniques which both can serve the purpose of teaching and providing feedback on the level of each competence and strategies for further learing. In most European educational systems, educational theatre and drama does not have its due place on any educational level, although the experiences of drama teachers and theatre pedagogues clearly demonstrate benefits for children and young people. The DICE project provided scientifically valid evidence to support these experiences. The outcomes of the DICE project were used to advocate for a change of perception in the significance of educational theatre and drama to local, national and EU-level policy makers and stakeholders were approached, in order to use this valuable tool to improve the key competences in education of all children and young people, thus producing better and more competent professionals, but also better lifelong learning outcomes for Europe's young people. Most of efforts of engaged DICE leaders have been to little avail so far. The practitioners of drama have been marginalised and their methods did not enter mainstream education to serve rasing cultural awareness and expression of young Europeans.

Conclusions from Appreciative Inquiry

Mainstream education and social support systems are based on traditional concepts of knowledge: "when in doubt, leave it out". If something cannot be explained in logical cause and effect order, its effects cannot be measured on an objective scale, then its educational or transformational value cannot be high. In this way creativity, so indispensible for innovation and social change, is kept away from those who need it most. Artists and drama facilitators who took part in Appreciative Inquiry sessions in Poland, Lithuania, and Italy were aware of a role to play in including creative resources in educational and social change contexts. Other stakeholders, as members of the inquiring community, advised them to be very humble and gentle about the process. Appreciative Inquiry methodology assumes that the process of innovation starts with collection of positive stories which everybody shares willingly. This results in appreciating each other's strengths, past successes, creates a friend-

ly learning environment. Applied in traditional settings, however, the methodology itself could not guarantee any transformation. To be able to enter the role of co-researchers instead of the researched objects, they had to see the facilitator as the one who examines his own strengths, but also shares the risk of getting stuck with ideas on what really works in the given context. Artists in such a role sometimes failed to be attentive listeners, caring leaders, or brave improvisers, putting everybody at ease with whatever comes up in the process. Still, in two cases the Appreciative Inquiry was transformative.

In Italy, the participants were the students and teachers of Academia Teatrale di Roma. They were building their academic strengths and skills through developing internal motivations and discovering symbolic meanings, and their group could be characterized by traits that seem to be prevalent in many communities of artists, such as: joy of creativity, curiosity and need for discovery, tolerance of ambiguity, inspiration from diversity, courage to question the tradition, resist or rebel and change the current system, energy for sharing love and hope. The first new insight with consequences for academy's relation to its mission of theatre for social change came from framing two of the improvised scenes in the museum: animated versions of Michaelangelo's "Pieta" and "The Divine Comedy" by Dante. Their juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane allowed identifying the elements in the theatre training itself within the academy, but, more importantly, recognizing the privileged position of the actors as cultural educators of Europeans. Their flexibility, tolerance for dynamics of the good and evil, the respected and the rejected, the joy and suffering, unique skills of integrating the seemingly excluding elements in people, allows them to enter engaged dialogues with the socially excluded. The academy's students and professors realized that what they do as part of their regular theatre training is entering a dialogue with different dramatic roles and actors' perspectives. They later use this experience in building a character on stage, and finally teach that experience to those who may benefit outside of the academy. Their motivation is to enter the dialogue rather than practice therapy with the poor, excluded, and culturally deprived ones. In fact, the Italians from the academy call them "normal people", meaning "civilians".

The participants as co-researchers understood that their strengths do not just predispose them to work with culturally deprived emigrants, handicapped, addicted, homeless, etc., as therapists superior to the ex-

cluded, but as genuine partners who can be fully trusted. The strengths are of transformative nature because they make the artists interested in social change negotiated in the process of genuine dialogue with the subjects, and possibly other stake-holders. The "normal people" are not just the "poor" ones who need help, some kind of healing by artists. They are also the people "in power", politicians, educators, social workers, psychologists, etc., who do have control over the resources for raising the level of cultural awareness and expression in the entire community. Young people do not expect therapy from artists, but they need to enter the dialogue about how drama or other cultural interventions really work. Appreciative Inquiry session revealed that artists as educators have interest in dialogues with both kinds of "normal people". They enter dialogues with the "normal people" and feedback the new ideas to the training system and outreach programs of the academy. In this way, the academy benefits from both artistic and social innovation and the community is provided with committed change-makers and cultural facilitators. Properly educated young Europeans should not become consumers of creativity of the others. The academy teaches their students something as important as producing quality art – engaging the outside world in the organic process of creation, innovation, social change. The most important social contribution that the academy has to offer for the "normal people" is trust, which allows to enter the dialogue, which, in turn, can generate innovative social constructs to alleviate the suffering, transform injustice, violence, etc. Academy trains its actors, and through them the "normal people", to rely on other means of communication than just verbal, logical, and educated language. Dramatic dialogue for change is empowered by system of symbolic resources from diverse backgrounds and exotic cultures. That is why the academy appreciates and promotes constant development of the curriculum, international educational and artistic exchanges or residences. It fosters personal experimentation and encourages students to be socially engaged, including their learning outside the academy to enrich its organizational wisdom and artistic output.

What was striking for me as the facilitator during the sessions with Italians, was that students of theatre spent 3–5 minutes brainstorming verbally the ideas for a scene which lasted for over 20 minutes. They also needed very little time to talk about it afterwards and felt just as little need for it. This shows how competent they are in cultural expression.

They realized, along with other project co-researchers, that the opposite might be true of "normal people". Not only is the cultural awareness and expression problematic and lacking any experience in case of civilians, but any action usually needs to be preceded by a lengthy verbal discussion (typical problem solving process) and followed by even more absorbing deliberations. Education from dialogical perspective has to go both ways then. Artists should not be arrogant about using the poetic for effective and rich communication and while offering their skills to the groups stuck because of language limitations, they should work on their traditional verbal communication to be included in their repertoire if dialogue (especially with people "in power") is at stake.

Those were important consequences, not only for the academy in Rome, that indicate the transformative character of AI intervention with the use of drama. Students of art who had the chance of reflecting on their mission, approach the learning with different motivation, going beyond artistic standards of achievement. They are able to relate the process to their personal competences, to engage in social projects, or even initiate them themselves. Appreciative Inquiry became a training ground for building social capital skills, so vital in the future work in any kind of learning community. The discovery of their personal value independently of artistic achievement was truly liberating both for individual participants, but also for the academy as an organization. Its power used to come from family-like bonds already before the AI intervention, but now the parenting model has been replaced with more dialogical one, with realization of the generative metaphor.

The inquiry in Gdańsk, based on dynamic symbolic models of artists as change-makers in cultural institutions, public benefit organizations, education, and business, allowed the participants to reach deeper understanding of the core of cultural competency of young people and its interdependency on all the sectors, their resources and learning capacities. The physical use of string connecting the sub-groups representing different areas of social life, and its metaphorical pulling effecting the whole community, generated several insights both shared during the session as well as expressed in the narratives afterwards. The dominant categories offered by the co-researchers in analysing their dream were:
– "social bonding",
– "dialogue beyond social roles",
– "new social contracts".

The shared vision for placing artists in the centre of cultural education was therefore about serving the community as experts in facilitating trust which enables genuine communication and production of innovative ideas. Co-researchers would like to be invited into different areas where innovation is welcome or desperately needed, but is blocked by stiff roles, power relations, self-presentation behaviours, bureaucracy, etc. The real insight was that what artists really dream about is not so much the money itself, but re-definition of "profit". Changing perspective through role-play allowed to look at beaurocrats as stakeholders of change needed for cultural education. They are certainly caring parents, active members of their local communities, and usually amateur artists as often as consumers of high quality artistic products. New lenses, no matter how naive they may seem at first, at least open new space for dialogue and strategizing of new kind. If artists, especially those with drama experience, are experts at "multilingual" dialogue, they should be capable of finding the new language with policy makers or businessmen as well. Communities cannot be successful until the "golden means" of communication with policy or decision makers is found, and artist have to learn a lot in this respect. The AI exercise in Gdańsk showed clearly to the co-researchers that the self-perceived role of "unappreciated change-maker" is not productive and should be replaced with one of a partner in participatory envisioning of future, social goal setting, and sharing of responsibilities in introducing new models for prosperous culture. The participants, however, stressed their uncompromised nature in socio-political terms. Most of them identified with participatory or emancipatory ideology, and made clear that dialogue with neoliberal partners from business sector or government cannot ignore these differences. They accepted the new approach of Appreciative Inquiry, but without naive optimism that the temporary crossing of the stiff roles will automatically change strong divisions and conflicts of interests based on power relations. The artists' mission is to change any relations which breed social injustice and inhumanity. In the discussions during the workshop it was clear that the participants' priorities are with the excluded, discriminated, and the invisible. The dialogical skills are first to be of service to these social groups, so they become empowered. The social change often involves confrontation rather than harmonious negotiations with the oppressors. The artists' role in using drama with the oppressed is to reveal the nature of the injustice and give voice to those who have the right to

demand change rather than politely ask for extra resources. Artists will refuse to yield to neoliberal pressures carefully written into numerous EU policies, funding operating programs, which reduce complex human needs to the market forces of employability. They are willing, however, to work with any partners ready for creative uses of the available resources for raising the level of cultural awareness and expression, which, in turn, may contribute to building social and creative capital among all Europeans.

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Creating a Diversity-Friendly School Environment

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
Article 26, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Preface

The population of European countries changes rapidly. New European Union memberships, waves of Asian, American, and African newcomers, especially in Western and Northern European countries, and rising openness of young adults to live and work abroad (Herm, 2008) are just a few issues within a massive number of topics related to increasing level of multiculturalism visible in the European society. According to an EU report on population and social conditions, in the year 2006 European Union received a total of 3.5 million immigrants (Herm, 2008), and another 3.8 million in the year 2008 (Oblak Flander, 2011). The above mentioned results show that the European population becomes more and more diverse. The fact that Eurostat provides only official data is also worth underlining – for example, the actual number of immigrants and asylum-seekers in European Union Member States can be only roughly estimated. We can thus predict that the numbers mentioned before can be higher.

Living in such a diverse European society may become a challenge, especially for individuals without a proper education about ethnic, reli-

gious, and national groups. At least pieces of information about local cultural diversity and various groups residing in someone's area present as basic elements of knowledge enabling one to take the perspective of other people. Willingness to have contact with others, appropriate knowledge and openness to difference comprise an essential background for mutual understanding and cross-cultural dialogue (Aronson, 2009). Those abilities should be awakened in the earliest possible age, therefore the role of school program is very significant.

According to the report on the educational system in Poland (Towarzystwo Edukacji Antydyskryminacyjnej, 2011), the system attempts to unify students' opportunities in terms of education accessibility, but at the same time it influences reoccurrence of discrepancies between certain groups. Social exclusion is not only caused by poverty or low socioeconomic status of parents, but also by negative attitudes towards groups perceived as "other", and those biases against out-groups are often reinforced at school.

This chapter focuses on a review of basic theories and practical guidelines related to multiculturalism as the text is targeted at teachers, educators, trainers, social workers, and other people working with groups of children and youth, who consider it important to provide their students with practical knowledge, which can be useful in their social interactions. The purpose of the paper is threefold: a) to present basic theoretical issues shedding light onto mechanisms, which may lead to higher stereotype endorsement and thus higher propensity to discriminate others because of their ethnicity, religious beliefs, etc.; b) to focus on practical ways of preventing and leveling prejudice, based on historical and contemporary research, providing teachers with good practices and verified training methods; c) to describe guidelines on how to clear the air of potential intergroup conflicts and bring the atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation among youngsters, and enrich the classes with possible scenarios and exercises, which can be applied during cultural training aimed at children and youth.

Basic theory – introductory information

Without a deep understanding of mechanisms and psychological processes that comprise the background of prejudice, it is nearly impossible to successfully teach how to avoid and challenge discriminative practices. In the next paragraph a short overview of the psychological basis of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination is presented. What is more, within the base of useful theoretical foundation, the notion of tolerance as a part of desirable attitudes is defined and introduced.

Where do cross-cultural problems come from?

In today's world, people are flooded with an enormous number of pieces of information and stimuli. In order to function properly in such an information-based environment, human mind needs to adapt to these conditions and distinguish the most important data. Certain facts can be often simplified or neglected. A stereotype is a result of such kind of cognitive economy.

According to Bruno (1986, p. 221), stereotype is a fixed set of attributes that an observer imposes on all members of a given group. Paraphrasing this sentence, it can be interpreted that a stereotype is a kind of a simplified scheme, a form of categorization.

The ability to generalize the incoming data supports human mind because labeling categories enable a quick identification of an encountered object. At the same time, categories are the basis for prejudgment (Allport, 1966). One of such labels, simple and accessible, is information about one's race and ethnicity. As Bruno (1986) affirms, commonly held stereotypes about minority groups may contribute to racial and religious prejudices.

As Kosakowska-Berezecka and Besta state in one of the chapters of this book, stereotypes: 1) aid explanation; 2) are energy-saving devices, and 3) are shared group beliefs. Hence, stereotypes do not need to be negative or to depict a deliberated insult. Moreover, Aronson (2009) points that human brain is evolutionarily programmed to categorize, especially when it comes to such divisions as race, age or gender. A stereotype is often created in the way that people with an insufficient experience, for example after one meeting with a representative of a group X, tend to

believe that all members of the group X are similar to the one member whom they have met. It is an important feature of a stereotype – it allows us to neglect differences within the category it refers to (Boski, 2009). Even when a meeting with another representative of the group X can encourage one to observe unexpected differences, people prefer to focus on the common characteristics of "all" the group members and treat all the differences from a ready-made image of the class as exceptions.

A stereotype can contain both positive and negative connotations. Stereotypes can, for example, imply that the group X is lazy, but the group Y is famous for its musical talents.

At one of the trainings concerning Human Rights, in which I have participated, all the trainees discussed the possibility of existence of a "positive stereotype" in terms of benefits for members of the high-valued group. We came to the conclusion that even if the scheme consists of good associations, it can be threatening for a single representative of the group it refers to. Zastrow and Ashman (2010) presented a similar training example: Imagine a situation – Anna believes that Asians are very good at math. At the university she meets Yoko, an Asian girl, who is the best student at the faculty of mathematics. Anna thinks, "Well, it is nothing superb – Yoko is Asian, it is obvious she is a maths genius," and underestimates Yoko's diligence and work. On the other side, when Anna meets Yoko's flatmate, an Asian boy who studies literature and who is not really good at mathematics, Anna's impression is really unjust, because she thinks: "As an Asian, Yoko's flatmate should be good at math and he is not… So he is not smart enough," overwhelming him with her expectations about Asians' skills. This example depicts that even a positive stereotype ("Asians are very good at math") can be harmful for an individual. Furthermore, many studies in psychology confirmed that when a stereotype is activated and one is aware of the stereotype's content, it influences his or her performance. For example, when a gender stereotype stating that women are worse than men in solving math problems is activated and participants are reminded about their gender, women indeed tend to score lower at math tests. When none of these conditions exist (there is neither stereotype activation nor gender reminder), women's and men's average scores are similar. This effect is known as *stereotype threat* and is related to the experience of anxiety in a situation when a person "finds" himself/herself in the stereotype of his/her group of reference and as a result he/she shows the propensity to

confirm a negative stereotype about his or her social group (Steele, 1997; Inzlicht & Kang, 2010; Nguyen & Ryan, 2008).

Prejudice metaphorically means "one step further" than a categorization. Similarly to a stereotype, it refers to a misleading judgment, but additionally it contains a feeling-tone – prejudice indicates certain valence towards the object of judgment. It is an aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because they belong to that group, and this person is therefore presumed to have the characteristics ascribed to the group (Allport, 1966, p. 7). Bruno (1986, p. 172) defines prejudice as a judgment, attitude, belief, or opinion, made before gaining sufficient experience or acquiring information enabling to reach a firm conclusion.

The very stereotype (understood as a scheme containing information, images and other non-emotional information) is natural, automatic and ubiquitous. However, when one lets their mind add emotion to this cognitive category, this creates a path towards discrimination. According to Aronson (2009), prejudice consists of three components: 1) cognitive (stereotype and convictions about the group), 2) emotional (aversion or even hostility), and 3) behavioral (a tendency to discriminate the given group if possible). Although prejudice can be either positive or negative (prejudice in favor or against something can be distinguished), ethnic one is mostly negative (Bruno, 1986). As no one can possibly know all Muslims, Catholics, refugees, immigrants, it is often an attitude based not on a first-hand experience with members of an ethnic minority, but on opinions expressed by friends and family; especially children often adopt ethnic ready-made attitudes from their parents. As a result, people pay little attention to individual differences and overlook important facts (Allport, 1966). Prejudice has also this peculiar feature that it often resists any changes to its direction and valence, even in the face of evidence that contradicts them (Bruno, 1986). This is why self-awareness, in terms of knowing one's own prejudice and biases, is crucial within diversity-friendly attitude.

The third step in the chain of inequitable treatment is *acting the prejudice out* – in practice it means letting one's simplified views and emotions lead towards discriminative behavior. The likeliness to act hostilely grows in ratio with the intensity of the attitude. Allport (1966, pp. 14–15) created a scale, which gradually shows more and more negative actions that might be undertaken as a result to prejudice. The scale reflects the

opulence of activities that may occur in this context. These actions are presented in ascending order – from the least to the most harmful.

1. Antilocution – talking about prejudices, mainly with like-minded friends. Spreading biased information
2. Avoidance – eschewing members of the disliked group, even when it is inconvenient to do so
3. Discrimination – excluding all members of the group from, for example, certain types of employment, political rights, educational chances, churches and other opportunities, only on the basis that they belong to the group. It goes along with a denial that people have equal rights
4. Physical attack – it refers to violence
5. Extermination – the final form of acting out prejudice. It contains lynching, pogroms, and massacres

Presented graph, based on the information covered so far in this chapter, underlines how forceful and serious in its results this chain can be.
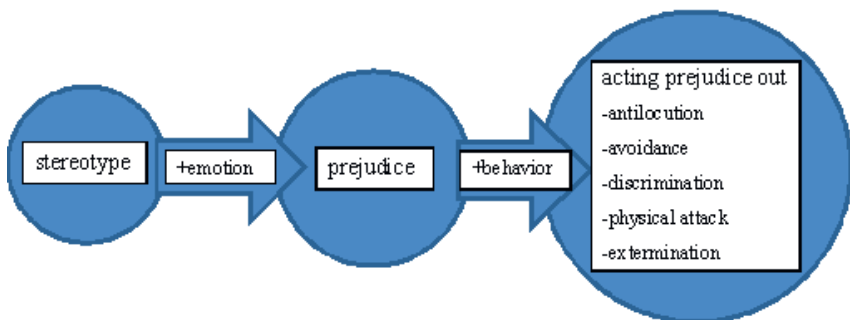
Graph 1. Steps of inequitable treatment

As the issues of acting prejudice out and its seriousness were presented above, beneath are provided examples of two historical methods dealing with cross-cultural contacts and preventing prejudice and recent methodologies to be used when teaching students. These approaches and tools can be adapted at school and used in order to create a discrimination-preventing environment.

Historical overview – good practices for school environment

How can the knowledge about above-mentioned mechanisms be applied? Two forms of benefiting from cross-cultural psychology are programs and training courses for representatives of different cultures. Allport (1966) noticed that most authors of participation and action cross-cultural programs assume that contact and acquaintance lead to friendliness, as programs bringing together people from various groups should enhance mutual respect. What is important, the positive effect of cross-cultural programs rises mainly in ratio to depth and genuineness of the contact (Allport, 1966). Many classical observations of such kind of interdependence (contact and positive effect) can be mentioned. Allport (1966) refers to neighborhood festival initiated by Rachel Du Bois (1950). The festival was based on encounters of people from various ethnic backgrounds, who shared their memories, participated in discussions and other activities. It was proven that those enterprises accelerated the process of acquaintance in that community. Moreover, a remarkable study was done by Sherif (1956), who found that significant reduction in hostility between groups of children at a summer camp could be achieved by fostering cooperation. For example, one of the tasks for boy-scouts in this study was to deal with a problem of water shortage at that summer camp. Researchers harmed the watering system on purpose, in order to make children accomplish the common goal – fixing the system and being able to use water. This common goal led to the reduction in intergroup hostility and aggression. But how the rule of cooperation could be applied in school settings? Elliot Aronson (2009; 2010) answered this question in a detailed way in his famous intervention called the jigsaw classroom.

The jigsaw classroom

Shortly after the abolition of racial segregation at schools in United States, it appeared that a sudden creation of racially-mixed classes did not ensure positive interaction between students. Katz (1976) underlined that there is a clear distinction between desegregation and integration.

Integration means that the positive interaction between children is actively encouraged and reinforced by the school staff and the community.

A distinguished psychologist Elliot Aronson was asked to help improve social relations in one of the schools in Texas in the year 1971 (Aronson, 2009). Because of governed desegregation, white, African American, and Mexican-American youngsters found themselves sharing the same classroom. They experienced such a school organization for the first time in their lives. Interactions between various ethnic and racial groups were full of animosities, hostility and even aggression (Aronson, 2010). After several days of observations of the school environment, the situation could be presented as follows: curriculum was based on individual work, and children competed between each other for grades. All the classes were informally divided into two groups: "the winners" and "the losers". "The winners" were raising their hands and were eager to answer the teacher's questions as they attempted to attract the teacher's attention, which was a great reward for students. "The winners", who raised their hands and were not called on, expressed disappointment on their faces because they missed an opportunity to show the teacher how bright they were. Other children in the class considered winners as the teacher's pets and "pushy show-offs" (Aronson, 2010). They were mostly Caucasians, raised in wealthier families, living in a rich neighborhood, where they had received a better formal education prior to desegregation. "The losers" had a tendency to avoid eye contact – they were using this strategy not to be called on by the teacher. It was the way to escape being humiliated. "The losers" were often too shy to speak in the spotlight, frequently could not speak English well, which maximized their embarrassment. Before desegregation, they had received substandard teaching, as they were living in poorer districts of the town. "The winners" considered representatives of the other group stupid or lazy. The teacher, who did not want to expose "the losers" to ridicule by other children, decided not to call those students on (Aronson, 2010).

Researchers, who were trying to change the school environment into more tolerant place, set a goal to replace the competitive atmosphere with a cooperative one. They also needed to work with teachers, who had considered cooperation as cheating (Aronson, 2009).

Aronson and his students invented the "Jigsaw classroom" group learning experience. The name "jigsaw" refers to a toy, in which every piece is needed for full understanding of the picture. This method relies

on dividing students into small groups (preferably of five or six people) and giving each group the same task to do. It can be, for example, a biography of a famous person, which is divided into as many parts as members of the group. Each student needs to work on one particular piece of the story and prepare a report on the gathered information for the rest of the group. The only access to the full biography is hence listening to others. As it is not easy for some people to prepare a report from information that they have found, Aronson (2010) invented an additional method of "expert group" – a team of specialists from all groups, working on the same part of the given biography. They gather information together, arrange it in a logical way and discuss how to present the material to their groups. For example, in case of six-people teams, there are six groups of experts on the childhood of the famous person, whose biography all students intend to learn. The more diverse the team is in terms of race, ethnicity and gender, the better.

It took children several days to learn that no one could achieve success without cooperation (Aronson, 2009). But after some time, students became aware that every member of the group had something valuable and important to bring in.

Although after some time children did not want to change their safe group consisting of well-known co-workers for relative strangers, researchers decided to shuffle teams every eight weeks. The aim was to create new groups working together equally well to previous ones, and to enable children to form new friendships. Aronson and his collaborators wanted to make children understand that everyone in the class is a good human being, and that willingness to have contact and understanding with each other is needed for the success (Aronson, 2010).

The jigsaw strategy had been tested for several decades and appeared a very successful method of leveling prejudice. It is an efficient way to learn new material, it encourages listening, engagement, empathy, and facilitates students to value each other as an essential part of team achieving a common task (Aronson, 2010). It was proven that after eight weeks of jigsaw learning experience, students who used this method presented less prejudice and negative stereotyping, more self-confidence, and higher school-liking in comparison to non-jigsaw groups. They also had lower absence ratio at schools. What was additionally unusual – an enormous academic improvement of poorer

students was noticed, and at the same time wealthier ones did not lose their high achievements (Aronson, 2010).

According to Aronson (2010), empathy is a skill that can be enhanced in practice, and it was actually confirmed by his student Diane Bridgeman, who tested empathy in jigsaw and non-jigsaw groups after 2 months of such different types of learning experience. This study showed that participants of jigsaw-classroom programme were better predisposed to take the perspective of other people. Those results provided profound implications for empathy, interpersonal relations, prejudice and aggression prevention.

Children from Texas who took part in jigsaw-classroom training learned that they were more alike than they had thought in the past. A child's preference of his or her own group is uncontrollable – when a child is developing their ethnic identity, they are most likely to negatively highlight the group contrasts – but the interest in others may be awakened and stimulated by contact (Lambert & Climeberg, 1967; About, Cvetkovich, & Smiley, 1975). At the same time, Katz (1976) notices that in the majority of cases, successful attitude change might be achieved only when adults reinforce the contact, when all the mixed groups of children have equal status, and when students start to pursue common goals. Amir (1975) also underlines the role of social institution supporting integration.

Many years have passed since Aronson invented jigsaw-classroom learning experience, and still recent findings (McConahay & Aronson 2009) showed that cooperative methods are the most efficient of dialogue building attempts.

What color are your eyes? The most important lesson in life

A third-grade teacher Jane Elliott developed her controversial racism-preventing exercise in 1968 when she was required to explain to her class why Martin Luther King Jr. was killed (Elliott, 2006). Riceville, Iowa, where the exercise was made, was an all-white town. After having listened to what her students were saying about black people, Elliott decided that no child would leave her classroom with such negative attitudes unchallenged (Gingold, 1993). Elliott perceived her exercise as an inocu-

lation against the racism that her students would encounter. The training deals with the irrationality of racial discrimination (Elliott, 2006).

The class has been divided up according to the color of students' eyes. "We all know that blue-eyed people aren't as civilized as brown-eyed people," "Blue-eyed people are not as clean as brown-eyed people, are they?" and other statements like these were presented, on the first day against blue-eyed children, on the second day against ones with eyes other than blue-colored (Gingold, 1993, p. 14). Elliott arbitrarily chose blue-eyed children to be discriminated against as first because her eyes are blue. She wrote "melanin" on the blackboard and said it was what caused intelligence. The more melanin you had, the smarter you were. It was obvious that dark-eyed people had more. Elliott chose the eye color for the basis of her division because it is an inborn trait one has no influence on – the same as on skin color, which is a background for racism. The consequences of such a division appeared spontaneously: when Elliott said blue-eyed people had to drink from paper cups if they used the water fountain, she asked the kids why. One answered that the brown-eyed children might have caught something from the blue-eyed. Then the teacher realized that kids really knew how racism worked (Elliott, 2006). Additional rules were set – for example, blue-eyed children could not use the playground equipment and they could not play with brown-eyed kids if not invited (Gingold, 1993). On the following day, the blue-eyes were "superior". In this way Elliott managed to outline how racism worked using everyday life children's activities. Students could experience how difficult it was not to be able to do things they liked (using playground, playing with other children) just because of their eye color – a trait they were born with and someone said it mattered. The same interdependence occurs when it comes to privileges and racism.

After that two-day-long training, which contained a day of feeling superior and a day of inferiority, all the children agreed that discrimination makes people feel powerless. Elliott asked her students to write down their thoughts and sentences about emotions that appeared during both days, to deepen the impact of her exercise. Lines referring to the day of inferiority were full of dramatic confessions – some of the kids felt like quitting school, others felt stupid, dirty, etc. (Gingold, 1993). Moreover, one especially interesting thing occurred – during Jane Elliott's exercise there were seven dyslexic boys in the class, several of them were brown-eyed. On the day the brown-eyed children were superior, those

dyslexic boys could read words Elliott knew they could not read and spelled words they could not spell prior to the exercise. But the exercise worked also in the opposite direction – for example, Lutheran minister's brilliant daughter could not succeed on the day she had the "wrong" eye color and it made her very upset (Elliott, 2006). This is how expectations and convictions matter and may influence people's perception of self.

Jane Elliott repeated this exercise each year with new students and the results were similar. Every group of children agreed on the fact that judging people by the color of their skin is illogical, same as judging others by the color of their eyes (Gingold, 1993). According to research, participation in the exercise was connected with White students indicating significantly more positive attitudes toward Asian American individuals, but at the same time with reporting anger with themselves if they noticed their engagement in prejudiced thoughts or actions (Stewart et al., 2003). This negative effect could be helpful in promoting long-term reduction of stereotyping and prejudice. What was also important for the author of "Blue eyes/Brown eyes" exercise – after the lesson, students began to think for themselves, and realized they never have to be prejudiced again (Gingold, 1993). At the same time, Steward and her collaborators (2003) doubted if the benefits of the activity justify the costs to the participants, even though Elliott's exercise was associated with prejudice reduction. Elliott (2006) explains that years later, the now grown-up children tell her they never forgot the exercise, underlining the positive influence on their awareness. To check what kind of memories they have and what kind of effect was achieved, Bloom (2005) contacted more than 50 of Jane Elliott's former students who participated in her exercise on discrimination and racial prejudice in Riceville. Nearly all the ex-students whom Bloom succeeded to contact said they learned something important from Elliott's exercise. But some of those people had a contradictory opinion and said that the lesson has been too difficult. Among many memories, thoughts and promises never to be racist and to treat others the way one wanted to be treated himself or herself appear (Bloom, 2005). Because of Jane, her students set the priority not to be prejudiced, as they experienced the sense of compassion and fairness. They remember in detail how it felt to be in the group with the "wrong" eye color. On the other side, some of them admit that if anyone humiliated their children as bad as they were humiliated during the exercise, they would call the principal. But then again, some of the former stu-

dents said that if Elliott had sugarcoated the exercise, it would not have had such a lasting impression (Bloom, 2005).

Although the vast majority of participants reported being glad that they had participated in the activity, some of the people who received discriminatory treatment were less likely to admit that they would recommend taking part in the exercise to others (Steward et al., 2003). This ethical dilemma about oppressing her students for one day was commented by Elliott in her saying that those White American children lived only one day in the manner the representatives of minority groups live their lives (Verhaag, 1996). As Bloom (2005) confirmed, for the majority of the participants of the exercise this one day was enough to get more attentive and to be willing to react to injustice in the future.

Contemporary methodologies – acquire your cultural skills and cascade them

In case of stereotypes and prejudice, benefiting from applied cross-cultural psychology may be the panacea for social problems as this field of psychology deals with consequences of stereotypes and prejudice for cross-cultural communication. Bennett, the author of Cultural Sensitivity Model (Bennett & Bennett, 2004; Boski, 2009) states that the problem for people is a disability to deal with differences between individuals. It is a common thing that values and customs adopted from one's cultural environment are often considered by this person as universal or at least natural and the most appropriate. Boski, Jarymowicz and Malewska-Peyre (1992) consider it as an indicator of ethnocentrism. In everyday-life situations *ethnocentrism* occurs when a person uses frames of their culture to evaluate behaviors of other people, especially individuals categorized as different or strange. It often means that people perceive their set of values, customs and habits as superior and better, so it is another cognitive deficiency (Bewer & Crano 1994; Boski 2009). How to get rid of this biased perception and ethnocentrism? Cultural competence training may be a possible solution, at least when it comes to short-term interventions, leading to higher propensity to take the perspective of the other.

Cultural competence training

Cultural competence training is a set of exercises closely related to common life situations. It consists of two main modules – critical incidences and cultural assimilators. Boski (2009) explains that *critical incidents* are examples of cultural collisions, which happened to people of a different origin. They can be described as unexpected and unplanned misunderstandings and improper interpretations of events. For example, Jurkovac (2008, after: Hutchinson et al., 1987) mentions how different the time-orientation between inhabitants of Colombia and United States is. A Colombian who arrives within twenty minutes of an agreed appointment time may not even mention his or her lateness (p. 86). But this behaviour should not be taken as being rude – rather it is simply a difference in terms of the meaning assigned to the set time. Despite this fact, a person from a culture where punctuality is one of the indicators of respect might feel offended and disregarded in such a case.

Misunderstandings in situations when two cultures collide may be explained also in reference to attribution. As Triandis (1975) says, when people are assessing others, they are very attentive to the causes of their behaviors – this mechanism is called attribution. When attribution occurs, values, customs and habits of the assessing person become things of a great matter. Moreover, norms, interpersonal contacts and the perceived relationship between evaluating and evaluated person can be very important (Triandis, 1975). People tend to focus on their *subjective culture* – they judge, analyze and react relevantly to the way they perceive norms, roles, values. This is often a root cause of social misunderstandings or conflicts (Triandis, 1975). The assumption of the training is as follows – people not being well acquainted with the other culture make wrong attributions connected with other people's behavior. The second module of Cultural Competence Training, *Culture assimilator*, is a kind of programmed learning experience which may help prevent misunderstandings when assessing others. The assimilator is often presented to trainees in a text form; it consists of more than hundred incidents of intercultural conflict, in which both sides of the collision have their own reasons to feel that their way of thinking is right (Boski, 2009). The more unexpected the incident is, the better it reflects the cultural differences. Institutional examples might be the best ones, as they exclude interpersonal relations as a factor influencing collision. Each incident gives

trainees an opportunity to analyze the causes of the difficulty. Just after participants' attempts to decide what were the causes of misunderstandings presented in culture assimilator, trainees are given feedback about the right options and they can verify their knowledge. Critical incidences may be prepared in advance by the trainer, but they also can be created by participants during the training. As useful training tools *ethnographies* understood as cultural data in the particular field, gathered through detailed observations and interviews that "require the researcher to become an active participant in the everyday social life of the people being studied" (Jurkovac, 2008, p. 83) can be used as well, along with many other materials presenting other cultures and behaviors (Boski, 2009). To verify the effects of cultural assimilator training, a research by Weldon et al. (in: Triandis, 1975) was conducted. Their trainees were White and Black students from United States. After the workshop, it was confirmed that the assimilator training had some desirable effects, but it did not accomplish as much as the researchers had hoped for. The advantage was the fact that students understood the logic of black ghetto. What is more, trained participants perceived less conflict in critical incidents than untrained ones. But, at the same time, no increase in liking toward out-group members was noticed (Triandis, 1975).

Although this increase in liking out-group members rarely appears, probably the most important benefit of participating in such a cultural course, especially for anti-discrimination educators, is development of *ethnorelativism* ideology – the norms of people's own culture cease to be undoubtedly right and other standards are not perceived as purely harmful and threatening anymore. Such trainings are recommended as a form of developing cultural competences, mostly because they make people deny that all the representatives of "the other" group are similar to each other (Boski & Jarymowicz, 1992) and this denial may be the very important step to awareness-raising**.**

Ethnic-sensitive school environment

What a teacher can do to change his/her students' convictions? As it was already mentioned, adults' and community's support in building mutual understanding among diverse group of children are important factors enabling prejudice prevention. Although as a teacher, a social worker or

an educator you probably have a narrow influence on the communities your students come from, you undoubtedly can focus on your attitude and reinforce practices leading to a tolerant school environment. You can model and teach this to your pupils and students as well.

The good base for the friendliness in the group of students may be an *acquaintance potential* (Cook, 1962). In practice, it means that children find themselves in a situation, in which there is an opportunity to get to know and understand each other. Those situations could be arranged by organizing trainings and workshops. Also the *ethnic-sensitive practice* applied at school may lead to satisfactory outcomes. This method bases on searching for resources and strong points, contrary to a typical model focusing on deficits of a person (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2010). This approach assumes that the desirable increase in social interaction quality may be achieved in use of 3 concepts: a) *empowerment*, which means countering negative images that minority groups' representatives have (about themselves and their community) with positive values or images; b) *the strengths perspective*, which underlines resources, abilities, competences, and aspirations that the minority group has; c) *culturally competent practice,* which means that one should first learn about his or her culture, then acquire knowledge about other groups. Comparisons between values, customs and other characteristics from all the groups may help recognize ethnocentricity (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2010).

In everyday life at school, the impact of a teacher on his or her students is very high. According to Stipek (1997), this influence can especially enhance positive outcomes when the tendency of students to compare themselves to one another is lowest possible. Also such factors as using interaction and cooperative methods in the classroom, and promoting beliefs about competences, not deficiencies, are reported as significant for improvement (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2010; Pianta & Stuhlman, 2004; Stipek, 1997, p. 437). Allport (1966) also points role-playing and other techniques that lead to a kind of "forced empathy" as contributing to increase in mutual understanding of various groups representatives. Additional thing, which also can be done by an educator to improve atmosphere in the class, is trying to create an *effective school environment* (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2010; Shaffer & Kipp, 2007, pp. 638–640). When the school climate is safe and welcoming, more energy is left for academic and social progress. Besides, to make a school a more diversity-friendly place, the curriculum should contain developmentally

appropriate issues, focusing on ethnicity, customs and cultural background of students. Probably, the closer-related to real life a curriculum is, the better it fits students' needs and expectations. Moreover, the question "How manuals chosen by academic staff reflect cultural issues?" may become a good indicator of a school's cultural friendliness as the manual and the curriculum may favor some groups. For example, psychological research shows that in United States more drop-outs appear among Hispanics and African Americans. The possible explanation is the fact that manuals favor some cultural groups while ignoring other ones, and more effort is needed for minority groups to graduate from school (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2010). Besides, there is one more important factor, which matters very much in terms of dialogue-building attempts. Ashmore (1970) underlines that what brings the real success in the reduction of prejudice is inter-group friendship. Many conditions were set by Aronson (2009) to ensure that the contact of ethnically-diverse groups of children will succeed and possibly end with friendship. Probably in classroom it is not really possible to provide perfect conditions for contact, for example equal social status of all the students in a typical school is rare. Fortunately, numerous studies in the United States, England and other countries achieved positive attitude changes, even among groups of unequal status (Amir, 1975) and maybe even some of the relations ended as friendships?

Planning an effective workshop – Kolb's learning cycle

If you are planning to level prejudice that your students present, Kolb's learning cycle might be a useful background for an effective workshop. Many European Union institutions publish manuals for teachers with exercises about Human Rights and diversity management that can be used at school. These materials are available on the Internet and are free of charge if used for educational purposes[1]. But recommended exercises only are not enough to create a successful training. It is very important how the workshop is arranged and how the schedule presents itself. If

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[1] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/eycb/default_EN.asp. This is one of the websites on which you can find manuals about Human Rights education.

the training follows the scheme of Kolb's learning cycle, it can probably meet the needs of students in terms of deep understanding of the subject, which the teacher aims to introduce.

Kolb's learning theory provides distinctive mechanisms of learning and teaching design. These mechanisms correspond to the constructivist view on the way people acquire their knowledge thanks to experience. Four steps comprise the Kolb's scheme: 1) Concrete experience – at a workshop for children in can be implemented as a game with a deeper meaning behind it; 2) Observation and reflection – teacher may ask questions and encourage students to share what they noticed during the exercise and what it could mean; 3) Forming abstract concepts – an abstract notion like e.g. "prejudice" can be introduced and explained; 4) Testing newly acquired knowledge in new life situations, which is an active experimentation (Abdulwahed & Nagy, 2009). An adequate balance of these four parts of the cycle is needed in an effective learning experience. What is more, Kolb's scheme is based on the assumption that each person may have a different learning style, but combination of these four different approaches at one training should be the most valuable, even for a group of very diverse people (Miller et al., 2005).
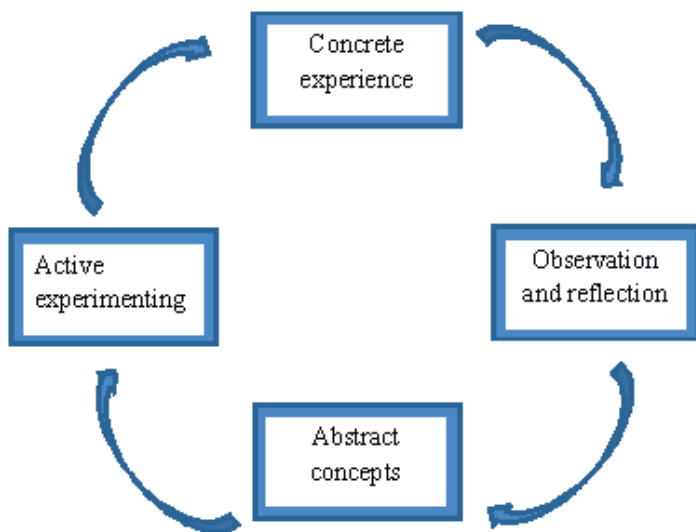
Graph 2. Kolb's cycle

Examples of workshops on multiculturalism for children

I would like to end this chapter with two scenarios of workshops introducing the topic of multiculturalism for children at the age between seven to ten. The first scenario (Workshop A) is prepared for a group of children with the same cultural background, whom an educator wants to make acquainted with some basic data about other cultures' representatives residing in Europe. The second proposition is Workshop B, for an ethnically-diverse group of children. Both scenarios, which are attached at the end of this chapter, make use of Kolb's cycle.

In the light of all the theories which were already mentioned in this paper, it is important to add that not always the dominant majority forces minority groups to remain separate. Very often the minority groups prefer to keep their customs, values and identity, so that sometimes they do not strain to speak a foreign language or to adjust to others' manners (Allport, 1954). The problem observed by Allport remains current and may become an important factor influencing group dynamics at your workshop for the multicultural group.

Summary: Why cultural sensitivity and education about multiculturalism matter?

The common long-term goal of many cross-cultural and awareness-raising programs is to encourage participants to a tolerant behavior and strengthen some features of tolerant personality. Allport (1966, p. 425) defines tolerant personality as a friendly and trustful attitude that one person may have towards another, and this attitude is not related with the groups to which either belongs. When it comes to benefits, research in psychology revealed that tolerant people have greater mental flexibility, their social intelligence and empathic abilities are higher. But what is especially important when considering tolerant attitude as a result of proper education – tolerant people are more accurate in their judgments of personality than intolerant ones, and they have flexible capacity to know the other person's state of mind, and adapt to it (Allport, 1966). These all are unquestioned advantages and possible positive outcomes of a diversity-friendly school environment, which fosters tolerance.

At the same time, an educator should remember that a single workshop is not enough to cause significant changes – continuous practices on multicultural education are needed. What is more, sometimes the training does not seem very successful just after the end of it – participants may not present deep changes immediately. Katz (1976) observed that the *germination period* may have to occur before effects are noticeable – sometimes it is important to wait some time to assess the results of education accurately.

Amy Hackney asked a distinguished professor in cross-cultural psychology, Susan Fiske, about her classes on racism that she runs for students. This is what Fiske said (Hackney, 2005, p. 199):

"*Every time I teach psychology of racism, the students get depressed halfway through the semester after I tell them how automatic and natural it is to favor people like themselves. We spend the rest of the semester looking at solutions (…). I remind them, though, of how far we have come*".

Each anti-discrimination workshop is an important step in creating diversity-friendly environment. Although Fiske underlines that we have come so far, still – it is important to develop new ways of challenging people's prejudices. This issue is significant especially nowadays, in such a multicultural community Europe has become. Creating a proper school environment and organizing culture trainings may effectively facilitate diversity-friendly approach among students.

Attachment 1

Workshop A – scenario

I. Goals of the workshop:
    – to make children acquainted with diversity-friendly approach,
    – to introduce basic knowledge about religious and ethnic minority groups residing in the European Union,
    – to discuss the topic of immigration, minorities and culture, using non-formal education methods.
II. Timing: 160 minutes, a twenty-minute break in the middle included
III. Materials needed:
    – scissors, glue, oil pastels, crayons, body paint, plastic straws,

- A2, A3 and A4 sheets of paper,
- newspapers and magazines,
- computer, projector.

IV. Additional comments:

Other adults' assistance would be very helpful, as a lot of work in smaller groups is included in the workshop and each group may need a teacher's help. The recommended number of adults is at least one to eight children.

V. Workshop plan:

1. Introduction (5 minutes)

    A brief explanation of topics that will be discussed at the workshop.

2. Contract (5 minutes)

    Set with students a list of rules, which will be obeyed during the training. They should refer to mutual respect and be formulated in a way which is understandable for children. For example, "When one person speaks, others listen to him/her". All the trainees should agree on the contract. You can make children additionally committed to the set of rules by asking them to sign it with their fingerprint (a body paint is needed for this).

3. Exercise 1 – How do you imagine people living in Europe – drawing (30 minutes)

    Every child is asked to draw inhabitants of Europe – how she or he imagines them – on A4 sheet of paper. It can add value to the exercise if the teacher and facilitators talk individually with each child about what the drawing presents. When the pictures are ready, hang them on a wall or stick them to blackboard so that they are visible. Gather children in front of this gallery. Ask about similarities and differences which children see between people in drawings. Discuss the topic of race, languages, religion. You may ask children about what they already know about other cultures and nations and write down on the blackboard true pieces of information coming from what they have said.

    The aim of the exercise is to make children understand that people of all the human races live in Europe (you may indicate drawings which depict people of different skin colors and additionally show photos of ethnically-diverse, crowded city centers in EU capitals – use computer and projector), they speak many

languages, sometimes they look different, but all of them have equal dignity.

4. Exercise 2 – Photographs of people from different cultures – discussion (20 minutes)

Divide children into groups of 5–6 and make each group sit at a different table. Each table should be covered with photos showing faces of people from different cultures that were cut from magazines and newspapers before the workshop. Every child should choose at least one photo of a person he/she finds interesting or would like to make friends with.

Later, create a circle from chairs and sit there together with children and other adults.

Begin a discussion about pictures and the people in them. For example, you can ask such questions as:

– Have you ever met a person from another culture?
– Did you talk to people from other cultures?
– Have you ever had a friend from another country?
– Would you like to make friends with any person from those pictures? With whom? Why?

The aim is to let children exchange experience about other cultures and encourage them to have contact with people of different nations, skin colors, etc.

5. Puppet theater – preparing materials (20 minutes)

Children are to prepare paper puppets, which will be used in a simple role-playing afterwards. It is good to give children A4 sheets of paper with a pattern of a human so that it is easier for them to create their dolls. They can use photographs from previous exercise to decorate paper and they can draw puppets completely on their own as well. Children decide how their dolls look like. At the end, they should stick plastic straws to paper dolls so that it will be easy to manipulate them.

6. Break (20 minutes)

7. Exercise 3 – Problem-solving. Puppet theater, role-playing (40 minutes)

In groups of 5–6, students are about to solve a cultural problem. Each group receives a description of a problematic situation, closely-related to real life.

For example: "There is a new girl in your class, her name is Amira. She looks a little different than other girls – she is a Muslim – she covers her hair with a headscarf. Next week your class is going to celebrate Christmas Eve at school. Amira doesn't want to come because she doesn't celebrate this holiday. Other students don't understand it and they laugh at her.

You are Amira's classmates. What can you do to make her feel better in this situation?"

Students' task is to think of a happy ending to the story, they need to create a short role-playing with their puppets to be shown for the rest of the class. Each group works in assistance of an adult person.

In this exercise you can easily refer to common problems connected with cultural differences in your town and country. After each group's role-playing, provide basic theoretical information about the cultures to which the problems are connected. For example, in case of Amira's story, you may first ask about what children already know about Islam and broaden it with data you have prepared.

Puppet theater is an empathy- and awareness-raising exercise.

8. Summing up (15 minutes)

Gather your students in a circle and ask them about:

– what they have learned at the workshop,

– in which situation newly acquired knowledge may be useful.

In this moment you can briefly remind the main topics which emerged during activities at the workshop and underline what are the most important things that you want your students to remember after class – for example, it can be the message that although people differ in terms of their appearance, the language they speak, their religion, etc., we all have equal dignity and should respect each other.

Attachment 2

Workshop B – scenario

I.   Goals of the workshop:
   – to integrate a multicultural group that a class comprises,
   – to let children share some parts of the culture they come from,
   – to make trainees acquainted with diversity-friendly approach.
II. Timing: approximately 140 minutes, a ten-minute break in the middle included
III. Materials needed:
   – A2 and A4 sheets of paper, pens, crayons,
   – Books with your students' favorite fairytales and symbols from their cultures – the trainer should ask children to bring these things the day before the workshop.
IV. Additional comments:
   Adults' help, same as during Workshop A.
V.   Workshop plan:
   1. Introduction (5 minutes), see: Workshop A
   2. Contract (5 minutes), see: Workshop A
   3. Exercise 1 – The onion of diversity (Schachinger, in: Gillert et al. 2000, p. 43) (20 minutes)

   Divide your students into two groups. First group should create a circle. Each person in the circle needs to have a pair from the second group, so that two circles are constructed. Children from group 1 stand face to face with children from group 2. Each pair needs to find quickly something that they have in common (habit, hobby, view on something) and how it can be expressed (singing, short pantomime, poem, symbols). Then ask group from inner circle to move one step to the right. Now next pairs search for similarities. You repeat shifts till the moment when the full round of inner layer of "the onion" is completed.

   After you finish the exercise, you can ask your trainees following questions: Which similarities where the most surprising? Why? What did you learn about each other?

   4. Exercise 2 – We are different and it connects us (Świąder, in: Stowarzyszenie Willa Decjusza, 2006; p. 15) (20 minutes)

Children sit in a circle. Teacher asks them to close their eyes and he/she tells a story about an unreal world:

"Imagine a world without differences. We all are the same, we are spitting images of each other. We speak the same language, with the same tone of voice. We have identical color of eyes, hair. Our clothes, houses, cars are the same. Even plants and animals don't differ from one another. Everything is the same, including our feelings.

Would you like to live in such a world?

With whom would you make friends, why?

How would you recognize your mum and dad?

And now, imagine the world which surrounds you. People are different from each other, they speak other languages, their appearance is different. Houses in the surrounding have interesting shapes, vehicles are of various types, colors, brands."

Now, ask children to answer following questions:

Which world do you like more – a plain one or a colorful one?

In which world would you like to spend holidays?

Is it good that people differ in terms of language they speak, customs, skin colors, etc.?

What nationality are you?

Do you know, at least a little, the culture of your nation?

What do you like the most about your culture?

What would you like others to know about your culture?

Would you like to get to know cultures of your neighbors?

This activity broadens knowledge about cultures and makes children aware of benefits that can be taken from diversity.

5. Break (10 minutes)
6. Exercise 3 – Let's draw a fairytale! (40 minutes); additional adults' help might be necessary in this exercise

Divide children into ethnically-diverse groups of 6. The task for the children is to read out loud or tell their favorite fairytale, which is connected with their culture. They can widen this story with symbols of their culture, which they were asked to bring for the class.

After the last child in the group finishes the story, children are to find similarities between the presented fairytales and to depict them on A2 sheet of paper.

This exercise makes use of fairytales as stories reflecting values and customs important for particular cultures and focuses on similarities between cultures.

7. Exercise 4 – Our religions (20 minutes), (Kiryluk, Kamieńska, Potoniec, 2009; in: Młynarczuk, Potoniec, 2009)

To run this exercise, you need a paper bag filled with colorful pairs of puzzles with symbols, images and names connected with religions, which are important among group members.

For example, in a group of Roman-Catholics and Muslims, puzzles would look in this manner:

church/mosque, imam/priest, cross/crescent, Jesus Christ/Mohammad, etc.

The goal is to make children find pairs for puzzles and notice similarities between their religious groups. This activity also creates space for children to explain important symbols connected with their culture to classmates of other origin – children should leave the classroom with understanding of all the notions used during the exercise.

8. Summing up (15 minutes)

See: Workshop A

9. Spark of friendship (3 minutes)

Create a circle with your students. Hold your hands. Then say out loud that you pass round a spark of friendship, squeeze gently the hand of your neighbor on the right, ask children to do the same, one by one, and wait for the moment when the spark comes back to you, from the other side.

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NEET ("Not in Education, Employment or Training") and Youth Unemployment. Comparative Analysis, Social and Economic Consequences, Remedial Programs

Introduction

The youth consolidation into the labor market is a significant goal all over the world and a key policy issue of the European Employment Strategy. The European Employment Guidelines stress the need to build employment path for young people and to diminish youth unemployment. The new "Europe 2020" plan pays notice to youth labor and education problems, aiming particularly at an increase of social capital. In the European Union, youth unemployment rates are overall more than twice as high as the adult rates, with significant differences across countries and regions (see: Quintini et al., 2007; Perugini & Signorelli, 2010a, b). Youth unemployment was rising again dramatically after the recent global economic crisis (see: ILO, 2010a, b; Arpaia & Curci, 2010). The collapse, which started in 2007–2008 as a financial collapse, led to the biggest recession (2008–2009) since the Great Depression of the 1930s, with prevalent after-effects on economic performance, labour productivity and employment in all countries around the world. It is worth noting, that the real effects of financial collapse (on production, income, expenditure, etc.) are always lagged. Based on the labor market and the crisis, the problem is that – in spite of a recovery which has been ongoing since the summer of 2009 – all the negative effects have not yet been fully revealed, because of even longer lags. The influence on the weakest segments of the labor market, especially young people, has been deeper.

This study is intended to indicate the situation of unemployed youth in the EU. The chapter analyses differences in perception between NEET and youth unemployment with respect to the social and economic consequences for the domestic level and the European Union. Subsequently, the implications of high unemployment rate in member countries, including types of remedial programs, are discussed.

Youth Unemployment in European Union

Youth unemployment rates are usually much higher than such rates for the society as a whole. This shows how difficult it is for young people to find jobs. However, we have to take notice that large group of unemployed youth are studying full-time. This group is usually not looking for a permanent job. Thus, they are not unemployed in practice, because they are not part of the labor force as a whole. Labor force is one of the most necessary factors to calculate unemployment rate. To calculate the exact value of the indicator, we need to know the number of the unemployed and the total quantity of labor force in the selected area. There is a simple formula for calculating unemployment rate. Unemployment rate equals the number of the unemployed rates divided by labor force. Currently, the youth unemployment rate in the entire European Union is around twice as high as the unemployment rate for all the ages. There is also a huge difference in the unemployment rates between labor market entrants and experienced workers. This is shaped by a number of different factors. Youth participation rates are falling relative to adult participation rates. There are many reasons for this. The first one is that many young people lack knowledge of what the labor market actually is like, and have not given careful thought to their own future career choices. In many cases, they have not used their time in school to gain work experience. Even those young people who have pursued a course of study with a specific career in mind often find themselves with general of theoretical knowledge that does little to prepare them for the actual tasks they will encounter on the job (Manpower Report, 2012). These are main determinants from the labor market. For example, a lack of available jobs suited to entry-level skills. Young people are unquestionable core of our economies and societies. There are about 94 million young people aged

between 15 and 29 years in Europe, of whom over 60 million are aged 15–24 years, and over 33 million are aged 25–29 years (European Foundation of Living and Working Conditions, 2012).

	Youth unemployment rate				Youth unemployment ratio		
	2010	2011	2012	2012Q4*	2010	2011	2012
EU-27	21.1	21.4	22.8	23.2	9.0	9.1	9.7
Euro area	20.9	20.8	23.0	23.7	8.7	8.7	9.6
Belgium	22.4	18.7	19.8	22.0	7.3	6.0	6.2
Bulgaria	21.8	25.0	28.1	28.4	6.7	7.4	8.5
Czech Republic	18.3	18.1	19.5	19.3	5.7	5.4	6.1
Denmark	14.0	14.2	14.1	14.2	9.4	9.6	9.1
Germany	9.9	8.6	8.1	7.9	5.1	4.5	4.1
Estonia	32.9	22.3	20.9	19.3	12.6	9.1	8.7
Ireland	27.6	29.1	30.4	29.4	12.0	12.1	12.3
Greece	32.9	44.4	55.3	57.9	10.0	13.0	16.1
Spain	41.6	46.4	53.2	55.2	17.8	19.0	20.6
France	23.6	22.8	24.3	25.4	8.9	8.4	9.0
Italy	27.8	29.1	35.3	36.9	7.9	8.0	10.1
Cyprus	16.6	22.4	27.8	31.8	6.7	8.7	10.8
Latvia	37.2	31.0	28.4	24.7	13.9	11.6	11.4
Lithuania	35.3	32.2	26.4	24.2	10.4	9.0	7.7
Luxembourg	15.8	16.4	18.1	18.5	3.5	4.2	5.0
Hungary	26.6	26.1	28.1	28.8	6.6	6.4	7.3
Malta	13.1	13.8	14.2	14.5	6.7	7.1	7.2
Netherlands	8.7	7.6	9.5	9.8	6.0	5.3	6.6
Austria	8.8	8.3	8.7	8.7	5.2	5.0	5.2
Poland	23.7	25.8	26.5	27.5	8.2	8.7	8.9
Portugal	27.7e	30.1	37.7	38.4	8.2	11.7	14.3
Romania	22.1	23.7	22.7	22.2	6.9	7.4	7.0
Slovenia	14.7	15.7	20.6	23.2	5.9	5.9	7.1
Slovakia	33.9	33.5	34.0	35.1	10.4	10.0	10.4
Finland	21.4	20.1	19.0	19.3	10.6	10.1	9.8
Sweden	24.8	22.8	23.7	24.1	12.8	12.1	12.4
United Kingdom	19.6	21.1	21.0	20.7	11.6	12.4	12.4

* The quarterly youth unemployment rate is seasonally adjusted.

e: estimate

Figure 1. Unemployment rate in the countries of the European Union

Source: Eurostat, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/images/8/8b/ Youth_unemployment%2C_2012Q4_%28%25%29.png; 28.07.2013.

This trend of unemployment persisted in the past decade. The quality and aspect of job are fundamental determinants of the long-term labor market perspective of young people. It is worth mentioning, that generally youth have temporary, low-productive, and less-paid work. That is an alarming global trend. These jobs do not fulfill their ambitions and aspirations. This would appear to be a kind of a trap, where the path hin-

dered for the youth to get better-paid, permanent and more productive job. Of particular importance is the fact, that the problem persists in good economic times and further worsens in bad economic times. This is an exemplary fault of school curricula and of a lack of mutual understanding between educational system and employers. Another reason are poor social skills and work ethic of youth. It is understandable, that many employers have a number of concerns about hiring young workers.
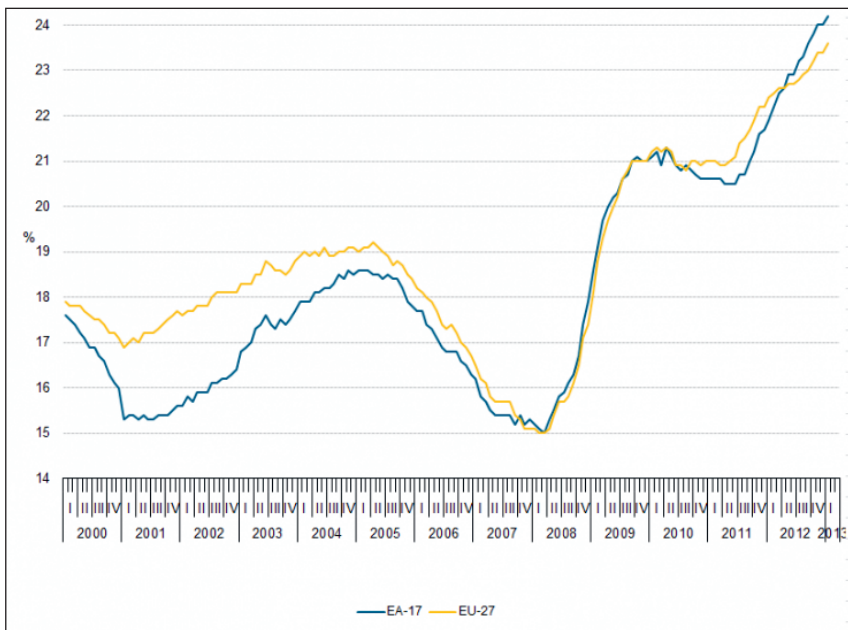
Figure 2. Unemployment rate in the Euro Area, and European Union

Source: Eurostat, March 2013.

As we can see in the chart above, there exists a long connection between development of youth unemployment and changing economic conditions (Blanchlfower & Freeman, 2000). This shows, in particular, the great recession period. There are many studies that discuss the issue of business cycle and youth unemployment. Unfortunately, business cycle effects are not adequate to explain discrepancies in the youth unemployment level and current economic condition. We clearly see that,

despite the improvement in the economic situation after 2009, unemployment continued to rise. The situation of workers is dependent on the type of labor market. There are two different types of labor markets. The first one is the European labor market model. It is based on an occupational labor market system occurring in the countries with vocationally-oriented training. The second one is internal market labor system, which is characterized by labor market allocation relying predominantly on experience (Saar, 2005).

Consequences

Kieselbach describes in his study six theoretical dimensions of social exclusion. These are: labor market exclusion, institutional exclusion, economic exclusion, exclusion through social isolation as well as spatial and cultural exclusion (Kieselbach, 2001). The circumstance that makes the young person remain unemployed seems in itself not to be a sufficient reason for the potential social exclusion. However, it is often the first step which may lead to it. Statistics show that the risk of social exclusion among this group is growing. It should be noted, that even long-term unemployment does not necessarily mean exclusion from the labor market in the future. This view was confirmed by the results of YUSE (Youth Unemployment and Social Exclusion Project). These studies are not complete and cannot be relevant, because they do not include the character of the process of social exclusions, nor do they compare the treatment effects on unemployed with a relevant non-treated comparison group (Dietrich, 2012). Beyond methodological doubts, the debate about social exclusion of unemployed youth reveals that the possibility of this exclusion does not seem to be a major issue for unemployed young people themselves. The expectations of people entering the labor market appear to be different, mainly due to the subgroups, countries, level of education and qualifications.

Tertiary education no longer protects against unemployment, although the proportion of unemployed youth with tertiary education is lower (16.7%) than that in analyzed groups with lower levels of education (28.2%). However, since the beginning of the recession, the youth unemployment rate has increased significantly, especially among people

with highest education, 11.4% in 2007 against 16.2% in 2011. We have to deal with the critical situation of people with tertiary education in a number of European countries. Unemployment rate among this group is the highest in Greece and Spain, 48.6% and 35% respectively. The situation is alarming in Romania, Portugal, and Italy, where this ratio is almost 30%. The most common reason is the mismatch of skills to labor market needs. The worsening economy has had the greatest impact on the Spanish and Irish youth. In Spain, in 2007, the number of unemployed has doubled. Nonetheless, in Ireland it increased from 5.5% in 2007 to 18.3% in 2011 (European Foundation of Living and Working Conditions, 2012). At this time in Belgium and France the rate was stable. Moreover, on the basis of the examples of countries such as Czech Republic, France, Netherlands, and United Kingdom, we can conclude that in some cases tertiary education may protect against unemployment. The situation is somewhat different in the case of youth with only primary education. Unemployment has risen significantly among them from 20% in 2007 to almost 29% in 2011. The situation at the national level is varied. In Spain and Slovakia more than 50% of young people with primary education have problems with finding a job. In these countries the rate of unemployment of youth with a low educational level is over 50%. In countries like Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, the situation is reversed. The same indicator is below 13% (Caroleo & Pastore, 2007). The largest increases were noted from the beginning of the great recession in Greece, Ireland, and Spain. However, the rate is stable or has decreased in Slovakia, Germany, and Austria. It should be mentioned, that the rate in Slovakia remains the highest among the European Union member states. These statistics indicate, that higher educational attainment does not completely protect someone from the risk of becoming unemployed. However, the situation differs greatly, depending on the country in question. It must be concluded, that at the time of economic recovery, unemployment rate among most groups should decrease. During the crisis, there is a demand for experienced workers. The unemployment rate increased in recent years in Europe. In the long-term, the effect of the current crisis may be in removing the protective role of education, as we see it now in the case of people with tertiary education.

One of the solutions is temporary work, but it can also be a dead end. This also provides an explanation to why temporary employment is not always seen as an achievement. It contributes to further distress for

young people, because the conditions of the contract do not provide the security and stability of employment. Most young people tend to accept low-paid jobs instead of accumulating work experience to find higher-paid, high-quality jobs later, many young people are stuck in this situation for an extended period of time. They are trapped for many years, or often for the rest of their lives. This was the main reason why European researches began to recognize the fixed-term contract as a stepping stone or a dead-end job. In response to this situations, the OECD has contributed to the recent shift of the debate from the dualism of flexibility and rigidity to the definition of the optimal regulation mix to make fixed-term contracts more efficient in providing training and job opportunities for young people (Caroleo & Pastore, 2007).

The NEET

The term NEET, the abbreviation for "not in education, employment or training", was first coined in the UK in the mid-1990s (Instance et al., 1994, cited in: Pemberton, 2008). It was then formally defined by the UK government as "those 16–18 year olds who neither participate in education or training, nor have a job (for at least 6 months) after leaving compulsory education" (SEU, 1999, cited in: Pemberton, 2008, p. 243).

NEET and youth unemployment – differences

The NEET indicator and youth unemployment are related terms, but there are significant differences between the two. Once defined by the ILO, the unemployment rate is a measure of those who are out of work, but have looked for work in the last month and are capable to start in the next two weeks. It captures the share of the economically active population who are not able to find a job. The youth unemployment rate can be inflated by those who exit from the labor force, such as those young people who decide to return into education, or those who decide not to look for a job anymore, as they believe that there is no job for them. For that reason, in both cases, they become economically inactive, and therefore irrelevant to the calculation of the unemployment rate. In opposition, the

definition of NEET includes all young people who are not in employment, education or training. Save of the population of all young people now disengaged from the labor market and education, namely unemployed and inactive young people who are not in education or training (Eurofound, 2012). The differences between the populations captured by youth unemployment rates and the NEET indicator are graphically represented in Figure 3.

NEET is a concept and indicator in the Europen Union. Since the onset of the recession, NEET has become a regularly used term at the international pitch, and international organizations have made much use of the NEET indicator. At European pitch, the term NEET has caught the publicity of policymakers as a concept and useful indicator for monitoring the labor market and social situation of young people. The need to focus more on NEETs has become obvious in a number of policy documents from the European Commission. The "Europe 2020" crucial initiative "Youth on the Move" (European Commission, 2010c) aims at "unleashing all young people's potential" and clearly emphasizes the importance of focusing on the NEET problem. It is considered fundamental to reduce the high number of NEETs in Europe, by providing pathways back into education or training as well as enabling contact with the labor market. Special emphasis is also placed on ensuring labor market integration of people with disabilities or health problems. Making use of NEET as an indicator, one of the key actions is to "*establish a systematic monitoring of the situation of young people not in employment, education or training (NEETs) on the basis of EU-wide comparable data, as a support to policy development and mutual learning in this field*" (European Commission, 2010d, p. 37).

While the youth unemployment rate includes only the economically active members of the population who were unable to find a job, the NEET rate can be understood as that subset of the total population of young people which is at present not engaged in employment, education or training.
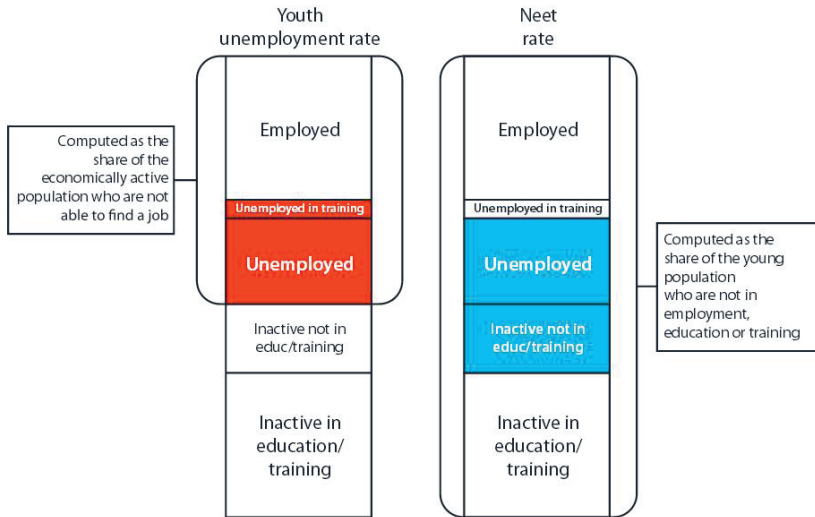
Figure 3. Differences between the youth unemployment rate and the NEET rate

Source: Eurofound (2012), NEETs – *Young people not in employment, education or training: Characteristics, costs and policy responses in Europe*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg

Determinants

A number of characteristics has been found to be of importance to the category of NEET: gender, age, immigration background, perceived health status, educational level, religiosity, and whether they are living with parents. Furthermore, at the family level, the analysis considered the household income, parents' education level as well as unemployment history, and the area where the household is located. The results present a high level of consistency with the general literature. In particular, they show that the probability of ending up NEET is influenced by a range of factors and characteristics. Those who perceive their health status to be bad or very bad, and who are more likely to be suffering from some kind of disability, are over 40% more likely to be NEET compared to those with a good health status. Young people with an immigration background are 70% more likely to become NEET compared to

other young people. Those with low levels of education are three times more likely to be NEET than those with tertiary education, and two times more likely than those with secondary education. People living in remote areas and in small cities are up to 1.5 times more likely to be NEET compared to those living in medium-sized or large cities. Young people with a low household income are more likely to become NEET than others (Eurofound, 2012). However, this revenue effect will be analysed in greater depth later, as it reflects the heterogeneity of the NEET population. Along with these individual characteristics, certain intergenerational influences and family backgrounds have a significant impact on the probability of being NEET. Having parents who experienced unemployment increases the probability of being NEET by 17%. Those with parents with a low level of education are up to 1.5 times more likely to be NEET than those young people whose parents have a secondary level of education, and up to two times more likely than those whose parents have a tertiary level of education. Young people whose parents are divorced are 30% more likely to be NEET than other young people. On the basis of these results, which are in line with the previously discussed UK-based findings, NEET can be described as both an outcome and a defining characteristic of disadvantaged young people who are at much greater risk of social exclusion. Education is the most important variable, and it has the strongest effect on influencing the probability of being NEET: this is true at the individual and family level. Moreover, living in remote areas and suffering some kind of disadvantage, such as disability or having an immigration background, strongly increases the probability of being NEET. The importance of family background is confirmed in increasing the risk of becoming NEET (Eurofound, 2012).

NEET rates in Europe

The Figure 4 shows that the NEET rate among those aged 15–19 years is considerably lower than among young people aged 20–24 years in all member states, with the exception of Malta, where the two rates are almost equal. The highest indicators for those aged 15–19 years can be found in the member states which also have highest rate for those aged 20–24 years. Nevertheless, in eastern and southern European countries,

	15–24 years			15–29 years			15–19 years			20–24 years			25–29 years		
COUNTRY	Total	Absolute female-male difference	Unemployed as share of NEETs	Total	Absolute female-male difference	Unemployed as share of NEETs	Total	Absolute female-male difference	Unemployed as share of NEETs	Total	Absolute female-male difference	Unemployed as share of NEETs	Total	Absolute female-male difference	Unemployed as share of NEETs
EU	12.9	0.9	51.2	15.4	4.1	48.1	6.9	-0.7	44.93	18.2	2.3	52.8	19.8	9.7	45.0
BE	11.8	0.4	42.4	13.8	3	42.8	6.8	-0.3	27.94	16.5	0.9	47.9	17.7	7.7	42.4
BG	22.6	0.5	29.7	24.6	3	32.1	15.8	2.3	20.25	29.0	-1.1	34.1	29.3	9.5	36.9
CZ	8.3	2.4	55.4	12.2	9.4	41.0	3.6	-0.2	63.89	12.2	4.5	53.3	18.6	21.2	30.1
DK	6.3	-0.3	39.7	7.6	0.7	42.1	3.8	-0.6	36.84	8.7	-0.1	41.4	10.5	2.9	43.8
DE	7.5	1.6	42.7	9.7	3.8	40.2	3.3	0.2	42.42	11.0	2.7	41.8	13.7	7.9	38.0
EE	11.8	-0.2	53.4	14.9	3.8	53.0		n.d.	n.d.	15.8	0.8	56.3	20.2	10.7	53.0
IE	18.4	-2.2	52.7	22.0	-1.8	54.1	10.6	-2.3	39.62	26.8	-2.9	58.6	27.2	-1.5	55.5
GR	17.4	2.8	64.9	23.2	7.2	69.4	8.6	0.2	38.37	26.5	4.9	74.0	32.0	14.8	72.8
ES	18.5	-1.6	69.7	21.1	0	70.6	11.1	-1.6	54.95	24.9	-1.6	75.9	25.0	2.5	71.2
FR	12.0	0.7	60.0	14.5	3.7	57.2	6.1	-1.5	54.10	17.6	2.6	61.9	19.4	9.1	53.1
IT	19.8	0.6	35.9	22.7	5.3	33.9	11.7	-0.6	29.06	27.4	1.6	38.7	27.8	13.3	32.0
CY	14.4	-0.6	51.4	14.7	1.4	51.0	7.1	0.2	28.17	21.2	-1.2	59.0	15.1	4.3	49.7
LV	15.7	-0.1	52.9	18.7	2.6	51.9	8.6	0.7	37.21	20.9	-0.8	57.4	23.9	7.4	50.6
LT	12.5	-2.3	60.8	15.2	-2.4	59.2	3.3	n.d.	n.d.	20.6	-3	62.6	21.6	-2.4	56.9
LU	4.7	0.3	57.5	6.6	3.2	50.0	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	7.7	1.1	62.3	9.8	n.d.	43.9
HU	13.3	1.7	45.1	17.7	7.5	40.7	4.9	0.3	28.57	20.8	2.8	49.0	25.5	17.9	36.5
MT	10.6	1.5	49.1	11.9	5.3	41.2	9.7	n.d.	n.d.	11.4	2.2	49.1	14.4	n.d.	n.d.
NL	3.8	0.1	31.6	5.5	1.4	30.9	1.9	-0.2	26.32	5.6	0.3	33.9	9.1	4	30.8
AT	6.9	0.3	46.4	8.2	3.1	39.0	5.3	-0.6	52.83	8.5	1.1	43.5	10.3	7.9	31.1
PL	11.6	0.8	54.3	15.5	6.3	47.1	3.7	-0.5	45.95	18.3	1.9	56.3	21.5	14.8	41.4
PT	12.7	0.8	65.4	14.0	1.9	66.4	7.9	-1	54.43	17.3	2.4	69.4	22.2	3.8	67.7
RO	17.4	2.9	39.1	19.1	5.9	36.1	10.5	0.2	30.48	22.2	4.7	42.3	13.2	11.4	32.0
SI	7.1	-1.5	54.9	9.4	0	59.6	3.5	-1.6	37.14	9.8	-1	60.2	27.0	2.1	64.4
SK	13.8	-0.1	70.3	18.7	5.7	58.3	5.9	-0.5	71.19	20.5	0.1	70.2	27.0	15.5	47.8
FI	8.4	-0.5	44.1	10.0	1.9	41.0	4.3	0.1	39.53	12.5	-0.9	46.4	13.0	6.6	36.9
SE	7.5	-0.3	54.7	7.8	1	50.0	4.2	-0.9	50.00	10.7	0.3	55.1	8.4	3.7	42.9
GB	14.3	2.3	53.9	15.5	5.6	45.8	8.5	-1.9	64.71	19.5	5.8	49.2	17.5	11.5	35.4

Note: n.d. = no data

Figure 4. NEET rates in Europe (%)

Source: Eurostat, July 2012.

the NEET rate among those aged 15–19 years is considerably lower than that recorded among the 20–24-year-olds. At EU level, the ratio of young people aged 15–19 years who were NEET in 2011 was 6.9% compared to 18.2% among those aged 20–24 years. In absolute terms, this corresponds to 1.9 million and 5.6 million young people, respectively. The analysis of the NEET rate over time indicates, that between 2000 and the onset of the crisis, the average NEET rate had been decreasing in Europe. As engagement in education increased, and as the economy improved in the first part of the last decade, the number of young people who were NEET began to decrease, from an average value of 13.2% recorded in 2000 to a low of 10.8% recorded in 2008 (Eurostat, 2011, 2012).

Economic Consequences

Membership to NEET is a waste of talent, potential, and skills of the young people concerned, but it also has adverse consequences for the economy. The negative individual result of NEET status has a supplementary cost attached to it. Accordingly, being NEET is not only a problem for the individual, but also for societies and economies as a whole. Counting these costs may play a serious role in highlighting the need to encourage young people to remain engaged in the labour market or education, and to broaden understanding of the benefits from re-engaging them.

Total cost of NEETs in 2011 are presented in Figure 5. For each country, average and public finance costs are presented. Based on the discount rate and, particularly, on the increase in the NEET population, the weekly economic loss in Europe increased from €2.3 billion in 2008 to almost €3 billion in 2011. This amount corresponds to an annual loss of €153 billion in 2011. It introduces to the economy the cost of not being able to re-engage young people into the labour market. The cost of NEETs in 2011 was almost €34 billion higher than it was in 2008, a relative increase of almost 28 percentage points. In complete terms, in 2011 the cost was highest in Italy, at €32.6 billion, followed by France (€22 billion), the UK (€18 billion) and Spain (€15.7 billion). Germany and Luxembourg saw a decline in the yearly cost of NEETs, while in Austria and Sweden the situation remained almost the same. In comparative terms,

Country	Discount rate	Increase in NEET population (08/12)	Unit public finance cost	Unit resource cost	Unit total cost	Total resource cost	Total public finance cost	Total cost	% of GDP
Austria	0.09	-0.05	€15,939	€1,226	€17,165	€2,947,375,915	€226,713,028	€3,174,088,942	1.06
Belgium	0.11	0.15	€18,387	€3,851	€22,238	€4,310,081,055	€902,596,814	€5,212,677,869	1.42
Bulgaria	0.14	0.33	€2,039	€4	€2,042	€1,269,797,774	€2,268,598	€1,272,066,372	3.31
Cyprus	0.11	0.35	€10,667	€429	€11,096	€408,176,857	€16,405,637	€424,582,494	2.39
Czech Republic	0.06	0.14	€4,902	€442	€5,343	€1,650,980,500	€148,800,776	€1,799,781,276	1.16
Denmark	0.09	0.52	€17,045	€5,659	€22,705	€966,381,273	€320,841,169	€1,287,222,442	0.54
Estonia	0.13	0.30	€6,093	€145	€6,238	€301,824,037	€7,204,240	€309,028,277	1.93
EU26	0.08	0.18	€9,894	€757	€10,651	€142,138,918,501	€10,874,135,401	€153,013,053,902	1.21
Finland	0.10	0.12	€12,400	€1,838	€14,238	€1,759,287,850	€260,747,679	€2,020,035,528	1.07
France	0.07	0.17	€11,657	€1,091	€12,748	€20,280,506,010	€1,898,678,344	€22,179,184,354	1.11
Germany	0.07	-0.12	€12,382	€2,090	€14,472	€13,230,852,551	€2,233,297,714	€15,464,150,265	0.60
Greece	0.13	0.55	€10,888	€84	€10,973	€7,011,228,475	€54,381,317	€7,065,609,793	3.28
Hungary	0.17	0.12	€4,821	€251	€5,073	€2,027,363,729	€105,573,926	€2,132,937,655	2.12
Ireland	0.01	0.38	€15,105	€2,433	€17,537	€3,727,125,592	€600,289,965	€4,327,415,557	2.77
Italy	0.10	0.18	€14,337	€135	€14,472	€32,308,541,963	€304,844,695	€32,613,386,658	2.06
Latvia	0.13	0.42	€5,387	€139	€5,527	€522,261,901	€13,493,272	€535,755,173	2.67
Lithuania	0.16	0.27	€4,044	€144	€4,187	€316,782,755	€11,257,783	€328,040,537	1.07
Luxembourg	0.11	-0.28	€20,107	€1,882	€21,988	€88,550,875	€8,286,777	€96,837,652	0.23
Netherlands	0.07	0.20	€20,851	€1,429	€22,279	€3,703,522,681	€253,738,812	€3,957,261,493	0.66
Poland	0.15	0.22	€4,217	€322	€4,539	€7,001,572,547	€534,373,407	€7,535,945,953	2.04
Portugal	0.07	0.18	€8,136	€474	€8,610	€2,532,526,989	€147,601,918	€2,680,128,907	1.57
Romania	0.23	0.45	€1,998	€59	€2,057	€2,042,700,944	€60,086,745	€2,102,787,690	1.54
Slovakia	0.08	0.22	€4,255	€172	€4,427	€659,246,896	€26,653,309	€685,900,206	0.99
Slovenia	0.08	0.25	€10,642	€124	€10,766	€460,350,509	€5,358,998	€465,709,508	1.31
Spain	0.08	0.34	€10,400	€975	€11,375	€14,386,759,602	€1,348,400,012	€15,735,159,614	1.47
Sweden	0.08	-0.03	€8,717	€847	€9,565	€1,148,603,990	€111,642,905	€1,260,246,895	0.33
UK	0.15	0.18	€13,520	€1,006	€14,526	€17,076,515,231	€1,270,597,561	€18,347,112,792	1.05

Figure 5. Cost of NEETs in 2011

Source: Eurofound estimation.

the country where the cost of NEETs increased most in the period 2007–2011 was Romania (+78%), followed by Greece (+76%) and, surprisingly, Denmark (+62%). Spain recorded an increase of more than 45% (Eurostat, 2012; Eurostat, 2011).

In terms of GDP, the economic damage due to the non-participation of young people in the labour market, at European level, increased from 0.96% in 2007 to 1.21% in 2011. At the member state level, the situation has worsened notably in many countries. In Bulgaria and Greece, the cost of NEETs in 2011 was higher than 3% of GDP (3.3% and 3.28% higher, respectively). Similarly, in Cyprus, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, and Poland, the yearly loss due to NEETs was more than 2% of GDP. Inversely, in Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Sweden, the cost of NEETs was below 0.6% of GDP, with Luxembourg achieving the lowest rate, at 0.22% of GDP. In Denmark, while the country experienced a meaningful enhancement in the number of NEETs, it is still quite small and this situation did not have a great influence on the economy, at least compared to eastern and southern European countries.

Social Consequences

European societies are facing the intimidating economic consequences of being incapable to reintegrate young people into the labour market. Member states are paying for their excluded youth. It is an established fact, that being bypassed both by the labour market and the education system heightens the individual's risk of social exclusion and their likelihood of absorbing in asocial behaviour; this affects both the individual's well-being and their relationship with society. In coeval societies, paid employment represents "the access ticket" to the consumption of goods and services, and at the same time influences the individual's skills, abilities and social standing. With a low or even no income, NEETs must relinquish the possibility of participating in many activities and of purchasing goods. In addition, they are excluded from the relationships and social networks created in the work or educational environment (Bay & Blekesaune, 2002).

As a result of these monetary and non-monetary barriers to participation in society, and a daily confrontation with structures and institu-

tions, young people who are NEET are more likely to accumulate traumatic experiences, which may turn into a general disaffection with and resentment against society as a whole, and the governments that represent it. In this respect, serious concern has been raised by policymakers about the potential consequences of NEET status on the democratic engagement and civic participation of young people. In fact, it is strongly perceived that there is a danger that some young people can opt out of participation in civil society or may engage in the extremes of the political spectrum.

The active engagement of young people and NEETs in the democratic processes of society is a key element in the sustainability of society. In fact, one of the fundamental principles of modern liberal democracy is that all social groups should participate on an equal basis in the political process (Verba, 2003). Citizens are expected to participate politically for their own interests and to enable equal participation of all social groups; everyone's interests are at least partly taken into account (Delli-Carpini & Keeter, 1996).

If a great number of citizens from certain social groups, such as young people or the unemployed, do not vote in elections, political leaders are able to ignore the needs of these social groups, the government lacks legitimacy, and those social groups may become alienated and lack trust in the democratic process (Verba, 2003). It has been said that youth as a social group are losing out on public resources in comparison to the baby-boom generation (Willetts, 2010). One of the possible explanations for this is that there are fewer young people in Europe today due to lower birth rates, leading to a smaller voting cohort and a lower level of participation in traditional forms of politics. This decreases their voice. The difference in levels of involvement between the younger and older generations has been exacerbated by the decline in opportunities for young people, for example in terms of employment and secure retirement pension (Willetts, 2010).

On the worldwide scale, literature shows that in terms of involving institutional trust, the feelings of young people are similar to those of the general population (Page & Chastenay, 2003; Nazzari, 2008; Bendit & Han, 2008) Even so, it is natural to suppose that young people who are NEET, and particularly those who are long-term unemployed, are likely to have built up a lack of faith in the authorities, in policymakers and in the institutions they represent. NEETs may tend to believe

that the representatives of the institutions lack the ability or will to solve their problems, and become politically disillusioned (Bay & Blekesaune, 2002). Because of this, the mistrust of a large share of young people who spend time involuntarily in a status of disengagement from labour market and education may contribute to the undermining the legitimacy of political leaders, political parties and institutions in the society.

The governments need to introduce unpopular reforms. Not long ago there has been a proliferation of research on reliance (i.a. Putnam, 1993, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995; Inglehart, 1997; Seligman, 1997; Sztompka, 1999; Misztal, 2001). Among others, Norris (1999) demonstrates a constant and high level of institutional reliance in Western countries. Nevertheless, the number of people who are critical of the performances of Western democracies has increased in recent years. According to Norris, this might be the result of those who articulate an increasing lack of faith in politicians' ability and powers to act, while other authors link this with contemporary processes of de-institutionalisation. This relates to the declining significance of traditional institutions and structures (McDonald, 1999), which is empirically associated with the decline in trust in governments across advanced Western nations (Dalton, 2005; Papadakis, 1999; Pharr & Putnam, 2000; Tranter & Skrbis, 2007). At a worldwide level, literature is addressing institutional trust, the feelings of young people are similar to those of the general population (Page & Chastenay, 2003; Nazzari, 2008; Bendit & Han, 2008). However, it is natural to assume that young people who are NEET, and particularly those who are long-term unemployed or disengaged, may tend to believe that the representatives of the institutions lack the ability or will to solve their problems, and become politically disillusioned (Bay & Blekesaune, 2002).

An emerging democracy needs equal participation of all social groups in political decision-making, so that all interests are represented in policy decisions. If young people today do not engage in traditional politics as much as the "baby boom" generation, there is a risk that resources will be channelled towards the older generation. This can put young people, in the context of the economic crisis, at risk of poverty and alienation from the political system. Those who are young, unemployed, and not in education, and without economic and social supports, are particularly vulnerable. Many of these young people have a real need of government support, but the evidence so far suggests that they might participate in politics less than the total population of young people. As

the level of political participation of young people decreased sharply in recent years in Western countries, research on this issue has proliferated. Recent evidence shows that in many advanced democracies young people are voting at ever-decreasing levels (Putnam, 2000; Wattenberg, 2002, 2006; see also: Norris, 2002, p. 90; Phelps, 2005, p. 482; Fieldhouse et al., 2006). Young people are particularly unlikely to become political party members. Youth sections of political parties, once very important, are now on the brink of disappearing (Hooghe, 2004, p. 332), and evidence suggest that young people are opting out of party membership in Canada (Blais, 2002, p. 8) and Europe (Haerpfer et al., 2002).

Given the fact that work and education yield strong stimuli for political participation, there is a reason to expect that those young people who are NEET may be less involved in politics than their counterparts. In this framework, most studies that investigated the political behaviour of young unemployed people found a general lack of political interest (Jackson & Hanby, 1982; Breakwell, 1982; Carle, 1997). However, the opposite may also be true: as unemployment may be a political issue, it is possible to expect a response that involves political participation (Banks & Ullah, 1987). Disengagement from the labour market may have exceptional potential for mobilisation (Bay & Blekesaune, 2002).

Voluntary involvement in different associations is understood as being a tool for cumulating social capital, and thus enhancing social cohesion (Mascherini et al., 2010). The advantages of social and civic engagement are documented in the research literature. Responding to these findings, Verba et al. (1995) investigated factors influencing civic participation. Three factors were identified: resources, motivation, and recruitment. In this framework, Flanagan (2008) reports that, according to a 2006 report from the National Conference on Citizenship (NCoC), those with a college education are far more likely to participate in a wide range of civic activities than those with second-level qualifications. Moreover, young people living in disadvantaged areas and poor communities may have fewer opportunities to participate in comparison with those living in other areas. This is because their schools offer fewer extracurricular and learning activities, while their communities may offer fewer organised activities. Young people who are NEET may have more time for involvement in social and civic participation. However, they may lack opportunities and resources to do so, which may lead to a lower level of social and civic participation in society.

Remedial programs

The main European program designed with the purpose of motivating people to increase their skills and increase their value in the labor market is the Lifelong Learning Programme. This is a program of the European Union focused on education and training for the years 2007–2013. This strategy builds on previous programs, such as SOCRATES, Leonardo da Vinci, Jean Monnet, e-Learning, and European Language Label. As we read on the website of the program, its goal is the development of different forms of learning throughout life. This will be done by supporting cooperation between training and education systems in the participating countries. The program should contribute to improving the quality and increase the attractiveness of education and training in Europe. In this paper we do not discuss in detail the issues of the Comenius and Grundtvig. These are components of a larger strategy, which is the Lifelong Learning Programme. Their task is to foster the development of today's knowledge economy and society and is aimed at the more experienced members of the labour market. In the case of Comenius, its goal is to give future teachers the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the European dimension to learning and teaching, but also to improve their knowledge of foreign languages, knowledge of other European education systems, and finally to improve their teaching skills. The Grundtvig program is also designed to give current or future adult educators same opportunites (as with Comenius participants), and to improve professional and intercultural competences. A typical example of a program aimed at young people is "Leonardo da Vinci". This is European program aimed at young people entering the labor market. It also supports the mobility of the graduates in the European labor market. Graduates and employees acquire new skills during apprenticeships and internships, and improve their skills as measured by modern standards.

The detailed program of European solutions has been presented in a publication entitled "Europe 2020. Integrated guidelines for the economic and employment policies of the Member States". In these guidelines, we see the emphasis on the concept of flexicurity, which became a center of employment policy. This document argues that the main objective of Member States is integration of the flexicurity principles endorsed by the European Council into their labor market policies, and

their application. This may be acheived by making full use of the European Social Fund. The recommendation for governments is to introduce a combination of flexible and reliable employment contracts, policies to promote labor mobility, effective lifelong learning, active labor market policies, and adequate social security systems. These are the tools to secure professional transitions accompanied by clear rights and responsibilities for the unemployed to actively seek work. This strategy focuses mainly on political solutions that can be implemented by national governments. These are aimed to raise participation levels, particularly for the low-skilled, and increase competitiveness. Moreover, in line with economic policy guideline 2, Member States should review their benefit and tax systems. It is also recommended to analyse the capacity of public services to provide the necessary support (European Commission, 2010). One of many ways to improve the situation of unemployment is to increase labor force participation through policies to promote active ageing. Thus, equal pay, gender equality and labor market integration of young people, disabled, and other vulnerable groups are promoted. In recent years, trend called "life-work balance" has become very popular. The European Commission recommends its further promotion and adaptation of policies to increase employment.

One of the programs of the European Commission is "the mean business". This initiative aims to increase awareness among European companies of the positive benefits of hosting a Leonardo da Vinci or Erasmus trainee. The main activity is the organization of promotional events which take place in EU Member States, and aims to get the message to companies through national multipliers.

Aside from programs run directly by the EU and government entities, there are several programs coordinated by NGOs with the support of the EU institutions. One of the programs which increase the chance of youth employment in the European Union is the "YES". This project is directly addressed to small and medium enterprise employers, in-company trainers, supervisors, and human resources managers. It is a service aimed at businesses. The concept of Youth Employment Support is based on few fundamental points. The first one is "Blended learning module" which helps to gather specific competences and knowledge to cope with "difficult" young employees. The second one is "Coaching support". It aims to assist in the preparation of job interviews, and mediation in future conflict cases. The third one is "Virtual platform" which

contains e-learning system, on-line consulting and forums. The program also has many other proposals and solutions. The project is coordinated by Die Berater Human Concern and has been funded with support from the European Commission.

Conclusions

The participation of young people in democratic life is the core of youth policy. Youth unemployment in some EU countries exceeded 50% during the crisis. It became the cause of a wide debate on the employment and future of young university graduates. Many EU programs have been started in recent years with the purpose of stimulating employment. To conclude, the unemployment rate continues to increase despite the temporary improvement of the European economies. A solution was presented by the European Union, which is based on supporting people and promoting labor market participation, lifelong learning, social protection systems, and active inclusion policies. However, a chance for a good future for young people depends on the deepening and widening of the dialogue with youth. European Union institutions should do their utmost to encourage European youth to become involved in shaping the own future. The concept of flexibility has become the main direction of development of the employment policy. Labor market and the European economy have verified the plans of politicians, requiring therefore constant adjustment strategies to combat unemployment.

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